

WYCLIFFE TO WESLEY



HEROES AND MARTYRS
OF THE
CHURCH IN BRITAIN



**THE SMITHFIELD MARTYRS' MEMORIAL CHURCH.
ST. JOHN STREET ROAD, LONDON.**

WYCLIFFE TO WESLEY;

Heroes and Martyrs

of the Church in Britain.



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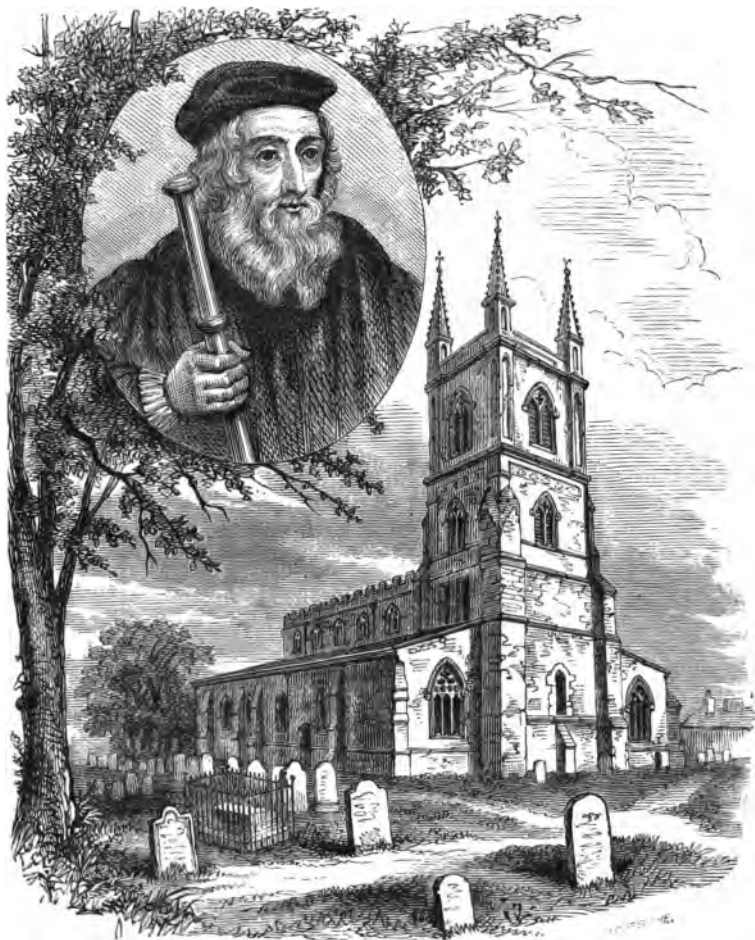
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6

JOHN DE WYCLIFFE,

'THE MORNING STAR OF THE REFORMATION.'



JOHN DE WYCLIFFE.
LUTTERWORTH CHURCH.

I.



ORKSHIRE, whence so many men of eminence, both in the Church and in the State, have sprung, claims John de Wycliffe as one of her sons. He was eminently fitted by his extensive learning, great piety, and dauntless character for the work of a reformer; and he was born in an age of terrible corruption, which greatly needed such a man to protest against the errors and arrogance of the apostate Church of Rome. He was educated at Merton College, Oxford, where he attended the lectures of Bradwardine, called the Profound Doctor on account of his great attainments, by whom he was instructed in the doctrine of salvation by faith as it is taught in the Holy Scriptures.

In the year 1348 a fearful pestilence visited England, and carried off a large number of the inhabitants. Wycliffe was greatly alarmed, and in his fear fled to God as his refuge and strength, and found Him to be a very present help in trouble. He sought the Lord by prayer and in His Word, and found Him to the joy of his soul. Some time after this, when his official position required him to lecture on divinity, he set forth the doctrine of justification by faith, and thus hoisted at that early date the banner of the blessed Reformation. He also charged the clergy with subordinating the Word of God to the voice of the Church, and demanded that the Scriptures should be regarded as the supreme authority in all matters of faith.

At this time the popes claimed universal supremacy, and regarded all Christian monarchs as their vassals. The canon law was superior to the laws of the realm, and the Pontiff in all spiritual matters had the pre-eminence. Edward III. disputed the authority of the Pope, and for refusing to pay the customary yearly tribute was cited to Avignon. A conference was held on

the subject at Bruges, and Wycliffe was appointed a commissioner to attend its sittings. A compromise was arranged, which temporarily set the question at rest, and the King and 'His Holiness' were reconciled.

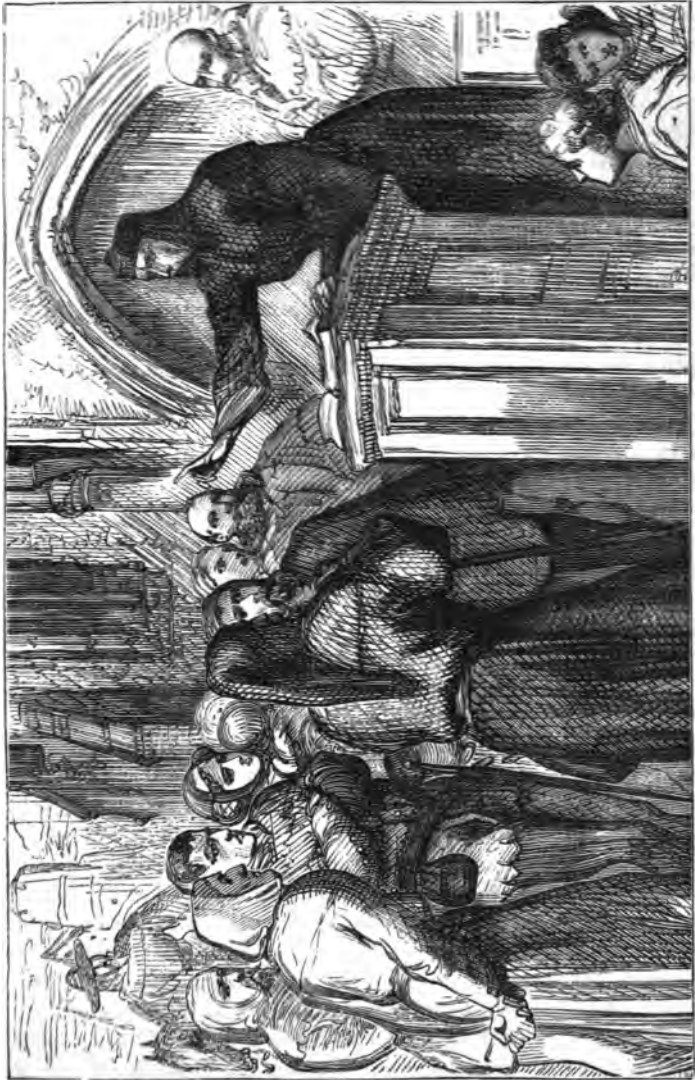
After his return, Wycliffe was presented by the King to the rectory of Lutterworth, in Leicestershire. Here from the pulpit of the parish church he preached the doctrines of the glorious Gospel, and struck the key-note of the Reformation. That pulpit still remains in an excellent state of preservation: it is of oak, and richly carved. On a visit to the church, we stood in the pulpit, and after expressing a wish that it might never become the medium of teaching any other doctrines than those of Wycliffe and the Reformation, our good cicerone related to us the following incident: 'Not long ago, Sir,' he said, 'a gentleman stood where you do now, and I asked him if he would not like to preach in Wycliffe's pulpit; but he said, "No; I thank God I am a Roman Catholic priest!"' One wonders what interest such a person could find in visiting the place whence went forth the earliest rays of that light which, when it increased to 'the perfect day,' struck Popery in this country blind with its brightness.

Wycliffe was charged with heresy, and summoned to appear before Convocation at St. Paul's Cathedral. The sacred edifice was filled with a fanatical crowd when the Reformer entered, preceded by Lord Percy, Marshal of England, and supported by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, his patron, who encouraged him to maintain his profession of faith and not to fear his accusers. When Wycliffe had with some difficulty made his way through the opposing mass, Lord Percy bade him be seated, at which Courtenay, Bishop of London, who was appointed to conduct the proceedings, burst into a rage, and called out, 'He must not sit down; criminals stand before their judges.' This led to an altercation between the noblemen and the haughty prelate, which resulted in the disorderly breaking up of the assembly. The spirit of riot broke loose, and the following day a mob, excited by the clergy, gathered, broke into the palace of the Savoy, where they supposed Percy had secreted

himself; but not finding the object of their revenge, they tore down the ducal arms, and hung them on the gallows, like those of a traitor. When they had so far spent their wrath, they were restrained from committing further mischief by the Bishop solemnly reminding them that it was Lent.

Poor Wycliffe was dismissed for the present, but his foes did not leave him long in peace. They prepared nineteen propositions against him, which were forwarded to Rome. The Pope, Gregory XI., addressed three briefs against the troublesome heretic, and he was denounced by the University of Oxford and the primate of all England. Again was he summoned before the ecclesiastical authorities; but Providence interposed on his behalf, for just as the court was about to enter upon the trial, it was dissolved by order of the Crown, on the ground that the Pope's bulls ought to have no effect in this country, excepting by the permission of the Sovereign. Wycliffe was once more set at liberty; and as he retired from the presence of his accusers, he handed in to them his memorable protest in the following words: 'In the first place, I resolve with my whole heart and by the grace of God to be a sincere Christian; and, while my life shall last, to profess and defend the law of Christ so far as I have power.'

This resolution he nobly kept. He became possessed with a strong desire to evangelise the country. Like Wesley in a later age, he determined to spread the knowledge of salvation through the land. To accomplish this purpose he gathered a number of his most devoted followers around him, and sent them forth to preach the Gospel in the towns and villages. This noble band of itinerant evangelists, who were popularly known by the name of 'poor priests,' were everywhere gladly received. They preached wherever they could get a hearing,—in the churches occasionally, by the wayside, in the market-places, in the churchyards. It was not long before persecution was stirred up against them by the monks and priests. Many of the 'poor priests' and their followers were imprisoned, but they braved the persecution, and continued to carry out their mission as best they could, under the advice and direction of Wycliffe.



WAYSIDE PEARACHING.

But he fell ill during his stay at Oxford, whither he had been called by his duties as Professor of Divinity. As he lay on what was thought to be his dying bed, he was visited by four monks, accompanied by the same number of aldermen, who urged him to recant. 'You have death on your lips,' they said; 'be touched by your faults, and retract in our presence all that you have said to our injury.' The sick man lay silent, and his visitors stood by for some time, anxiously awaiting and confidently expecting to hear his compliance with their request. But to their great confusion, as soon as he was able to command strength for the effort, he turned himself towards the friars, and fixing his piercing eye full upon them, said with energy, 'I shall not die, but live; and declare the evil deeds of the friars.'

Wycliffe had already done a great work, but he was to crown it with a yet greater, and it was for the accomplishment of this that his life was spared. He resolved to translate the New Testament into English, so that his countrymen might read in their own language the glad tidings of the glorious Gospel. Up to this time the Word of God had been locked up from the knowledge of the people in the mysteries of the Latin Vulgate, but the bound Word was now to be set free. Wycliffe was not acquainted with the Hebrew and Greek tongues, but he was a sound Latin scholar, and set himself to turn the Latin Testament into English. Some attempts had already been made, at various times, to translate portions of the New Testament. The Venerable Bede had undertaken an English version of the Gospel of St. John, and some of the men of learning of King Alfred's court had rendered the four Evangelists into Saxon. There were also some other stray translations, but these were very rare, and were carefully stowed away in various libraries as literary curiosities. But to John de Wycliffe belongs the distinguished honour of having made the first complete translation of the entire New Testament into English. This noble work occupied him nearly fifteen years. When it was completed, the copyists were busily engaged in multiplying copies for dissemination. Its appearance caused an immense sensation in the country. The new book was in great demand, and was read with avidity by all

classes who were able to read. The new doctrines which Wycliffe and his itinerant preachers had proclaimed all over the country were found to be contained in this book, which the people were now for the first time put in possession of. His disciples became so numerous that it was said you could not meet two persons on the highway but one of them was a follower of Wycliffe.

The reception of the New Testament vastly exceeded the most sanguine expectations of the translator, and greatly encouraged him. Meanwhile he continued to set before his parishioners at Lutterworth, from his pulpit, those doctrines which were destined to become characteristic of that great movement the Reformation. Fresh opposition was raised against him. The clergy and monks were angry, because they declared that Master Wycliffe had rendered the Scripture more intelligible to laymen, and even women, than it had been to the most learned clerks. They were abashed that their ignorance should be thus discovered, and declared that to put the Word of God into the hands of the people was casting pearls before swine. Like the Pharisees of old, these priests shut up the kingdom of heaven against men; they would neither go in themselves, nor would they suffer those who would have entered to go in. An attempt was made to induce the Government to seize all the copies of Wycliffe's Testament, but it failed. 'What!' said the Duke of Lancaster, when a motion to this effect was brought forward in the House of Lords, 'are we, then, the very dregs of humanity that we cannot possess the laws of our religion in our own tongue?'

Wycliffe began to denounce the errors of the Papacy with great vehemence. Especially did he oppose the doctrine of transubstantiation and the monastic life.

At length the wrath of his old enemy Courtenay burst upon him, and Wycliffe was summoned to appear before an ecclesiastical tribunal at Oxford; but again the Parliament interfered, and the trial was prohibited. It was on this occasion that Wycliffe, on leaving the court, turned round to the primate, and uttered his memorable saying, '*The truth shall prevail.*'

Unmoved by all this persecution, the Reformer bravely held on his way, uncompromisingly maintaining the supremacy of the

Word of God in all matters of faith. He waxed so bold in his stern opposition to the arrogant claims of Rome, that some of his friends began to tremble both for his and their own safety; nor were there wanting Demases who forsook the aged champion of the truth in the hour of peril. But God stood by and strengthened His servant in his defence of the Gospel.

If he escaped martyrdom, no thanks to his enemies. The Church of Rome has never been backward to destroy those whom she could neither refute nor silence, nor would Wycliffe have escaped the martyr's doom, if he had not been Divinely preserved for the completion of his immortal work. For a time he was left in peace to his books and parish duties, but his retirement was broken in upon by the arrival of a brief from Rome, citing him to appear before the Pope. To this Wycliffe replied by an epistle, in which he plainly stated his belief that 'no faithful man ought to follow the Pope, but in such points as he hath followed Jesus Christ.'

The state of affairs at the Vatican was so unsettled that Urban, who was at the time engaged in a controversy with Clement, who disputed with him the claim to the tiara, was not disposed to involve himself in a further disputation with Wycliffe, and so the matter was allowed to rest, and Wycliffe was permitted by the good providence of God to die in his own bed in peace. He was struck with a sudden paralysis while ministering at the communion table of his parish church at Lutterworth, and fell on the pavement. This occurred on the 29th of December, 1384. He was conveyed to his own house by friends, where he lingered until the last day of the year, and then passed away from toil and care to that land—

'Where all is calm, and joy, and peace.'

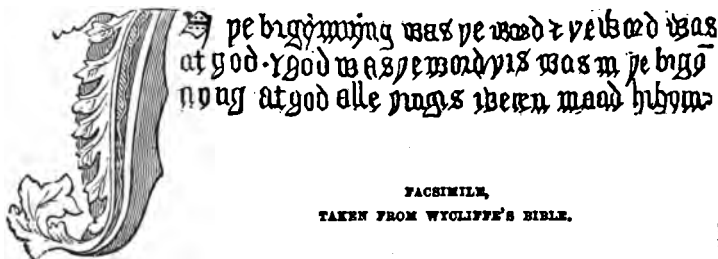
The old communion table before which he stood when he fell is preserved in the church, but has been removed from its original position to a convenient standing-place at the west end. Like the pulpit, it is made of oak, and is supported by grotesquely carved figures. In the vestry of the church is a fine likeness of Wycliffe, a copy of an original oil painting in the possession of a

nobleman. The forehead is indicative of great mental power, the lips of decision, the nose is rather prominent. The whole face wears an air of severity, but this is finely chastened by the luminous eyes. Altogether, it is a noble countenance. But the greatest curiosity in the shape of a relic is a portion of the cope of the Reformer, which is carefully kept in a glass case. It was originally a handsome vestment, but is considerably mutilated, pieces having been formerly cut off it by visitors.

At the beginning of this sketch we present our readers with a view of the church, taken from a photograph. Unfortunately the original character of the church is destroyed, a tower of modern date having been substituted for the steeple, which several years ago was struck by lightning.

Wycliffe was not allowed to remain undisturbed in his grave; for forty years after his death, by a revengeful decree of the Council of Constance, his bones were disinterred and burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Swift, a brook which runs close by the town of Lutterworth. From thence they were borne to the Avon, remarks Fuller, and onward to the sea, by which they were disseminated to all the quarters of the globe, meet emblems of the immortal doctrines of the great Reformer.

Good John de Wycliffe was the morning star of the glorious Reformation, but Jesus Christ is the Sun of Righteousness, to Whom we are indebted for all the light and liberty we enjoy.



FACSIMILE,
TAKEN FROM WYCLIFFE'S BIBLE.

WILLIAM TYNDALE.



WILLIAM TYNDALE.

II.



BOTH the date and the place of Tyndale's birth are matter of conjecture. As to the first, almost the only indications we have are a statement of Tyndale's whence it is inferred that he was a little younger than Sir Thomas More, and a hint of Sir Thomas More's that Tyndale and Luther were about the same age. The Reformer was born in 1483, the Lord Chancellor probably in 1480. Mr. Demaus, Tyndale's latest biographer, determines approximately the year of his birth to be 1484; it could not well be assigned to an earlier period. A monument to Tyndale stands on Nibley Knoll, one of the Cotswold Hills: and North Nibley, a small village at the foot of the Knoll, jealously asserts that it is the native place of him whose greatness the monument commemorates. Its claim is founded on the acknowledged fact that at Hunt's Court, a manor-house within its precincts, resided Thomas and Alice Tyndale, who had a son William living in the reign of Henry VIII. *This* William Tyndale, however, survived the year 1542, as a legal deed demonstrates; the William Tyndale who made the name illustrious received the crown of martyrdom in 1536. The researches of Mr. Demaus were rewarded by the discovery in the State Paper Office of a letter by Stokesley, once rector of Slimbridge, afterwards Bishop of London, which seems to establish the fact that our WILLIAM TYNDALE belonged to the Tyndales of Hurst, in the parish of Slimbridge, a Gloucestershire village on the banks of the Severn. It is therefore probable that the future translator of the Bible was born in the manor-house of Hurst. John Foxe, the martyrologist, vouchsafes only the vague information that 'this blessed martyr of Christ . . . was born about the borders of Wales.' As the county of Monmouth was at that

time included in the Principality, Foxe's statement agrees well enough with either Nibley or Slimbridge.

Of William Tyndale's boyhood absolutely nothing is known. At an early age he went up to the University of Oxford and entered at Magdalen Hall. Foxe's summary of his University career—and he is our only authority on the subject—is very brief: 'At Oxford he, by long continuance, grew and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues and other liberal arts, as specially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted, insomuch that he, lying there in Magdalen Hall, read privily to certain students and fellows of Magdalen College some parcel of divinity, instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. Whose manners also and conversation, being correspondent to the same, were such that all who knew him respected and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and of life unspotted. Thus he, in the University of Oxford, increasing more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the schools, spying his time, removed from thence to the University of Cambridge, where, after he had likewise made his abode a certain space; being now further ripened in the knowledge of God's Word, leaving that University also, he resorted to one Master Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire, and was there schoolmaster to his children, and in good favour with his master.'

Tyndale's removal from Oxford to Cambridge may have been actuated by a desire to take advantage of the presence of Erasmus at the latter University; though it is more than possible that, being suspected of heresy where he had resided at least seven years, he prudently withdrew himself. At Cambridge he probably met 'little Bilney,' that gentlest of the Reformers, to whom, under God, 'stout Hugh Latimer' owed his conversion. Bilney's influence upon Tyndale could not be other than beneficial. How long Tyndale stayed at Cambridge we can only guess, but his tutorship at Sir John Welch's could not have begun much before 1522, as Sir John's eldest child was not born till 1516. The uncertainty which overshadows the whole of his early life has prevented the date and diocese of his ordination being ascertained,

but when he arrived at the manor-house of Little Sodbury, where his employer lived, he was in full priest's orders. Sir John Welch was a personage of high importance in Gloucestershire, and to his hospitable table flocked 'abbots, deans, archdeacons, and other divers doctors and learned men.' Naturally the conversation often turned upon Martin Luther and his heresies, Erasmus and his new learning, and mercilessly and indiscriminately were both condemned. As yet Tyndale was not prepared to defend the former, but he adhered to the latter with all his heart. Formal separation from the Papacy was still, in his opinion, deadly sin; but the Church stood in sore need of reformation. When strictly theological points were discussed, the young tutor would produce the New Testament, and cite passages in proof of his positions, till 'those great learned doctors waxed weary and bear [bore] a secret grudge in their hearts against Master Tyndale.' 'So upon a time,' Foxe continues, 'some of those beneficed doctors had Master Welch and the lady his wife at a supper or banquet, there having among them talk at will without any gainsaying: and the supper or banquet being done, and Master Welch and the lady his wife come home, they called for Master Tyndale, and talked with him of such communication as had been, where they came fro [from], and of their opinions. Master Tyndale thereunto made answer agreeable to the truth of God's Word, and in reproving of their false doctrine. The lady Welch being a stout woman, and as *Master Tyndale did report her* to be wise, being there no more but they three, Master Welch, his wife, and Master Tyndale: "Well," said she, "there was such a doctor, he may dispend [spend] two hundred pound by the year, another, one hundred pound, and another, three hundred pound: and what think ye, were it reason that we should believe you before them so great, learned, and beneficed men?" Master Tyndale, hearing her, gave her no answer; nor after that had but small arguments against such, for he perceived it would not help, in effect to the contrary.'

Very wise was Master Tyndale in his silence, when arguments were weighed not by their worth, but by the rank and reputation and wealth of him who advanced them. But though he kept

silence he did not yield the controversy. What men would not hear from him, they might heed from Erasmus. So he translated the *Manual of a Christian Soldier*, with its outspoken preface. This work is noteworthy as being Tyndale's first translation. The book was never printed, but several copies appear to have been made by hand. And it served its immediate purpose; for, writes Foxe, 'after they [Sir John and Lady Welch] had read that book, those great prelates were no more so often called to the house, nor, when they came, had the cheer nor countenance as they were wont to have; the which they did well perceive, and that it was by the means and incensing of Master Tyndale, and at last came no more there.'

Tyndale now took a step which his adversaries hoped would afford an opportunity of wreaking their malice upon him. The spiritual destitution of the villagers around Little Sodbury so distressed him that he resolved to alleviate it. He began to preach regularly in these villages, and even extended his tours to Bristol, where he addressed large multitudes assembled on the College Green. The proceeding itself, quite as much as the doctrine, annoyed the lazy priests who crowded the alehouses and neglected their flocks. They complained to the chancellor of the diocese, a bigoted Papist, who cited Tyndale before him. For some reason or other, perhaps from fear of Sir John Welch, who was in favour at the Court, the judge only threatened him grievously, and reviled him and rated him as though he had been a dog, and dismissed him without punishment and without extorting from him any promise for the future. Fortunate for Tyndale was it that there was no higher ecclesiastical officer before whom he could be summoned. The non-resident bishop, an Italian, had placed his diocese in Wolsey's hands, and of all prelates the arrogant but kind-hearted Cardinal was the least likely to trouble himself about an obscure disciple of Erasmus, especially as he was by no means ill-disposed to the species of reformation Tyndale, at the then stage of his development, deemed sufficient. The trial, harmless as it was to the accused, had serious consequences. The spirit the clergy had displayed, and the persecuting tendencies of their chiefs, set Tyndale ponder-

ing a weighty question: Could the Church which so scorned Holy Writ be the true Church of Christ? In his perplexity he betook himself to 'a certain doctor that dwelt not far off and had been an old chancellor before to a bishop.' He told his tale and declared his difficulty. 'Do you not know,' was the unexpected reply, 'that the Pope is the very antichrist which the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion it will cost you your life. I have been an officer of his, but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works.' Thus was broached an idea that soon became one of the deepest convictions of Tyndale's mind, and that was repeated again and again in his writings.

The proceedings connected with the trial, including the startling answer of the aged priest, gave form and precision to a purpose that had long been hazily floating in Tyndale's mind. He would translate the New Testament into the mother tongue of the laity. Thus they could determine for themselves the controversies that were agitating the nation; no weapon would be so powerful against iniquity and error as that. He announced his intention openly, and the storm waxed fiercer and fiercer. "I perceive," he said to his patron, "that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this country, nor you shall be able to keep me out of their hands; and what displeasure you might have thereby is hard to know, for the which I should be right sorry." So, with the goodwill of his master, he departed from him to London.* Tyndale, in repairing to the metropolis, had two objects in view: there his translation, when ready, could be most conveniently printed, and he hoped to obtain from Tunstall, the scholarly Bishop of London, patronage and assistance in his work, and permission to publish, without which the circulation of the Bible would be illegal.

Arrived in London, Tyndale waited wearily for an interview with his lordship, and having obtained it, he left the episcopal presence without any thought of abandoning his project, but aware that the ecclesiastical authorities would lend him no

* Foxe.

countenance whatever. He had carried to Tunstall a version of an oration by Isocrates in proof of his competence for his self-imposed task ; but the more competent he was the less welcome. Yet he was not altogether friendless. Humphrey Monmouth, one of the worthiest of the merchant princes of London, heard him preach in the little church of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, and invited him to his house. Humphrey Monmouth cordially approved of Tyndale's design, but could give him no encouragement to attempt to print an English Bible in England. The operation would certainly be discovered, and the project frustrated. Sorrowfully the translator resolved to expatriate himself, and in May, 1524, he sailed for Hamburg, being liberally supplied with money by his host and other friends.

Again Tyndale's movements are shrouded in obscurity. It appears most likely that from Hamburg he travelled to Wittenberg, and took counsel with Luther and Melancthon, and in that city performed much of the actual work of translation. But a Bible printed in so Lutheran a town would be regarded with suspicion by the majority of Englishmen, so he and his clerk, William Roye, carried the precious manuscript to Catholic Cologne, and the printing began there. The utmost secrecy was observed, but a Romish dignitary, John Cochläus, was employing the same printer on a very different book. He discovered the sheets, gave the alarm to Henry and Wolsey, and persuaded the municipal authorities to stop the progress of the work. Tyndale and Roye fled to Worms, carrying the printed sheets and the manuscript translation with them. At Worms the first printed English version of the New Testament was published in the year 1525.

The portion of the Holy Scriptures thus published is remarkable, not only as the first printed New Testament in English, but also as the first translation of the New Testament into English direct from the Greek. Wycliffe possessed only the Latin Vulgate, and Purvey had revised his translation without any reference to the original tongue. The spirit in which Tyndale wrought may be judged from the following extract from his prologue to the octavo edition of 1525 (the spelling is modernised) :

'I have here translated, brethren and sisters most dear and tenderly beloved in Christ, the New Testament for your spiritual edifying, consolation, and solace, exhorting instantly and beseeching those that are better seen in the tongues than I, and that have higher gifts of grace to interpret the sense of the Scripture and meaning of the Spirit than I, to consider and ponder my labour, and that with the spirit of meekness. And if they perceive in any places that I have not attained the very sense of the tongue or meaning of the Scripture, or have not given the right English word, that they put their hands to amend it, remembering that so is their duty to do. For we have not received the gifts of God for ourselves only, or for to hide them, but to bestow them unto the honouring of God and Christ, and edifying of the congregation, which is the body of Christ.'

In the prologue to the quarto edition of 1525 Tyndale promises to revise his version carefully—a promise which he faithfully performed. Subjoined are specimens of his versions, Titus ii. 1—6 (1525); the original spelling is retained. Of course the original type was black letter:

'But speake thou that which becōmeth wholsome learnynge: That the elder men be sober, honest, discrete, sōūd in the fayth, in love ād in paciēce. And the elder wemen lykewyse that they be in soche rayment, as becōmeth holynes, not falce accusars, not gevē to moche drīkyngē, but teachers of honest thyngs, that they nurter the yonge wemen for to love their husbādes, to love their children, to be of honest behaveoure, chast, huswyfly, good, and obedient unto their aune husbandes, that the word of God be not evyll spoken of. Younge men lykewyse exhorte that they be of honest manners.'

Luke xv. 17—24, spelling modernised; the changes in our Authorised Version are indicated by italics:

'*Then he remembered himself,* and said, How many hired servants at my father's have bread enough, and I die for hunger. I will arise and go to my father, and will say unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee. Nor am I not*

* Altered by Tyndale subsequently to 'Then he came to himself.'

worthy* to be called thy son; make me as one of thy hired servants. And he arose, and came to his father. When he was yet a great way off, his father saw him, and had compassion on him†, and ran unto him†, and fell on his neck, and kissed him. And the son said unto him, Father, I have sinned against heaven and in thy sight, neither am I worthy henceforth* to be called thy son. Then said the father to his servants, Bring forth that best garment and put it on him, and put a ring on his hand and shoes on his feet. And bring hither that fatted calf, and kill him, and let us eat, and be merry: For this my son was dead, and is alive again; he was lost, and is now found.'

Hebrews xi. 29—34 (1535, Tyndale's last revision), spelling modernised: 'By faith they passed through the Red Sea as by dry land; which the Egyptians had assayed to do, they were drowned.

'By faith the walls of Jericho fell down, after they were compassed about seven days.

'By faith the harlot Rahab perished not with the unbelievers, when she had received the spies to lodging peaceably.

'And what shall I more say? The time would be too short for me to tell of Gideon, of Barak, and of Samson, and of Jephthae: also of David and Samuel, and of the prophets: which through faith subdued kingdoms, wrought righteousness, obtained the promises, stopped the mouths of lions, quenched the violence of fire, escaped the edge of the sword, of weak were made strong, waxed valiant in fight, turned to flight the armies of the aliens.'

These samples, by no means unduly favourable to Tyndale, will show to the reader how slight, comparatively, are the changes which subsequent revision and scholarship have made in his rendering, and will illustrate and support such estimates of Tyndale's worth and influence as these:

'From first to last his style and his interpretation are his own, and in the originality of Tyndale is included in a large measure the originality of our English version. . . . It is even

* 'And am no more worthy,' Tyndale's own revision.

† Omitted by Tyndale subsequently.

of less moment that by far the greater part of his translation remains intact in our present Bibles than that his spirit animates the whole. He toiled faithfully himself, and where he failed, he left to those who should come after the secret of success. The achievement was not for one, but for many; but he fixed the type according to which the later labourers worked. His influence decided that our Bible should be popular and not literary, speaking in a simple dialect, and that so, by its simplicity, it should be endowed with permanence.' (*Canon Westcott.*)

'When all this allowance has been made [for the influence of older versions], Tyndale's claims on our gratitude remain unimpaired; he is still the father of our present version. The labours of his successors effected many improvements in detail, but the plan and spirit of the work have been left unchanged.' (*Dr. Moulton.*)

'The English Bible has been subjected to repeated revisions; the scholarship of generations, better provided than Tyndale with critical apparatus, has been brought to bear upon it. Writers, by no means over friendly to the original translator, have had it in their power to disparage and displace his work; yet in spite of all these influences, that Book, to which all Englishmen turn as the source and the guide and the stay of their spiritual life, is still substantially the translation of Tyndale. And most emphatically may it be said of those passages of the New Testament which are most intimately associated with our deepest religious emotions, that it is the actual, unchanged words of the original translator which are treasured up in our hearts, and are so potent in impressing the soul.' (*Mr. Demaus.*)

And, lastly:—

'Of the translation itself, though since that time it has been many times revised and altered, we may say that it is substantially the Bible with which we are all familiar. The peculiar genius—if such a word may be permitted—which breathes through it, the mingled tenderness and majesty, the Saxon simplicity, the preternatural grandeur, unequalled, unapproached in the attempted improvements of modern scholars, all are here,

and bear the impress of the mind of one man—William Tyndale.'
(*Mr. Froude.*)

The English authorities, having been warned by Cochläus and others, exerted themselves to the utmost to prevent the importation of Tyndale's New Testament. They forbade the sale, purchase, perusal, circulation, or possession of it under the heaviest penalties. Nor were the prohibitions empty threats; men were punished with fine, imprisonment, and even death for disregarding them. But 'the Word of God' in the vulgar tongue could not be 'bound,' and in the course of a few years several thousand copies of Tyndale's or of pirated editions had found their way into our land. One method of suppression adopted by Tunstall, Bishop of London, is worth citing from the ignorance of political economy displayed. The prelate, astute as he was on most matters, actually fancied that by buying up all remaining copies on the Continent and destroying them he could prevent the further circulation of the obnoxious Book. And only one of the rulers of England appears to have foreseen the inevitable result, that the money obtained by the vendors would be employed in the production of another and larger edition. In fact, the cash came to Tyndale at a very opportune moment, when he was almost penniless and his printers were demanding payment before they would execute his orders. The rest of the story the old chronicler Hall shall tell after his own fashion:—

'In a short space after, it fortuneth that George Constantine was apprehended by Sir Thomas More, who was then Chancellor of England, suspected of certain heresies. During the time that he was in the custody of Master More, after divers communications, amongst other things Master More asked of him, saying, "Constantine, I would have thee be plain with me in one thing that I will ask, and I promise thee I will show thee favour in all other things whereof thou art accused. There is beyond the sea, Tyndale, Joye, and a great many of you. I know they cannot live without help. There are some that help and succour them with money, and thou, being one of them, hadst thy part thereof, and therefore knowest from whence it came. I pray

thee, tell me, who be they that help them thus?" "My lord," quoth Constantine, "I will tell you truly: it is the Bishop of London that hath holpen us, for he hath bestowed among us a great deal of money upon New Testaments to burn them; and that hath been, and yet is, our only succour and comfort." "Now, by my troth," quoth More, "I think even the same, for so much I told the Bishop before he went about it."

To commit Testaments and their distributors to the flames did not content the enemies of the English Bible; they would, if possible, seize the main offender, the translator himself. Extradition treaties were unknown in that age, so Henry VIII. could not demand the surrender of the heretic by the Emperor of Germany; but if Tyndale could be brought to England by force or fraud, no one could hinder his punishment. The most diligent inquiries, however, failed to discover the secret of his residence. He had received timely warning of the intended search, and had fled to Marburg, where he was under the protection of the Protestant Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and where he could enjoy unlimited facilities for printing. Thither he removed some time in the year 1527, and there in that year he met with two distinguished Reformers, Friar Barnes and Patrick Hamilton, who are thought to have exercised considerable influence upon his theological views. There, too, he was joined, in the following year, by his dearest friend and most trusted associate, John Fryth.

Tyndale did not confine himself to translating the Holy Scriptures; he issued several independent works. On May 8th, 1528, he published his *Parable of the Wicked Mammon*, in form an exposition of the parable of the unjust steward, in reality a treatise on the doctrine of 'Justification by Faith,' on which Tyndale held the most pronounced Evangelical opinions. On the same day he gave to the world the largest and most elaborate of his original productions. Its full title reads: *The Obedience of a Christian Man, and how Christian Rulers ought to Govern, wherein also, if thou mark diligently, thou shalt find eyes to perceive the crafty Conveyance of all Jugglers*. The volume inculcates two principles, the supremacy of the inspired Word in the Church, and the supremacy of the King in the State. In treating of the

first, the author took occasion to expose, with an unsparing hand, the corruptions of the Romish Church and clergy. Upon the second, he taught a doctrine of passive obedience, not easily distinguishable from that of the High Church divines of Stuart times. It was never lawful, he held, actively to resist 'the power'; the Christian man must obey implicitly, unless he is commanded to commit sin, in which case he is to suffer submissively. At the instigation of Anne Boleyn, Henry VIII. read the treatise, and pronounced it 'a book for me and all kings to read.' There is every reason to believe that the outspoken work he so highly approved was not the least powerful of the forces which moved the Sovereign of England to declare himself the head of the Church. Certain it is that *The Obedience* did much to prepare the popular mind to accept the anti-papal policy.

In January, 1530,* Tyndale's first contribution to the English version of the Old Testament was published at Marburg. It consisted of the Pentateuch, to which were added a general preface, a preface to each book, a glossary of unfamiliar words and marginal notes. The type employed was partly the old black letter and partly Roman; Genesis and Numbers being in the former, Exodus, Leviticus, and Deuteronomy in the latter. The books were obviously, in the first instance, designed for separate circulation. The translation was made direct from the Hebrew, as the New Testament had been rendered direct from the Greek. By some writers Tyndale has been declared utterly ignorant of Hebrew, or but slightly skilled therein, and, therefore, dependent in his translation upon the Vulgate and German versions. Mr. Demaus and Canon Westcott have conclusively disposed of that calumny, and the biographer has shown that Tyndale was, not merely competent for the task he undertook, but one of the foremost Hebraists of his day. Subjoined is a specimen of his work, Numbers xvi. 28—35: †

'28. And Moses said: Hereby ye shall know that the Lord

* Mr. Demaus fixes the date definitely, 'the 17th of January, 1530'; Dr. Moulton says '1530 or 1531,' and appears to prefer the later date.

† Cited from Westcott; the italics mark the words not retained in King James' version.

hath sent me to do all these works, *and that* I have not done them of mine own mind. 29. If these men die the common death of all men, or if they be visited after the visitation of all men; then the Lord hath not sent me. 30. But *and* if the Lord make a new thing, and the earth open her mouth, and swallow them, and all that *pertain** unto them, *so that* they go down quick into *hell*; then ye shall understand that these men have *railed upon* the Lord. 31. And *as soon* as he had made an end of speaking all these words, the ground *clove*† asunder that was under them; 32. And the earth opened her mouth, and swallowed them and their houses, and all the men that *were with* Corah and all their goods. 33. *And* they and all that *pertained unto* them, went down alive *unto hell*, and the earth closed upon them, and they perished from among the congregation. 34. And all Israel that were about them fled at the cry of them: For they said, the earth *might haply* swallow us also. 35. And there came out a fire from the Lord and consumed the two hundred and fifty men that offered *cens*.‡

The following are specimens of his marginal notes:

'*They blessed Rebekah*' (Genesis xxiv. 60)—'To bless a man's neighbour is to pray for him and to wish him good, *and not to wag two fingers over him.*' [The allusion is to the Roman form of benediction.]

'*The people bring much more than enough. . . . So the people were restrained from offering*' (Exodus xxxvi. 5, 6)—'When will the Pope say Hoo! [hold] and forbid to offer for the building of St. Peter's church? and when will our spirituality say, Hoo! and forbid to give them more land and to make more foundations? Never, verily, until they have all.'

'*How can I curse, whom God hath not cursed?*' (Numbers xxiii. 8)—'The Pope can tell how.'

An English version of the Book of Jonah seems to have been published by Tyndale at about the same date as the Pentateuch. His subsequent Biblical labours may be briefly summarised, not because they are unimportant, but because their nature will be

* 'Appertain,' Authorised Version. † 'Clave,' Authorised Version.

‡ 'Incense,' Authorised Version.

readily gathered from the specimens of his workmanship already given. In 1534 he issued a revision of his New Testament. Its title states that it is 'diligently corrected and compared with the Greek.' Most carefully and conscientiously had the translator performed the office of a reviser. He had evidently weighed and re-weighed every word and the turn of every phrase. Of the many thousand changes, the large majority are distinctly for the better. The marginal notes attached to this edition are as racy, but far less controversial than those on the Pentateuch. Bound up in the same volume was a translation of the Daily Lessons taken from the Old Testament and the Apocrypha 'according to the use of Salisbury.' No further translation by Tyndale appeared in his lifetime,* but after his death, his version of Joshua to 2 Chronicles, inclusive, was printed in the 'Matthew Bible.' Thus of the whole of the English New Testament, and a full half of the Old, the groundwork is William Tyndale's, and the spirit and style of the entire English Bible were derived from him.

Our space will not permit us to particularise all Tyndale's original works; with the exception of the *Exposition of the Sermon on the Mount*, they were wholly polemical, and all show his intense hatred of Popery and his firm adherence to that aspect of the Reformation doctrines which is commonly known as Zwinglian. His controversy with Sir Thomas More demands a few lines. At the special request of Bishop Tunstall, More undertook to reply to the Protestant books which were being circulated in England. In 1529 he published, '*A Dialogue of Sir Thomas More, Knight*, one of the Council of our Sovereign Lord the King and Chancellor of his Duchy of Lancaster, wherein be treated divers matters, as of the veneration and worship of images and relics, praying to saints, and going on pilgrimage; with many other things touching the pestilent sect of Luther and Tyndale, by the tone (one) begun in Saxony, and by the tother (other) laboured to be brought into England'; Tyndale replied with an 'Answer,' then More with a 'Confutation,' and so on till Sir Thomas' death put an end to the dispute. In humour, debating power, and literary skill the Chancellor unquestionably excels;

* The edition of 1535 repeats the text of that of 1534.



THE MARTYRDOM OF WILLIAM TYNDALE.

while upon the main points of the discussion the exile is as unquestionably in the right. The latter therefore was sure to get the best of the argument, as he was not so vastly More's inferior in mere dexterity as to lose the vantage of a good cause. Both condescended to abusive language, in which, however, the courtly lawyer bears off the unenviable palm. The fact is, both men were too earnest and impassioned to master their indignation neither discerned the real greatness of the other, and each deemed his adversary the foremost foe of truth. To More, Tyndale was 'a blasphemous heretic'; to Tyndale, More was a '*Judas* . . . wiler than his fellows to get lucre; . . . a Balaam, whose covetousness did so blind his prophecy that he could not see his own end.' Our sympathy with his antagonist should not blind us to More's moral worth. More—surely the 'noblest man who ever laid down his life in a wrong cause—was as honest as Tyndale, as incapable of being bribed, and as to the 'end,' both Tyndale and More suffered for their faith.

At one time it appeared not unlikely that Tyndale would return to his native land in safety and honour. Thomas Cromwell knew how valuable an ally he would be in his warfare with Rome. He instructed Stephen Vaughan, one of the English diplomatists in the Low Countries, to sound Tyndale as to his willingness to accept an invitation to England with the promise of the King's protection. But though both Vaughan and Cromwell were sincere, their royal master was not, and Tyndale suspected all three. The negotiations therefore proved abortive.* The martyrdom of John Fryth, who incautiously visited England in 1533, showed how prudently Tyndale acted.

The year 1535 found Tyndale at Antwerp. After many wanderings he had obtained what he hoped would be a permanent refuge in the houses of the English merchants in that city. Sharing their privileges, he was safe from everything but

* It is impossible to mention the name of Stephen Vaughan without a word of recognition of his manly and wise letters to Cromwell and Henry. He advocates the equal toleration of all creeds, and for the very reasons by which it is supported in the nineteenth century. But, alas! he was many a long year in advance of his time.

treachery. He employed his time in study, in reading and expounding the Scriptures, and in systematic relief of the poor. These were his most peaceful days, but suddenly the traitor appeared. Henry Philips, who is known only for his betrayal of Tyndale, called upon him, and pretended to be a convert to Protestantism. Tyndale believed his profession, and admitted him to considerable intimacy. Doubtless Philips was the agent of others more cunning than himself, and certainly he was in communication with the Emperor's law officers. Watching his opportunity, when Thomas Poyntz, whose guest Tyndale was, had left Antwerp for some days, Philips invited the doomed man to dine with him. Tyndale refused on the plea that he was engaged to dine at a friend's, but invited Philips to accompany him. 'So when it was dinner-time, Master Tyndale went forth with Philips; and at the going out of Poyntz' house was a long, narrow entry, so that two could not go in a front. Master Tyndale would have put Philips before him, but Philips would in no wise, but put Master Tyndale afore, for that he pretended to show great humanity [politeness]. So Master Tyndale, being a man of no great stature, went before; and Philips, a tall, comely person, followed behind him, who had set officers on either side of the door upon two seats (which being there, might see who came into the entry); and coming through the same entry Philips pointed with his finger over Master Tyndale's head down to him, that the officers, which sat at the door, might see that it was he whom they should take.* That night Master Tyndale lodged in the castle of Vilvorde, eighteen miles from Antwerp. In the castle of Vilvorde Tyndale remained a year and a hundred and thirty-five days, from May 23rd or 24th, 1535, to October 6th, 1536. The process of trial itself was slow, as accusation and defence and reply to it, and reply to the reply, etc., were all conducted in writing. Then Poyntz spared no effort to protract the trial and rescue his friend, and Cromwell also strove to procure his release. One of the judges, too, the theologian Lathomus, conceived a high regard for the prisoner, and endea-

* Foxe.

voured to convince him of what he deemed his errors. But the Emperor was a bigot, and the law against heresy was plain, and sentence of death was pronounced against Tyndale, August 10th, 1536. The industry of M. Galesloot has discovered a letter from Tyndale to the governor of the castle, written in the winter of 1535, begging for warmer clothing to be supplied from his wardrobe, which the Procureur-General had seized, and containing this suggestive plea: 'But above all, I entreat and beseech your clemency to be urgent with the Procureur that he may kindly permit me to have my Hebrew Bible, Hebrew grammar, and Hebrew dictionary, that I may spend my time in that study'! Who can avoid the comparison of St. Paul in the Roman prison writing for the cloke he left at Troas, and 'the books, but especially the parchments'? According to his sentence, Tyndale was first strangled and then burnt at the stake, his last prayer being, 'Lord, open the King of England's eyes!'



MANOR HOUSE, LITTLE SODBURY.

MILES COVERDALE.



MILES COVERDALE.

III.



EW and inaccurate are the accounts of MILES COVERDALE, the great Reformer, who was the first to translate the whole Bible into English. This is not to be wondered at, since the materials from which the events of his life can be gathered are extremely scanty, and the notices of him in contemporary authors unsatisfactory. Such being the case, it is conceived that a short sketch of his career, compiled from various authentic sources, may not prove altogether uninteresting or uninteresting.

Though it has been suggested that the subject of this paper was a native of the district of Coverdale, in Richmondshire, most writers are agreed that he was born in the county of York, in the year 1487 or 1488. Early chroniclers and biographers are silent as to his parentage and place of birth, and of course nothing certain can now be determined.

He was brought up at the Convent of the Augustines, at Cambridge, of which order he became a brother. This monastery was allowed to fall into decay after the dissolution of the monasteries, and has since been pulled down. Learning was at that time lamentably neglected in almost every University. Latin reading was limited to a few authors; and Hebrew and Greek were hardly ever heard of. Matters, however, were beginning to mend; for the disputes in Germany on religion and letters were awakening the attention of all Europe. Learned men, advocates of the doctrines of the Reformers, had come to Cambridge, but were obliged to read and discuss in the closest secrecy, to avoid being seized and condemned as heretics. Yet converts were made, and numbers assembled from time to time at a house called the White Horse, which was easy of access to the students of several of the colleges.

One of the foremost among them was Dr. Barnes, prior of the Augustine house, a man of piety and learning. He had probably imbibed his opinions at Louvain, where he had studied, though he did not openly profess them till afterwards. It was greatly owing to his efforts that the revival of learning took place at Cambridge; and among his pupils were many who afterwards became distinguished divines. Coverdale had this man for his tutor, and Thomas Cromwell for his patron. It would appear from an extant letter, that the latter favoured him with advice; and cautioned him against expressing himself too freely on matters relative to religion. This admonition he promised to follow.

The secret meetings at the White Horse continued for some time, till, emboldened perhaps by the numbers and zeal of his converts, Dr. Barnes began, on the Sunday before Christmas, 1526, to preach openly for the truth. He was immediately accused of heresy by two fellows of King's Hall. Their secrecy being broken up by this measure, the Reformers now met in public places, and disputed and discoursed against the dogmas and observances of Roman Catholicism. This kind of preaching went on till within a week of the following Lent, when a sergeant-at-arms from London entered the Convocation House, and arrested Dr. Barnes in the presence of all. He was conveyed to London, and Coverdale accompanied him. He underwent an examination before the Chapter at Westminster, which ended in the ordinary way,—he must either recant or burn. Persuaded by friends, who urged that by saving his life he would do more good in time to come, he recanted; and performed a humiliating penance at St. Paul's. He was detained in prison for some time longer, and afterwards effected his escape abroad.

Coverdale now saw that he must either publicly profess his adherence to the Reformed doctrines, or at once renounce them; there was no middle course left. He chose the former path; and, throwing off his monk's habit, he became an itinerant preacher of the truths of Christ's holy religion.

In the beginning of 1528 his name was brought into dangerous

prominence before the clergy of London. A priest, whom he had won over by his arguments and persuasions, was seized as a heretic; and to escape the stake he recanted, and made a full confession. He admitted that he had held conversations with Miles Coverdale, whom he had heard preach the 'heresy' in his village. Coverdale thought it time to quit England, and as Germany was the only place where Protestants, as they were beginning to be called, could live in safety, he betook himself there.

One year before, 1525, William Tyndale had published his translation of the New Testament at Worms. He dared not print it in England, for ever since 1408 most rigorous provisions had been enforced against the use of English translations of the Scriptures.

The importation of Tyndale's Testaments excited considerable attention, and steps were soon taken to prevent their spread. Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, was especially forward in his endeavours to destroy the books. He issued a prohibition, in which he commanded all within his diocese, on pain of excommunication, to bring him every New Testament they possessed, within thirty days. This warning seems to have had little effect, for two more editions soon issued from the press, and were rapidly sold. Tunstall also preached against them at St. Paul's Cross, and the learned Sir Thomas More violently attacked them with his pen. Severe proceedings were taken against those that imported them; and John Tyndale, brother of the translator, and Thomas Patmore, a merchant, had to burn many of them in Cheapside with their own hands. As a last resource, Tunstall determined to buy up the pernicious books as they came over. A merchant, named Packington, effected the purchase; 'the Bishop had the books, Packington had the thanks, and Tyndale had the money,' by means of which he was enabled to correct his translation, and to prepare an emended edition for the press.

Coverdale, by appointment, met Tyndale at Hamburg, in 1529. From Easter till December they were engaged on a translation of the Pentateuch, which was published in the following year at Marburg. What became of Coverdale from this year until 1535 is not known.

In England, the Reformation had been advancing. The King, Henry VIII., had come into direct collision with the Pope. The



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convocation of clergy in 1531 declared the Sovereign to be the supreme head of the Church and clergy of England, and an

Act of Parliament to the same effect was passed three years after. Toward the end of the year 1534 a convocation of the province of Canterbury determined that the Scriptures should be translated into the vulgar tongue, though the laity were to be prohibited from contending about the teaching contained therein. Soon after, Cranmer divided Tyndale's Testament into nine or ten parts, and gave them to as many scholars, to make a complete revision of them. All the parts were returned to him corrected, except one that had been assigned to Stokesley, Bishop of London, who refused to have any connection with the business. The design, from some unknown cause, seems at this stage to have fallen through.

Coverdale saw in this the general feeling of the nation in favour of a translation of the Bible, provided it were correct. He accordingly spent his time in preparing a translation of the whole Bible. He probably would not have done this, had not his friend Tyndale—who had the intention of completing his translation—about this time fallen into trouble. Tyndale was seized and in 1536 put to death, in accordance with a decree of the Emperor.

While Tyndale lay in prison, nearly a year before his martyrdom, Coverdale published a translation of both the Old and the New Testaments, in a small folio volume. This edition is remarkable as the first printed one of the whole Bible in English. Though there is no name of place or printer on the titlepage, it is generally supposed to have been printed at Zurich, in Switzerland, by one Christopher Froschover.

This Bible contains a dedication to King Henry VIII., and a prologue, or preface, to the reader. The former is couched in terms highly flattering to the King, and on this account has been censured by some critics. It should be remembered, however, that Coverdale by it wished his Sovereign to understand that the Reformers were not contemners of regal authority. Moreover, Henry VIII. was possessed of almost absolute power; and though of a frank and genial disposition, he had an ungovernable temper, and the slightest opposition irritated him beyond measure. In the preface, addressed to the Christian reader, after relating with

what diffidence he undertook the translation, Coverdale gives good, wholesome advice, both with regard to the reading and understanding of the Word, and to the living or practice of it.

A good deal of discussion has arisen as to whether or not this translation was published by the King's authority and approval, and the matter has never been satisfactorily cleared up. It appears probable that Coverdale was induced to issue it by some persons about the Court who had influence with the Protestant Queen, Anne Boleyn; that some copies were shown to the King, who gave injunctions that it should be put in the churches; that after Queen Anne came under the King's displeasure, the Bible thus losing its chief supporter, the King allowed the injunctions to be changed, and the translation was heard no more of, being neither sanctioned nor prohibited.

Coverdale's history was now more or less connected with that of the English editions of the Scriptures. The next one was printed somewhere on the Continent, in 1537. On the titlepage the translator is said to be Thomas Matthew; but this was in all probability a fictitious name, assumed by John Rogers, the martyr. It contained a dedication to the king, and was 'set forth with the Kinges most gracyous licēce.'

Some time after, Coverdale, with the printers Grafton and Whitchurch, obtained permission from the King, through Lord Cromwell, to publish another and better edition. This they determined to bring out at Paris, as there the materials were better, and the workmen more skilled. The necessary letters were obtained; and, under the protection of these, they commenced their labour in June, 1538. When two thousand five hundred copies had been worked off, Regnault, their French printer, was summoned before the inquisition, and was there accused of heresy. The Englishmen concerned in the printing fled, leaving behind them all their Bibles, only a few of which were recovered. The Bible, however, was published in London during the April of the following year. It was a large folio volume, and is now known as Cranmer's Bible, because in some copies is to be found a preface which Cranmer composed.

In the Lent of 1538 a publisher, named Nicholson, brought

out a New Testament in English and Latin. The English version was Coverdale's, though it was issued without his consent or knowledge. He requested Grafton to publish an authorised edition, which was done at Paris during the December of the same year, and was dedicated to Lord Cromwell.

Lord Cromwell, in 1538, as the King's vicar-general in religious affairs, issued injunctions to the clergy, ordering them to provide Bibles to be set up in every parish church; and to encourage all to read and hear them, though contention and discussion were to be strictly avoided. The clergy, as might be expected, opposed these commands with all their power and influence, and at length some of the bishops persuaded the King to prohibit the importation of books from abroad, and the publication of books at home, without the consent of the Privy Council. It would appear that this prohibition did not effect the purpose for which it was intended, for in 1539 further restrictions were addressed to all printers and booksellers, who were forbidden to publish any Bibles, without the license of Lord Cromwell, for the next five years.

The following year witnessed Cromwell's fall. His sudden rise had made him numerous and powerful enemies, who despised him for his humble birth, and hated him for his wealth and power. He had, moreover, for some time been regarded with secret displeasure by the King, and in that year was attainted of treason and heresy. The evidence against him, however, was so plainly defective and trivial, that it was only fear and undue influence that made the Parliament consent to the bill. He was not allowed the liberty of a reply, and on the 28th of July he was executed on Tower Hill. Though he had been a by no means consistent Protestant, he had been the chief patron of the Reformers. His death left them exposed to all the fury of the 'Six Articles,' from the operation of which he had in some measure sheltered them.

Another proclamation was issued in 1541, in consequence of the former injunctions not having been obeyed. It had come to the King's knowledge that a great number of churches still contained no Bible. Accordingly it was directed that a Bible should

be speedily obtained for every parish church, within the next six months, under a penalty of forty shillings for every month of delay. The price of the largest Bible was at that time fourteen shillings bound, and ten shillings unbound.*

In a convocation of the province of Canterbury, which met in the beginning of the year 1542, a review of the existing translations of the Scriptures was proposed.

In 1542 an Act was passed, by which it was enacted 'that no women, nor artificers, apprentices, journeymen, serving-men (of the degree of yeomen, or under), husbandmen, nor labourers,' should be allowed the use of the Scriptures. Cranmer was the foremost among those who opposed the passing of this Act, which virtually deprived the nation at large of the Bible.

Thus the Reformed religion had to labour under great disadvantages during the last years of the reign of Henry VIII. The Romanist faction in the Council gained complete ascendancy, for there had been none to oppose since the execution of Cromwell. Brighter days came at length, when the King, more violent and irritable as his days became fewer, went to his grave, and his son Edward mounted the throne. In him the hopes of the Protestants were placed, for he was of a kindly disposition, and showed great capacity. By degrees points of difference were settled; the Bible was restored to the lower classes; and the Reformation was, for the time, completed.

But we must return to Coverdale. When the printing of the Bible had been stopped at Paris, in 1538, he went into Germany, and resided for some time at Tübingen, the University of which town conferred on him the title of Doctor of Divinity. He depended for support on the money he had obtained for translating the Bible, the liberality of his friend Lord Cromwell, and a small income derived from the instruction of young children. Being thoroughly acquainted with the German tongue, he was presented with the benefice of Bergzabern, a town about nine miles south-west of Landau. He remained there till the acces-

* It should be remembered that the value of money was at least four times as great as it is now.

sion of Edward VI. gave the Protestants some share in the Government. While on the Continent he married 'a most sober, chaste, and godly matron,' whose Christian name, Elizabeth, alone is known.

On Coverdale's arrival in England, he was favourably received at Court, and the Dowager Queen Catharine made him her almoner. This lady was greatly attached to the Reformed religion.

On the death of the Queen in 1548, Coverdale came to London. He was soon after engaged in the west of England, where a rather serious rebellion had broken out among the lower classes. The chief grievances complained of were: The new form of worship; the repeal of the Six Articles, which they wished to see again in force; the circulation of the Bible in English; the dissolution of monasteries; and some minor matters relating to gentlemen's servants. Coverdale preached several times in the west, and delivered the thanksgiving sermon after the malcontents had been quieted. He enforced duty and obedience to the Prince. For the services rendered at this time he received a present of £40 from the King.

Coverdale's name is mentioned as being on a Commission that was issued in 1551 to search after and examine anabaptists, heretics, and contemners of the Book of Common Prayer. Whether he took an active part or not in the inquiry is not said, but as it was conducted with cruelty, it is likely that he did not. The two executions that followed this inquiry cast a great blemish on the Reformers; and of them great use was made by the Romanists of the next reign, as justifying the persecutions they set on foot.

In the August of the same year he was nominated to the bishopric of Exeter. This see had been the scene of the western rebellion, and a firm and steady hand was needed to check all disorder, and to bring about a peaceable and effectual settlement. The former bishop, Veyzy, an old man, and opposed to the Reformed doctrine, who seldom resided within his diocese, was persuaded to resign on the pretext of age and infirmity. He had been profligate and extravagant, having diminished the revenue

of the bishopric from £1,566 to £500 per annum. Coverdale, however, was in rather bad circumstances, and such a preferment was very acceptable. He was consecrated to the see at Croydon, by Cranmer, on the 30th of August, 1551.

After some delay in London, Coverdale proceeded to Exeter. Here he began to fulfil his duties with remarkable zeal and activity. His piety, diligence, liberality, and humility were apparent to all his contemporaries; and from one of them, Hoker, a citizen of Exeter, we derive our knowledge of his mode of life at this period. He did not long enjoy his preferment, for when Edward VI. died, and his sister Mary became Queen, the religion of the country changed. All ecclesiastics who were married, and would not put away their wives, or who were opposed to the Papacy, were expelled from their benefices, and many of them imprisoned. Coverdale was forced to leave Exeter, and Veyzy was reinstated.

Though no proceedings were commenced against Coverdale, yet he was accounted an arch-heretic, as the chief circulator of the Bible, and his danger was considerable. A Danish friend of his, Dr. Alpinus, who had married his wife's sister, prevailed upon his Sovereign, Christian, to use his influence with Mary on his behalf. He was accordingly permitted to cross over to Denmark, in February, 1555; and had the influence been less powerful, imprisonment and death would in all probability have been his lot, for the persecutions that have rendered Mary's name hateful began in the same month.

As he had no knowledge of Danish, he refused a benefice which the King kindly offered him, and he went to officiate as pastor to the English refugees at Wezel, on the Rhine. He did not stay there long, for he obtained his former church at Bergzabern, where, in peace and quietness, he zealously discharged his duties as a servant of God.

When he heard that a new edition of the Bible was in course of preparation at Geneva, and that his assistance would greatly encourage the work, he proceeded thither.

The accession of Elizabeth to the throne in 1558 was hailed with joy by all the Protestant refugees on the Continent. All

of them, except a few who remained at Geneva, to superintend the publication of the Bible, returned home; among whom was Coverdale. The Geneva Bible was issued in 1560, with a dedication to Elizabeth, and a preface to the reader. The numerous editions of it that appeared from time to time during the next fifty years testify to its great popularity.

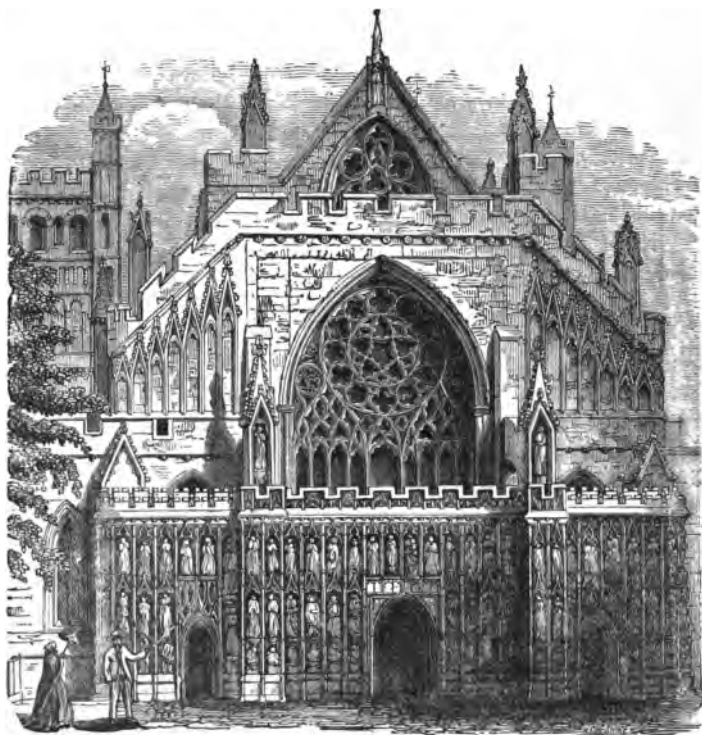
Coverdale was treated as a bishop on his return, notwithstanding his deprivation in the late reign; he officiated at the ordination of the new Archbishop of Canterbury, in December, 1559. Whether he was offered his old bishopric cannot be determined, but it seems probable that he was, and that he refused it, as it was conferred on a William Alley, in 1560. The reason for his refusal—if refusal there were—is uncertain. He had imbibed Calvinistic doctrines at Geneva, which, most likely, would not allow him to conform to the religion then established by Act of Parliament.

He remained for some time without a preferment, till, in March, 1564, Grindal, Bishop of London, collated him to the living of St. Magnus, close by London Bridge. In this year he fell sick of the plague, and notwithstanding his great age, completely recovered. The pastor of the last-mentioned church he remained till he resigned in 1566, probably on account of his increasing infirmity. He continued to preach occasionally till his death in February, 1568, at the advanced age of eighty-one. His remains were laid in St. Bartholomew's Church, behind the Exchange; and his funeral was attended by crowds of people who admired and loved him.

It must not be supposed that the translation of the Scriptures was his only literary work. About fifty other books of his (including new editions) were published during his lifetime. They are all on the religious topics of his day, and many of them evince great labour and learning. Of the Scriptures he himself issued sixteen different editions of the whole or various portions.

Miles Coverdale has ever been esteemed as one of the most noble of the Reformers. His piety was sincere; and his zeal was active and strong, though it never carried him into that

gloomy fanaticism that unfortunately characterised so many of his contemporaries. His times were changeful and difficult, and his situation often dangerous, yet he ever manifested a cheerful and even joyous spirit of religion.



EXETER CATHEDRAL.

JOHN ROGERS.



JOHN ROGERS.

IV.



THE most signal triumph achieved by the truth of God over the errors of men, during twelve hundred years, was the Reformation of the sixteenth century. The mysterious manner in which it was brought about by a wonder-working Providence, the various events which mark its history, and the characters and sufferings of the men who have advocated it, cannot be too frequently reviewed or too deeply written in our hearts. The Reformation was begun by Luther in the year 1517. At this date Henry VIII. swayed the English sceptre; who, at the first, frowned upon the movement, but was afterwards led to favour its claims and its introduction into these realms. The youthful Edward VI. succeeded Henry; and with the assistance of Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, and of some German reformers, he contributed largely to the religious peace and prosperity of his country. Cranmer and Ridley drew up a public confession of the reformed faith, which at first consisted of forty-two articles, and which afterwards were reduced to those thirty-nine that constitute, to this day, the acknowledged confession of the English Episcopal Church. But in the midst of these preparations for renovating the Church of England this amiable King died, and was succeeded by Mary, whose accession to the throne was hailed with joy by the Church of Rome. And now, for a few years, we witness heart-rending scenes of blood and sorrow. In violation of the most sacred promises, she began a dreadful persecution of the Protestants, which was carried on by Bonner, Bishop of London, and Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester. In the four years during which the persecution lasted nearly three hundred persons were burnt to death, and all the prisons in the kingdom were crowded

with pious sufferers, who chose to submit to persecution rather than violate their consciences.

In the galaxy of names worthy of being held in remembrance for a faithful adherence to the doctrines of the Reformation during the Marian persecutions appears that of the high-souled John Rogers. The fact of his having been born in Deritend, Birmingham, about the year 1500, was but little known until comparatively recently by the inhabitants of that town. At the annual meeting of the Birmingham Auxiliary British and Foreign Bible Society, held in the town hall, on Tuesday, October 2nd, 1849, the following resolution was passed unanimously: 'That, while this meeting recognises in every aspect of Providence, and in every sign of the times, a separate and powerful incentive to the increased circulation of that Volume which is the strongest supporter of the social fabric, the opposer of infidelity of every form and grade, and the richest consolation amidst the gloom of national affliction; it would find a new motive to that blessed work in the fact this day communicated, that Birmingham is the birthplace of the proto-martyr Rogers, the companion and coadjutor of Tyndale in the work of translating and publishing the first New Testament in the English language; and that it be referred back to the local committee to consider whether any and what memorial, consistent with the plans of the British and Foreign Bible Society, may be devised to the memory of John Rogers.' The report of that year of that valued society contains the following reference to the subject of this paper: 'The committee may, with propriety, mention a fact known to few, but placed by a living author beyond all reasonable doubt, that Birmingham, at least that part of it called Deritend, was the birthplace of John Rogers, the convert and the companion of the immortal Tyndale, and his coadjutor, also, in his translation of the Scriptures, and in his first publication of the New Testament in the English tongue; and afterwards the proto-martyr in the bloody reign of Queen Mary.' The living author referred to is Mr. Christopher Anderson, author of *The Annals of the English Bible*. He remarks, in his work, as quoted in the report: 'If we have been successful, therefore, in fixing the

locality of his earliest years, the Christian community in Birmingham may now, perhaps, take a warmer interest in the memory of John Rogers. To that community at large any memorial may be safely left.'

The early life of Rogers is somewhat shrouded in obscurity. No record has been left behind to acquaint us of his doings until the year 1525. In that year he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts at the University of Cambridge, where he had been educated. An interesting volume appeared a short time since, purporting to be the life of this holy martyr, by Joseph Lemuel Chester, in which the writer observes: 'There is nowhere to be discovered the slightest record whether or not he distinguished himself as a scholar, and the fact can only be presumed from the circumstances of his subsequent career.' Foxe says merely 'that he profitably travailed in good learning'; or, in his Latin edition, 'that he resided long at Cambridge, attentively and diligently engaged in the honourable pursuit of learning.' In the same year as the one in which he took his degree, on account of his learning and great knowledge he was chosen to Cardinal's College, now called Christ College, at Oxford, of which he was made a junior canon; and there is good reason for believing that, before he went to Antwerp, he officiated for nearly two years as Rector of the Church of Holy Trinity, or Trinity the Less, in the City of London; and was then appointed by the Society of Merchant Adventurers to be their chaplain at Antwerp.

In the course of his residence at Antwerp an important change took place in his religious views, by which he passed from the strictest sect of Roman Catholicism into a faithful champion of the cause of Protestant truth. The instruments of the conversion of his soul were the celebrated translators, William Tyndale and Miles Coverdale, both voluntary exiles from their country for their aversion to Popish superstition and idolatry. He finds them both occupied in translating the Holy Scriptures into the English language. Their conversations with him induce a close examination of the grounds of his own creed, and he

carefully compares his own tenets with the teachings of that blessed Word; nor did the accompanying Spirit fail to work on his heart. Discovering the gross and anti-scriptural errors contained in the peculiarities of the papistical faith, and their tendency to superstition, idolatry, and many other evils, he at once resolves to throw off the yoke of Popish servitude, and avows the persecuted Protestants to be the objects of his preference and affection. He unites with Tyndale and Coverdale in that translation of the Bible into English entitled, *The Translation of Thomas Mattheue*; and, as a man of learning and ability, they find in Rogers a desirable helper in their glorious work.

While these godly men were engaged in translating the Word of God, the enemies of that Word were equally industrious in attempting its suppression. Though the Italian version of the Scriptures appeared in print as early as the year 1471, the Flemish in 1475, the Spanish in 1478, and the Bohemian in 1488, the first printed English Bible was much later; indeed, the New Testament was not published till 1525. Severe measures were used to prevent its introduction into England, so that any person who imported or sold it in this country was condemned to ride backwards on a horse through the streets of London, with the Testament belted to his waist, and the books were then burned.

The people of God, in the darkest times, have been sustained by the assurance that the cause of truth should ultimately triumph. Great leaders, pillars of the Church, have been racked and burned; and yet they never thought that the work in which they had been engaged would perish with their death; nor did their fellow-sufferers who survived them indulge the suspicion that the cause would sink with them. We have no record of the feelings of Rogers when his friend and coadjutor Tyndale fell in defence of the truth; but we find that he prosecuted with indomitable energy the work of Bible translation. Tyndale had not completed his version of the Old Testament in English, although portions of it had been printed, and the New Testament, as already mentioned, had appeared in 1525. The manuscripts of Tyndale passed into the hands of the subject of this sketch;

and the unfinished sheets were revised and completed with such promptness, that in July, 1537, the entire Scriptures were published.

Archbishop Cranmer, in a letter to Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, dated August 4th in the year above-mentioned, remarks, that 'he sends him a copy of the Holy Scriptures for his perusal,' and 'declares that he regards this translation to be superior to any former one, and does not think that the Bishops can produce a better one till a day after doomsday.' It has been stated that Thomas Cromwell, in compliance with the request of Archbishop Cranmer, obtained the royal assent. The Bible was then issued under royal sanction, and thus a basis was laid for every succeeding effort to disseminate the Holy Scriptures in our own mother tongue. Touching this point, his biographer justly remarks that: 'However translations may have since multiplied, and whatever amount of labour and wisdom may have been expended upon subsequent revisions, *that Bible*—the Bible which John Rogers prepared, and whose publication he superintended—is still the basis of the version now in our churches and our dwellings, and will continue to be (please God!) until the book itself has finally accomplished its mission.' This edition by Rogers was entitled, *The Bible, which is all the Holy Scripture; in which are contained the Old and New Testaments, truly and purely translated into English, by Thomas Matthew.* This name, it seems, was fictitious; probably no such person as Thomas Matthew ever existed. It was, probably, preferred to that of Tyndale, because he had been put to death, a few years previous, for what was then called heresy. An exhortation has been written at the beginning of this Bible to the study of the Holy Scripture, to which the initial letters J. R. are affixed. The editing of the Bible known, therefore, as the 'Matthew Bible' should be attributed to John Rogers; and he thus became entitled to take a foremost position among the men who have successfully laboured for the wide and permanent diffusion of the truth of God. Henry VIII., not only gave the royal sanction, but addressed injunctions to the clergy, commanding them to provide copies to be set up in the churches, where, says he, 'the parishioners may most conveniently resort

to the same to read it.' The ardour with which men flocked to read it was almost incredible. They who could procure it; and they who could not crowded to read it, or to hear it read in churches, where it was common to see small gatherings of the sons of toil meeting together for that purpose after the labours of the day. The people derived great assistance in reading Rogers' edition from the notes which he had furnished, and which were so numerous that his biographer feels justified in saying that 'Rogers prepared the first general English commentary.' He also supplied a copious index, or table, of the principal matters contained in the Bible; of which Mr. Chester observes: 'It combines, as far as it extends, the characters of a dictionary, a concordance, and a commentary.' Other matters were also introduced in order to make the volume as useful as possible to the masses, who hitherto had seemed doomed to perpetual ignorance.

As an hero, who fought the battle of God's truth, John Rogers has left the impress of his vigorous character on the times which have followed him, and the imperishable results of his biblical labours will be felt through all succeeding generations. Previous to the age in which his energy found a fitting sphere of action, 'no attention was paid in this land to purity of life or to conscience. The priests were never or seldom possessed of a Bible. Popes and bishops revelled in splendour and wickedness, and the people were wrapped in 'the deepest ignorance and superstition.' John Rogers and his coadjutors sought to open up a source of religious knowledge to their fellow countrymen, and resolved that they should have the privilege of reading the pure Word of God in their own language. Englishmen know what it is that rescued their country from 'superstition and barbarism,'—the giving us an open Bible and a free Gospel. From the date of these blessings, spiritual light has increased, public morality has improved, and our national order and peace have been established; while God has been found to be 'a wall of fire round about us,' and a 'glory in our midst.'

During his residence in Antwerp, Rogers, having learnt from the Scriptures that unlawful vows may be lawfully broken,

married. From Antwerp he removed to Wittenberg, in Saxony, for improvement in learning; and he there learned the German language, and received the charge of a congregation, to which he faithfully preached for many years.

In England a change took place which caused Rogers to sever his connection with the German congregation. When Edward VI. ascended the throne, persecution at once ceased. Bishop Ridley invited Rogers home, and gave him a prebend in St. Paul's Cathedral, and the dean and chapter appointed him reader of the divinity lesson there. Edward VI. began to reign on January 28th, 1547; and on August 1st in the same year we find Rogers in London. His preface to Melancthon's work on the *Weighing of the Interim* was dated on the day mentioned. It is likely that he translated this work as a grateful tribute of respect to its author, with whom he had been associated in the course of his labours in Saxony. He laboured with great diligence and efficiency during the reign of the pious Edward; nor did he fail to raise his fearless voice against every attempt to corrupt the truth, which tended to provoke, in several instances, the displeasure of those who sustained offices of trust and influence.

When Mary was proclaimed Queen, true religion was frowned upon, and the antichrist of Rome, with its superstition and idolatry, again introduced. Mr. Rogers preached at St. Paul's Cross after Queen Mary arrived at the Tower. It was not his turn to preach, for he had officiated there only three weeks before, and it was customary for the principal clergy to preach there in rotation. The occasion was an important one, and deserves to be closely considered. Here, it may be safely affirmed, shone forth, for the first time, with distinctness and beauty, the true character of the man. The occasion also marks the end of the career of the Christian minister, and the beginning of that of the noble martyr. The Council was already overmatched with 'Popish bishops'; and there can be little doubt that, with their undisguised hatred of him, they had commanded this sermon, with the full hope of entrapping him, or, at least, of compelling him to define his future position. The moment was

a trying one. Mr. Chester, his biographer, remarks that 'there never was any position in the whole history of the Reformation, all things considered, where the responsibilities thrown upon a single man were greater, and the results more important, or where they were more nobly sustained.' Rogers showed himself equal to the emergency. He gave no evidence that the frowns of opposition were in any way subduing or moulding the message which he bore from God. If he had sought to temporise with the then ruling powers, or if he had in any way failed to sustain the responsibilities of the position into which he had been driven by command of the Council, a crushing blow would have been inflicted upon the cause of Protestant truth; his example would have checked the zealous efforts of others who were helping forward the work of Reformation in the land. But there was no shrinking from opposition, nor fear of offending, either by his manner, or style of discourse. Though he knew that every word which fell from his lips was only adding to the terrors of his approaching doom, and filling the hearts of his enemies with persecuting rage, still he withheld nothing. He evidently felt himself bound by the highest authority to 'declare all the counsel of God.' Foxe says that upon this occasion he delivered 'a most godly and vehement sermon, avowing and confirming such true doctrine as he and others had taught in King Edward's days, exhorting the people constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all pestilent Popery, idolatry, and superstition.'

For this sermon he was called to account; but so ingeniously defended himself, that, for that time, he was dismissed unharmed. Ten days afterwards, he was again summoned before the Council, and commanded to remain a prisoner in his own house, and to speak to none but members of his own family. The Council's own words are as follows: 'John Rogers, *alias* Mattheve, a seditious preacher, ordered by the Lords of the Council to keep himself as prisoner in his house at Paul's, without conference of any person other than such as are daily with him in (his) household, until such time as he hath contrary commandment.' This injunction he strictly obeyed, and for nearly six months he thus remained in seclusion. It is quite clear that he might have

escaped, with his wife and family, to his old charge in Saxony, if he had felt disposed to do so. Every motive to preserve his life that humanity could dictate operated upon him with full force. There was nothing in his domestic condition to quench the natural love of life. He was a happy husband and father, and he could not but see that death, in his present condition, would inevitably cast his family upon the charity of the world. But all these things were insufficient to induce him to depart. He remained a 'prisoner in his own house,' while the temptations and difficulties which he was called to endure tended only to deepen the principles of his moral character, and burnish into greater splendour the graces of his renovated mind. It is thought that the late Dr. Mant, Bishop of Down and Connor, had reference to his firmness at this juncture when he composed the following lines :

' If life preserved for wife and children's sake,—
 If bliss which none but husbands, fathers feel,—
 If worldly woe escaped, and worldly weal
 Enjoyed ; lands, houses, goods, with all to take
 Captive the waverer,—had had power to shake
 Thy firm resolve, and quench thy fervent zeal,—
 ROGERS, the Church had lost her earliest seal,
 Stamped in thy heart's blood on the burning stake.
 But nobler thought was thine, and loftier scope,
 The tempter's vile allurements to withstand
 Victorious : thine the Christian's deathless hope,
 The Christian's faith : and thus thy native land
 Salutes in thee her harvest's firstling crop—
 In thee the STEPHEN of her martyred band.'

After the imprisonment in his own house, the restless Bonner, Bishop of London, caused him to be committed to Newgate ; where he remained for more than a year, together with murderers and thieves, until his appearance before the commissioners, on the 22nd of January, 1555. He also underwent a second examination, on the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth of the same month. The particulars of his first examination are most interesting, and tend to show that he was both a clever disputant and a man of

high moral courage. He confounded the judges with the force of his answers, while his courage is seen to be that of a calm, deliberate surrender of himself to persecution, and even death. Having strictly adhered to his Protestant principles, he was, in consequence, ordered to return to his cell. There he calmly awaited more decisive and violent proceedings. Having obtained pen and ink, he wrote out the particulars of his examination. 'The paper containing the account of this day's proceedings,' remarks Mr. Chester, 'was not finished until the night of the next Sunday; as he affixed to it the date of "the 27th of January, at night."'

On the following Monday morning Rogers was again brought up for trial. It appears that no time was lost in forcing judicial proceedings against heretics, as Cardinal Pole, the special representative of the Pope, had only issued his commission, which was addressed to Gardiner and a number of other bishops, on this very day. 'The tribunal thus constituted,' says his biographer, 'assembled the same day at the church of St. Mary Overy, and early enough to admit of the examination of three of the accused parties; namely, Rogers, Hooper, and Cardmaker. Gardiner presided, and many other notables were present.' In the course of this trial the courage of Rogers never once forsook him. There was no shrinking on his part from the utterance of unwelcome truth; nor did he stoop to flatter the fatal prejudices of Gardiner himself. He stands out as the one foremost for heroic demeanour amongst the 'noble army of martyrs' who fell in defence of the truth during the reign of this sanguinary Queen. At the close of the examination, Gardiner said he would extend to him the 'charity of the Church';—a charity which Rogers characterised as similar to that of foxes and wolves towards chickens and lambs;—and gave him until the next day to return to her catholic bosom, and receive her mercy. Bishop Hooper (who was condemned the same day) and he were taken from the Chancellor's presence to the Clink, in Southwark; and thence, after dark, each in the custody of a sheriff, led through Southwark and the city into Newgate. It is thought that at this point the brief but expressive colloquy between these champions of the truth occurred,

which has since been so often related. The interview, as given by his biographer, is to the following effect: 'Hooper, having passed first into the street (each being in the custody of particular officials), tarried a moment for his companion in suffering; and, when Rogers made his appearance, he said to him, "Come, Brother Rogers, must we two take this matter first in hand, and begin to fry these faggots?" "Yes, Sir," replied Rogers, "by God's grace." "Doubt not," returned Hooper, "but God will give us strength!"' Note the words of John Rogers,—'*By God's grace!*' He stood fast in the faith by the grace of God. It was grace that invigorated him in duty; it gave him ability to suffer according to the will of God, and enabled him to receive death with great constancy in defence of the Gospel of Christ.

About nine o'clock on the morning of the next day, Tuesday, the 29th of January, Rogers and Hooper were again brought to the church. They there appear to have been separated, and Hooper was first arraigned and condemned. Rogers was then dealt with. He was at once asked whether he meant to recant and receive mercy; but he objected to make a reply to this till he had discussed the points against him. He was proceeding to make a few remarks, when Gardiner called out to him to 'sit down'; and denounced him as 'a prater,' and heaped taunts upon him. The sentence of excommunication was read without delay, which handed him over to the secular authorities. 'As a doomed man,' said he, 'I have but one favour to ask.' 'What is that?' inquired the Lord Chancellor, hurriedly. 'That my poor wife, being a stranger, may come and speak with me as long as I live; for she hath ten children that are hers and mine; and somewhat I would counsel her what it were best for her to do.' But even this poor boon was refused by the heartless, cruel bishop. After being remanded to prison, he wrote a most eloquent letter, vindicating the truth, and exposing the wickedness of his persecutors.

On the 4th of February, early in the morning, he was aroused out of a sound sleep, and called upon to prepare for the fire. 'Then,' said he, 'if it be so, I need not tie my points'; and so was taken to Bonner to be degraded. That ceremony being finished, he asked of Bonner what Gardiner had refused,—

permission to speak with his wife. It was again denied, and the sheriffs hurried him away to Smithfield. On the way he sang a psalm, and the people were astonished at his constancy and firmness, and 'glorified God in him.' His wife and ten children, one an infant at the breast, met him on his way. It was a touching spectacle. A pardon awaited him at the stake, on condition that he would revoke; but his regard for the cause of truth led him to carry his zeal beyond the love of those to whom he was so nearly tied, and even of life itself. Unconquered by the pleadings of affection, or the promptings of nature, he cheerfully gave his body to the consuming fire; and, while he was burning, bathed his hands in the flame, in token of the joyful readiness with which he met his death in defence of the truth.

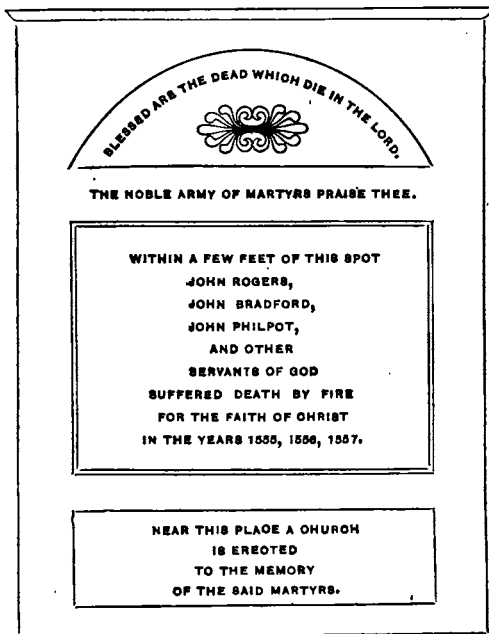
The firmness of this illustrious martyr is thus noticed by Ridley, in one of his communications to Bradford: 'I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Christ, that since I heard of our dear Brother Rogers' departing, and stout confession of Christ and His truth even unto the death, my heart, blessed be God! so rejoiced of it, that, since that time, I say, I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as I grant I have felt sometimes before.' 'This frank avowal of the renovating effect of Rogers' example,' observes Mr. Chester, 'affords the best evidence that we can have of the importance attached to it by his fellow-sufferers, and proves that the eminence, which is now assigned him, is one to which he was justly entitled. He did not accidentally, or by compulsion, meet his destiny, but embraced it voluntarily when he might have escaped it; and did so, not in a spirit of self-righteousness or reckless bravado, but impelled by an honest consciousness that he was obeying the will of his Almighty Father.'

Thus perished the Marian proto-martyr, whose only crime it was to prefer the pure doctrines of the Reformation, as laid down in the Bible, to the pernicious fooleries and errors of the Romish creed. But the day of retribution draws near. The triple crown of the 'man of sin' is even now being trampled in the dust; the 'eternal city' trembles to its foundations; while the prospect, darkening around her, betokens her utter destruction, and gives



SUPPOSED SITE OF ROGERS' MARTYRDOM, SMITHFIELD.

a cheering indication of the ultimate triumph of the uncorrupted Gospel of Christ. Babylon must fall, 'for the Lord hath spoken it.' 'I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her, My people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues. For her sins have reached unto heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities. . . . Double unto her double according to her works. . . . How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her. . . . Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.' (Revelation xviii. 4—8.)



INSCRIPTION ON THE TABLET IN SMITHFIELD,
 See also Frontispiece.

JOHN KNOX.



KNOX'S HOUSE, EDINBURGH.



V.

JOHAN KNOX was born at Gifford Gate, a suburb of Haddington, in the year 1505. His parents, though not opulent, were in such circumstances as to be able to give him the best educational advantages then to be obtained in Scotland. When he had been taught Latin in the Haddington Grammar School, he was sent to the Glasgow University.

John Mair was professor of philosophy and theology. He had been employed in the University of Paris, where his mind was imbued with principles antagonistic to the supreme authority of the Pope. He held that General Councils were above the Pope, and had power to rebuke and even depose him; and boldly inveighed against the pomp and haughtiness of the Roman hierarchy. But notwithstanding the breadth and free-

dom of his thoughts on ecclesiastical polity, his prelections were dry and inanimate as the sands in the hour-glass on his desk, and it was only occasionally that the most attentive of his students obtained a thought worth recording in their note-books. The mind of Knox was too vivacious and independent to be held in captivity by an elaboration of logical frivolities, and sought nutriment in the sacred literature stored in the college library. His intellectual progress was so manifest that he was made Master of Arts and appointed regent to one of the University classes, which he taught with signal efficiency and success. He was also in favour with the cathedral Chapter, and on account of his unusual abilities and acquirements was advanced to the priesthood before he had reached the years required by the canon. As he went on with his studies he was unconsciously preparing himself for the adoption of Protestant principles, and for that conflict with falsehood and superstition to which he carried weapons keener and more terrible than the great sword of Wallace.

No longer content with extracts from the fathers, he began to read their ponderous tomes, and found in Jerome and Augustine a luminous sweep of godly wisdom, which filled his soul with joy and wonder. Jerome inspired him with love for the Scriptures, and kindled in his heart a worthy ambition to become familiar with the thoughts of God as they are presented in the mystic Hebrew and golden Greek. Augustine gave him a theology which, though limiting Divine love by the doctrine of predestination, was a perfect orb of resplendent light, compared with the foul distortions of Christian truth shown in Romish pulpits.

Though Knox was one of the stoutest, he was not one of the first of those who, in Scotland, avowed the faith that had given a new aspect to the religious life of Germany and Switzerland. Patrick Hamilton, and others of lesser name, but not less brightly recorded in the Divine 'Acts and Monuments' of Christ's faithful martyrs, had borne with sublime constancy the insolence of the Popish tribunal, the gloomy horrors of the dungeon, and the fiery agony of the stake, when Knox threw off and began to read

the Babylonish scarlet in which from childhood he had been swathed. He had removed from Glasgow to St. Andrew's, where he was employed in teaching. His subject was philosophy, but he diverged from the old path of argument to strike at the corruptions of the Church. This bold proceeding drew upon him the enmity of Cardinal Beatoun, to whose guilty soul even the shadow of Protestantism was terrible as the spectre with the gory locks to Macbeth; and who would have strewn all the streets in St. Andrew's with the ashes of martyrs rather than have allowed a voice to be raised against the abuses on which his power was founded. Knox knew what would be his doom if he remained in St. Andrew's; so demitting his academical charge, he retired to the south of Scotland, where he professed himself a Protestant. The Cardinal and his friends, on hearing of his defection from Popery, declared him a heretic, and commissioned hired assassins to take his life. He obtained the protection of Douglas of Langniddrie, and became tutor to his sons, and also to the sons of another gentleman who had embraced the Reformed doctrines. In giving religious instruction to his pupils, he made use of a small chapel, to which other families had access, and at times, in addition to the ordinary catechetical exercises, he read a chapter in the Bible, and endeavoured to explain its meaning. The chapel in which he began his long course of Protestant teaching, though in ruins, is still known as John Knox's Kirk.

While Knox was in Langniddrie, the proud Cardinal was slain by a band of conspirators, who kept possession of the castle in which he had been living in princely state. The death of Cardinal Beatoun was an act of personal vengeance, and was only indirectly connected with the development of the Reformation; but the castle became the resort of numbers who, in different parts of the country, were suffering on account of their religious opinions. Douglas and the Laird of Ormiston induced Knox to accompany them to St. Andrew's, where he still went on with the education of his pupils. The people in the castle were so pleased with his method of imparting Scriptural knowledge, that they urged him to preach, and to become the colleague

of John Rough, whom they had elected as their Minister. He resisted their proposals, alleging that he had not the qualifications for such a work; but they were satisfied that there were in him all the elements of pulpit power, and arranged to give him a public call to the Ministerial Office.

One day, according to pre-appointment, Rough preached a sermon on the election of Ministers, and at the close of it, thus addressed Knox: 'Brother, you shall not be offended although I speak unto you that which I have in charge, even from all those that are here present, which is this: In the name of God, and of His Son Jesus Christ, and in the name of all that presently call you by my mouth, I charge you that you refuse not this holy vocation; but as you tender the glory of God, the increase of Christ's kingdom, the edification of your brethren, and the comfort of me, whom you understand well enough to be oppressed by the multitude of labours, that you take the public office and charge of preaching, even as you look to avoid God's heavy displeasure, and desire that He shall multiply His graces unto you.' The preacher then appealed to the congregation, 'Was not this your charge unto me? and do ye not approve this vocation?' The unanimous reply swelled out, 'It was, and we approve it.'

Knox would not have been more startled if the voice of his martyred friend, George Wishart, had summoned him to the pulpit. He attempted to speak, but burst into tears, and rushing from the assembly, shut himself in his chamber. The man who, to use the fine saying of Grattan, 'came to interrupt the repose of the pulpit, and to shake one world with the thunder of the other,' was overwhelmed by the awful grandeur of the task to which he had been called, and for days was in such trouble that his friends could scarcely get a word from his lips. But he was not the man to shrink from duty because it was painful, and he soon had an opportunity of making known the truth more publicly than he could have done within the walls of the castle. Having engaged in a controversy with a priest, in which he wielded the Protestant arguments with great moral power and literary skill, the people of the town insisted on hearing him more fully in the parish church. He read part of one of

Daniel's visions as his text, and after a concise explanation of the hieroglyphic beasts, showed that the king wearing out 'the saints of the Most High,' and thinking to 'change times and laws,' was the Popery described in the New Testament as the Man of Sin and the later Babylon. The sermon indicated a bold stride in the path of Reformation, for hitherto the Protestants of Scotland, while giving prominence to pure doctrine in opposition to Romish dogma, had not ventured to denounce the whole system as false and corrupt. Knox was convinced that the pulpit was his right place, and continued to preach in an energetic, popular manner, winning many of the citizens from the seductions of Popery to the simplicity of the faith. He also assisted in the Lord's Supper the first time the service was conducted in Scotland according to the method of the Reformed Churches.

Knox was not allowed to stay long in St. Andrew's, for a French fleet appeared before the castle, its defenders were compelled to capitulate, and were taken as prisoners to France. Knox and some others were detained in a galley on the Loire. Mass was frequently said in their presence, and they were threatened with torture if they did not give the usual signs of reverence; but they would not even uncover their heads while the priests were employed in what they regarded as an act of idolatry. One day a painted image of the Virgin was carried to the galley, and Knox was desired to salute it with the kiss of homage. He would not do so, and one of the officers tried to compel him by pushing it to his mouth. Not disposed to yield, he took it in his hands, called it a painted board, and then throwing it into the river, said, with grim mirthfulness, 'Let our Lady now save herself; she is light enough, let her learn to swim.'

In 1548, the galley on which Knox was confined was on the coast between Dundee and St. Andrew's. A fellow-prisoner pointing to the towers and spires rising above St. Andrew's Bay, asked Knox, who was at that time sickly and emaciated, if he knew the place. The question caused his heart to throb with the brave feeling of previous days, and he replied, 'Yes, I know it well; for I see the steeple of that place where God first opened

my mouth in public to His glory; and I am fully persuaded, how weak soever I now appear, that I shall not depart this life till that my tongue shall glorify His godly name in the same place.'

After a captivity of nineteen months, Knox was set at liberty, and immediately came to England. Cranmer, no longer under the restraining hand of Henry VIII., was applying to the English Church his own plan of Reformation, and Knox, whose abilities and evangelical spirit had commended him to the Council, was sent from London to preach in Berwick. His ministrations in the old Border town above the sea were effectual in leading many to the truth, and a pleasing change was observed in the soldiers of the garrison, who had been notorious for their profligacy. From Berwick he was removed to Newcastle, as a more important sphere of labour, and was further honoured by being appointed one of six chaplains to the young King Edward, with a salary of forty pounds a year. While prosecuting his ministry in Newcastle, he was summoned to London to assist in the revisal of the Book of Common Prayer.

In 1553 Knox was offered the living of All-Hallows, in London, but declined it, as not being free to accept the status of a clergyman in a Church which yet retained some of the usages of Popery. His refusal of All-Hallows was a disappointment to his English friends, but they hoped to bind him to their Church, and King Edward, with the concurrence of his Council, wished to present him to a bishopric. Had he been less determined in his principles, his objections to office in the English Church would have been dashed aside by the episcopal crosier, and he would have allowed himself to have been blinded to relics and vestiges of Popery by the splendour of a prelatical enthronement. Having sketched an ideal of a Church widely different, in some respects, from that of Cranmer and his venerable associates, the promise of a mitre had no more influence on him than a solitary snowflake has on the ridges of Ben Ledi. Episcopacy was, in his view, a departure from the New Testament rule of ecclesiastical order, and even the great chair of Canterbury would not have allured him from his chosen path.

Edward died; and Mary, who stands in history with the ashes of famous martyrs on her brow, came to the throne. She did not at first manifest her persecuting spirit, and the Protestant Ministers, though with less freedom than before, continued their work. Knox itinerated in Buckinghamshire and Kent, and was listened to by multitudes of the people, who, as if apprehensive that the light would soon be eclipsed, were anxious to avail themselves of it to the last moment. He married a lady in the north of England soon after the accession of Mary, and when he had ended his labours in the south, lived quietly with her in Newcastle. But Mary and her advisers, having determined to crush Protestantism, were eager to add him to their victims, and his brethren, seeing his danger, urged him to leave the country. He yielded to their solicitations, and going on board a vessel bound for France, was landed at Dieppe.

Knox went from Dieppe to Geneva, where he was affectionately received by Calvin. The two Reformers were nearly of the same age, and coincided in their theological and ecclesiastical predilections, but they differed widely in gifts and temperament. Calvin had the larger intellect; Knox the warmer heart. Calvin was greatest in the study; Knox in the stirring scenes of public life. Calvin, though polished in speech and saintly in demeanour, was so little under the influence of humane and generous feeling as to be able to connive at if not to abet the burning of Servetus; Knox, notwithstanding the savageness of his words when he assailed the enemies of the truth, never resorted to persecution, and had a nature so tender that the chastisement of his own children gave him excessive pain. Calvin resembled a glacier, reflecting a cold light and grinding away all the beauty of the valley down which it travels in its slow but terrible strength; Knox resembled a river, impetuous in its sweep, yet rippling gently against the lilies by its brink, giving luxuriance to the lands through which it rolls, and brightening at sunset into a long track of golden splendour.

Knox was prosecuting his studies in Geneva when a deputation from the congregation of English refugees in Frankfort requested him to become one of their Ministers. He at first

declined, but the deputies having prevailed with Calvin to sustain their application, he waived his objections and went to Frankfort. Contentions arose as to whether the English or Genevan order of worship should be adopted. The issue was at first favourable to Knox; but being unjustly charged with treason, he returned to Geneva, and remained there until August, 1555, when he left for Dieppe, and embarking at that port, landed near the boundaries of England and Scotland.

Having visited his wife at Berwick, he set out on a secret visit to the few Protestants who were at that time in Edinburgh, intending only a short absence from Berwick. But Erskine of Dun, and Maitland of Lethington, brought so many of their acquaintances to hear him that he had a succession of congregations, and was employed in preaching almost day and night. Erskine took him to his house in Angus, in which the principal people of the neighbourhood assembled to listen to his invectives against Popery, and his stirring exhortations to forsake its polluted altars, and avow the doctrines of the Gospel as the only assurance of salvation. Coming back to the south of the Forth, he was lodged at Calder House, the seat of Sir James Sandilands, a venerable man, around whose white locks was a halo of righteousness. Three young noblemen, afterwards prominent in the religious and political movements of their country, attended the Reformer's ministry in Calder House, and were powerfully influenced by his sermons. The first of these was Lord Lorne, whose memory is still one of the glories of the house of Argyle; the second was Lord Erskine, who died Earl of Mar and Regent of Scotland; and the third was James Stuart, honoured in history as The Good Regent Murray. They were confirmed in their attachment to Protestantism by Knox's masterly exposition of its principles, and his hopes of a Reformed Church in Scotland must have risen higher as those youths came forward to devote themselves, with generous and chivalrous feeling, to the cause of truth. While thus employed in Scotland, he was informed that the members of the English congregation in Geneva had chosen him as one of their Pastors. He accepted the call; and may have been moved to do so partly by the conviction that the time

had not yet come for a general overthrow of Romanism in Scotland, and partly by the machinations of the priests against his life. They had already tried to get him into their power, and when they knew that he had left the country, passed sentence on him as a heretic, dooming his body to the flames and his soul to perdition. He laboured happily for two years in Geneva, but his heart was in Scotland, and his pen was frequently employed in exhortations to his countrymen.

The Protestant lords having obtained what they thought a promise of toleration from the Queen-Regent, Mary of Guise, invited Knox to come to their help. He landed at Leith, in May, 1559, and a few days after his arrival was proclaimed an outlaw and a rebel, in virtue of the sentence passed on him when on his way to Geneva. But though liable to arrest and to the death of a heretic, he did not hesitate in the prosecution of his work. He went to Dundee, where he met the principal Protestants of Angus and Mearns, who had assembled to accompany their Preachers to Stirling, where they were cited to trial by the Regent, whose concessions had been speedily withdrawn, and followed by severe measures against the Reformers.

When the Protestants united in the association known as The Congregation, and resolved not only to defend themselves from the attacks of the Regent, but also to abolish the Popish worship in those towns in which a majority of the inhabitants were favourable to the Reformation, St. Andrew's was selected as the town in which to begin the work. Knox having arranged with Argyle and Murray to meet them there, announced on his arrival that he should preach in the cathedral. The Archbishop, having assembled an armed force, threatened him with immediate death if he appeared in the pulpit. As the noblemen had but a few followers, they thought it would be better for Knox to remain quiet, but he was intent on carrying out the original plan. 'As for the fear of danger that may come to me,' he said, 'let no man be solicitous; for my life is in the custody of Him Whose glory I seek. I desire the hand nor weapon of no man to defend me. I on'y crave audience; which, if it be denied here unto me at this time, I must seek where I may have

it.' His friends on hearing this could offer no further objections, and he preached without molestation for four successive days. Such was the effectiveness of his sermons, that the provost, bailies, and burgesses agreed to adopt the Reformed worship.

Mary Stuart, the widow of the French King, landed in Scotland in August, 1561. Her personal beauty and graceful manners, in connection with her early widowhood, her difficult position in Scotland, her long imprisonment in England, and the calm majesty she evinced when she 'bowed her comely head' on the block, have induced numbers to condone her faults, and to throw hard words against the memory of those who, for religious and patriotic reasons, opposed her designs. Knox especially has been censured for his harshness to the young Queen; but it is difficult to see how he could have acted in any other way, unless he had been willing to sacrifice the Reformation to her bigoted Romanism. It was stipulated before she left France that she was to enjoy the private exercise of her religion, but she had the Chapel at Holyrood prepared for the public celebration of mass the first Sabbath after her arrival. This showed the Reformers what they might expect if they were not watchful, and Knox sounded the alarm by saying from his pulpit, that one mass was more terrible to him than a thousand enemies avowedly armed for the destruction of religion. It was not long before he was called to an interview with her, in which he told her very plainly what he thought of the Church to which she adhered, yet left her with the kindly remark, 'I pray God, Madam, that you may be as blessed within the Commonwealth of Scotland, as ever Deborah was in the Commonwealth of Israel.' In the second interview the high spirit of Knox, and the artifice of Mary, were more fully brought out. The Duke of Guise and the Cardinal of Lorraine having attacked and cruelly slaughtered a number of French Protestants who were peacefully assembled for worship, Mary, as if studiously bent on insulting and grieving her own Protestant subjects, celebrated the event by giving a splendid ball in Holyrood. On the following Sabbath, Knox boldly condemned the

untimely revels of the palace, and denounced dancing at the misfortunes of God's people as a sin that would bring judgment on those who had taken part in it. An exaggerated report of the sermon was carried to Mary, and Knox was summoned to appear before her. He vindicated himself from the charge of treasonable speech by repeating the substance of his sermon. She admitted that she had been misinformed as to his words, but wished him to refrain from public censures of her conduct, and to address his admonitions to her in private. Had the circumstances of the time been different, this would have been the proper course; but Knox knew that the Queen only wished to bind him to silence in the pulpit, that she might be able to practise her Popish acts with less fear of popular opposition. In reply to her proposal, he told her that if she wished to hear the doctrines he taught he would wait on her at her pleasure, but that neither his conscience nor his office would allow him to hang about the Court simply to whisper in her ear what people were thinking or saying as to her proceedings. She was angry with him, but leaving the room with 'a reasonable merry countenance,' he heard one of the Popish servants say, 'He is not afraid.' 'Why,' he asked, 'should the pleasing face of a gentilwoman affray me?' and added, 'I have luiked in the faces of mony angry men, and yit have not bene affrayed above measour.'

There were other conferences between Knox and the Queen, in one of which she thus angrily questioned him, 'What have you to do with my marriage? or what are you in this Commonwealth?' 'A subject born within the same, Madam,' was his reply; 'and albeit I be neither earl, lord, nor baron in it, yet has God made me (how abject that ever I be in your eyes), a profitable member within the same. Yea, Madam, to me, it appertains no less to forewarn of such things as may hurt it, if I foresee them, than it doth to any of the nobility; for both my vocation and conscience require plainness of speech.'

In 1564, Knox, having been a widower three years, married Margaret Stewart, the daughter of Lord Ochiltree, a nobleman who had long been distinguished by his amiable virtues and his



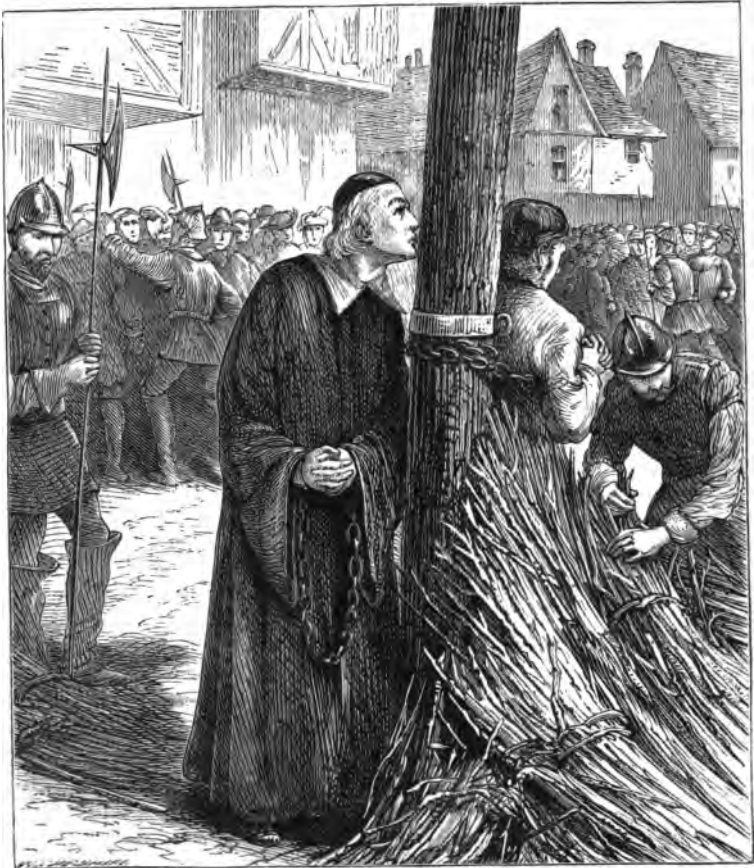
JOHN KNOX REPROVING MARY QUEEN OF SCOTS.

fidelity to Protestantism. As the Reformer's second wife was young and beautiful, and could even have boasted, if she had cared to do so, of royal blood, the Popish party alleged that he had gained her affections by sorcery, and that he was ambitious to seat his progeny on the throne of Scotland. But though there was disparity in the years and position of the parties, there was nothing but what was honourable in their relationship. Margaret Stewart gracefully adapted herself to the simplicities of a Minister's household, and tended her husband with affectionate assiduity to the day of his death. After the murder of Rizzio, Mary retired to Dunbar, and collecting an army, set out for Edinburgh, determined to revenge herself on all who had been in any way implicated in the death of the Italian musician. There is nothing to show that Knox had favoured the cruel stroke of Ruthven's dagger; but as for other reasons he was obnoxious to the Queen, he thought it prudent to retire from the capital. He visited England, but resumed his ministry in Edinburgh when Mary's power was broken by her supposed complicity in the Darnley tragedy, and by her shameful alliance with Bothwell. Murray was appointed Regent, and under his administration the Churches had rest. Though so graced with princely accomplishments, so benign in disposition, and so regardful of the interests of religion as to be one of the most popular governors Scotland had ever known, he incurred the deadly resentment of Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh, who shot him from a window as he rode 'through old Linlithgow's crowded town.' Knox preached his funeral sermon, and was so affected by his death, and the confusions it occasioned, that his health was impaired, and an apoplectic stroke deprived him for a time of his usual energy of speech. Happily he so far recovered as to be able to prosecute his ministry; but his enemies were eager for his death, and one night a musket ball was fired into his house, which would have killed him had he not, through a Providential interposition, seated himself in a part of the room different from that he usually occupied. His friends insisted on his removing from Edinburgh. He went to St. Andrew's, where he gave a series of discourses on the Book of

Daniel. The last service he rendered, at the request of the General Assembly, was to examine and approve a sermon which had been preached by a Minister about to be settled in Dunfermline. His subscription to the sermon was, 'John Knox, with my dead hand, but glad heart, praising God that of His mercy He leaves such light to His Kirk in this desolation.' He was so enfeebled that he scarcely expected leaving St. Andrew's; but the Queen's faction having abandoned Edinburgh, and his people being wishful to have him again in their midst, he went back to his old dwelling. He had not been there long before he heard of the St. Bartholomew massacre in Paris. The slaughter of Admiral Coligny and thousands of Protestants filled him with horror; and being assisted to the pulpit, he roused his sinking energies into an awful denunciation of the French monarch under whom the frightful cruelty had been perpetrated, and desired the French ambassador, who was present, to tell his master that if he did not repent, the vengeance of God would never depart from him or his house.

A few weeks after this great effort, he was laid aside by sickness, which proved fatal. Notwithstanding the storminess of his life, there was a beautiful placidity in his death, and such sayings as the following fell at intervals from his lips: 'Come, Lord Jesus.' 'Into Thy hands I commend my spirit.' 'Be merciful, Lord, to Thy Church which Thou hast redeemed.' 'Give peace to this afflicted commonwealth.' 'Raise up faithful Pastors who will take the charge of Thy Church.' 'Grant us, Lord, the perfect hatred of sin, both by the evidences of Thy wrath and Thy mercy.' When he had become speechless, one of his attendants requested him if he had peace, to give a sign. He raised one of his hands, and then all was over. His death took place in November, 1572, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. All the noblemen in the city and a vast concourse of people attended his funeral, and the Regent Morton said, as he stood over his grave, 'There lies he who never feared the face of man.'

JOHN BRADFORD.



JOHN BRADFORD KISSING THE STAKE.

VI.



DN a sermon on the duty of restitution, preached before King Edward the Sixth, Bishop Latimer said: 'At my first preaching of restitution, one good man took remorse of conscience, and acknowledged himself to me, that he had deceived the King, and willing he was to make restitution: and so the first Lent came to my hands twenty pounds to be restored to the King's use. I was promised twenty pounds more the same Lent, but it could not be made, so that it came not. Well, the next Lent came three hundred and twenty pounds more. I received it myself, and paid it to the King's Council. Well, now this Lent came one hundred and fourscore pounds ten shillings which I have paid and delivered this day to the King's Council.' An abundantly authenticated tradition states that the unnamed restorer was John Bradford, at one time in the employment of Sir John Harrington, paymaster of the English troops at Boulogne. It is not quite certain whether Bradford had obtained the money from Sir John, or whether he had sold his own patrimony to procure it; but it is quite certain that his master was the real peculator, and that he himself had not received the slightest benefit from the crime.

Memoranda in the *Council Book* show that 'Mr. Doctor Latymer' made the last payment on March 10, 1550. The first instalment of the conscience money would therefore be paid to him in the spring of 1548. As John Bradford was born in 1510, he was thirty-seven or thirty-eight years old when he heard the first of the Lenten sermons which impressed him so powerfully. At that time he was studying law in the Temple. He had resigned his office of profit under the Crown, probably on account of the fraud, though his abilities and opportunities promised him a prosperous career. He had friends, too, from whose influence

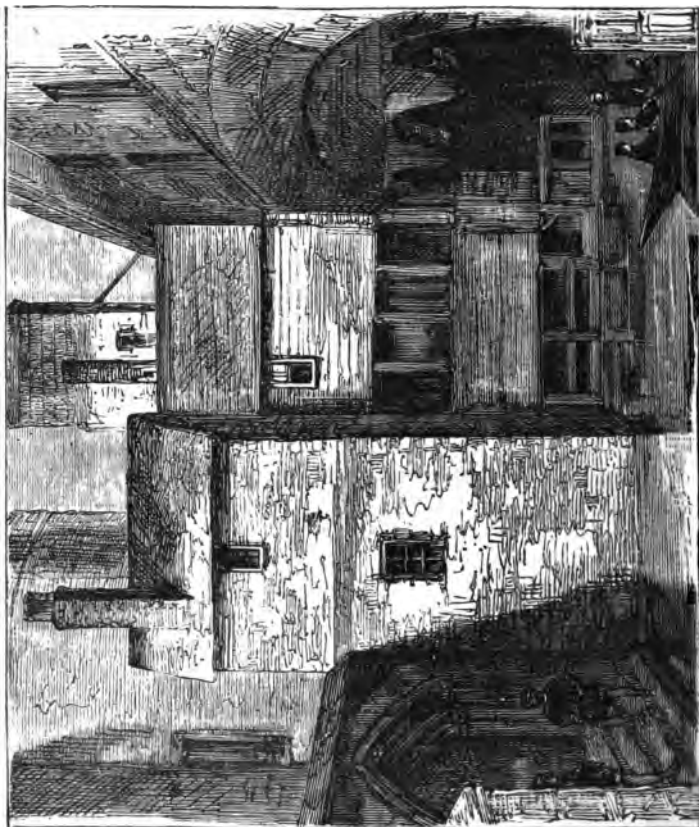
he could fairly expect advancement, being related to Hugh Oldham, Bishop of Exeter, the founder of the Manchester Grammar School, of which school he was one of the earliest pupils. Perhaps we may regard Latimer's sermons as the instrument of Bradford's conversion; doubtless it was by that preacher's advice that he forsook the law for the ministry of the Word, and entered himself at Clare Hall, Cambridge, to prepare for it. He came to the University no mean scholar, and while there devoted himself so diligently to his books that the degree of Master of Arts was granted him after a residence of little more than a year. As soon as he had acquired the necessary degree he was elected Fellow of Pembroke Hall. In the year 1550, he took deacon's orders from the hands of Bishop Ridley, afterwards his fellow martyr and companion in the Tower. In due course he was licensed to preach, and the Bishop immediately conferred upon him a prebendal stall in St. Paul's Cathedral.

It was not without reluctance that Bradford accepted ordination; the deep-seated humility that was one of his most marked characteristics caused him to deem himself unfit for the office of a public teacher. He yielded at length to the persuasions of Martin Bucer, who answered all his diffident pleas with, 'If thou hast not fine manchet-bread [the best wheaten bread], yet give the poor people barley bread, or whatever else the Lord hath committed unto thee.' Latimer, Ridley, and Bucer had formed a truer estimate of his preaching powers than he had himself. He speedily became one of the most popular and successful preachers in the metropolis, popular and successful in the best sense of those words. When Edward VI. appointed Ministers to traverse the kingdom, proclaiming the doctrines of the Reformation, Bradford was chosen one of the number. He selected as his headquarters his native town of Manchester. The parish church, now the cathedral, could not contain the crowds that flocked to listen to him. He itinerated throughout Lancashire, chiefly, however, over the southern part of the county. 'Sharply he opened and reproved sin, sweetly he preached Christ crucified, pithily he impugned heresies and errors, earnestly he persuaded to a godly life' (Foxe). For he did not confine himself to

exposing the corruptions of the Romish clergy and the unscripturalness of their teaching, he spoke with equal boldness against the sins his hearers were addicted to, and exhorted them to repentance. The wakes and revels, with their vice and rioting, specially aroused his ire, and he incurred considerable unpopularity by his opposition to them. He was not content to exercise his ministry only in public. In whatever company he found himself he bore witness to the truth, rebuking sin unsparingly, yet so gently that his rebukes rarely gave offence.

Foxe's delineation of Bradford's private life and character represents him as ever 'a pardoned penitent,' keeping strictest watch over himself, and perpetually anxious that men, seeing his good works, should glorify his Father in heaven. He could not forget that he had reached middle life before he began to serve God. His favourite signature to his letters is the 'miserable caitiff, John Bradford.' Again and again when he saw a criminal led to execution, he was known to say, 'There goes John Bradford but for the grace of God.' 'He used to make unto himself a journal, in which he used to write all such notable things as either he did hear or see each day that passed; but whatsoever he did hear or see, he did so pen it, that a man might see in that book the smitten heart. For if he did hear or see any good in any man, by that sight he found and noted the want thereof in himself, and added a short prayer, craving mercy and grace to amend. If he did hear or see any plague or misery, he noted it as a thing procured by his own sins, and still added, "Lord, have mercy upon me." He used in the same book to note such evil thoughts as did rise in him, as of envying the good of other men, thoughts of unthankfulness, of not considering God in His works, of hardness and insensibleness of heart, when he did see others moved and affected. And thus he made to himself and of himself a book of daily practices of repentance.'

The accession of Queen Mary put fresh heart into the Papists, and every means was tried to move the populace in favour of the old religion. Bourne, afterwards Bishop of Bath, then the fanatical chaplain of the fanatical Bishop Bonner, preached one day at St. Paul's Cross, and urged his audience to reconcil



TRAITORS' GATE IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

themselves with Rome. The large majority present were Protestants; a tumult ensued, and a dagger was hurled at the preacher. Bourne's courage failed him, and he implored Bradford, who stood near the pulpit, to protect him. Bradford, thus appealed to, immediately ascended the pulpit, and sternly reproved the excited crowd for their disorder. Beloved as he was of the people, it was for some moments doubtful whether his interference had not endangered his life; but his influence so far prevailed that he and John Rogers were suffered to support the fainting Bourne into a neighbouring grammar school. 'Thou savest him who will help to burn thee,' shouted a gentleman, as the rioters retired. And he prophesied truly, for the Bishop of Bath sat among Bradford's judges.

The Queen's Romanist advisers seized upon the tumult at St. Paul's Cross as an excuse for issuing an apparently impartial order that no one should preach without the royal license. Of course the license would be granted only to members of the Queen's party. The disturbance took place August 13th, 1553. Three days afterwards John Bradford was arraigned before the Council on the double charge of inciting the riot and preaching without a license. He had rescued Bourne, and thus shown his power with the mob; what further proof could any reasonable man want that he was one of the ringleaders? Where a man's condemnation is resolved on, the difference between suppressing a tumult and exciting it becomes altogether unimportant. No sentence was then passed, the accused was relegated to prison to await trial. There he remained till January, 1555.

Says Foxe: 'He was first committed to the Tower, then unto other prisons, out of which neither his innocency, godliness, nor charitable dealing could purchase him liberty of body, till by death, which he suffered for Christ's cause, he obtained the heavenly liberty of which neither pope nor Papist shall ever deprive him. From the Tower he came to the King's Bench in Southwark, and after his condemnation he was sent to the Compter in the Poultry, in London, in which two places, for the time he remained prisoner, he preached twice a day continually, unless sickness hindered him; where also the Sacrament was

often ministered, and through his means the keepers so well did bear with him, such resort of good folks was daily to his lecture, and to the ministration of the Sacrament, that commonly his chamber was well nigh filled. Preaching, reading, and praying was all his whole life. He did not eat above one meal a day, which was but very little when he took it, and his continual study was upon his knees. In the midst of dinner he used often to muse with himself, having his hat over his eyes, from whence came commonly plenty of tears dropping on his trencher. Very gentle he was to man and child, and in so good credit with his keepers, that at his desire, in an evening, when prisoner in the King's Bench in Southwark, he had license, upon his promise to return again that night, to go into London without any keeper, to visit one that was sick, lying by the Steel Yard. Neither did he fail his promise, but returned unto his prison again, rather being before his hour than breaking his fidelity; so constant was he in word and in deed.

‘Of person he was somewhat tall and slender, spare of body, of a faint, sanguine colour, with an auburn beard. He slept not commonly above four hours in the night; and in his bed till sleep came, his book went not out of his hand. His chief recreation was not in gaming or other pastime, but only in honest company and comely talk, wherein he would spend a little time after dinner at the board, and so to prayer and his book again. He counted that hour not well spent wherein he did not some good, either with his pen, study, or in exhorting of others. He was no niggard of his purse, but would liberally participate what he had to his fellow prisoners. And commonly once a week he visited the thieves, pickpurses, and such others that were with him in prison where he lay, on the other side; unto whom he would give godly exhortation to learn the amendment of their lives by their troubles, and after that so done, distribute among them some portion of money to their comfort.’

While Bradford was confined in the Tower, Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer were also prisoners in it. The four shared one chamber. They spent most of their time in prayer and in reading the New Testament, ‘with great deliberation and

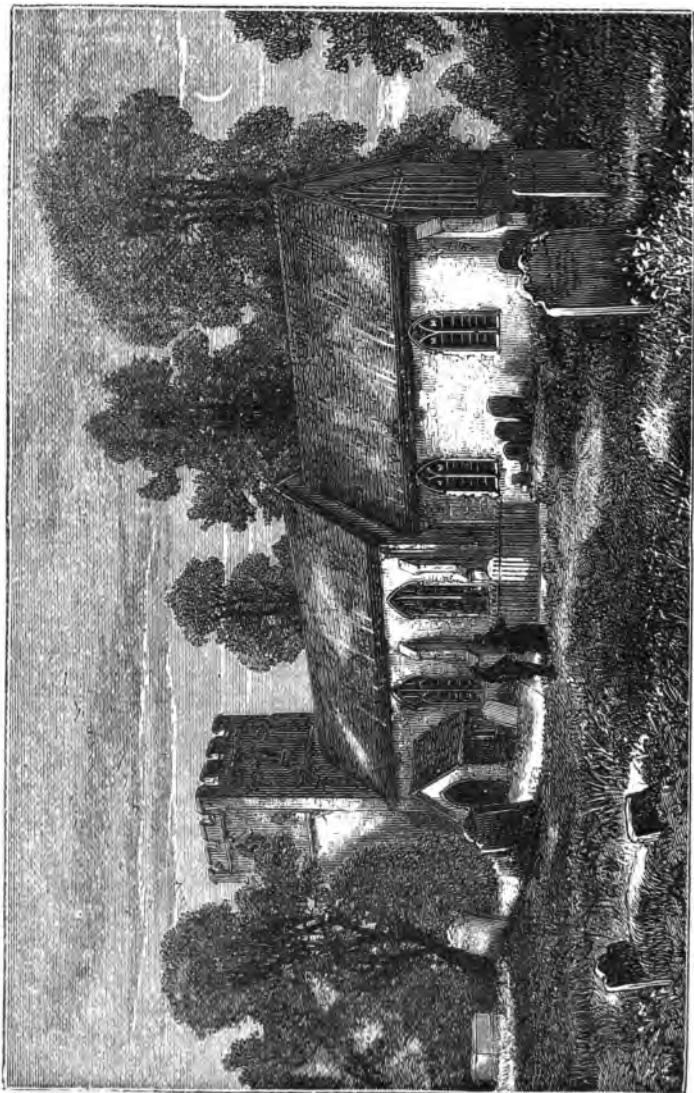
painful study,' to see if they could discover any foundation for the Romish doctrine of transubstantiation. But their search proved vain.

In January, 1555, the long-delayed sentence was pronounced. Offers of pardon and advancement had been freely made, if the heretic would recant. But he could not sacrifice his conscience 'Mercy, with God's mercy, should be welcome, but otherwise he would none.' He was therefore condemned to the stake, and committed to the Poultry Compter. There John Bradford remained till the month of June had nearly expired, when orders were issued for his immediate execution. A remarkable dream warned him of his approaching martyrdom. So the jailor's wife found him prepared, when, in deep sorrow herself, she said to him, 'O, Master Bradford, I come to bring you heavy news.' 'What is that?' he asked. 'Marry, to-morrow you must be burned, and your chain is now a-buying, and soon you must go to Newgate.' Reverently removing his cap, and raising his eyes to heaven, Bradford replied, 'I thank God for it. I have looked for the same a long time, and therefore it cometh not now to me suddenly, but as a thing waited for every day and hour; the Lord make me worthy thereof.' When the shirt 'made for his burning by one Walter Marlar's wife, who was a good nurse unto him, and his very good friend,' was brought to him, he called it his 'wedding garment,' and offered a prayer of exceeding beauty and power. Then, with many prayers and exhortations, he took leave of his fellow prisoners, most of whom wept bitterly at the parting. Fearing a great concourse of people, the authorities did not remove Bradford to Newgate till midnight. Their precaution was only partially successful, for, especially in Cheapside, crowds assembled to bid him farewell. At nine o'clock the next morning, he was led to Smithfield, with an unusually strong escort, lest popular indignation should excite an attempt at rescue. He had for his companion John Lyefe, a young tallow-chandler's apprentice, who, unable to write, had sprinkled his own blood upon his confession of faith in token that he was ready to lay down his life for it. Arrived at the stake, both lay prostrate beside it praying, till one of the sheriffs commanded,

' Arise, and make an end, for the press of the people is great.'
Let John Foxe tell the rest of the story :

' At that word they both stood upon their feet; and then Bradford took a faggot in his hand and kissed it, and likewise the stake. When he had so done, he desired of the sheriffs that his servant might have his raiment, " For," said he, " I have nothing else to give him; and besides that, he is a poor man." And the sheriff said he should have it. Forthwith Bradford put off his raiment, and went to the stake, and holding up his hands and casting his countenance to heaven, he said thus: " O England, England! repent thee of thy sins, repent thee of thy sins! Beware of idolatry, beware of the false antichrists; take heed they do not deceive you!" And as he was speaking these words, the sheriff bade to tie his hands if he would not be quiet. " O, Master Sheriff," said Bradford, " I am quiet; God forgive you this, Master Sheriff." And one of the officers who made the fire hearing Bradford so speaking to the sheriff, said, " If you have no better learning than that, you are but a fool, and were best to hold your peace." To which words Bradford gave no answer, but asked all the world forgiveness, and forgave all the world, and prayed the people to pray for him; and turned his head unto the young man that suffered with him, and said, " Be of good comfort, brother, for we shall have a merry supper with the Lord this night"; and so spake no more words that any man did hear, but embracing the reeds, said thus: " Strait is the way and narrow is the gate that leadeth to eternal salvation, and few there be that find it." Thus they both ended their mortal lives, without any alteration of their countenance, being void of all fear, hoping to obtain the prize that they had long run at; to the which I beseech Almighty God happily to conduct us, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour. Amen.'

BISHOP LATIMER.



THRECASTON CHURCH.



VII.



HONEST HUGH LATIMER was born at Thurcaston, in Leicestershire, an obscure village about six miles distant from the county town. His father was a worthy yeoman, a class which has almost become extinct in modern times. It is nearly four centuries ago since he first saw the light. His parents were respectable, industrious folk, and young Hugh grew up amid the fostering influences of a pious home. Even when his distinguished talents had made his name famous, and raised him to the very highest position as a Court favourite and the companion of nobles, he was never ashamed to acknowledge his lowly origin. On the contrary, he was always ready to own it, and sometimes took the opportunity of distinctly declar-

ing it. For instance, in one of his sermons he thus speaks of his parentage: 'My father had no land of his own; only he had a farm of £3 or £4 a year at the uttermost, and hereupon he tilled so much as kept half a dozen men. He had walk for a hundred sheep, and my mother milked thirty kine.'



BIRTHPLACE OF HUGH LATIMER.

In his very early years Master Hugh, with his six sisters, assisted his father and mother in the duties of the farm; but he was destined to labour in a higher kind of husbandry. He was first sent to a country school, where he made such proficiency that at the age of fourteen he entered the University of Cambridge. In a few years the darkness in which Popery had enveloped universal Christendom was to be illuminated by the light

of the glorious Reformation, and the bold defenders of the truth who were to become the leaders of this great movement were being raised up by Providence. About the time that Latimer entered Cambridge, Martin Luther, the son of the German miner, became an inmate of the Augustinian convent where he discovered the Latin Testament, the reading of which opened his eyes at once to the errors of Rome and to the 'truth as it is in Jesus.'

The story of Latimer's conversion is almost romantic in its interest. Up to the age of thirty he was one of the most bigoted of Papists. In private he opposed those who leaned towards the doctrines of the Reformation, and in public he was bold enough to preach against Melancthon and his opinions. For his zeal in the cause of Popery he was appointed cross-bearer to the University, and in all the public processions the ardent and fanatical young Master, with the sign of his office borne aloft, was one of the most prominent figures. But a mighty change was at hand, and the haughty cross-bearer, who was sore troubled because the priests did not put forth more energy to drive back the rising tide of 'heresy,' was himself to become one of the staunchest advocates of Protestantism.

The New Testament, which the learned Erasmus had translated into most elegant Latin, found its way by stealth into the Universities. The name of Erasmus, who stood in a foremost position in the republic of letters, gave it a prestige which was sure to recommend it to the more thoughtful students. The volume fell into the hands of Dr. Thomas Bilney, who, with a fluttering heart, retired to peruse it. He was a devout man, and had earnestly sought peace in the means prescribed by the Church, but in vain. He fasted, prayed, wept, kept vigils, performed penances, took pilgrimages, purchased masses and indulgences, but he failed to find any satisfaction.

At last he flew to Erasmus' Testament. He opened it at the words, 'This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptance, that Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners; of whom I am chief.' (1 Timothy i. 15.) For years he had been in search of salvation, and now for the first time he read the glad

tidings that Christ saves sinners. He believed, and found rest to his soul. He gathered around him a band of inquirers after truth, to whom he explained the way of salvation as he had discovered it in the Word of God. They soon found a bitter adversary in Hugh Latimer, who, by every means at his command, sought to harass the members of this little society of Bercosans, who met together from time to time, under the leadership of Bilney, to study the Scriptures.

Bilney was intensely anxious for the conversion of Latimer to the faith of the Gospel, but the prejudiced Papist would not listen to the Bible-reading doctor. This was a sore trial to Bilney, who, however, committed himself to God in fervent prayer for wisdom to accomplish the great work which lay so near his heart. After much anxious thought, he resolved upon a plan for putting himself in communication with Latimer. He one day went to Latimer's rooms, and implored him to hear his confession. To this entreaty Latimer readily consented, doubtless hoping to listen to a recantation of Bilney's errors. The good doctor threw himself at the feet of the University cross-bearer, and there poured forth into the ears of the astonished confessor, with great simplicity and earnestness, the story of his conversion through faith in 'the Lamb of God, Which taketh away the sin of the world.' The arrow shot at a venture entered Latimer's heart. He burst into tears, and confessed that he had been seeking salvation from wrong sources. Like Saul of Tarsus, he was convinced that he had been fighting against God in his blind zeal for the Church.

This was a crisis in Latimer's history. He turned from the errors of Popery to the study of the Word of God, which thenceforth became the rule of his faith and the guide of his life. The circumstances of the times required a man of Elijah-like spirit to stand forth as a champion of the Reformation, then in its infancy, and God raised up Hugh Latimer for the work. 'Of a *Saul*, God had made him a very *Paul*.' Such was the remark of Cranmer's secretary on the wonderful change which had been wrought in the career of the new convert to Protestantism. He soon gained a reputation as a powerful preacher, and his bold

and rugged oratory recommended him to Henry VIII., who appointed him one of the Court preachers. His courage did not fail him even in the presence of royalty, as we find from his address to the King: 'If your Grace allow me for a preacher, I would desire your Grace to give me leave to discharge my conscience.' This he ever sought to do above all things. He preached as a man who felt that the burden of the Lord was upon him, and whether he stood before the King, the clergy, or the people, he did 'not shun to declare all the counsel of God.' We have a noble example of his fidelity in the exordium to one of his sermons before the King, in which he thus spoke: 'Latimer, Latimer,' he cried out, 'thou art going to speak before the high and mighty King Henry VIII., who is able, if he think fit, to take thy life away. Be careful what thou sayest. But Latimer, Latimer, remember also that thou art about to speak before the King of kings, and Lord of lords. Take heed that thou dost not displease Him.'

In 1535, Latimer was made Bishop of Worcester, and during the time he held that see used his utmost influence in forwarding the Reformation and encouraging the movement for the translation of the Bible into the vulgar tongue. But at the end of four years he resigned his episcopal office, on account of the partial revival of Popery, which the King had been persuaded to sanction, and retired into private life. Those were times of great tyranny and persecution, and it was scarcely to be supposed that so powerful an adversary of the Pope would be allowed to settle down in peace. Popery knows nothing of toleration. Accordingly, Latimer was dragged forth from his retirement and committed to the Tower, where he remained imprisoned for six years. At the end of that period the promising young Edward VI. ascended the throne, and Protestantism was once more brought into favour at the Court. Latimer was set at liberty, and devoted himself to preaching the Gospel in different parts of the country during the too brief reign of Edward. The alternations of light and darkness were painfully rapid in those unsettled times; and Protestantism and Popery were so frequently changing places, as the professed religion of the country,

that the trimmers were constantly 'in doubt which way they were to walk.'

With the accession of 'bloody Mary,' the land was once more plunged into Popish darkness. The sacrifice of the mass was substituted for the Protestant services of the previous reign; the Popish hierarchy was re-established; the Protestants were hunted down. Such was Popish sway in England. It is computed that at least two hundred and seventy-seven persons were burnt at the stake, including persons of almost every rank and age. Five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women, and four children, thus perished for their fidelity to the Word of God and their opposition to the Popish power. Latimer was soon marked out as a victim to the bigotry of the cruel Queen. All the Protestant preachers were silenced, and most of them thrown into prison. Latimer was ordered to the Tower again, together with Archbishop Cranmer, with whom he was then residing. The two prelates were soon called forth from their place of confinement to attend before a council of Popish divines at Oxford, with Bishop Ridley, ostensibly for the purpose of holding a disputation. Latimer, who was now bending beneath the burden of threescore and fifteen years, stood before his adversaries with a penny leathern girdle about his waist, at which hung his New Testament, while his spectacles, without case, were suspended from his neck. He conducted himself bravely in the discussion, but his doom was sealed, and Rome replied to his unanswerable defence by the most powerful of all her arguments, the stake. The three bishops were sentenced to be burned as heretics.

They had all been actively concerned in the preparation of the Articles, Homilies, and Liturgy of the Reformed Church of England. This alone was more than sufficient to bring down upon them the anger of the persecuting Queen, who determined to destroy both the Reformation and the Reformers. But neither flame, sword, nor the horrible Inquisition could destroy 'the Word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.' It was for the supremacy of the Bible that Latimer and his friends con-

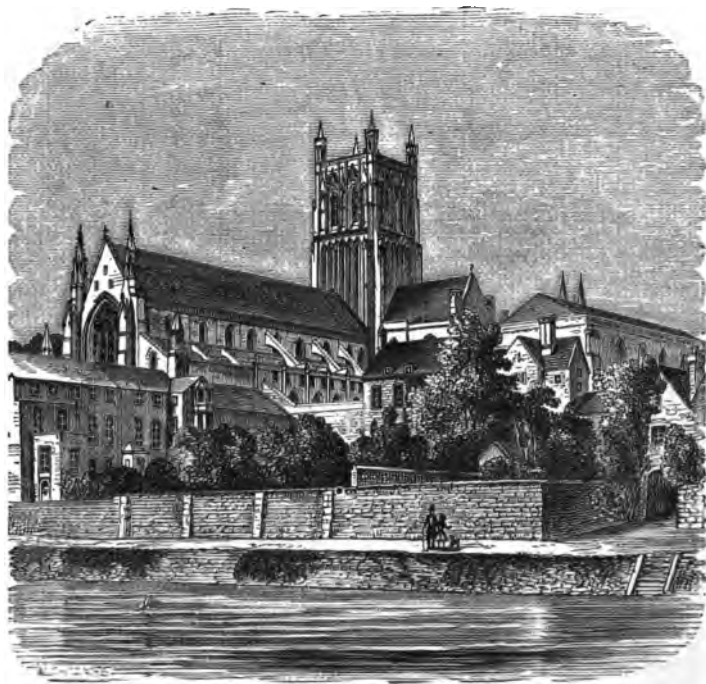
tended, and for the right of both clergy and laity to read it, every man in his own tongue, and in the firm maintenance of this right they laid down their lives.

The end of the dauntless old Reformer was worthy of his noble life. Neither his natural courage nor his strong confidence in God forsook him for a moment. At the place of execution a sermon against heretics was preached by Dr. Smith, to which he listened patiently, and when it was concluded he declared that he could easily reply to it if only he were allowed to do so; and added his usual saying, 'There is nothing hid, but it shall be opened.' He then stood bolt upright while the executioner prepared him for the fire, and chained him, with his companion Ridley, to the stake. A blazing faggot was thrown at Ridley's feet, and as the flames were kindling all around, Latimer courageously turned round to his friend, and said, 'Be of good comfort, Master Ridley, and play the man; we shall this day, by God's grace, light such a candle in England as, I trust, shall never be put out.' With prayer upon their lips, these two eminent servants of God died in the defence of the truth. Their happy spirits mounted to heaven, in the chariot of flame, to join the noble army of martyrs.

As long as England has a history, the name of Hugh Latimer will hold a prominent place in it. We cannot afford to let so noble a name perish; it must be had 'in everlasting remembrance.' The 'blood of the martyrs is the seed of the Church,' and from their death has gone forth a power which has broken the influence of Popery in this land, and given to us of this generation those spiritual and political blessings which are the offspring of Protestantism. 'The candle of the Lord' burns brightly with us, but it requires to be carefully guarded, for many are seeking to hide it under the bushel of Roman Catholic teaching, in order that they may ultimately put it out.

We remember, several years ago, paying a visit to the late Rev. R. J. M'Ghee, Rector of Holywell, Hunts, a well-known opponent of Romanism, when, in a conversation on the rapid increase of Popery in this country, he said, 'The Methodists have always been most consistent and uncompromising Protestants,' and expressed his belief that they were destined to become

a great national bulwark against the encroachments of Rome. Their founder was a determined enemy to her corrupt teaching and practices, and his followers have always been Protestants of the Protestants. One of their most distinguished honours, in recent times, has been to preach the Gospel to those who 'are at Rome also,' and to carry the candle of 'the truth as it is in Jesus,' which Ridley and Latimer lit at the stake, to illuminate the darkness of the headquarters of that apostate Church by whose hands they were martyred. May that candle, by the grace of God, never again be extinguished!

**WORCESTER CATHEDRAL.**

ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

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ARCHBISHOP CRANMER.

VIII.



HERE is a thrilling interest connected with the history of the growth and noble daring of such a spirit as that of Luther. The rapid progress of the theology of Geneva, in Scotland, under the auspices of Knox and his fellow-spirits, and the magnificent spectacle of the gradual awakening to spiritual life of the German States, furnish us with narratives as remarkable as their effects have proved beneficent; but in England there is no such interest attached to the growth and spread of the Reformation. The principal actors were men of ordinary attainments, and of no brilliant qualities. Though some of them possessed the noble courage of Luther, and others the untiring energy and zeal of Zwingli, and the prudence and wisdom of Melancthon, yet we cannot forget that the English Reformation of the sixteenth century owed its origin in no small measure, under God, to the unbridled passions of an English monarch, and the embarrassed circumstances of the then reigning Pope. There is, however, one point of special interest in the Reformation of England; and that is, it is all our own. It is our own in the impulsiveness, as well as the selfishness, of its motives, in its exhibition of the national impatience of foreign control, and as an instance of the unceasing goodness of Providence towards this country.

The labours of the illustrious Wycliffe had produced an astonishing effect on the nation at large. Not only had his thundering voice declared 'the evil deeds of the friars' to the lower and middle classes, but his powerful reasonings and convincing exposure of the corruption of the Roman Church had reached the throne, and found an approving auditor in one of the princes of the blood. John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, whether from motives of political expediency or from sincere

conviction, defended Wycliffe from all the attacks of his foes, and secured to him an uninterrupted retirement during his latter days. Nor was the literature of the age uninfluenced by the new doctrines; for it is supposed that the frequent intercourse of Wycliffe with Geoffrey Chaucer, 'the father of English poetry,' resulted in the conversion of the poet to the opinions of his friend. And though Wycliffe's bones, says Fuller, had been burned, and the ashes thrown into the Swift, a river which flows by Lutterworth, and by the Swift carried into the Avon, and by the Avon into the Severn, and by the Severn into the sea,—a figure, in truth, of the spread of his doctrines,—yet the Bible truths which he had given to the people of England in their own language perished not with him, but raised up many noble confessors and martyrs during the period which elapsed between Henry V. and Henry VIII. Nevertheless the rude hand of persecution had greatly repressed the Lollards, had thinned their ranks, and compelled them to have recourse to concealment. The majority of the people were decidedly Roman Catholic, and appeared opposed to the new doctrines, with which increasing intercourse with Germany frequently brought them into contact.

Such was the state of the kingdom when Henry VIII. ascended the throne. Young and popular, he was also the zealous champion of the Church; and when Luther's answer to his book on the seven sacraments appeared, personal pique was added to religious antagonism; and Henry appeared but little likely to tolerate Protestantism. But, though England seemed bound as securely as ever under the Papal yoke, and though her young monarch was to all appearance firm in his allegiance to the 'ancient religion,' God, Whose ways are indeed not as our ways, had prepared a path for the entrance of a purer faith, and had resolved to turn even Henry's vices to His own glory.

Thus began that glorious Reformation, in which Thomas Cranmer bore so prominent a part. He was born at Aslacton, in Nottinghamshire, on the second of July, 1489; but we know very little of his early years. At the age of fourteen he was sent to Cambridge, and spent eight years there, chiefly in the study of scholastic philosophy, the works of Erasmus, and other

eminent authors. In the year 1519 the fame of Martin Luther led him to study the Scriptures with greater energy and attention; and when in after life he held an important office in the University, he rendered great service to the Reformation, through having himself felt the truth and sacred character of the Bible.

In 1524 Cardinal Wolsey offered him a fellowship which he had founded in the University of Oxford; but Cranmer refused to leave the friendly solitudes of his *alma mater*, endeared to him, as they must have been, by so many attachments of association and hopes of congenial employment. Soon after this he was elected Examiner of Theology, and whilst he filled that office refused to admit any one to priest's orders who did not possess a thorough knowledge of the Holy Scripture. While residing at the mansion of a gentleman named Cressy, engaged in the tutorship of his two sons, Cranmer was introduced to King Henry VIII., and here laid the foundation of his future greatness. Some time after this, Cranmer was sent by the King to the house of Anne Boleyn's father, to compose a work in justification of his intended divorce from Catharine of Aragon. Henry had married Catharine on his brother Arthur's decease (whose widow she was), through the policy of his father, Henry VII., who wished to retain her immense dowry; and now, having become tired of her, and being possessed with a strong passion for Anne Boleyn, one of her maids of honour, Henry desired a divorce. The Pope, however, was in mortal fear of the vengeance of the Emperor Charles V., who was Catharine's nephew, should he consent to Henry's wishes, and thus he wavered from one side to the other; fearing, if he decided for the divorce, the dire vengeance of the Emperor, and foreseeing if he went contrary to Henry's desires, the loss of England to the Holy See. At last, at Cranmer's suggestion, Henry determined to get the opinions of all the Universities of Europe on the validity of his marriage, and Cranmer himself was deputed to conduct the negotiations. Having completed his treatise, he returned to Cambridge for the opinion of the University, which, after some hesitation, was given in accordance with the King's wishes; and in this decision the University of

Oxford concurred. Cranmer's two leading propositions on which he based the theory that Henry's marriage with Catharine was unlawful, were,—first, that it is not lawful for a man to marry his brother's widow; and, secondly, that the Pope has no authority to dispense with Scripture. To these propositions the French and Italian Universities assented, and while the German Reformers agreed heartily to the second, they were not entirely unanimous with regard to the first. After protracted negotiations with the Pope and the Emperor, which all resulted in nothing, Henry became weary of waiting, and after making Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury, and obtaining his formal sanction of divorce, he boldly bade defiance to the threats of Rome, and married Anne Boleyn without further delay.

The result of Cranmer's intercourse with the reformed divines of Germany was his marriage with a niece of Osiander, the pastor of Nuremberg; a union which, if it contributed to his happiness in some respects, yet afterwards involved him in much perplexity. When Pope Clement heard of Henry's marriage, he threatened England with excommunication unless submission was at once made. But Henry was fully resolved to brave the storm which awaited him, and the Pope, incensed by repeated insults, launched forth the once dreaded sentence, clothed with all the thunders of the Vatican, on the 23rd of March, 1534. By this act England, so long the richest province of the many lands which bowed beneath the sway of St. Peter, was delivered from the tyranny of Antichrist; and never since, except in the brief reign of Mary, and when James Stuart, in his bigotry and obstinacy, tried to force on us the Romish superstitions, has this country come beneath the Papal yoke. We are proud of the many glorious victories which have crowned our arms by sea and land in times gone by, and of the many illustrious men whose talents and virtues confer a lustre on the name of Englishmen; but above all ought we to be thankful for that providential interposition which destroyed the rule of Antichrist in this happy country, and delivered our art, our science, our commerce, and our religion from the chains of superstition and the fetters of bigotry. Chiefly by the arguments of Cranmer the parliament

was induced to renounce the Pope's supremacy, and declare the King 'head of the Church.' He also persuaded Convocation to petition the King for the translation of the Bible 'into the vulgar English.' A translation was accordingly made, the one called *Matthew's Bible*. Stimulated by the opposition of the clergy to his supremacy, Henry appointed a commission to inquire into the amount of property in their hands, and the report presented by Cromwell, its president, revealed such a prospect to the cupidity of the King, as strengthened his opposition to the Pope in a remarkable degree, and sealed the fate of the monastic foundations. Cranmer's rapid elevation and commanding position raised many enemies against him, and during one of the last years of Henry's reign, the Privy Council requested that the Archbishop might be sent to the Tower on a charge of violating 'the six articles' which were enacted in 1539. The King, however, soon rejected the accusation, and declared Cranmer 'as faithful a servant as any monarch had ever possessed.'

Edward VI. was a Reformer in practice as well as doctrine, but his early death, and the sudden change on Queen Mary's accession, prevented the completion of Cranmer's plans with regard to the Church.

In Edward's short reign the spirit of persecution was unhappily manifested by the Reformed party, and Cranmer was generally believed to be the most uncompromising of the Protestant chiefs towards those who differed from him. It is certain that he was one of the principal movers in the burning of two persons; one for 'heretical' opinions, and the other for denying the divinity of Christ. Of all the acts of his chequered career, this is the one which has exposed him to the most obloquy. He was of an impulsive and undecided character, which often prompted him to unworthy actions, and in the closing scene of life sullied the consistency of his religious profession.

The accession of Mary, in 1553, put a sudden stop to Cranmer's schemes of Church reformation. Foreseeing the approaching storm, he advised all Protestants who could to leave the kingdom; but he himself nobly resolved not to desert his post. For a short time he was allowed to remain at liberty; but

on the 13th of November, 1553, he was committed to the Tower on the charges of heresy and high treason. The Queen regarded Cranmer as the author of her unhappy mother's disgrace and misfortunes, and of all her own troubles, and resolved to have complete revenge. A special commission was appointed to try Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer, and dispute with them on their 'doctrinal errors.' The Reformers were sentenced as heretics,



EDWARD VI.

and sent to prison; and Cardinal Pole was immediately consecrated Archbishop of Canterbury. After a tedious incarceration of eighteen months, Latimer and Ridley were led to the stake at Oxford. There is no need for us to dwell upon the death scene; its saddened and yet triumphant memory is engraved on the hearts of all Protestant Englishmen. The two martyrs are written down among those who have 'resisted unto blood, striving against sin.'

It is not too much to say that to the heroic spirit which animated the souls of Latimer and Ridley, England owes, under God, the freedom, which every one in this favoured land this day rejoices in, of worshipping God according to his conscience



BOCARDO PRISON, OXFORD.

It is the same stern love of truth and liberty which has gained for us the most enviable and honoured position among the nations of the world, and which, in the words of one of the two noble martyrs himself, has 'lighted such a candle,' to bless the entire circle of the nations, 'as shall never, never be put out.'

Cranmer was still spared, for his cruel foes hoped to work upon his timid and fearful mind, and bring the disgrace of his fall upon the Protestant religion. He was constantly visited by priests, sent specially to influence his hopes and fears by promises and threats alternately. They held out false prospects of life, and renewed honours, if he would but sign a slight modification of his opinions; and, after much persuasion, in an evil hour, he signed his ignoble recantation. But the Queen was still determined on his death; and now that his heartless tormentors had taken away his peace of mind,—that last and best refuge from despair,—they violated those promises which had extorted from him a change of opinion. On the 21st of March, 1556, Cranmer was led to St. Mary's Church, Oxford; where a sermon was preached, giving the reasons for the execution of the sentence upon him. He then spoke a few words to the people; and, contrary to the expectations of the Romish party, deplored most deeply the sin and folly of his recantation, and declared that the hand which had signed it should first receive punishment. He was hurried to the stake. As soon as the flames began to envelop his body, he thrust his right hand into the midst of them, exclaiming, with deep contrition and distress, 'O this unworthy right hand!' In the awful moment, while the fire was gradually burning out the last feeble remains of life, he behaved with the greatest composure and fortitude. With his dying breath he cried, 'Lord Jesus, receive my spirit!'

We would not for a moment condemn too harshly the momentary weakness manifested by such a man. Whatever were his faults, whatever his infirmities, he was, without doubt, a sincere Christian, and a powerful promoter of the revival of Gospel truth brought about by the Reformation. Though not in the very first rank of extraordinary men, yet Thomas Cranmer is a name which will never be mentioned in our history without respect, and even admiration.

DR. DONNE.



DR DONNE

IX.



IT is noteworthy how men who have enjoyed much reputation and influence amongst their contemporaries are all but forgotten by those who live a century or two after them; they stand the shadow of a name, and little more. It would be easy to write a long list of men whose names are well known to the general reader, while he has an extremely vague notion of what it is for which they are remarkable. For example, who of our readers can tell when the Marquis of Granby lived? How many know where and in what manner he gained his renown? And yet few have attracted more public attention than he did during his lifetime. This is true, not only of great generals and statesmen, but of great preachers, orators, authors, and, indeed, of most of those workers and thinkers whose names men will not willingly let die:—

‘So fame the poet’s hope deceives,
Who sings for after-times, and leaves
A name—to be forgot.’

As another instance, we might mention him whose portrait graces our article. To most people the name of Dr. Donne is, more or less, familiar; but how many are acquainted with his sermons or his poetry? It is true the former are interminably long, and the latter rough of rhythm, and both crowded with uncouth conceits and laboured imagery; but, for all that, they are well worthy of preservation and perusal. At all events, Izaak Walton’s beautiful memoir of him ought to be more frequently read than it is at present.

John Donne was born in London, in 1572 or 1573. By his father he was of Welsh extraction; his mother claimed to be descended from Sir Thomas More. Until he was eleven years

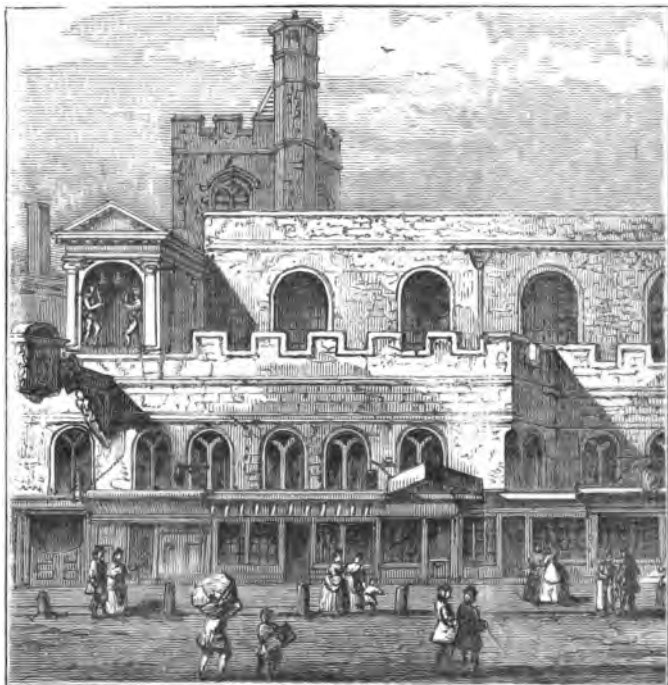
old, he was educated at home: at that age he was sent to the University of Oxford. After remaining there between two and three years, he removed to Cambridge, where he studied for about the same time. On the death of his father, who left him under the guardianship of his mother, with a fortune of £3,000, he became a student of the law at Lincoln's Inn, with the intention of qualifying himself to practise as a barrister. His mother, who was strongly inclined to Popish opinions, caused him to be trained and taught by tutors of her own communion; herself seconding their efforts with considerable success. Although the young man, after much thought and prayer, decided upon adhering to the English Church, the result of these early influences is plainly perceptible throughout his entire life; he was always what we should now call a High-churchman. We have no very definite account of his conversion, but it is certain that he was a sincere and earnest Christian. If on such a subject conjecture is admissible, we should surmise that he gave his heart to God in his nineteenth year, during the struggle which ended in his forsaking Romanism; that soon he 'left his first love,' but never wholly forfeited the presence of the Spirit within him; and that after a few years he more than recovered what he had lost.

A long time was spent by Mr. Donne in preparation for his 'chosen profession,' and in kindred pursuits. In 1596 he went in the suite of the Earl of Essex to Cadiz, but he did not come back to England with him; he preferred to spend some time in travelling on the Continent. Very soon after his return he was appointed secretary to Lord Chancellor Ellesmere. While in this service he conceived an attachment for Lady Ellesmere's niece, the daughter of Sir George More; and, spite of the determined opposition of her father, prevailed upon her to consent to a secret marriage. In revenge, Sir George caused him to be deprived of his secretaryship, and also instituted legal proceedings against him, which brought him to the verge of extreme poverty. The wearing struggle with want lasted for several years, during which he was supported, in great measure, by friends on whom he had little or no claim. At length Sir George

was reconciled to his son-in-law, and allowed him £800, to be paid in ten years by quarterly instalments. But his wife did not live long to enjoy this comparative comfort; scarcely was the good understanding between her husband and her father complete, when she was taken from them. For her sake he remained a widower to the end of life.

Whilst Mr. Donne was suffering the pangs of poverty, a living was offered to him, if he would consent to take orders in the Established Church. Great as must have been the temptation to yield, he steadily refused the provision, because he doubted whether he was indeed 'inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon' him that 'office and ministration.' He seems to have held lofty ideas of the holiness required of those who preach Christ Jesus. But so convinced were his friends, especially King James, of his fitness for that work, that they not only earnestly begged him to give himself up to it, but even declined to help him in any other way. Finally he consented; but not before he had thoroughly satisfied himself that it was the will of God, as well as of man, that he should do so. He says, 'Thy motions I will and do embrace; and I now say, with the blessed Virgin, "Be it with Thy servant as seemeth best in Thy sight"; and so, blessed Jesus, I do take the cup of salvation, and will call upon Thy name, and will preach Thy Gospel.' For Mr. Donne thoroughly understood that the chief work of the Minister is to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation. And he did proclaim them to the best of his ability, and in reliance upon the aid of the Holy Ghost. Izaak Walton says 'he was a preacher in earnest, weeping sometimes for his auditory, sometimes with them; always preaching from heaven, like an angel *from* a cloud, but not *in* one; carrying some, as St. Paul did, to heaven in holy raptures; and enticing others, by a sacred art and courtship, to amend their lives; and all this, with a most particular grace, and an inexpressible addition of comeliness.' Lengthy as were his discourses, they never wearied his hearers; the evident earnestness with which they were delivered, the weighty instruction they contained, aroused and arrested the attention of the enormous congregations which flocked to hear him.

On John Donne's receiving his first benefice, the University of Cambridge conferred upon him the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In 1627, Dr. Donne was appointed Dean of St. Paul's. He held at the same time the vicarage of St. Dunstan. But his days were nearly ended; after a few years more of faithful work he was called to his rest. So long as he had strength he continued

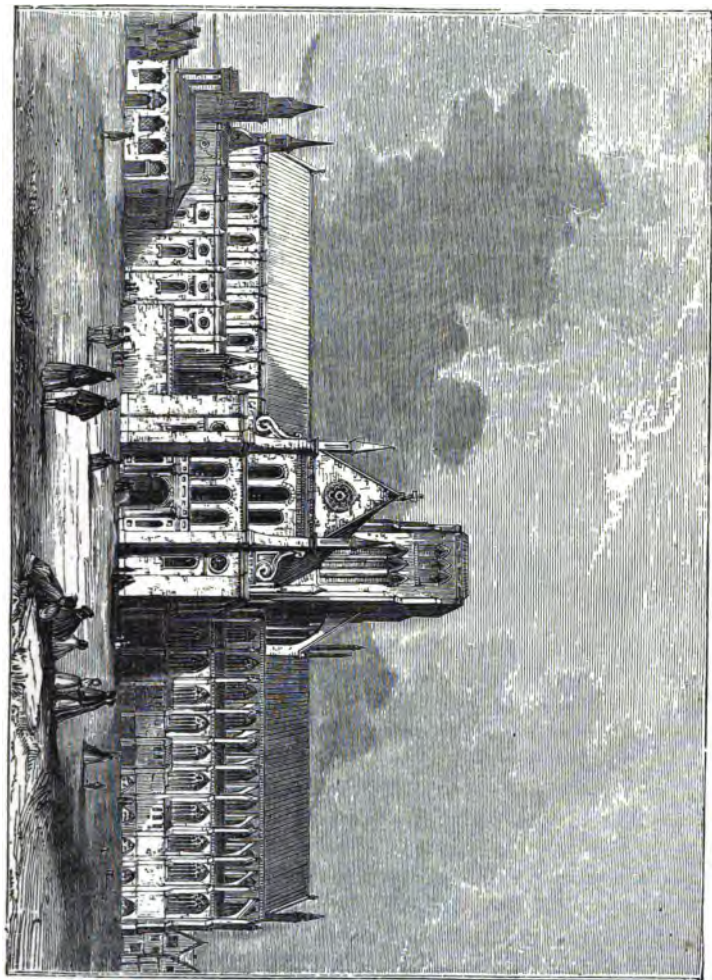


OLD ST. DUNSTAN'S CHURCH, FLEET STREET.

to fulfil the duties of his office. He took for his last text, 'Unto God the Lord belong the issues from death'; and his hearers remarked that he had preached his own funeral sermon.

Dr. Donne died of consumption in 1631, aged fifty-eight years. Of his death his biographer has left us the following account: 'As his body melted and vapoured into spirit, his soul

OLD ST. PAVL'S.



having, I verily believe, some revelation of the beautiful vision, he said, "I were miserable if I might not *die*"; and, after these words, closed many periods of his faint breath by saying often, "Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done!" His speech left him not till the last minute of his life; and then, being speechless, and seeing heaven, he did look steadfastly into it, and saw "the Son of man standing on the right hand of God" the Father; and, being satisfied with this blessed sight, as his last breath departed from him, and his soul ascended, he closed his own eyes, and disposed his hands and body into such a posture as required not the least alteration by those who came to shroud him.' So entered a learned, zealous, and able Minister of the New Testament into his rest. As another proof of his calm confidence in God, we quote a sentence from his will, written rather more than a year before he died: 'I give my gracious God an entire sacrifice of body and soul, with my most humble thanks for that assurance which His blessed Spirit now imprints in me of the salvation of the one, and the resurrection of the other.'

It is as a poet that Dr. Donne is best known to us. We have said that his hymns and sonnets are rugged, and full of incongruous imagery and extravagant fancies; but many of them are both sweet and forcible, and a vein of deep spirituality runs through them all. As a specimen of his muse we give 'A Hymn to God the Father,' written in sickness:

'Wilt Thou forgive that sin where I begun,
Which was my sin, though it were done before?
Wilt Thou forgive that sin through which I run,*
And do run still, though still I do deplore?
When Thou hast done, Thou hast not done; For I have more.

'Wilt Thou forgive that sin which I have won
Others to sin, and made my sins their door?
Wilt Thou forgive that sin which I did shun
A year or two, but wallowed in a score?
When Thou hast done, Thou hast not done; For I have more.

'I have a sin of fear, that when I've spun
My last thread, I shall perish on the shore;

* 'Run,' for ran.

But swear by Thyself, that at my death Thy Son
 Shall shine, as He shines now and heretofore ;
 And, having done that, Thou hast done : I fear no more.'

As a specimen of Donne's preaching, we give a passage on death : 'As soon the dust of a wretch whom thou wouldest not, as of a prince whom thou couldest not, look upon, would trouble thine eyes, if the wind blew it thither ; and when a whirlwind hath blown the dust of a churchyard into the church, and a man sweeps out the dust of the church into the churchyard, who will undertake to sift those dusts again, and to pronounce, "This is the patrician and this is the noble flour, this is the yeomanry and this the plebeian bran" ?'

Coleridge pronounces this 'very beautiful indeed.' Willmott says, 'Donne brought every aid of eloquence and oratory to the service of truth ; and we are assured, by one who often heard him, that the congregation might take notes from his look and hand. In this respect he differed from Hooker, whom the multitude deserted for Travers. Walton exhibits him in the pulpit of the Temple church, his eyes turned steadfastly in one direction, and appearing to study as he spoke. The eminent preachers of that day did not read their sermons.'

Donne's views on justification are given by himself in the following words : 'As the efficient justification, the gracious purpose of God, had done us no good without the material satisfaction, the death of Christ had followed ; and as that material satisfaction, the death of Christ, would do me no good without the instrumental justification, the apprehension by faith, so neither would this profit without the declaratory justification, by which all is pleaded and established. God enters not into our material justification, that is only Christ's ; Christ enters not into our instrumental justification, that is only faith's ; faith enters not into our declaratory justification (for faith is secret), and the declaration belongs to works. Neither of these can be said to justify us alone ; so as we may take the chain *in pieces*, and think to be justified by any one link thereof ; by God without Christ, by Christ without faith, by faith without works.'

ARCHBISHOP USHER.



ARCHBISHOP USHER.



AMES USHER was born in Dublin, in the parish of St. Nicholas, in the year 1580. His father was brought up in the study of the law. His mother, Mrs. Margaret Stanihurst, was perverted to the Romish religion. His grandfather, by his mother's side, was James Stanihurst, three times Speaker of the House of Commons in Ireland; he made the first motion for the founding of a College and University in Dublin. He was Recorder of that city, one of the Masters of the Chancery, and a man of great wisdom and integrity.

At ten years of age Usher's reading of some notes, taken in writing from Mr. Perkins, concerning the sanctifying of the Lord's Day, so affected him, that he was ever after careful to keep it. He then read, in Latin, St. Augustine's *Meditations*, which so moved him that he wept often in reading them. In five years he was perfectly instructed in grammar, rhetoric, and poetry. At thirteen he was admitted into the College of Dublin, being the first scholar that was entered in it. At fifteen he had made such proficiency in chronology, that he drew in Latin an exact chronicle of the Bible as far as the Book of Kings. About that time he had a strong temptation to fancy that God did not love him, because he had no outward afflictions, or troubles of conscience. His father's intention of sending him over hither to the Inns of Court for the study of the law much disturbed him; yet, in obedience to his father, he assented. But not long after his father died; and being then at liberty to make choice of his studies, he devoted himself to divinity, and was chosen Fellow of the College.

* Abridged from the Funeral Sermon preached by Dr. Bernard, in Westminster Abbey, April 17th, 1656.

Here was given another occasion of disturbance. His father left him a very good estate in land, but finding he must have involved himself in many suits of law before it could have been settled, to the withdrawing him from his studies, he gave it up to his brothers and sisters, and suffered his uncle to take letters of administration for that end, being in those years resolved to cast himself upon the providence of God, to Whose service in the ministry he had devoted himself, and did not doubt that He would provide for him.

When he was nineteen years old, he disputed with Henry Fitz-Symonds, the Jesuit, in the Castle of Dublin. He offered to dispute with him through the controversies of Bellarmine. The first subject was *De Anti-christo* (Concerning Antichrist); twice or thrice they had solemn disputations. At about twenty years of age he commenced Master of Arts, and was chosen Catechist of the College. When not yet twenty-one, he was ordained by his uncle, Henry Usher, Archbishop of Armagh.

He regularly came over to England once in three years, and thus spent the summer: one month at Oxford, another at Cambridge, searching the books, but especially the manuscripts, of each University; the third month at London, attending chiefly Sir Thomas Cotton's library, and conversing with learned men, with very many of whom he was intimate. The first Church preferment he had was the Chancellorship of St. Patrick's, Dublin.

When he was twenty-seven years old (A.D. 1607), he commenced Bachelor of Divinity, and immediately after was chosen Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin. In the year 1612 he commenced Doctor of Divinity. In the year 1613 he published his book, *De Ecclesiarum Christianarum Successione et Statu* (Concerning the Succession and State of Christian Churches). It was solemnly presented by Archbishop Abbot to King James as the eminent first fruits of that College at Dublin. In the year 1615 a parliament was held in Dublin, and a convocation of the clergy. Articles of religion were then composed and published. He being a member of the synod, was appointed to draw them up.



INTERIOR OF ST. PATRICK'S, DUBLIN.

King James, without his seeking, made him Bishop of Meath, in Ireland. He did not now slacken his constancy of preaching, but rather bound himself to it by the motto of his episcopal seal, *Vae mihi si non Evangelizavero* ('Woe is unto me, if I preach not the Gospel!')

While he was in England, Primate Hampton dying, he was made, in the year 1624, Primate of Ireland, the hundredth bishop of that see. When thus promoted, he was the more humble and laborious in preaching; but preaching some weeks together beyond his strength, he fell into a quartan ague, which disabled him three quarters of a year. After his recovery, Lord Mordaunt, afterwards Earl of Peterborough, being a Papist, and desirous to draw his lady to the same religion, was willing there should be a meeting of eminent men of each side to dispute on the controversy between them. The lady made choice of the Lord Primate, and prevailed with him, though recently recovered, and scarcely able to take that journey. The Jesuit chosen by the Earl went under the name of Beaumont, but his right name was Rockwood, brother to Ambrose Rockwood, one of the conspirators of the gunpowder treason. The place of meeting was at Drayton, in Northamptonshire, where there was a great library, that no books of the ancient fathers might be wanting. The points proposed were concerning Transubstantiation, Invocation of Saints, Images, and the Visibility of the Church. Three days were spent in disputations. The Earl, upon some further discourse with the Lord Primate, was converted, and became a Protestant, and so continued to his death. The Countess of Peterborough showed Usher great respect, and upon his losses in Ireland, took him to her own house, where he lived nine or ten years.

In the year 1626 he returned into Ireland, where he was received with all expressions of joy. The order observed in his family as to prayer, was service four times a day: in the morning at six, in the evening at eight, and before dinner and supper in the chapel, at all which he was always present. On Friday afternoons an hour was spent in going through the principles of religion, for the instruction of the family.

In Michaelmas Term, 1626, propositions were made by the Papists for a more full toleration of their religion; viz., the maintaining five hundred horse and five thousand foot, wherein the Protestants must have borne some share; for the consideration of which an assembly of the whole nation, Papists and Protestants, was called. The Bishops, by the Lord Primate's invitation, met at his house, and he and they unanimously subscribed a protestation against the toleration of Popery, of which the following is an extract:

'The religion of the Papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their Church in respect of both, apostatical. To grant them any money or contribution is to set religion to sale, and with it the souls of the people, whom Christ our Saviour hath redeemed with His most precious blood. And as it is a great sin, so also it is a matter of dangerous consequence.'

Every Lord's Day the Archbishop preached in the forenoon, in which he spent himself much. His order throughout his diocese to the Ministers was, to go through the Body of Divinity once a year. When a public fast was enjoined he kept it very strictly, preached always himself, continuing at least two hours. The last time he was in London, he much lamented the deadly hatred kindling in the hearts of men one against another by the several opinions in matters of religion; some of them in opposition to a ministry, contemning the Sacraments; others spreading damnable doctrines, heresies, and blasphemies; he was confident that the enemy which had sown these up and down the nation were priests, friars, and Jesuits, sent out of their seminaries from beyond sea in other disguises.

In the year 1640 he came out of Ireland to England, being invited by some eminent persons upon occasion of the difference between the King and parliament; this was God's special providence for his preservation, it being the year before the rebellion in Ireland. The sufferings he now endured were many. All his personal estate, with what else belonged to his primacy in Ireland, was destroyed. At this time he was preacher at Covent-garden Church. Upon his losses in Ireland, two offers

were made him from foreign nations: one from Cardinal Richelieu, of a large maintenance, and liberty to live where he pleased in France with the Protestants; the other from the Hollanders, offering him the place of Professor at Leyden, which had an ample stipend, but he refused both. And now he was, by the disturbance of the times, perpetually removed, having, with St. Paul, 'no certain dwelling-place.' The saying of David was often in his thoughts: 'Thou tellest my wanderings: put Thou my tears into Thy bottle.'

In 1642 he obtained leave of both Houses of Parliament to go to Oxford for study. In the year 1644, November 5th, the King coming there, he preached before him. The text was Nehemiah iv. 11: 'And our adversaries said, They shall not know, neither see, till we come in the midst among them, and slay them, and cause the work to cease.' But a passage in his sermon against the Papists, advising not to repose any trust in them, for that upon the first opportunity they would serve us here as they did the poor Protestants in Ireland, offended some persons present. In March following he went from thence into Wales, to Cardiff, and resided with his daughter. In September 16th, 1645, he removed thence to St. Donnet's (Lady Stradling's), when by the way he was barbarously used by some soldiers, and plucked off his horse; they broke open two of his trunks full of books, and took all away, amongst which he lost two manuscripts of the history of the Waldenses, which he never got again; most of the other books were restored, by the preachers exhorting all in their sermons to that end. Not long after he fell into a painful sickness, and all hope of life was past. But he recovered, and in 1646 returned to London.

After some time he was chosen preacher to the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn, where he continued many years with great honour and respect, till, having nearly lost his sight and strength, he was advised to forbear, and reserve the remainder of his strength for writing books. No spectacles could help him; only when the sun shone could he see at a window, which he hourly followed from room to room: in winter the window was often open for him to write at. After he left Lincoln's Inn, he

was prevailed on to preach at Gray's Inn in December, 1654; at the Temple, at Mr. Selden's funeral; and two other places in the city, both which latter were effectual in the conversion of many; and, indeed, seldom did the sword drawn by him *return empty*. The last sermon he preached was at Hammersmith. He sought no great things for himself. In his distresses by his losses in Ireland, the Parliament for some years had been bountiful to him in an annual stipend. After their dissolution the care of him was renewed by the Lord Protector Cromwell, by whose order a competent allowance was made to him. He was not so severe as to disown the ministry of other Reformed Churches, but declared he did love and honour them as true members of the Church universal. He was a man of exemplary moderation, meekness, and ingenuity. He had in 1641 drawn up an expedient, by way of accommodation in some ecclesiastical affairs, which some moderate persons of each party were ready to subscribe.

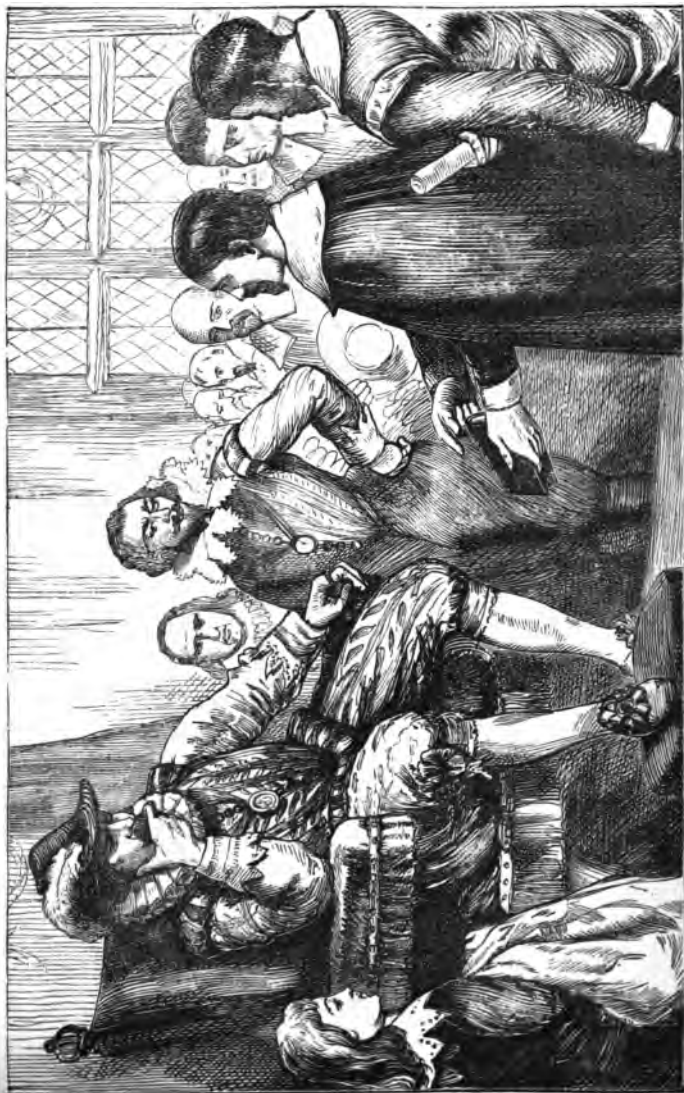
The last words he was heard to utter in praying for forgiveness of sins were, 'But, Lord, in special, forgive my sins of omission.' He died in the spring of 1656.

Archbishop Usher was one of the best and ablest men of an age in which there were many intellectual and spiritual giants. His literary reputation in this country principally rests, in the present day, on his attempts to settle Biblical chronology.



GATEWAY OF LINCOLN'S INN.

THE PURITANS UNDER THE STUARTS:
THOMAS GOODWIN.



INTERVIEW OF THE FORTIANS WITH JAMES L.

XI.



VERY victory is not an advantage to the victor. Sometimes a triumph is obtained by unlawful means, and the reaction, when it comes, may more than reverse all previous success. Pyrrhus gained a victory over the Romans; but when one of his officers came to congratulate him, Pyrrhus replied, 'Another such victory and we are inevitably ruined.' Victory may be obtained at too high a price.

The best subjects of any government are those who have the most goodness and godliness. The religion of the Bible leads to industry, and industry generally leads to success in trade, and thus the godly benefit the community to which they belong. True Christians are restrained by their piety from intemperance, luxury, and their attendant evils; and are, as a rule, thus kept from the prison, the poorhouse, and the infirmary. But beyond all, the godly have the friendship and blessing of the Author and Ruler of human life, Who governs individuals, families, cities, and nations throughout the world.

It is a principle of Scripture that the presence of the good in a community often becomes a public blessing, reaching even to the wicked themselves. The presence of Joseph in the house of Potiphar secured the blessing of the Lord on all he did; this Potiphar himself saw and owned. Afterwards, the abode of Joseph in the land of Egypt became a blessing to the whole nation, and the King and the Egyptians were sensible of it. The Lord blessed the house of Obed-edom because the ark of the Lord rested there. When Samaria was besieged by the Syrians, and a dreadful famine threatened the people, the presence of Elisha secured the deliverance of the city at the critical time. When the kingdom of Israel was suffering from a severe drought, when the brooks and the rivers were dried up, and the King himself went

in search of water without finding any, the presence of Elijah on the top of Carmel secured the deliverance of the nation from dreadful sufferings.

The prayers and the holy lives of the godly in a nation are often a better defence than ramparts and cannon and bayonets. Queen Mary, though at the head of affairs, and in possession of that mighty power which her father transmitted, is said to have dreaded the prayers of John Knox more than all the armies of Europe. The truly religious subjects belonging to any nation are the sinews of society, the bones and muscles of the body politic. Is it not bad policy, then (to take no higher ground), when a government deprives itself of such subjects by death or banishment? Some historians say, 'the Puritans were the salvation of their country,' and, 'to them we owe our civil liberty.' Hard, indeed, it was when they were denied religious liberty, which is man's birthright as a spiritual being, a subject of moral government, and a probationer for eternity. Divine Providence had determined the bounds of their habitation, and had cast their lot in Britain, where they were wishful to remain and serve their 'generation according to the will of God.' What, then, can we think of the tyrants who presumed to stand between them and the will of God? What had they done? Were they not good subjects of the State? Did they not pray, and live, and labour for the welfare of the King and nation? Yet they had to leave the endearments of the land of their nativity, in which they had spent the morning of their existence; they had to brave the dangers of a passage across the Atlantic, when transit was neither so safe nor so expeditious as at the present day. And when the dangers of the voyage were past, when they sighted land, cast anchor and went ashore, where were homes to receive them? There they were, to make the best of surrounding circumstances into which they had been driven. Strangers in a strange country, seeking what their own land denied them, '*Freedom to worship God.*'

During the reign of James I. the present Authorised Version of the Scriptures was issued, in the year 1611. It has been used by the nation from that time to the present. A most precious

heirloom it has been. One of the greatest and best gifts of its Divine Author as the common inheritance of the entire people, to promote their highest interests in this life, and to show them God's royal road from earth to heaven ; always pleading for the rights of injured and suffering humanity, whoever may be the sufferer, or for whatever cause the punishment may be inflicted.

The reign of the Stuarts is not a bright chapter in the history of Britain. It was well for the nation that the Bible had already made such progress, and its teaching had such a hold on the public mind. Severe battles had yet to be fought by those who loved the Word of God, before that state of society obtained in this country to which the teaching of the Bible constantly tends.

There are distinctions in society which the Scriptures always acknowledge when commands and counsels are given for the regulation of human conduct in this life. But there are other times when the Bible views mankind as *standing on a level*, and addresses them as equals. Have not all the same spiritual origin and destiny ? the same standing in the scale of spiritual existence ? and the same great work to do whilst they are passing through this life to the unseen world. Is not the salvation of the human soul a personal matter between the individual and God ? Can any human spirit obtain a meetness for 'the inheritance of the saints in light' by proxy, or human legislation ? Is not God alone man's supreme Legislator, and Ruler, and final Judge ?

When James ascended the throne of England, he was not long in showing how strong were his principles of uniformity in religious matters. Soon after his accession, the Puritans sought an interview with him regarding some freedom in religion which they desired to have granted to them. When the King had heard their representative, he said, 'If this be all your party have to say, I will make them conform, or I will harry them out of this land, or else worse.' And when writing to a friend in Scotland soon afterwards, he said that he had 'soundly peppered off' the Puritans, that they had fled before him, and that their petitions had turned him more earnestly against them. How

far 'the Solomon of his age' kept his word, subsequent events proclaimed.

The book of Canons found an easy passage through both houses of convocation, and was afterwards ratified by the King's letters patent under his great seal; but not being confirmed by Act of Parliament, it has repeatedly been adjudged that they bind only the clergy, the laity not being represented in convocation. Some of those canons assume more than can be proved, and subsequent events in this country have proclaimed their fallibility. Yet whilst they were in operation, they put new hardships upon the Puritans, and could they have been effectual, the door of heaven would have been shut against them. What an inestimable blessing was the existence of the Bible at such a time! To it the people could make a final appeal on spiritual matters.

The 'Book of Sports' was issued as a manifesto against the strictness of the Puritans. When Sabbath-breaking is sanctioned by law, can the downfall of a people be very distant? Does not the recent history of a neighbouring nation teach sad lessons on the fearful consequences of openly breaking the Sabbath? The book was published to meet the wishes of the Papists and High-churchmen, who objected to the strictness of the Reformed religion. It is said, 'England never sank so low in its reputation, nor was so much exposed to the scorn and ridicule of its neighbours, as during the reign of the Stuarts.'

Before Charles I. came to the throne, he declared that when he was King there should be but one religion in the nation. When he was on the throne, and Laud was at the head of the Church, the prospects of the Puritans were far from being bright. The marriage of the King had no tendency to promote the interests of Protestantism, nor was Laud very indulgent to those whose religious views were not in harmony with his own.

The deadly contest which Popery has maintained with Protestantism has not been confined to any particular age or nation, but in every age it has extended to every country where Protestantism has had an existence and Popery has been allowed to show itself.

During the reign of Charles I. the great Cardinal Richelieu formed a design to extirpate the Huguenots of France, by securing all their places of strength. With this object, he laid siege to Rochelle. Richelieu, though in the Church, was a great politician, and took advantage of the English King's late match with France, and sent to borrow seven or eight ships, to be employed as the King of France might direct during the contest with the Huguenots. The ships were granted; but when the British sailors were told whither and why they were going, they declared they would rather be thrown overboard, or hung up on the top of the masts, than fight against their Protestant brethren. Neither the admiral nor the French officers could change the minds of the British sailors. But the King, when informed of their conduct, commanded his admiral to consign his ship into the hands of the French admiral, and put the others in the service of the French, and in case of resistance to sink the ships rather than be successfully withstood. It was thus that, after a long blockade by sea and land, the chief bulwark of the Protestant interests in France was surrendered into the hands of the Papists. This event showed how the tide of feeling was flowing in the court of this professedly Protestant land.

Measures at length became so extreme that many of the Puritans were obliged to leave their native land and go to North America, to enjoy there that religious liberty which was denied them at home.

Many of the emigrants would have been a blessing to any country as persons of religious principle, wealth, enterprise, and other resources tending to the stability and prosperity of the nation. It is said that if the persecution of the Puritans had continued twelve years longer, one-fourth of the riches of the kingdom would have passed away from Britain through the stream of emigration. The nation was thus losing a vast amount of wealth in money, mind, and religious character. Eliot, 'the apostle to the Indians,' was not allowed to teach a school in his native country! The fruit of such doings at length became evident to those who were guilty of them, and a

proclamation was issued forbidding all persons except soldiers, marines, merchants, and their factors, to leave the kingdom without his Majesty's license. At one time, eight ships were in the river Thames bound for New England, filled with Puritan families, amongst whom were *Oliver Cromwell* and *John Hampden*, who were detained in England by order of the King.

During the reign of Charles I. the Irish massacre took place, the design of which seems to have been the extirpation of Protestantism. No consideration held the Papists back from their wicked purpose. They broke the ties of friendship and consanguinity; and thousands, thinking they were engaged in the cause of *loyalty and religion*, devoted themselves to the slaughter of the Protestants. Nearly two hundred thousand were thus put to death, and many of them were treated in ways too cruel and inhuman to be described. At one abbey there was a consultation as to what course should be taken with the Protestants, when some were for treating them as the King of Spain did the Moors, whilst others were for destroying the whole of them, by cutting them off at once. This massacre attended an insurrection, the object of which was to place the Government in the hands of the Irish Papists, at a time when Charles I. was not in very favourable circumstances in England; and that the English court were not accessory to the insurrection is more than some historians will admit. Even Clarendon confesses that the authors of the insurrection are answerable for the calamities of the civil war, and if the insurrection had not taken place, it is probable that the sad events which afterwards befell the King and the nation would have been prevented.

The state of feeling at length became so strong, that when a remonstrance touching grievances was made out and presented to those in power, Oliver Cromwell told Lord Falkland that if the remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England any more. At length the unhappy civil war broke out, the consequence of carrying measures beyond their legitimate bounds. Coercion in religious matters never leads to religious triumphs, but tends naturally to bring about its own destruction. We see this truth

illustrated and confirmed repeatedly during the period we are now considering. Sometimes the persecuted when in power became the persecutors, and denied to others those religious rights for which they themselves cried aloud when they were not at the helm of affairs.

Amidst all these contentions the Bible maintained its position; and whilst anti-scriptural principles clashed, and in deadly struggle destroyed each other, the Bible lived through all, and at length gave that peace which it is its mission to confer.

The Puritans have been blamed by some for their great strictness, and at the time of the Restoration the evils which flowed in upon our nation like a flood are called the reaction of Puritanism. But was it really so? Look at the Revolution in France in 1791 and afterwards; did anything like Puritanism precede it? Is it not ascribed to just an opposite cause? Is it not said that the loose living of those who professed Christianity had much to do with bringing about the fearful revolution? If Puritanism led to the sad state of society in the time of Charles the Second, what produced the Revolution during the next reign? Does not every age come into existence with all the leading features of a fallen state? And if there be not a counteracting influence in operation, will not the corrupt tree certainly bear corrupt fruit? The language of the Bible on this point is clear and decisive: 'Can the Ethiopian change his skin, or the leopard his spots? then may ye also do good, that are accustomed to do evil.' Can human reason, or science, or philosophy, or wealth, or any other human resource, become a remedy for the radical and mighty evils which are common to fallen human nature?

When Charles was at Breda, he used language like the following: 'We do also declare a liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matters of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom.' Did the Puritans want more? Did they obtain that?

The Duke of York, who succeeded his brother Charles by the title of James the Second; had been bred a Papist by his mother, and was strongly in favour of Popery. He began his



THOMAS GOODWIN.

reign a Papist in heart and in conduct. The first Sabbath after his accession he went publicly to mass, and obliged Father Huddleston, who attended his brother in his last hours, to declare to the world that he died a *Roman Catholic*. He conceived the project of changing the established religion of his country. He went openly to mass with all the insignia of royalty, and sent an agent to Rome to make submission to the Pope, and to prepare the way for the re-admission of England into the bosom of the Roman Church.

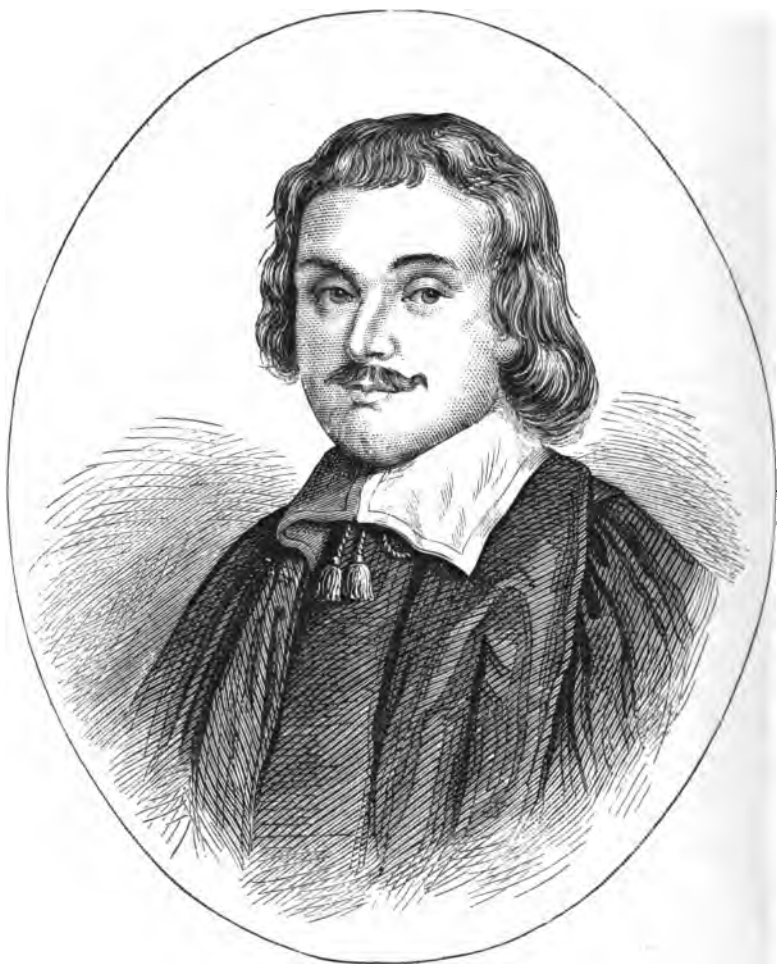
One day, when the Spanish ambassador ventured to advise his Majesty not to place too much confidence in the Romish priests, 'Is it not the custom in Spain,' said the King, 'for the sovereign to consult with his confessor?' 'Yes,' answered the ambassador; 'and that is the reason our affairs succeed so very ill.' The King expressed a wish to repeal the penal laws, as if to benefit the Dissenters, and issued a Declaration of general indulgence, proclaiming that nonconformity to the established religion was no longer penal. But the Dissenters saw that his chief aim was to prepare the way for the Papists, and should Romanism come in under the sanction of the Sovereign, the time would not be distant when the whole Protestant interest would be swallowed up together. The Dissenters were more willing to trust their liberty to the mercy of their Protestant brethren, than receive a legal security for it under a Popish government.

The King was still bent on accomplishing his design, but his policy turned against himself, and issued in 'the glorious Revolution of 1688.' Father Petre was the King's Confessor, and one of his Majesty's Privy Council, and he was resolved on the ruin of the Protestant Church. James intended to make him Archbishop of York, which see was then vacant, and he also contemplated procuring him a cardinal's hat, if he could prevail with the Pope.

One of the greatest of the Puritan leaders was THOMAS GOODWIN. Born in the reign of Elizabeth, he lived till the twentieth year of Charles the Second, seventeen years after the ejection of the Nonconforming clergymen. He entered Christ's

College, Cambridge, in 1613, being then in his fourteenth year; was chosen a fellow and a lecturer in 1620, being still a minor. But in 1634, 'dissatisfied in his conscience with the laws of conformity,' he abandoned all his preferments. Under the pressure of persecution he left England in 1639, and took refuge in Holland. On the breaking out of the civil war, he returned to England, in 1643, and was appointed by an ordinance of Parliament, pastor of a church in London, and a member of the famous Westminster Assembly of Divines. Cromwell chose him as his chaplain, and he was admitted President of Magdalen College, Oxford. On the Restoration, he resigned his Presidentship, and anticipated the Act of Uniformity by becoming pastor of an Independent Church in London, formed principally of Oxonians who followed him from the University to the metropolis. In the great Fire of London he lost about half his library, to the value of five hundred pounds, the rest being rescued from the flames, with extreme personal hazard, by the celebrated Moses Lowman. His biographer remarks on this bereavement, 'God struck him thus in a very sensible part; for he loved his library too well.' Thomas Goodwin wrote many rich pieces of divinity, the principal of which are his Commentaries of parts of the Epistle to the Ephesians and the Book of Revelation, and those which Mr. Wesley abridged for the Christian library: *A Child of Light Walking in Darkness*; *Christ the Object and Support of Faith*; *The Return of Prayers*; and the *Trial of a Christian's Growth*. He was one of the holiest men of his time. Wesley thus acutely characterises him as a theologian: 'He was a very considerable scholar, and an eminent divine; and had a very happy faculty in descanting upon Scripture, so as to bring forth surprising remarks, which yet generally tended to illustration.' Even during his lifetime his writings achieved a European reputation, and were specially valued in America.

ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON.



ARCHBISHOP LEIGHTON.

XII.



HE father of this eminent man was Alexander Leighton, D.D., the author of a book, entitled, *Zion's Plea; or, An Appeal to the Parliament*, which brought upon him the vengeance of Bishop Laud and the High Commission Court. He was condemned in the Star Chamber to have his ears cut and his nose slit, and was imprisoned for eleven years.

His son, the Archbishop, was a man of very considerable learning and great piety. Dr. Burnet says that he was possessed of a high and noble sense of Divine things, and that he had a contempt both of wealth and reputation, and bore every sort of ill-usage and reproach like a man that had pleasure in it. The sublimity of thought and expression in his preaching, and the grace and gravity of his pronounciation were such, that few persons heard him without emotion.

Dr. Doddridge wrote a preface to his *Expository Works*, in which he calls him a 'wonderful man,' and speaks of the delight and edification which he found in reading his writings. Of the Bishop's style he says, it has dignity and force mingled with true simplicity, and has often reminded him of that soft and sweet eloquence of Ulysses, which Homer describes as falling like flakes of snow. Soon after the accession of Charles II., he was appointed Bishop of Dunblane, Scotland, but finding his efforts thwarted, he was discouraged, and resigned his bishopric.

In 1670 he proposed to the King a plan for settling the differences in the Church of Scotland, and accepted the Archbishopric of Glasgow. When he came to Glasgow, he held a synod, and exhorted the clergy, 'To look more to God, and to consider themselves as the Ministers of the cross of Christ; to lay aside all revenge, and to humble themselves before God by

secret fasting and prayer, and to meet often, that they might quicken one another in these holy exercises.'



GLASGOW CATHEDRAL.

After various unsuccessful attempts to establish peace in the Church, he resolved, in the year 1672, to give up the see of

Glasgow. He had not gained the favour of the Presbyterians, and he was disliked by the Episcopalians; and as he could not execute his designs of healing and reforming the Church, he left Scotland, and retired to a private house at Broadhurst, in Sussex.

He lived ten years in Sussex, doing great good in his neighbourhood. In 1684 he went to London, at the request of some friends, on a visit of mercy. He was then about seventy years of age. When Dr. Burnet saw him, he observed how well he looked. He replied that he was very near his end, and that his work and journey were almost done. He was the next day taken ill of a pleurisy, and died the day after at the Bell Inn, in Warwick Lane. He used to say, that if he were to choose a place to die in, it should be an inn. To die at an inn he thought looked like a pilgrim going home, who was weary of the noise and confusion of the world.

He had melancholy reflections on the state of the Church of England. He regarded it as the best constituted Church in the world, as to its doctrine and worship; but he condemned the proceedings in the ecclesiastical courts, and the want of pastoral care in the clergy. He thought that it looked like a fair carcass without a spirit, and that the clergy were destitute of zeal in the service of God.

As a specimen of the piety of this good Bishop, we subjoin some extracts from his *Rules and Instructions for a Holy Life* :

1. Learn to have a continual eye inwardly to thy spiritual life, as thou hast heretofore had all thy mind and regard to outward pleasure and worldly things.

2. Give thyself up unto the discipline of Jesus, and become His scholar, resigning thyself altogether to obey Him in all things.

3. Keep thy memory pure from all strange imaginations, and let it be filled with the virtues of Christ's life and passion, that God may continually rest in thy mind.

4. Exercise thyself to the perfect denial of all things which

may impede thy union with Christ. Mortify in thee everything that is not of God, and which He loveth not.

5. Resist all affection to, and seeking of thyself, which is so natural to men in all the good which they desire or do, and in all the evil which they suffer.

6. Mortify all pleasure in meat, drink, and vain thoughts. Vain thoughts will defile thy soul, grieve the Holy Ghost, and do great damage to thy spiritual life.

7. Imprint on thy heart the image of Jesus crucified. Think of His humility, poverty, mildness; and let thy thoughts of Him turn into affection, and thy knowledge into lov

8. Mortify all bitterness of heart towards others, and all complacency in thyself, all vainglory and desire of esteem in words and deeds, in gifts and graces.

9. Avoid all vain speculations on unnecessary things, human or divine. The perfect life of a Christian consisteth not in high knowledge, but profound meekness, in holy simplicity, and in the ardent love of God.

10. Take all afflictions as tokens of God's love to thee, and trials of thy love to Him, and purposes of kindness to enrich thee, and increase more plentifully in thee His blessed gifts and spiritual graces.

11. Whatsoever befalleth thee, receive it not as from the hand of any creature, but from God alone, and render back all to Him, seeking in all things His pleasure and honour, and thine own sanctification.

12. Remember always the presence of God; rejoice always in the will of God; direct all to the glory of God.

His great work is his most beautiful exposition of the First Epistle of St. Peter.

RICHARD BAXTER.



RICHARD BAXTER.

XIII.



HE saintly Baxter was born in troublous times in the history of our country, in the year 1615. The reigning monarch was James the First of England, the sixth of Scotland, under whom the crowns of the two kingdoms were united.

Notwithstanding this auspicious union, the two countries were greatly distracted by the rival parties into which they were split. By an ill-advised measure, James had established Episcopacy in Scotland, and his determination to force that form of Church government upon his fellow-countrymen aroused their opposition, and sowed the seeds of that religious persecution which broke out in the following reign against the Covenanters. In England, discontent prevailed because of the King's attempts to rule in a more absolute manner than was agreeable to the Parliament; so that he and the Commons were placed in perpetual antagonism to each other.

Such was the state of events when Richard Baxter was being cradled in his country home in Shropshire. He was of a weakly constitution, and seemed ill-fitted to endure the privations and sufferings which fell to his lot in later years. He was educated for the Church, and at the age of twenty-three was ordained a Minister of the Gospel by Bishop Thornborough. Two years later he was appointed Vicar of Kidderminster. This town, formerly noted for its broadcloth and linsey-woolseys, but more lately for its carpet manufacture, for which it has obtained a world-wide reputation, was destined to become the principal scene of the labours of this eminent man. For two years he exercised his ministry here, preaching the Word of Life from the pulpit of the parish church on the Sabbath, and assiduously discharging the duties of a pastor of the flock by house to house visitation among his parishioners. His ministry was graciously

owned of God in the revival of true religion and the salvation of souls, who were gathered in societies for Christian communion and mutual edification after the manner of the Methodist Class-meetings of a later date. The pulpit from which he ministered is still preserved, and is an interesting relic of his residence at Kidderminster. Its original position was in the nave of the parish church; but several years ago, when some alterations were made in the interior of the imposing old edifice, it was removed and sold, much to the regret of many of the parishioners, who revered the memory of the saintly man with whom it stands associated. It was purchased by a gentleman of the Unitarian denomination, and now stands in the vestry of the Unitarian Meeting-House at Kidderminster, where the writer has seen it. It is of oak, very elaborately carved and gilded, and is accompanied with the old orthodox heavy sounding-board, which hangs over it like a dome. It was the gift of a lady, and bears the date of A.D. 1621, nineteen years before Baxter's time. A text of Scripture in gilt letters is carved upon it, and the donor is commemorated by the following inscription in capital letters: ALICE DAWKIN WIDOW GAVE THIS. PRAISE THE LORD. There are also preserved in the same place a portrait of Baxter and a copy of the original edition of his collected works in large 8vo, strongly bound in leather.

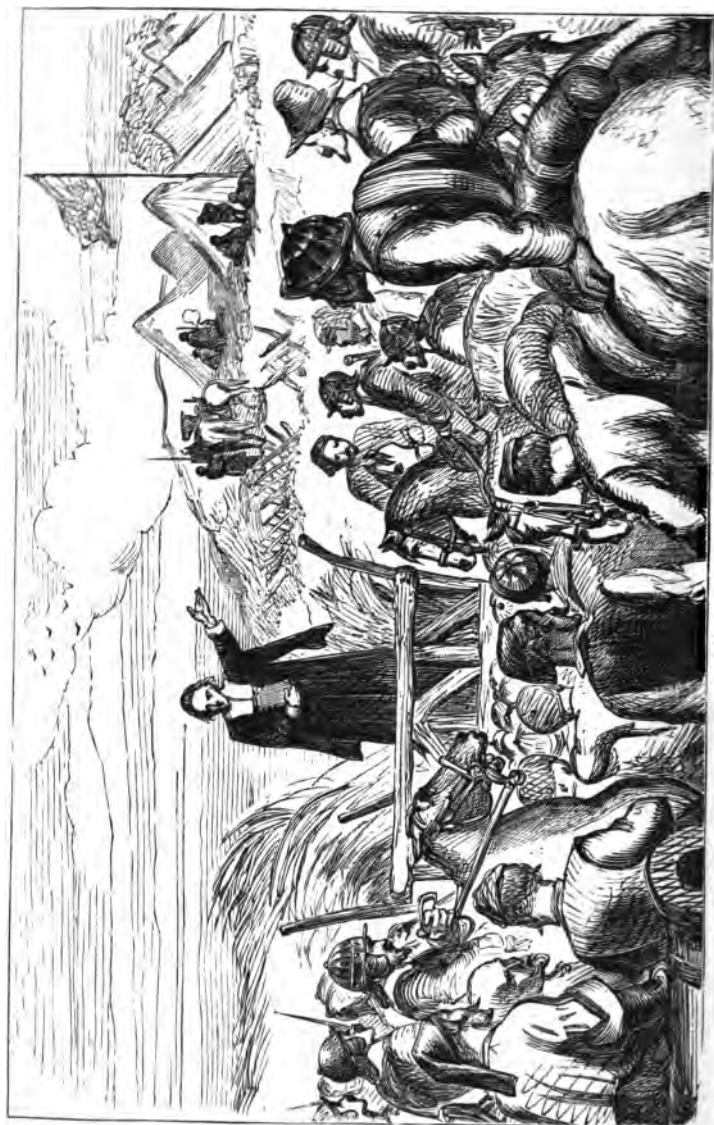
The dissensions between the King and Parliament under Charles I. at length resulted in the outbreak of the Civil War. The nobles for the most part espoused the cause of royalty, while the city of London, with most of the large corporations of the kingdom, arrayed themselves on the side of the Parliament. Baxter's political and religious convictions impelled him to cast in his lot with the Parliamentarians, and he resigned his special charge to join the army as a chaplain. Nothing but a strong sense of duty would have induced him to take this step, for camp life was most uncongenial to a man of his spirit and temperament, and during the time he was in the camp, he lived there, to use his own words, 'in a military, displeasing state.'

He was now launched on the stormy sea of political strife, and a perilous voyage lay before him. Being of moderate opinions, and opposed to all extreme measures, it was his misfortune fre-

quently to find himself placed in opposition to the strong partisans of both sides. His own friends were offended with him because they thought he was too leniently disposed towards the bishops, while the Episcopalian party hated him for his adherence to the cause of Presbyterianism. He was by no means a disbeliever in monarchy, as he informed Oliver Cromwell to his face when Cromwell assumed the Protectorate; but in the questions which were in dispute between the two rival parties into which the nation was at that time unhappily divided, his sympathies were strongly on the side of the Parliament, in the cause of which he preached, wrote, and fought,

While the tide of battle was passing over Edgehill, as the armies of Prince Rupert and Essex met in that fatal encounter which resulted in the slaughter of five thousand men by the swords of their fellow-countrymen, Baxter was preaching within hearing of the cannon. After many wanderings, on the invitation of the Governor, he undertook a spiritual charge at Coventry. But his restless spirit would not allow him to continue there, so he left the pulpit again for the camp, this time as chaplain of Colonel Whalley's regiment. He saw considerable military service, and was exposed to much peril: he was present at the taking of the town of Bridgewater, and also at the sieges of Exeter, Bristol, and Worcester.

His life was mercifully preserved, for God had work in store for him by which his name should be immortalised, and the generations then unborn should be blessed and comforted. It was not as a soldier, nor as a political pamphleteer, that he was to be had in remembrance, but as a religious author. So feeble a frame was ill suited for the fatigues and hardships of camp life, and it was not long before Baxter's health quite gave way. He suffered so much from extreme physical debility and loss of blood, that he despaired of life. It was while he was in this condition, and as he stood face to face with eternity, that he began to write what he designed in the first instance to be a sort of funeral sermon for himself, with the addition of sundry helps for his own meditations on heaven; but the treatise grew in his hands until he produced that goodly volume, *The Saints' Ever-*



PREACHING IN THE GALE.

lasting Rest, the one book which, above all his other writings, has made his name famous to posterity. At this time he had no friend near to cheer his lonely hours, and no book at hand save the Bible. But that season of pain and weariness was turned to good account by the invalid Puritan, who devoted himself to the comforting of those that mourn, and many a faint traveller to Zion has had cause to be thankful for it.

It would seem as if men must themselves become sufferers before they are fitted to be comforters. In the midst of the activities of life, the time and attention are too fully occupied to allow that leisure which is requisite for calm reflection and meditation; while those who are engaged in party strife and political debate are too much under the influence of passion and prejudice to form an unbiassed judgment of men and things. But when the tumult of this busy world is viewed at a distance through 'the loopholes of retreat,' it assumes a much diminished importance. Then we can take a juster view of ourselves and others, of the shortness of time, the vanity of all things earthly as compared with the dread realities of an approaching eternity.

During his enforced absence, Baxter never forgot his loving flock at Kidderminster, and in 1657 he accepted their earnest invitation to return and labour among them again. To them he dedicated his *Saints' Everlasting Rest*, assuring his old friends that 'if either he or his labour had anything of public use or worth, it was wholly (though not only) theirs.'

Two centuries have passed away since that dedication was penned, and throughout nearly the whole of that long period the old fends of Baxter's days have been left to slumber undisturbed; but the name and memory of the venerable Puritan are still held in loving remembrance by the inhabitants of that town, on which he has shed such lustre by his connection with it, and both Churchmen and Dissenters have joined in raising a suitable monument to Baxter at Kidderminster.

With the Restoration under Charles II., the sufferings of the Puritans were renewed. By the passing of the Act of Uniformity, two thousand of the clergy were forced to resign their livings, and were driven out of the Church. Amongst the ejected Ministers

was Baxter. He, together with Calamy and Reynolds, was offered a seat on the Episcopal bench, but only the last named accepted the dignity. The political works of Baxter were publicly committed to the flames at Oxford.

He now retired from public life for a time, and devoted himself to authorship. Amongst other works written at this period was his *Call to the Unconverted*.

Once more he emerged from seclusion to exercise his ministry, but he was constantly harassed and subjected to persecution under the oppressive Acts against the Nonconformists. He had settled in London, and lectured regularly at Pinner's Hall and Fetter Lane, but he was subjected to the most disgraceful espionage; and in those days of informations, when men were hired to manufacture charges against such persons as were obnoxious to the Government, it was hardly to be expected that so public a character as Baxter would escape these myrmidons of tyranny. He was frequently fined. On one occasion, the officers broke into his house when he was suffering from a severe illness, and would have carried him off to prison but for the timely interposition of his physician. To such a height was this spirit of persecution carried, that it became at length dangerous for a Dissenting minister to be seen in the streets, and almost impossible for a meeting for worship to be held in any other place besides the parish church, without the preacher and congregation being informed against, arrested, and thrown into prison.

About six years before his death, Baxter fell a prey to the rage of the infamous Judge Jeffreys. He was arrested on a charge of sedition. The judge of the *Bloody Assize* conducted himself with his usual ferocity. Baxter begged to be allowed a little time to prepare his defence, but the enraged Lord Chief Justice roared out, 'Not a minute to save his life. There stands Oates on one side of the pillory, and if Baxter stood on the other, the two greatest rogues in the kingdom would stand together.' When counsel attempted to plead for the prisoner, they were silenced in the most arbitrary manner, the judge applying to them the most offensive epithets; and when Baxter essayed to speak for himself, Jeffreys cut him short with, 'Richard, Richard,

dost thou think we will let thee poison the court? Richard, thou art an old knave. Thou hast written books enough to load a cart, and every book as full of sedition as an egg is full of meat. By the grace of God, I'll look after thee.' He tauntingly



BAXTER BEFORE JUDGE JEFFREYS.

told him that he knew how to deal with saints as well as sinners. Baxter ventured to ask the Chief Justice whether he thought any jury would convict on such evidence as was brought against him. Jeffreys told him that he *would see*; and surely enough a verdict of '*Guilty*' was found, for the jury consisted of sworn

enemies of the Puritans. It is said that Jeffreys had recommended that his prisoner should be publicly whipped at the cart's tail, but he was not able to carry out his cruelty to such an extent. The sentence was a heavy fine, and imprisonment until it should be paid. Baxter was unable to pay, and was committed to jail; but ultimately Lord Powis mediated on his behalf, the fine was remitted, and Baxter released from his confinement, and allowed to spend his remaining years in peace.

Mr. Wesley was a great admirer both of Baxter and his writings, although he did not always agree with his theological opinions. Among the numerous works which Wesley published in an abridged form, was *An Extract of Mr. Richard Baxter's 'Aphorisms on Justification,'* which he strongly recommended his preachers to read. And when the subject of pastoral visitation was under consideration at one of the early Conferences, the following question was put, as reported in the *Large Minutes*: 'Can we find a better method of doing this than Mr. Baxter's? If not, let us adopt it without delay. His whole tract, entitled *Gildas Salvianus*, is well worth a careful perusal.' The works of this 'good and sensible man,' as Mr. Wesley calls him, are not so much read by this generation as they were by the preceding, but they will not willingly be allowed to perish by those who esteem the literature of practical religion. With the recent revival of Puritan divinity, they have been published, with other works of the same period, in a modern and convenient form, and are now much better known than they were a few years ago. To preachers of the Gospel they are especially valuable, as exhibiting a most forceful and striking manner of presenting the truths of religion to their hearers; while to mature Christians, the *Saints' Rest* is a most useful companion and guide in the house of their pilgrimage.

After having encountered and survived so many storms, at the good old age of seventy-six, Richard Baxter entered the haven of rest. He died in London, in 1691, and was buried in Christ Church.

JEREMY TAYLOR.



JEREMY TAYLOR.

XIV.



ISHOP TAYLOR was born at Cambridge, and brought up at the Free School there. He was ripe for the University before custom would allow of his admission ; but when he was thirteen years of age, he entered at Caius College, and as soon as he had taken his degree was chosen fellow. He was a man in understanding long before he was one in years ; and when he was Master of Arts, removed from the University to London, and became public lecturer at St. Paul's, where he preached to the admiration and astonishment of his hearers. The fame of this new star which outshone all the rest, soon came to the notice of the Archbishop of Canterbury, who would have him to preach before him, which Mr. Taylor did, to the Archbishop's wonder and satisfaction. That great patron of learning thought it for the advantage of the world that such singular gifts should be afforded better opportunities of study and improvement than a constant course of preaching would admit of, and for that purpose placed him in his own College of All Souls', in Oxford, where love and admiration still waited upon him ; and afterwards gave him the living of Uppingham, in Rutlandshire, and made him Chaplain to King Charles the First.

No sooner had he launched into the world than the Civil War brought all things into confusion. This storm cast him ashore in a corner of the world ; but a tender Providence shrouded him. The prophet was fed in the wilderness, and his great worthiness procured him friends who supplied him with necessaries. In this solitude he began to write those discourses which will be famous to all generations for their many excellences and their general usefulness.

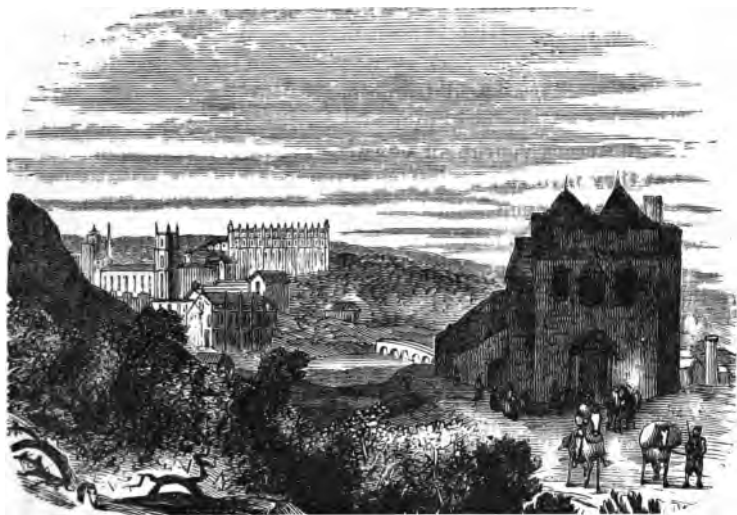
Here it pleased God to visit his family with sickness, and to

take to Himself three of his sons within three months. Though he had learned quiet submission to the will of God, yet the affliction so affected him that he was willing to leave the country, and Lord Conway took him into Ireland, and settled him at Portmore, a place well adapted for study and contemplation, which, therefore, he greatly loved.

Soon after King Charles the Second was restored, he fixed Dr. Taylor in the bishopric of Down and Connor. With great care and faithfulness he discharged the duties of this important office, gave most excellent rules and directions to his clergy, and taught them by his own example. Upon his coming to the bishopric, he was made a Privy Councillor; and the University of Dublin recommended him for their Vice-Chancellor, which honourable office he kept to his dying day.

God had befriended him much in his constitution; he was of a most obliging disposition, of great candour, of singular intelligence, and of such a sweetness of address in familiar discourse, as made his conversation both pleasing and profitable. His soul was made up of harmony. He never spoke but he charmed his hearer, not only with the clearness of his reasoning, but with his expressions; his very tone and the cadences of his voice being peculiarly musical. He weighed men's reasons and not their names, and was not frightened from receiving truth by the ugly visors which men usually put upon the opinions they dislike. He considered that it is not likely that any one party should wholly engross truth to themselves, but that obedience is the only way to true knowledge (John vii. 17); that God always, and only, teaches humble, ingenuous minds that are willing to hear and ready to obey according to their light; that it is impossible that a pure, lowly, resigned soul should be kept out of heaven, though there might be some mistakes in his judgment; that God's design is, not merely to fill men's heads, nor to feed their curiosity, but to improve their lives. Such considerations as these made him impartial, so that he gave due allowance to his opponents, and contended for truth, not for victory. To these advantages of nature and excellences of spirit he added an indefatigable industry, to which God gave a plentiful bene-

diction; for there were very few kinds of learning of which he was not master. He was wonderfully versed in all polite literature; he had thoroughly digested all the ancient moralists, Greek and Roman; the poets and orators; and was acquainted with the refined wits of the later ages, both French and Italian. His skill was great both in the Civil and Canon Law and Casuistical Divinity. He was a most excellent conductor



OLD CAMBRIDGE.

of souls, and knew how to give counsel, to solve difficulties, to determine cases of conscience, and quiet the minds of men.

Taylor was a poet, as well as an orator and theologian. His verses are quaint, but musical; *e.g.* :

‘ Where Thou prepar’st a glorious place,
 Within the brightness of Thy face,
 For every spirit To inherit,
 That builds his hope upon Thy merit. . . .

And our soul In the scroll
 Of life and blissfulness enroll. . . .
 The paths made straight,
 With longing expectation wait,
 The consecration of the beauteous feet. . . .
 The parchèd crust of leprosy
 Returns unto its infancy.'

On Taylor's writings Willmott justly remarks: 'If we open a volume of old Theology immediately after closing a modern one, the sensation is most pleasurable. We escape from the gaudy flower-pots and shrubberies into the stately and embowered walks, statued terraces, fruitful walls, and marble fountains of a more picturesque and meditative nature. Whatever be the eccentricities of construction or embellishment, we feel that they involved an immense outlay of study and wealth. In his day the French school of pulpit oratory was only rising. Bossuet, Bourdaloue, and La Rue belong to a subsequent period. Coleridge complains of his occasional and imperfect references to the scheme of Redemption.

'In literature as in art there is no perfect and independent originality; every *Æneid* is the expansion or modification of an *Iliad*. The most successful have always been the most imitative. Rubens surrounded himself with medals and drawings. Gray never attempted to compose until he had read a canto of Spenser. Taylor borrowed from Sir John Hayward.'

GEORGE FOX.



GEORGE FOX.

XV.



'TIME-HONOURED LANCASTER' is behind us, and as our train dashes along there is a health-giving, inspiriting rush of sea air to our carriage window that tells us not far away must be (though we cannot see them) the billowy waves of ocean. We have cleared Carnforth, and presently the magnificence of our ride leaves us almost breathless with excitement. Beneath our railway (along which we go at a heedless, rocking pace) there is the restless sea; away to our left and far ahead nothing but sea, until it requires a reassuring glance out of the window to our right to realise the fact that we are, as the sailors say, 'hugging the land,' though even that glance shows there is a considerable stretch of water between us and *terra firma*.

This, then, is the wonderful railway 'track' across the beautiful bay of Morecambe, a triumph equally of engineering skill and of indomitable perseverance, for many a time were the first piles of that huge bridge swallowed up by the hungry sea. Right under us, and across from Carnforth to Ulverstone, when the tide is out, is, or was, a pretty safe road, providing you left either point at a given time. Many, however, are the sad stories of travellers who, leaving late, or overcome by weariness and overtaken by the returning tide, have hopelessly perished.

Away on our right, resting on a hill-side and commanding the best view of the bay, stands Holker Hall, one of the seats of the Duke of Devonshire. While behind and northwards (for it is clear enough here) in the distance, rise the 'rocky hills and crags' of Westmoreland.

Each bound on our way over the sea has taken us nearer Ulverstone, our present destination, while we have caught glimpses of things which we must presently see and know more

about. Ulverstone is a place of considerable business, and very attractive. Towering above the town on a grassy hill is a monument to the late Sir John Barrow, a gentleman of considerable fame both in literature and otherwise. Not very far from the town, seated right in the cliff which stands at the mouth of the bay (Ulverstone cosily resting inside), is a splendid castellated building, known as Conishead Priory. Its singular beauty and eagle's nest-like position have won for it the title of 'The Paradise of Furness'; from whence, kind reader, you will gather that not a great way off are the stately ruins of Furness Abbey, a noble and sombre pile, grand amid its decay, and remarkable for the luxuriant growth of the deadly nightshade within its demesne. Did the monks of old cultivate and use it, and for as innocent a purpose, as do the daughters of Italy?

But our business here is to see the house where George Fox, the founder of the Society of Friends, courted Margaret Fell, and where the first Quakers' Meeting-House in England was built under his direction; so we must not be idle, for there is much to see and muse about.

While we are journeying to these spots, we must needs take up the story of GEORGE FOX's life until we reach the point that connects him with this particular neighbourhood.

In July, 1624, Drayton-in-the-Clay, Leicestershire, had the honour of becoming his birthplace, his father being a poor weaver. He was early apprenticed to a son of St. Crispin, and from the after evidence we very naturally conclude that his success in obtaining a knowledge of his business was about equal to Dr. Carey's. Certain it is that he twice broke his indentures and wandered away from his home. Travelling along in a leathern doublet, indicating his associations, he by-and-by reached London, where he was discovered by his friends, and induced to return home.

In 1647, the second occasion of his more effectual 'strike,' his allegiance to St. Crispin was completely severed.

For more than three years he had been going from church to chapel, and from chapel to church, vainly striving to obtain a solution of his religious difficulties. Racked by the gibing coun-

sels of rollicking clergymen, and the lifeless comfort of the dissenting divines, at nineteen he had for himself solved the mystery of the higher life, and begun to dream dreams, see visions, and cast out devils. Macaulay says he was a youth of pure morality, grave, perverse, with a labouring man's education (such as it was two hundred and fifty years ago), and an intellect too much disordered for liberty, but not sufficiently so for Bedlam. This is a shallow criticism; but we rejoice in the knowledge that George Fox was groping towards the light; he saw 'men as trees walking'; and when he had given up disturbing congregations, and by constant fasting and prayer, and an earnest study of the Scriptures, had obtained something like a clear view of his true mission; when he stands forth in the public marketplace, declaiming against the vices of the day, and exhorting to a moral and religious course; when he endures frequent imprisonment as the reward, we cannot but admire his sterling heroism.

In 1647 his public ministry began in Dukinfield and Manchester, and thenceforward he was constantly going from place to place, preaching and propagating his convictions, *except when in prison*. This must have been very frequently; he was well acquainted with most of the prisons in the country.

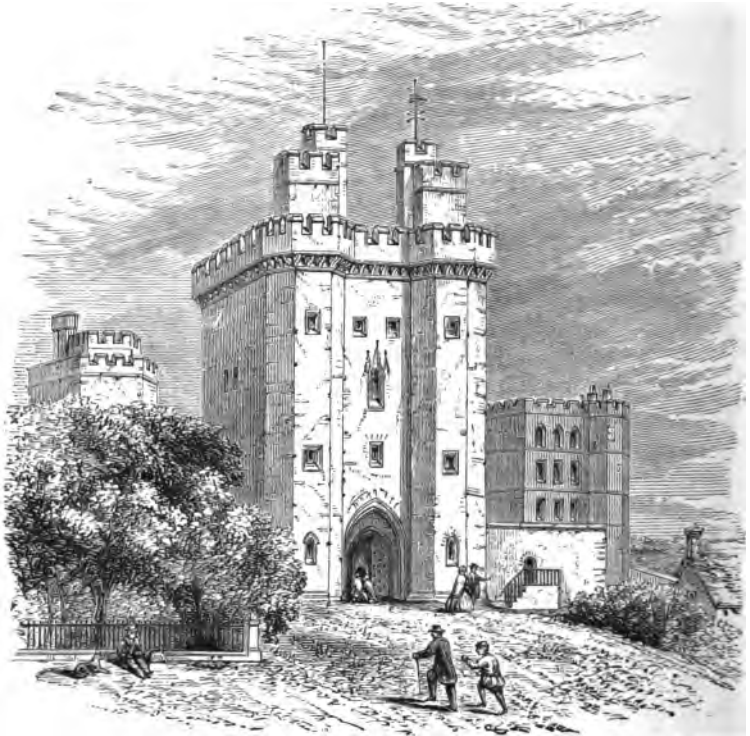
In 1650 we find him arraigned at the Derby Assizes, before Mr. Justice Bennet, who, Fox says, 'was the first to call us Quakers, because I bid them *tremble at the word of the Lord*.'

About this time, doubtless, 'the first meeting' was held in London, in a house subsequently known as the 'Bull and Mouth,' Aldersgate Street. It was some twenty years after that the celebrated disturbance took place in Gracious (afterwards Gracechurch) Street, in which William Penn played the leading part.

But we have come upon a rude little farmhouse, standing in a bleak and barren situation. It displays little to attract the tourist, while presenting many points round which the student might linger or the preacher muse. Here lived Margaret Fell, widow of one Judge Fell, who, having espoused Fox's cause, welcomed him to her home.

From this place he was twice conveyed to Lancaster Castle

as a prisoner; and on one occasion Dame Fell went on foot to London to beg for mercy. Perhaps the knowledge of this circumstance by-and-by softened the stout heart of George Fox. However, it is clear that hard by Dame Fell's house, in the year



LANCASTER CASTLE.

1652, and aided doubtless by her purse, Fox projected and superintended the erection of the first Quakers' Meeting-house in England.

The times of his incarcerations at Lancaster are fixed in 1660 and 1664. The first occasion furnishes a story that is

almost without a parallel. He was arrested in this cottage-house, removed in no tender manner to Lancaster, and there, before the local justices, proposed to be transferred to the highest court in London. But the expense of sending him thither was too great, so Fox was asked to give a pledge that on a given day he would appear at Westminster. This he declined to do, but gave his word that so soon as circumstances would permit, he would surrender himself at Westminster. He subsequently fulfilled his promise, and appeared in the King's Bench. The judges adjourned the hearing of his case to the day following, and meanwhile ordered him into the custody of the marshal. This officer declared, however, that the house was full, and he could not find room for him. Whereupon the judge asked Fox if he would appear the next day at ten o'clock. 'Yes,' said he, 'if the Lord give me strength.' He did appear, and though imprisonment followed, he was subsequently liberated by royal warrant.

About the year 1666, in one of his intervals of liberty, George Fox and Margaret Fell were married after the manner of their people. Subsequent to this he twice visited the continent of Europe, and also America.

He deemed it his duty to wait upon the Lord Protector Cromwell, and subsequently to remonstrate by letter with him against the cruelties practised upon the 'Friends.' The scene of the interview in the palace at Hampton Court must have been a very remarkable one. It has been made to tell its own story on the almost breathing canvas.

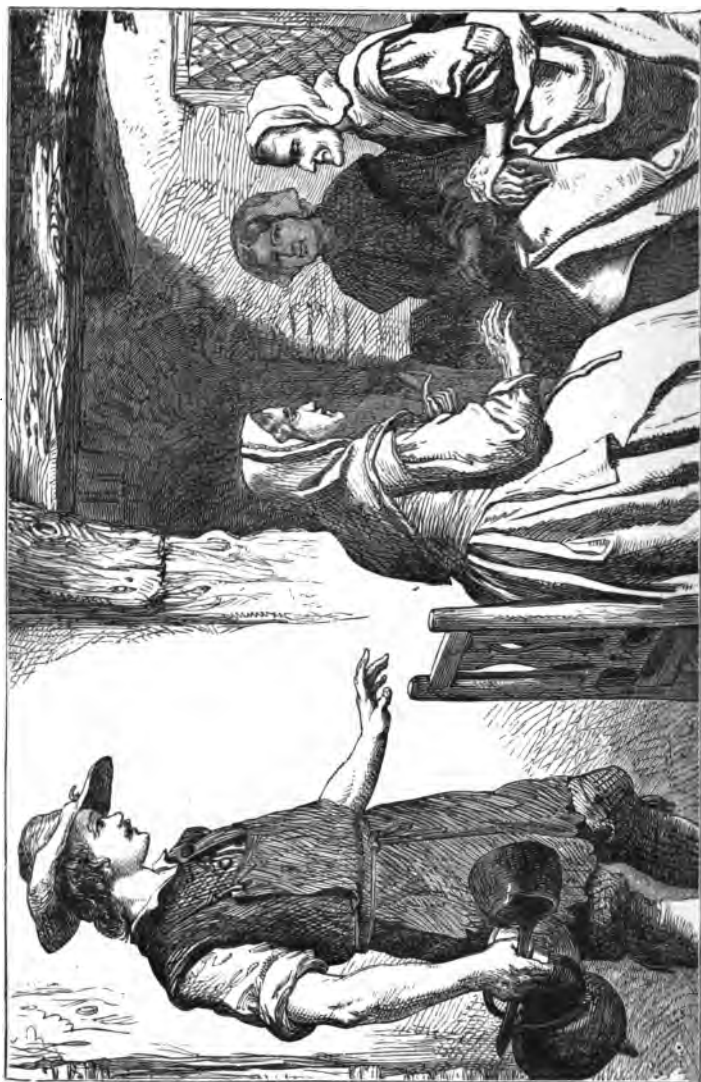
It was Fox's boast that 'hireling priests and hypocritical people' fled in terror when it was said, 'The man in leather breeches is coming.' For forty-three years he wandered up and down preaching. His following was so numerous that in 1683 as many as *seven hundred Quakers* were said to be confined in English prisons. Their enemies were found equally among both Churchmen and Dissenters.

George Fox died November 13th, 1690. Multitudes—not his own followers only—followed the body from the Meeting-house in Gracechurch Street to its last resting-place in the Friends' burial ground, Coleman Street, Bunhill Row. Several

addresses were delivered at the grave, among which that of William Penn is perhaps the best. He says, 'George Fox had an extraordinary gift in opening the Scriptures, but above all he excelled in prayer; . . . he was of an innocent life; . . . a most merciful man, as ready to forgive as unapt to give or take an offence; . . . an incessant labourer, as unwearied as undaunted in his services for God and for His people; no more to be moved to fear than to wrath; . . . civil beyond all forms of breeding; very temperate; *eating little and sleeping less, though a bulky person.*'



JOHN BUNYAN.



BUNYAN LISTENING TO THE GODLY WOMEN AT BEDFORD.



XVI.

JOHAN BUNYAN was born in 1628, at the village of Elstow, about two miles from Bedford. His father was a tinker. Of his boyhood very little is known. He appears to have been sent to school, and taught to read and write; whatever else he may have learned, he says he soon lost 'even almost utterly.' 'It is stated,' says Southey, 'that he was bred to the business of a brazier, and worked as a journeyman in Bedford.' In his youth he had several narrow escapes from death, which appear to have made a deep impression upon his morbid mind. Once he fell into a creek, and once out of a boat into the river Ouse, near Bedford, and each time was barely saved from drowning. One day an adder crossed his path; he stunned it with a stick, and plucked out the tongue, which he supposed to be the sting, with his fingers, 'by which

act,' he says, 'had not God been merciful unto me, I might by my desperateness have brought myself to my end.'

Another circumstance which more than the rest impressed him, was one which occurred whilst he was a soldier in the army of the Parliament; for it will be remembered that Bunyan lived during one of the most critical and eventful periods of English history, from the time of the first Charles to that of the second James. It would appear to have taken place when he was about seventeen years old. He had been drawn out to go to the siege of Leicester; another soldier of the same company wishing to go in his stead, Bunyan consented to the exchange; the substitute, whilst standing sentinel at the siege, was shot through the head with a musket-ball.

Bunyan married shortly after the siege of Leicester, when he was about nineteen. He includes this event in the list of his mercies, inasmuch as he was led 'to light upon a wife' whose father was a godly man, who reprov'd vice both in his own house and amongst his neighbours, and had led a strict and holy life both in word and deed. As her marriage portion she brought him two books, which her father left her at his death: *The Plain Man's Pathway to Heaven*, and *The Practice of Piety*, by Bayly, Bishop of Bangor.

Bunyan's moral character for the first twenty years of his life is a matter of question; that is, as to the degree of wickedness of which he was guilty, for no one pretends that he led a praiseworthy life. Some say that he was a thorough reprobate; others, that he was a commonplace, ordinary sort of sinner, neither better nor worse than his neighbours. Southey considers that the most appropriate epithet to be applied to him is 'black-guard,' meaning thereby one of those loose and idle characters to be seen lounging about the streets and lanes on fine Sunday afternoons, whose conversation abounds with oaths and all manner of filthiness, who are the annoyance of respectable people, and who excite grief and pity in the breast of the Christian. What is known of him is, that he was foremost in mischief and wickedness, being possessed of great energy; that he was usually to be found on the Sunday afternoons playing pitch and toss, or

some similar game, on the village green; that he showed great disregard for all religious observances; and that he obtained proficiency above all his fellows in cursing and swearing; so much so that on one occasion a woman, who was herself a very loose and ungodly wretch, hearing him 'cursing, swearing, and playing the madman,' told him that it made her tremble to hear him, and that 'he was the ungodliest fellow for swearing that ever she heard in all her life; and that by thus doing he was able to spoil all the youth in the whole town if they came but in his company.'

He says, 'It put me to secret shame before the God of heaven; wherefore, while I stood there, and hanging down my head, I wished with all my heart that I might be a little child again, that my father might learn me to speak without this wicked way of swearing; for, thought I, I am so accustomed to it that it is vain for me to think of a reformation.' But to his own surprise that reformation was effected. He was not given to drunkenness or licentiousness. He would seem to have received some religious instruction either from his parents or others, for though he was living in this state of ungodliness, his mind was far from being at rest. He possessed a vivid fancy, and was subject to vehement emotions, and these, operating in conjunction with the escapes we have mentioned, and some alarming sermons he heard, produced a most unenviable state of feeling. He had strange and frightful dreams. 'Often,' he says, 'after I had spent this and the other day in sin, I have in my bed been greatly afflicted, while asleep, with the apprehensions of devils and wicked spirits, who still, as I then thought, laboured to draw me away with them.' His waking reflections were not less terrible. He was led to imagine that it was too late for him to think of turning from wickedness, for Christ would not forgive him; despair took possession of his mind, and he reasoned thus:

'My state is surely miserable; miserable if I leave my sins, and but miserable if I follow them.' He continues: 'Despair did so possess my soul, that I was persuaded that I could never attain to other comfort than what I should get in sin; for heaven was gone already, so that on that I must not think. Wherefore I found within me great desire to take my fill of sin, still study-

ing what sin was to be committed, that I might taste the sweetness of it, lest I should die before I had my desires.'

How strikingly the expressions here uttered contrast with those he used later in life!—such, for instance, as this, after hearing a sermon on the text, 'Behold, thou art fair, my love': 'Then I began to give place to the Word, which, with power, did over and over make this joyful sound in my heart, Thou art My love; thou art My love; and nothing shall separate thee from My love'! or this: 'O, methought, Christ, Christ! There was nothing but Christ that was now before my eyes. I was not for looking upon this and the other benefits of Christ apart, as of His blood, burial, or resurrection, but considering Him as a whole Christ, as He is when all these, and all other His virtues, relations, offices, and operations met together, and that He sat on the right hand of God in heaven. Now Christ was all; all my righteousness, all my sanctification, all my redemption!'

Referring to the two books his wife brought him as her only portion, he says: 'Wherefore these books, though they did not reach my heart to awaken it about my soul and sinful state, yet they did beget within me some desires to reform my vicious life, and fall in very eagerly with the religion of the times,—to wit, to go to church twice a day, and that, too, with the foremost; and there very devoutly both say and sing as others did, yet retain my wicked life. But, withal, I was so overrun with the spirit of superstition, that I adored, and that with great devotion, even all things,—the high place, priest, clerk, vestment, service, and what else belonging to the church; counting all things holy that were therein contained, and especially the priest and clerk; most happy, and without doubt greatly blessed, because they were the servants, as I then thought, of God, and were principal in the temple to do His work therein.' So strong was this superstitious feeling, that had he 'but seen a priest, though never so sordid and debauched in his life, his spirit would fall under him; and he could have lain down at their feet and been trampled upon by them, their name, their garb and work did so intoxicate and bewitch him.'

His conscience, though seared, was not silenced; his heart,

though rebellious, was not completely hardened. The impression caused by the woman's rebuke of his swearing was the beginning of a new era in his life. Soon after he had a conversation with a poor man about religious matters, which resulted in his commencing to study the Bible for himself. In this he took much pleasure, and this, to the amazement of his neighbours, produced a complete change in his life and conversation; but he says he was a poor painted hypocrite, who did all to be seen and well spoken of by men. His conscience became tender. Things which before he had indulged in and enjoyed he now forsook.

He had been very fond of bell-ringing, and he had a hard struggle to tear himself from it. He would stand and watch the ringers, though he had a secret feeling that even that was inconsistent with a religious profession. He was afraid the bell might fall upon him, so he stood under a beam; but even there did not deem himself safe, thinking it might in falling strike the opposite wall, and rebound against him. His next move was to the steeple-door, imagining that there he could easily slip out in case of need; but then he fancied that the steeple itself might fall upon him. Soon after this he gave up dancing. It was a full year before he could do so entirely; but in this, as in everything else which he deemed his duty, he had much satisfaction in thinking that no man in England could please God better than he, though, as he afterwards confesses, 'Poor wretch that I was, I was all this time ignorant of Christ, "and going about to establish my own righteousness," and had perished therein had not God in His mercy shown me more of my state by nature.'

One day he was tinkering in the streets of Bedford when he heard three or four poor women talking over their religious experience. They spoke of a new birth, how their naturally miserable state was shown to them, of the love of God in Christ Jesus, of the direful assaults of Satan, of the assistance God gave them in the hour of temptation, of His 'exceeding great and precious promises,'—of those things which none but experimental Christians know. Bunyan felt this. They spoke in language unfamiliar to him, of feelings which he did not partake, of joys which he knew not, of trials which he had not endured.

of hopes which he could not entertain. He was a 'brisk talker in the matter of religion,' but these things were 'far above his reach.' The women 'spake with such an appearance of grace that they were to him as if they had found a new world, as if they were people that dwelt alone and were not to be reckoned amongst their neighbours.' He frequently sought their company, and had many conversations with them.

One of the first effects of this was that he read the Bible with new eyes. Its truths appeared to him in a different light. The Epistles of St. Paul, which before were distasteful to him, he now studied with delight and profit. This led him to see that he lacked wisdom and knowledge. He knew not his own position; he knew not God, the requirements of His law, the mystery of redemption, the doctrines of justification and sanctification. What he wanted was the teaching of the Holy Spirit. He doubted whether he did indeed possess faith, but it was a doubt which he could not bear, being certain that without faith he must perish. To decide this point he was tempted to try if he could work a miracle. He would say to the puddles, 'Be dry'; to the dry places, 'Be ye puddles.' But before attempting it he would first ask God to make him able. Then he thought that if he prayed and failed it would be a clear sign that he had no faith. So he abandoned the idea.

The women we have mentioned were members of a Baptist congregation, of which John Giffard was pastor. Bunyan united himself to them. Our space will not permit us to give a sketch of Giffard's life, though we should have liked to do so, as he exercised considerable influence over our 'representative man.' Suffice it to say that he was at one time a major in the King's army; when the army of the Parliament became victorious, he was condemned to the gallows; he escaped through the sleepiness of his sentinels, lay in a ditch three days, was for a long time concealed, then commenced the practice of physic. He led a most corrupt, profligate, and reckless life; was a great gambler and drinker; was eventually stopped short in his career of vice, became a new man, and was in course of time elected pastor of a Baptist congregation.

One day Bunyan had a vision, or waking dream, in which some think they can detect the germ of the *Pilgrim's Progress*. He fancied he saw a high mountain, around which ran a wall. On one side of the wall were the righteous, and the sun shone upon them, and the place was pleasant and desirable; on the other, where he stood, were frost and snow and dark clouds, and he was shivering and shrinking with the cold. He strongly desired to pass through this wall, and eagerly sought an opening, but for a long time in vain. At last he espied a very narrow gap, through which he attempted to pass. He struggled long without success, until his strength was nearly spent. At length he managed to get his head through, then his shoulders and his whole body, at which he felt exceeding glad. His interpretation of the dream was this: The Mountain was the Church of God, the Sun the comfortable shining of His merciful Face, the Wall was the Word, and the Gap was Jesus Christ. It showed him, moreover, that none but those who were truly in earnest and willing to leave the wicked world behind could enter in.

He was now very frequent in prayer, both at home and abroad. But two doubts troubled him much; one was, whether he was elected or not; the other, whether the day of grace was not gone by. Bunyan was perplexed with the doctrine of election: it nearly drove him mad. His weary soul longed for the peace of God; he saw his lost condition, he quailed at the horrible prospect before him, he yearned for rest; when, as though a paralysis had seized his mind, his strength was taken from him, he was laid prostrate, and 'in the gall of bitterness' he exclaimed, 'How can I tell that I am elected? and what if I should not be? O Lord, what if I should not indeed! "It may be that you are not," said the tempter. "It may be so indeed," thought I. "Why, then," said Satan, "you had as good leave off and strive no further."' Many weeks was he in this fearful state when, as he was about 'giving up the ghost of all his hopes,' he found consolation in a text in one of the Apocryphal books, Ecclesiasticus ii. 10: 'Look at the generations of old, and see; did ever any trust in the Lord, and was confounded?' He was a little daunted at not finding it in one of the canonical books; but, as he sensibly

reasoned, it was the sum and substance of many other promises, so he took comfort from it. But then he was perplexed with the other doubt, 'How if the day of grace be past?' This thought caused him great distress. 'What if the good people of Bedford, who were already converted, were all that were to be saved in those parts?' Then he was too late, for they had got the blessing before him. 'O that I had turned sooner!' he cried. 'O that I had turned seven years ago! To think that I should trifle away my time till my soul and heaven were lost!' But these fears also were removed by that passage being brought to his mind in which, after being sent 'into the streets and lanes' to 'bring in the poor and the maimed, the halt and the blind,' the servant returned, saying, 'Lord, it is done as Thou hast commanded, and yet there is room.' These, he says, were sweet words to him: and he thought that when Christ spoke them He knew that he and such as he would come; poor sinners in doubts whether there was room for them in His bosom, and that He left this record that they might find help in this vile temptation.

Bunyan had a very vivid imagination, an exuberant fancy; his sensibility was morbid, his excitement at times vehement. This led him into strange difficulties. Sometimes he heard voices as in a dream, sometimes imaginary conversations without sounds, which made, nevertheless, deep impressions. Once it was as though some one had said to him, 'Simon, Simon, behold, Satan hath desired to have you'; and though he knew that the voice was from within, yet it was to him so distinct and loud, that many a time he thought it was some man calling to him.

His temptations assumed different forms. Now they took the shape of blasphemy and unbelief. He was in this horrible state of mind about a twelvemonth. In reading the Scriptures, attending meeting and in prayer, he was sorely tried. In all these temptings and suggestions of Satan, Bunyan's only consolation was in knowing that he did not consent thereto, but resisted them; his only refuge was in prayer, and his heart sent forth inexpressible groanings: his only hope and comfort were in the precious promises with which the Word of God abounds. The Epistles, which before were distasteful to him, were now sources

of happiness; and as he read those sayings of St. Paul, 'If God be for us, who can be against us? . . . I am persuaded, that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers,' the balm of consolation was poured into his wounded soul.

He now fell in with Luther's *Commentary on the Galatian*, which he preferred before all the books he had ever seen, the Bible excepted, as fittest for a wounded conscience. He had perused but a little way in it when he found his own experience so largely and profoundly handled that it might have been written out of his own heart.

But though Bunyan had, as he thought, scaled the Hill Difficulty, though he imagined he was dwelling in Beulah, though he believed he had a direct revelation of his acceptance from heaven, and though he now 'desired to depart, and to be with Christ,' his troubles were not yet over. A temptation now assailed him to part with Christ, to exchange Him for the things of this life, for anything. For a twelvemonth he was not rid of it one day in a month, nor sometimes for one hour in many succeeding days, unless in his sleep. As fast and as often as Satan said, 'Sell Him,' he would answer, 'I will not, I will not, I will not; no, not for thousands, thousands, thousands of worlds!'

But this state of things was to come to an end. The purpose for which the temptations were permitted was accomplished. He was to enter the haven of rest.

He again applied himself to a study of the Scriptures, to those parts which had before most terrified him; he was led to see that his sin was not wilful, not open, not deliberately put in practice, and one day the words, 'Thy righteousness is in heaven,' occurred to his mind, and he saw with the eyes of his soul Jesus Christ at God's right hand, as his righteousness. He was shortly afterwards baptized by immersion in the river Ouse, and was formally admitted into fellowship with Giffard's congregation. Bunyan had been one of the most miserable men in existence, he was now one of the happiest.

Bunyan lived in troublous times. A year after the death of Giffard (in 1656), the congregation resolved, that 'some of the brethren (one at a time) to whom the Lord had given a gift, be

called forth and encouraged to speak a word in the Church for mutual edification.' Bunyan was one of those called upon. He entered upon the work with much diffidence and fear. At first his labours were occasional. He preached in the neighbouring villages with great acceptance. Hundreds came from all parts to hear him. He also became entangled in a controversy with the Quakers; but for this he had no liking, though it pleased him much to contend for the word of faith and the remission of sins by the death of Christ. He desired to get into 'the darkest places in the country,' so he went about from place to place. But he met with much opposition. The Presbyterian ministers who were in possession of livings 'could not bear with the teachings of an illiterate tinker, and an unordained minister'; and in the year 1657 an indictment was preferred against him at the assizes, for preaching at Eaton. This was during the time of Cromwell. It was rumoured that Bunyan was a wizard, a Jesuit, a highwayman; and other aspersions were cast upon his moral character.

But his more serious troubles did not commence until the Restoration. The country was then in a most unsettled state. The Government became alarmed and suspicious, and severe measures were resorted to in self-defence. Bunyan being a Non-conformist, was regarded as a dangerous person. He was known to be hostile to the restored Church, and had served in the Parliamentary army. He still followed his business; and it was thought that tinkering and preaching were incompatible. He was accordingly arrested when preaching in a private house at Samsell. Though he knew of the intention to seize him, he would neither give up the meeting nor attempt to escape, lest by so doing 'he should make an ill savour in the country.' He was taken before Justice Wingate, and when asked why he could not be content to follow his calling and not break the law, he replied that he could both follow his calling and preach too. Two sureties were required; they were ready, but as he declared he would not desist from preaching, they were not accepted. He was committed to Bedford jail until the quarter sessions, and though offered liberty if he would promise not to call the people together, he refused to do so.

Seven weeks afterwards the sessions were held ; Bunyan was indicted as a person who 'devilishly and perniciously abstained from coming to church to hear Divine service, and who was a common upholder of several unlawful meetings and conventicles, to the great disturbance and distraction of the good subjects of this kingdom.' Bunyan defended himself with great vigour and



BEDFORD JAIL.

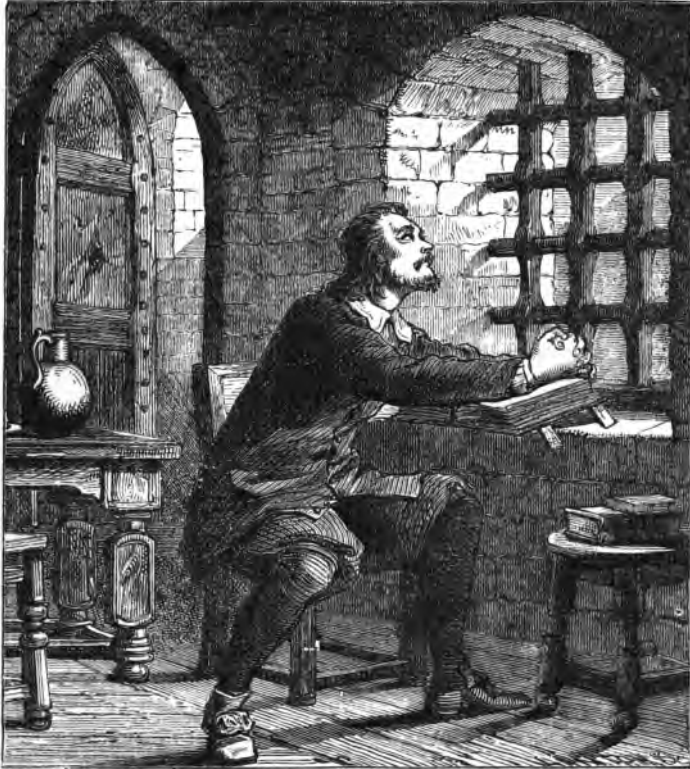
with some bigotry. He assailed the Church of England, the Prayer-book, and the priests. He vindicated from the Scriptures his right to preach. He was sentenced to be imprisoned for three months, and if, at the expiration of that term he did not attend church and give up preaching, he was to be banished the realm,

and should he be found in it again without special license from the King, he must be hanged. He replied that if he was out of prison to-day, by the help of God he would preach again to-morrow. He was taken to jail, and remained there three months. At the end of that time the Clerk of the Peace went to see him and try to persuade him to obedience. He told Bunyan he might exhort privately, but must not call the people together. To this he would not agree, and argued that if he might speak to two he might to four, to eight, to any number; but to show that there was no harm in his sermons, he was willing to give his notes to any one, as he desired to live in peace and submit to the present authority.

Shortly afterwards the coronation of Charles II. took place. Further proceedings were suspended in consequence of a proclamation which allowed persons to sue for pardon during twelve months from that day. At the next assizes his wife petitioned that his case might be taken into consideration, but it would seem with more zeal than discretion. Sir Matthew Hale was one of the judges, and from him she received more kindly treatment than from the others. She pleaded that he had a wife and four small children, one of whom was blind, and that whilst he was in prison they had nothing to live upon but the charity of good people. But as Bunyan remained in the same mind, nothing could be done for him. He continued in prison for twelve years, but did not suffer any great additional hardship. He was fortunate in his jailer, who placed great confidence in him, and, it is said, committed the management of the prison to him. He supported his family by making tagged thread laces. He was allowed the free use of books and writing materials, and it was whilst in this confinement that he wrote his immortal *Pilgrim's Progress*. He had with him his Bible and Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, both of which he studied attentively. His feverish enthusiasm spent itself, and the asperity of his feelings softened. During the last four years of his imprisonment his name appears as having regularly attended the Baptist chapel. His character had commanded respect, and his books attracted

general notice ; amongst others, that of Dr. Barlow, Bishop of Lincoln, through whose instrumentality his liberation is supposed to have been effected.

The remainder of his life passed smoothly. His friends



BUNYAN IN BEDFORD JAIL.

built him a chapel, in which he preached to large congregations. He visited London once a year ; and if only a day's notice were given at the meeting-house in Southwark, where he usually preached, it would not hold half the people that came. As many as three thousand were gathered on Sundays, and twelve hun-

dred on week nights, or dark winter mornings at seven o'clock. He published books or tracts to the number of sixty. He again became engaged in a controversy with some of his Baptist brethren, in which he exhibited a meek and tolerant spirit. One of his biographers says that 'besides his yearly visit to London, he made stated circuits into other parts of England; he exerted himself to relieve the temporal wants of those who were suffering as Nonconformists under oppressive laws; he administered diligently to the sick and the afflicted, and successfully employed his influence in reconciling differences among professors of the Gospel, and thus prevented many disgraceful and burdensome litigations.' He died in London, August 31st, 1688, aged sixty.



BUNYAN'S TOMB IN BUNHILL FIELDS.

JOHN HOWE.



ST. MARY OTTERY, DEVON.
FOR SOME TIME THE RESIDENCE OF JOHN HOWE.

XVII.



JOHN HOWE was born at Loughborough, in the county of Leicester, on May 17th, 1630; of which place his father was the worthy minister. But Archbishop Laud, who had settled him in that parish, afterwards ejected him, on account of his attachment to the Puritans. By the rigour of that prelate and the ecclesiastical courts, several saintly and excellent men were driven into exile; among whom was the father of the subject of this memoir, who went into Ireland, taking his son with him, who was then but a child. After a short residence there, they were obliged to quit that country on account of the war, which continued for some years after the execrable massacre of 1641; and returning into England, they settled in Lancashire, where Mr. Howe went through the first rudiments of learning and the study of the languages; in which he made so great progress, that he was sent early to Christ College, Cambridge. Here he became acquainted with several persons famous in the learned world; particularly Dr. Cudworth, author of a celebrated work, *The Intellectual System of the Universe*. He continued at Cambridge till he took the degree of B.A., and then removed to Oxford.

In this celebrated University, he so distinguished himself in learning and acquired so great a reputation for many excellent qualities, that he was elected Fellow of Magdalen College, of which the famous Dr. Thomas Goodwin was at that time President.

In 1652, he took the degree of M.A.; having gone through a course of philosophy, studied the heathen moralists, the writings of the schoolmen, and several systems of the Reformers and the Divines who succeeded them: but, as he signified to a

friend, he had thoroughly studied the Sacred Scriptures, and from thence had drawn up a body of divinity for himself, which he saw very little reason afterwards to vary from in compliance with the schemes of others.

After taking his last degree, Mr. Howe became a preacher, and was ordained by Mr. Charles Herle, at Winwick, in Lancashire. In his parish there were several chapelries, and the ministers who officiated in them assisted at the ordination, and joined in laying hands upon Mr. Howe; which made him often say that few, in modern times, had so truly primitive an ordination as he had.

In a little time he was called to Great Torrington, in Devonshire, where he exercised his ministry with much diligence and success. There he had a numerous congregation, and a very flourishing Christian Society under his care, and thought of living and dying with them.

He married in 1654. Some time after this event, Mr. Howe, having occasion to take a journey to London, was detained there longer than he purposed. He had the curiosity to go, one Lord's day (the last he intended to continue in town), to the chapel at Whitehall. Cromwell espied out Mr. Howe in the auditory, and knew him by his garb to be a country minister; and thinking he discerned something more than ordinary in his countenance, he sent a messenger to him, to desire to speak with him when the worship of God was over. Upon his coming to him, Cromwell requested him to preach before him the Lord's day following. Mr. Howe was surprised with the unexpected invitation, and modestly desired to be excused. But Cromwell told him it was vain to attempt to excuse himself, for he would have no denial. Mr. Howe pleaded that, having despatched what business he had in town, he was tending homewards, and could not be absent longer without inconvenience. Cromwell inquired what great damage he was liable to sustain by tarrying a little longer. Mr. Howe replied that his people, who were very kind to him, would be uneasy, and think he neglected them. Cromwell promised to write to them himself, and send one down to them to supply his place, and actually did so; and Mr. Howe stayed

and preached as he was desired. But when he had given him one sermon, Cromwell pressed for a second, and after that, a third; and at last, after a great deal of free conversation in private, nothing less would serve him than to have Mr. Howe as his domestic chaplain. In vain did Mr. Howe do all in his power to be excused, that he might return to his people at



OLIVER CROMWELL.

Torrington, for no denial would be admitted. At length, though with great reluctance, he was prevailed upon to comply, and removed with his family to Whitehall, where several of his children were born. In this difficult station he endeavoured to be faithful and to keep a good conscience. And, as an argument

of his uncommon caution, it was observed by several, that there was hardly any other man in an eminent public station in these critical times and admitted to the knowledge of so many secrets, who was so free from censure in the changes which followed. He did not exert his influence with those who then had the management of affairs in their hands, either to the enriching of himself or the doing of ill offices to others, though of known different sentiments; but readily embraced every opportunity of serving the interest of religion and learning, and opposing the errors which at that time threatened both. There were many to whom Mr. Howe was very serviceable while he continued at Whitehall; and never was he known to be backward in assisting any of the royalists or Episcopalians in distress, if they were persons of real merit. He befriended several with his advice and influence upon their being obliged to appear before the Triers, before they were allowed to officiate in public as ministers. In short, so generous was Mr. Howe on behalf of persons of any worth who applied to him, that Cromwell, it is said, once freely told him that he had obtained many favours for others; but added, 'I wonder when the time is to come that you will move for anything for yourself or your family?'

Whilst he continued in Cromwell's family he was often put upon secret services; but they were always honourable, and such as, according to the best of his judgment, might be to the benefit of the public or particular persons. And when he was once engaged, he used all diligence, secrecy, and despatch. In a word, he behaved so well in this station, that he had the ill-will of few, and the particular friendship of the great and amiable Dr. Wilkins, afterwards Bishop of Chester, and several other chief supports of real piety and goodness in those times, subsequently eminent under the legal Establishment. And though, in some degree, he lost the favour of Cromwell, yet that was owing to his firmness and integrity in maintaining what he thought to be for the honour of God and the Christian religion, in opposition to a certain kind of enthusiasm, which Mr. Howe openly and manfully opposed.

On September 3rd, 1658, Cromwell died, and was succeeded

by Richard, his eldest son, as Lord Protector. Mr. Howe stood in the same relation to the son as he had done to the father; but meddled no more with State affairs. How long he continued as chaplain at Court is not certain; but it is probable not more than three months after Cromwell's death. On leaving Whitehall he returned to his people at Torrington, and continued his labours among them till the Restoration of Charles the Second. This memorable event, it is well known, occasioned a general madness, as well as universal joy in the nation. The King, being restored, made for some time more use than was customary of the Lord-Lieutenants and their deputies, to keep the several counties of the kingdom in awe. Many were made offenders for a word, and the most cautious preachers were accused and censured, if they were not intoxicated to the same degree with their neighbours. Among the rest, Mr. Howe, though very cautious of giving cause of complaint to any, met with some trouble in the year 1660, a few months after the Restoration; which appears to have been given him by persons who wished to recommend themselves to the favour of those in authority.

He was informed against by two men, as having delivered somewhat seditious, and even treasonable sentiments, in two sermons, preached from Galatians vi. 7, 8. But Mr. Howe purged himself by no less than one and twenty witnesses, who were judicious men, and enjoined upon oath, on his Majesty's behalf, to declare the truth of the matter; and they all cleared him from the accusation, and the court accordingly discharged him. It is remarkable, that one of the accusers soon left town, and was seen there no more; and the other cut his own throat, and was buried at a cross road.

When things were thought sufficiently prepared for it, at length, in 1662, the Act of Uniformity passed the two Houses of Parliament; and it took effect on August the 24th that year. On that ever-memorable day, Mr. Howe preached two sermons to his people at Torrington (who were all in tears); and then gave up his position in the Church of England and became a silenced Nonconformist.

In the year 1665, when one of the terrible judgments of God

was abroad in this nation, and made dreadful havoc in the capital, the higher powers thought proper to embarrass the Non-



conformists more than ever by the famous 'Five Mile Act.' Happy would it have been for this nation, at that time, if, while many persons endeavoured to flee from the 'pestilence' which

'wasted at noon-day,' they had guarded also against a more dangerous plague, that of persecution and uncharitableness! Mr. Howe, with some others took the oath required by the Five Mile Act, and so preserved his liberty to travel or reside where he pleased; but continued in the western counties, visiting the families of his friends and acquaintance, being ready, wherever he came, to do any service he was able.

The first great work which Mr. Howe published was entitled, *The Blessedness of the Righteous.*

Some time after this he was earnestly invited, by a person of considerable quality, into Ireland, and had generous offers made him. He accepted the invitation with the greater readiness, and looked upon it as the more providential, because by this time he was reduced to narrow circumstances; which is not at all to be wondered at, considering that he had for some years been out of any settled employment, and had but a small income to support a large family. In the beginning of April, 1671, he set sail for Dublin; and after some time had his whole family with him in Ireland, where he lived as chaplain to Lord Massarene, in the parish of Antrim, and was treated there with all imaginable respect. His great learning and truly Christian temper and conduct, together with that nobleman's influence and interest, procured him the particular friendship of the bishop of that diocese; who, together with his metropolitan, without demanding any conformity, gave him free liberty to preach in the church in that town every Lord's day in the afternoon. And it is said that the archbishop, in a pretty full meeting of the clergy, told them frankly, that he would have Mr. Howe to have every pulpit open to him.

While he continued here, he manifested, both in his preaching and conversation, a truly peaceable and Christian spirit; and his public and private labours were blessed to the profit of many. But Divine Providence did not suffer him to remain long in those parts, but soon gave him an opportunity of exercising his uncommon talents in a larger sphere. For, upon the death of Dr. L. Seaman, he had an invitation to come and settle in London, and was earnestly pressed to accept the call which he

had received from a part of Dr. Seaman's congregation. There was some difference of opinion about the person whom they should choose; some being for Mr. Charnock and others for Mr. Howe. The latter resolved to make a visit to London that he might view and judge of things on the spot. Accordingly, with his mind greatly exercised about the event of this affair, which he piously committed to the determination of Divine Providence, he entered upon his voyage, and arrived safe in London, after having been five years in Ireland. Upon mature consideration, he accepted the call that was given him, and settled there; and made a quiet and peaceable use of King Charles' indulgence.

In the year 1664, Mr. Howe published his treatise, *Of Delighting in God*, which was the substance of sermons he had preached twenty years before at Torrington, with additions. He dedicated them to his old friends, the inhabitants of that town, in a masculine but most tender and affectionate epistle. In this he gives an account of himself which may well make every good man wish that such a noble, catholic spirit as his may prevail throughout the Christian world. How would the manly and generous soul of Howe have rejoiced, had he witnessed the sweet spirit of Christian love manifested towards each other in our day by sound Christians of various denominations!

Mr. Howe, in his frequent conversations with the clergy and with persons of distinction in these critical times, manifested uniformly a peaceable and healing disposition, often giving it as his opinion that an accommodation of matters between the Church and Protestant Dissenters would be the most effectual way to keep out Popery. Indeed there was serious talk of a compromise between the Church and the Dissenters. But all soon came to nothing. 'The clergy' (says Bishop Burnet) 'gave themselves such a loose against the Nonconformists, as if nothing was so formidable as that party. So that, in all their sermons, Popery was quite forgot, and the force of their zeal was turned almost wholly against the Dissenters.' The change was very great, even in some of the clergy, who before had manifested a generous and liberal spirit, and whose names, notwithstanding, ought to be had

in everlasting remembrance. In short, those were times of great warmth and violence. The Dissenters were prosecuted with zeal, both in city and country. Penal laws of ancient date, as well as modern, were rigorously put in execution, the abolishing of which was one of the blessed effects of the glorious Revolution. The truth is, that the Church of England became a dupe to that of Rome. Not that there were wanting discerning persons who saw through the artifice of the Court, which did all it could to set Protestants at variance; Churchmen against Dissenters, and Dissenters against Churchmen, for their mutual destruction. At this juncture Mr. Howe published a discourse on *Thoughtfulness for the Morrow*. This was very seasonable, and had a happy tendency, in those gloomy times, to compose the minds of good men, and to encourage them (as the author expresses it) 'to trust God cheerfully with the government of the world, and to live in the joyful hope and expectation of a better.'

In the year following—1683—the severest of the penal laws were put in execution against the Dissenters. Those who had signalised their zeal for civil liberty and the Protestant religion were marked out for peculiar vengeance. So great was Howe's reputation while in Holland, that the Prince of Orange, soon after the great instrument of delivering this country from the galling and degrading yoke of Popish slavery, conversed freely with him.

Meantime, King James was making quick advances towards the destruction of the Protestant religion and the liberties of England. But in 1687 to favour his scheme he published his *Declaration for Liberty of Conscience*. The greatest and best Dissenters wisely refused to concur in an address of thanks to his Majesty for that indulgence. Mr. Howe returned to his flock in London at their earnest request.

Upon his arrival in his own country, he was received with great joy by his old friends and brethren; and he resumed with pleasure the exercise of his ministry. He was truly thankful for a little breathing-time, and endeavoured to improve it to the best purposes, and to preserve himself and others from the snares which were laid for them.

In 1684, Mr. Howe published *The Redeemer's Tears wept over Lost Souls*.

At this time his prospects grew more and more gloomy. He therefore accepted Lord Wharton's kind and timely invitation to travel with him. In the course of his travels, Mr. Howe had the satisfaction of conversing freely with a number of learned Papists and Protestant Divines, Lutherans and Calvinists. These opportunities, his active, strong, and well-cultivated mind enabled him to improve to excellent purpose. But meanwhile he was greatly



JAMES II.

affected by the melancholy tidings of the swift advances the people in England were making towards Popery and slavery. The civil degradation to which his country was hastening he greatly lamented.

Mr. Howe, in all the meetings which the Dissenters held to consider how they should act at this juncture, always declared against everything which could give the Papists any assistance in carrying on their designs. And when he was closeted with King James he bravely replied that he was a minister of the Gospel, and it was his province to preach and endeavour to do

good to the souls of men; but as for meddling with State affairs he was as little inclined as he was called to it, and begged to be excused.

But now came the glorious Revolution, by which the fears of all true Protestants were dispersed. On this happy occasion the Dissenting ministers waited in a body on the Prince of Orange, and were introduced by the Lords Devonshire, Wharton, and Wiltshire; at which time Mr. Howe, in the name of the rest, made a speech to his Highness. The Prince replied, that as he came on purpose to defend the Protestant religion, he would do his utmost both to defend it, and promote a firm union among Protestants. The plan which several wise and good men proposed in order to effect this union included comprehension and indulgence. It was well for religious liberty that this plan was not adopted; for the proposed comprehension and indulgence would not have secured religious toleration. This was effected by a memorable Act which received the royal assent May 24th, 1689.

In order to prevent mutual slights and dangerous extremes, Mr. Howe, soon after the Toleration Act passed, published a short piece, entitled, *Humble Requests to Conformists and Dissenters touching their temper and behaviour towards each other.*

But soon afterwards, unhappy differences arose among the Dissenters themselves, occasioned in some degree by an attempt to bring about a union between the Presbyterians and the Congregationalists. These, already too violent, were greatly heightened by the debates that followed upon the reprinting of Dr. Crisp's works. It is well known that the doctor was a rank Antinomian. Attempts to moderate these unhappy dissensions were made by Mr. Howe and several of his brethren. In 1693 he published two sermons, preached at the Merchants' Lecture in Broad Street, entitled, *The Carnality of Christian Contentions.* The preface to these discourses breathes so heavenly a charity and concern for the truly Christian interest, that a very eminent divine of the Established Church professed a willingness to lay down his life, if such a state of things as is there described might obtain among Christians. At length an attempt to exclude Dr.

Williams out of the lecture at Pinner's Hall occasioned a new lecture to be set up at Salter's Hall, in which Mr. Howe bore Dr. Williams company. After this no further attempts were made for a coalition, but the heat and strangeness of the contending parties abated by degrees, and they learned to keep up a friendly correspondence with each other, making allowance for a diversity of sentiments.



WILLIAM III.

Towards the end of William's reign a debate arose, which lasted for several years, about occasional conformity. Mr. Howe, having a very enlarged mind and a most catholic spirit, openly declared for occasional conformity. Nor was he singular in this respect; many of his brethren were of the same sentiments. But when the chief magistrate in the City of London had the regalia carried to a Dissenting congregation, it occasioned no small clamour. And when, a little after, Sir Thomas Abney, a worthy member of Mr. Howe's congregation, went, in the year of his mayoralty (1701), to the public worship of God, sometimes in the Established Church and sometimes among the Dis-

senters, an angry pamphlet was published, entitled, *An Inquiry into the Occasional Conformity of the Dissenters*. In this pamphlet the practice in question was represented as very scandalous. Mr. Howe, perceiving the author of the Inquiry to be of a warm temper, contented himself with publishing a short reply. But the debate grew hotter and hotter, and what was designed as an expression of the fervent charity of a catholic spirit by some, was called downright hypocrisy by others, and said to be altogether self-condemning.

About the year 1702, Mr. Howe manifested an earnest desire, in submission to the Divine will, 'to depart, and to be with Christ.' He had seen enough of the world to feel how unfit a place it is to continue in. Besides, he was wasted with several diseases, which he bore with great patience and submission to the will of his Heavenly Father. His last publication was a discourse on *Patience*, in 1702; and this was what he now himself had particular occasion for. He discovered no fear of dying, but when his end drew near was very calm. Sometimes the holy joy he experienced rose to the highest pitch that mortality could bear. In his last illness Richard Cromwell, then an old man, hearing that he was near death, came to make him a respectful visit and take his final leave of him. Tears were freely shed on both sides. He finished his course with joy, April 2nd, 1705.

He was without question one of the greatest ornaments of the age in which he lived, not to a particular party of Christians only, but to the Catholic Church. 'He seems to have been born' (says Dr. Calamy) 'to support generous principles, a truly catholic spirit, and an extensive charity. As to his person, he was very tall, and exceedingly graceful. He had a good presence, and a piercing but pleasing eye, and there was that in his looks and carriage that tended to excite veneration.' He delivered his sermons without notes, though not without having well studied and digested them before, as appears from his posthumous discourses.

If Mr. Howe excelled in any one thing more than another, it was in the peaceableness of his temper and his great moderation and candour. He was for the union and communion of all visible

Christians, and for making nothing necessary to Christian communion but what Christ has made necessary, or what is necessary indeed to one being a Christian. He was of opinion that much service might be done to the common interest of religion by a frank, mutual communication of doubtful thoughts, if such disquisitions were pursued with more candour and less confidence, and without regarding the interest of any party whatsoever. In a word, he looked upon the Christian scheme, not as a system of opinions or a set of forms, so much as a Divine discipline to purify the heart and reform the life. Here he laid the main stress, as appears from all his writings; and with respect especially to disputable things, and the mere appendages of religion, as he often calls them, he was as much for a free inquiry into them as any man of that age could be, which does him the greater honour when it is considered how little the principles of religious liberty and the right of private judgment were understood in those days. How happy would it have been for England in that age, how happy for the Christian world in all ages, if the same Divine and amiable temper had generally prevailed!

He was a man of remarkable prudence; he regarded imprudence as a great immorality. He was very courteous, and never could be of the mind of those who reckoned religion and piety inconsistent with good breeding.

In conversation he was generally cheerful and sometimes facetious. In brief, John Howe was one of the greatest men in one of England's grandest eras.

WILLIAM PENN.



WILLIAM PENN.

XVIII.



HIS great, singular, and intrepid Englishman was born in London, in the year 1644. His father, who was an admiral of some note, not only assisted in the capture of Jamaica, during the protectorate of Cromwell, but also served with applause under the Duke of York. Having distinguished himself in a sea-fight with the Dutch, he was knighted, and admitted into favour, notwithstanding his zeal during the Commonwealth.

Young PENN completed his education at Christ Church ; and, as he then gave a presage of his future greatness, a fond father doubtless formed high expectations of so accomplished a son. But those hopes were apparently blasted by a most extraordinary event, for the Oxonian suddenly became a convert to the doctrines of the Quakers, then a new and obscure sect, suspected by the royalists and odious to the reigning monarch. The enraged parent remonstrated in vain.

‘His father being informed by a nobleman of the danger his son was in of being proselyted to Quakerism, remanded him home, and he readily obeyed.’ The account which immediately follows of the reception his father gave him is, not only instructive, but further illustrates the character of this eminent man :

‘His father, pressing his conformity to the customs and fashions of the times ; he, modestly craving leave to refrain from what would hurt his conscience : his father, earnestly entreating him, and almost on his knees beseeching him to yield to his desire ; he, of a loving and tender disposition, in an extreme agony of spirit to behold his father’s concern and trouble : his father, threatening to disinherit him ; he, humbly submitting to his father’s will therein : his father turning his back on him in anger ; he, lifting up his heart to God for strength to support

him in that time of trial. When all endeavours proved ineffectual to shake his constancy, and his father saw himself utterly disappointed of his hopes, he could no longer endure him in his sight, but turned him out of doors the second time. Thus exposed to the charity of his friends, having no other subsistence (except what his mother privately sent him), he endured the cross with a Christian patience and magnanimity, comforting himself with the promise of Christ (Luke xviii. 29, 30). After a considerable time, his steady perseverance evincing his integrity, his father's wrath became somewhat mollified, so that he winked at his return and continuance in his family, and though he did not publicly seem to countenance him, yet when imprisoned for being at meetings, he would privately use his interest to get him released.*

William Penn's committal to the Tower was occasioned by a work entitled, *The Sandy Foundation Shaken*. *No Cross no Crown* was the fruit of his confinement in that fortress.

On his release he persisted in his former course of life, and preached frequently in public; but notwithstanding this, the admiral at length became reconciled to him, and bequeathed him his whole property, which was considerable. That very year in which the latter died, was rendered memorable by the bold, manly, and patriotic conduct of a son, who, notwithstanding the singularity and seeming quaintness of his religious opinions, would have conferred honour on the noblest family in the kingdom. Persisting in his original intentions, and neither swayed by worldly interests on one hand, nor alarmed by the fear of a very jealous, capricious, and arbitrary government on the other, William Penn pursued that career which he considered to be pointed out by duty. Although a body of soldiers had taken possession of the Meeting-House in Gracechurch Street, August 15th, 1670, he preached in the immediate vicinity as before. On this he was apprehended, committed by the Lord Mayor, and tried along with William Mead,† at the Old Bailey, on the first, third, fourth, and fifth of September following.

* *Penn's Works*, folio edition, vol. i., pp. 2-4.

† Mr. Mead had been originally a tradesman in London; but, during the civil wars, he, like many others, obtained a commission in the army, and

The indictment purported, 'that William Penn, and William Mead, the latter late of London, linen-draper, with divers persons to the jurors unknown, to the number of three hundred, did unlawfully assemble, and congregate themselves with force of arms, etc., to the disturbance of the peace of our lord the King: and that William Penn, by agreement between him and William Mead, did take upon himself to preach and speak, in contempt of the said lord the King and of his law, to the great disturbance of his peace,' etc.

The jury persisting in bringing in a verdict of *Not Guilty*, in spite of the threats of the Bench, each of the jury was required to answer distinctly to his name; which being done, and they proving unanimous, the Recorder spoke as follows:

'I am sorry, gentlemen, you have followed your own judgments and opinions, rather than the good and wholesome advice that was given you. God keep my life out of your hands! But for this, the court fines you forty marks a man, and (commands) imprisonment until paid.'

William Penn: 'I demand my liberty, being freed by the jury.'

Lord Mayor: 'No; you are in for your fines, for contempt of the court.'

Penn: 'I ask if it be according to the fundamental laws of England, that any Englishman should be fined, or amerced, but by the judgment of his peers, or jury? since it expressly contradicts the 14th and 29th chapters of the Great Charter of England, which says, "No freeman ought to be amerced, but by the oath of good and lawful men of the vicinage."'

Recorder: 'Take him away, take him away; take him out of court.'

Penn: 'I can never urge the fundamental laws of England, but you cry, Take him away, take him away! But it is now order, since the Spanish Inquisition hath so great a place in the was known by the appellation of Captain Mead. It is not at all improbable that he took the same side as William Penn's father; and, indeed, his conduct on this occasion displays somewhat of the republican intrepidity of those days.

Recorder's heart. God Almighty, Who is just, will judge you for all these things !'

Both jury and prisoners, for nonpayment of their fines, were carried to Newgate. These proceedings, of course, aroused the attention of a nation justly jealous of the government of such a profligate and arbitrary prince as Charles II., and indignant at the conduct of such a judge as Howel. Sir Thomas Smith, about a century before, had considered the fining, imprisoning, and punishing of juries to be violent, tyrannical, and contrary to the custom of the realm of England; while the celebrated Sir Matthew Hale, who had been Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and Chief Justice of the King's Bench, in this very reign, observed, in his *Pleas of the Crown*, page 313, that it would be a most unhappy case for the judge himself, 'if the prisoner's fate depended upon his directions, and unhappy also for the prisoner; as if the judge's opinion must rule the verdict, the trial by jury would be useless.'

Edward Bushel, a citizen of London, whose name deserves to be handed down to posterity with applause, immediately sued out a writ of *Habeas Corpus*. Upon the return, it was stated, that he had been committed 'for that, contrary to the law, and against full and clear evidence openly given in court, and against the direction of the court in matter of law, he, as one of the jury, had acquitted William Penn and William Mead, to the great obstruction of justice.' This cause was heard in the superior courts; and after a solemn argument before the twelve judges, the above was resolved 'to be an insufficient cause for fining and committing the jury.' They were accordingly discharged, and they brought actions for damages.

Eleven years after this, William Penn bent the whole force of his capacious mind to a great and noble undertaking. Having, in 1681, obtained from the Crown the grant of a large tract of land in America (since named Pennsylvania, after himself) as a compensation for the arrears due to him as executor for his father, he took over with him a colony of Quakers, and founded Philadelphia, or the City of Brethren, in allusion to their union and fraternal affection.



PREM'S TREATY WITH THE INDIANS.

The territory conveyed to him by the royal charter lay in the midst of the primeval forest. The monarch who bestowed it possessed only nominal rights over it; its real owners were the Red Indians, who roamed over its vast solitudes in pursuit of game. Possibly Penn might have established and maintained his settlement by force of arms, but his Quaker principles forbade the attempt. He was anxious, too, to show that the Indians could understand and respect a peaceful treaty. Accordingly, on his invitation, the chiefs concerned met in his young city. He explained to them the extent of country he desired, and offered to purchase it for cloths and other English goods. The bargain was concluded to the satisfaction of all parties, and a formal treaty was ratified. Penn's trust in the integrity of the savages proved well-founded.

After thus establishing the beginning of a future empire, and propounding a body of laws, this remarkable man, who reflects so much lustre on the name of Englishman, returned to his native country, and died near Beaconsfield, in Berkshire, of an apoplexy, in 1718, at the age of seventy-four.

Whether we view this great man in the light of a legislator, historian, or chronologist, we must allow he had great extent of knowledge, accuracy of judgment, and quickness of invention; and it is but justice to his memory to observe, that in all his writings the gentleman, scholar, and Christian are eminently conspicuous.

We subjoin an extract from a letter of William Penn to his wife and children, which was written a little before his first voyage to America, and was found after his death among some old MSS. He (as was observed of Shakspeare) appears not so properly to 'speak from Nature, as that she speaks through him.'

'MY DEAR WIFE AND CHILDREN,—My love, that sea, nor land, nor death itself can extinguish or lessen toward you, most endearedly visits you with eternal embraces, and will abide with you for ever; and may the God of my life watch over you, and bless you, and do you good in this world, and for ever. Some things are upon my spirit to leave with you in your respective

capacities, as I am to one a husband, and to the rest a father, if I should never see you more in this world.

'My dear wife, remember thou wast the love of my youth, and much the joy of my life; the most beloved, as well as most worthy, of all my earthly comforts: and the reason of that love was more thy inward than thy outward excellences (which yet are many). God knows, and thou knowest it, I can say it was a match of Providence's making; and God's image in us both was the first thing and the most amiable and engaging ornament in our eyes. Now I am to leave thee, and that without knowing whether I shall ever see thee more in this world, take my counsel into thy bosom, and let it dwell with thee in my stead while thou livest.

'1st. Let the fear of the Lord, and a zeal and love to His glory, dwell richly in thy heart; and thou wilt watch for good over thyself and thy dear children and family, that no rude, light, or bad thing be committed; else God will be offended, and He will repent Himself of the good He intends thee and thine.

'2ndly. Be diligent in meetings of worship and business; stir up thyself and others herein; 't is thy duty and place: and let meetings be kept once a day in the family to wait upon the Lord, Who has given us so much time for ourselves: and, my dearest, to make thy family matters easy to thee, divide thy time, and be regular; 't is easy and sweet; thy retirement will afford thee to do it: as in the morning to view the business of the house, and fix it as thou desirest, seeing all be in order; that by thy counsel all may move, and to thee render an account every evening. The time for work, for walking, for meals, may be certain, at least as near as may be; and grieve not thyself with careless servants, they will disorder thee; rather pay them and let them go, if they will not be better by admonitions: this is best to avoid many words, which I know wound the soul, and offend the Lord.

'3rdly. Cast up thy income, and see what it daily amounts to; by which thou mayest be sure to have it in thy sight and power to keep within compass: and I beseech thee to live low and sparingly.'


ISAAC WATTS.



MONUMENT TO ISAAC WATTS IN ABNEY PARK.



XIX.

TOWN of considerable importance, whose maritime connections are extensive, whose busy, bustling activity affords full development to English energy and industry, yet, withal, a remarkably clean town, with streets that you may traverse with pleasure, without encountering the noxious odours that are to be met with in London 'below the bridge' and elsewhere: seated on a broad and beautiful estuary, whose clear, pellucid waters go in and out between verdure-clad hills: a town which springs into life and action as the sun bids its people 'Good-morrow,' and which falls into silence and rest long after its last beams have quivered out a 'Good-even' over the darkness of the New Forest: a pleasant and lively halting-place for those who journey on this way to the Isle of Wight;—so thought the gifted author of the *Course of Time*, who

here gently breathed his soul away,—*Southampton!* What a brave old place it is! with a history going back to the Roman occupation, with a story of the descent of the Danes in A.D. 981; and as for its connection with royalty, why, most other places in its presence must stand abashed. *This* was the holiday place of Canute when worn by the cares of his great kingdom. Here the fifth Henry prepared for his descent on France. Here mayor and corporation (doubtless well informed as to the doings of the 'Most Holy Inquisition') obsequiously turned out to receive the bridegroom-elect of 'Bloody Mary,' Philip, King of Spain. These associations we must leave, together with the digression we are tempted to make upon the charms of Netley Abbey, on the eastern shore of the Southampton Water, and which we regret to say has not been rescued from the vandalism Barham humorously denounced.

In a quiet street, but a short distance from the shore, stands a house, with a neat piece of green reaching from it to the low wall and railing which shut it off from the street. Here, on the 17th of July, 1674, ISAAC WATTS was ushered into being.

We are assured, on the one hand, that his father kept a boarding-school, and on the other, that he was a shoemaker; and with a very fair recollection of the smallness of the house, and that our hero was the first of nine pledges of the mutual affection of his parents,—we rather wonder where the boarders were stowed. We incline to agree with Dr. Johnson, that the senior Isaac Watts was a worthy 'son of the last'; and are prepared to accept the statement of Dr. Gibbons, his earliest biographer, that he was neither indigent nor illiterate.

While young Isaac was at the breast, his mother sat with him on the prison doorstep where his father was confined for his stout-hearted adherence to the nonconforming principles he had espoused. The persecution of the parents and their mental agony must have early penetrated the lad's mind, and given to it that impulse which led him hereafter into the foremost rank of Nonconformist Divines. Very early, indeed, did his knowledge of men and things begin to develop. At the tender age of *four* he entered the grammar-school, where, under the Rev. Mr.

Pinhorn, he began the study of Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, attaining a marvellous proficiency, and displaying his strong religious tendencies. His pecuniary gifts were treasured up for the purchase of books, and the hours which much older children bestow on the natural pursuit of pleasure, were by him religiously devoted to study.

When not yet eight years old, he wrote some devotional poems for the gratification of that fond parent to whom posterity is to such a great extent indebted for the formation of so nearly perfect a character. We are not surprised, therefore, that the family exchequer was taxed to send Isaac, at sixteen, to an academy which was considered a good substitute for Oxford or Cambridge. The school selected was Mr. Thomas Rowe's, Minister of the Independents meeting at Haberdashers' Hall, and among his schoolfellows two at least have succeeded in rescuing their names from oblivion,—John Hughes, contributor to the *Spectator*, and Dr. Horte, Archbishop of Tnam. Here stayed the scholar-poet four years, very largely adding to his store of knowledge, and acquiring that grace of diction which begins to mark his poems from this period; and we cannot for a moment doubt that his early religious impressions had long ago passed into the region of conviction, and from that to decision for Christ. At nineteen he 'communicated' with the people at Haberdashers' Hall.

From Mr. Rowe's establishment he returned home to Southampton for two years, devoted chiefly to close communing with God and study of Holy Writ. Doubtless in wanderings along the airy stretch of Above Bar and the High Street, or beside the beautiful bay, and lingering about the monastic shades of Netley, he acquired that freedom and reach of thought which has ennobled him as a thinker, and decked him with the poet's crown.

During this period of retirement the greater part of his 'hymns' were composed, though from fifteen* to fifty, we are told, he was a maker of verses. Some time about the year 1696, Providence brought to him an invitation from Sir John Hartopp.

* Query, from five years old.

of Stoke Newington, to become tutor to his son. This gentleman was an eminent Nonconformist; his wife was a daughter of General Fleetwood, and grand-daughter of 'the crownless monarch,' Oliver Cromwell. Sir John paid the greater part of the fine levied on Stoke Newington during the 'fiscal persecutions,' viz., £6,000, which in those days was a considerable sum. In the funeral sermon preached for him by Dr. Watts, we are also informed that he was distinguished for his knowledge of the learned world, the arts and sciences, the concerns of the nation, and the affairs of Christ's Church, and was a great mathematician and astronomer.

Isaac Watts must therefore have been a most acceptable addition to the family. Judging from the after history, the utmost cordiality subsisted between him and his pupil. During his six years' residence in this household, his famous *Logic* was written. While here he also became the assistant to Dr. Chauncey, the minister of the Independent chapel in Mark Lane (and subsequently, in the year 1702, his successor), preaching his first sermon on his twenty-fourth birthday, an event which he solemnly regarded as a 'second nativity.' Three years' faithful pastorate broke down a constitution that had never been allowed to gather strength through the peculiarly studious career he had led almost from infancy. We conclude from its history that the Mark Lane congregation must have been one of the wealthiest in London, yet Dr. Watts' stipend was not £100 per annum, though he was, not only the most popular Independent minister, but the metropolis could not boast his equal in any other branch of the Church. Among the members of this congregation were the Abneys, as well as the Hartopps; the head of the former family was not less famous in his way than Sir John Hartopp.

Sir Thomas Abney, Knight and M.P., was a city magnate, and one of the few corporation dignitaries who had always held a high social position. His life commenced under very favourable circumstances. He was brought up under the watchful eye of his aunt, Lady Bromley. In 1693, being Sheriff of London, he received the honour of knighthood at the hands of William III.

Seven years later he became Lord Mayor, and while in that position, being a thorough Protestant, succeeded, in opposition almost to the entire corporation, in carrying an address of congratulation—in effect of confidence—to King William at the critical period when the Pretender had been declared King by the French monarch. He was also one of the first promoters of the Bank of England.

Sir Thomas at this time resided at Theobald's, Herts, and there he invited Dr. Watts to spend a week in retirement and rest. The offer was gratefully accepted, and without in any way losing dignity or self-respect, the Doctor became from that time the loved and honoured guest of the family for six and thirty years.

Immediately after the visit of Isaac Watts, Sir Thomas Abney purchased at Stoke Newington a mansion and grounds. The former still stands in Church Street, but the greater part of the latter has become the property of the Abney Park Cemetery Company. Hither came also Isaac Watts, dividing his time, with rare fidelity to his high calling, between his people at Mark Lane (and because health often failed him, proposing to remit them his munificent stipend of less than £100 per annum), and the calm retreat of this then country home. How enjoyable he considered his position to be we can gather from the perfect freedom of his verses composed there, and the freshness they retain even now. In 1722, Sir Thomas Abney died, at the ripe age of eighty-two, but this event in no way affected the poet-preacher's position. Lady Abney was the daughter of his old friend Gunston, and she, with her daughters, specially delighted in ministering to his comfort. The summer-house in the grounds must almost have been regarded as his of right; it was his favourite resort. It is still preserved in a corner of the cemetery. Here in summertime, with the scent from 'meadows newly mown,' he wrote much, and vastly enjoyed the seclusion. His position enabled him to give away in alms one third of his income; a delight which a generous heart only could appreciate.

In this happy region the *Improvement of the Mind* was written, being an elaboration of several passages in the *Essay on the*

Human Understanding, of his friend, John Locke. Soon after the publication of this work, the Universities of Edinburgh and Aberdeen did themselves honour in voluntarily conferring upon him the degree of D.D. On this Dr. Johnson very aptly remarks, 'Academical honours would have more value if they were always bestowed with equal judgment.'

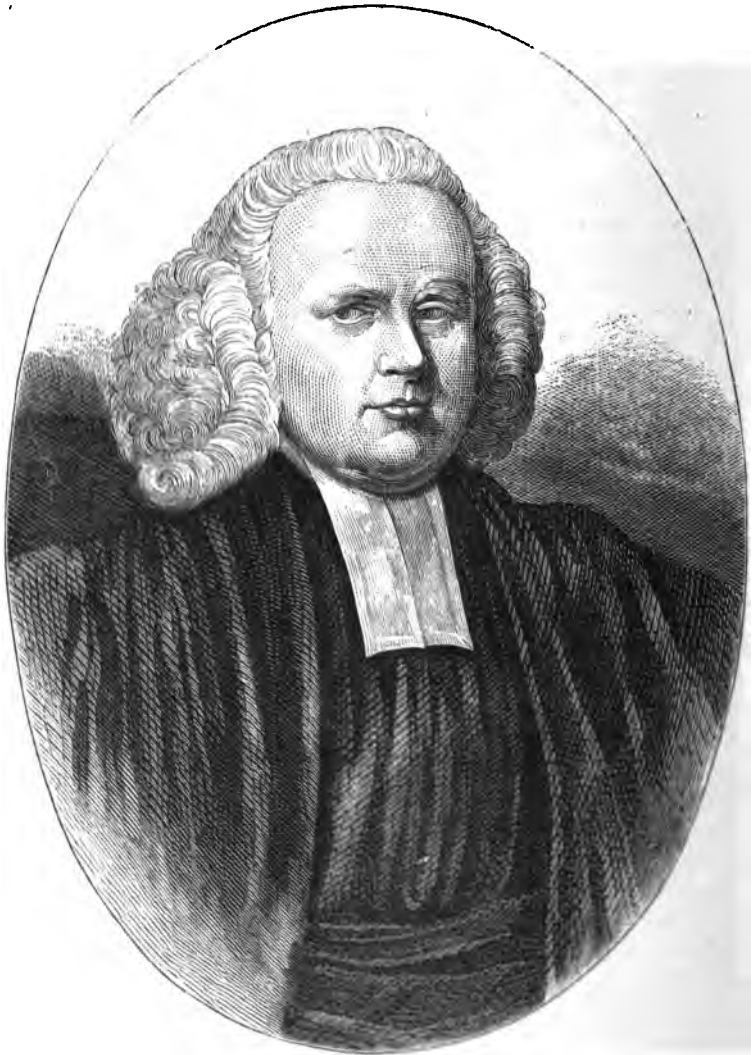
Indeed, the great bibliographer's critique on the life and writings of Dr. Watts is altogether so fair and candid that it honours alike both reviewer and reviewed. Dr. Watts is described as being one of the earliest among the Nonconformists who shone as a master of polished diction. His two great prose works have achieved a high position, while of his poems the great doctor's opinion, with that of others, may be summed up in the words *smooth, nervous, judicious, touching, eloquent*.

Dr. Watts' sun was beginning to set, the gentle ministrations of Lady Abney and her daughters were soon to be needful no longer, the six and thirty years of happy tranquillity were closing, the summer-house was less frequented, Mark Lane meetings had for some time been abandoned, and the charms of poesy began to fail. Then comes the limit of the bed-chamber, he being no longer able to leave his couch, and the application so often addressed to others becomes immediately *personal*; yet he dwells on the 'sweet Cowley,' more than the 'awful Calvin.' Hark what the Doctor says to Philip Doddridge when asked how he does, 'Waiting God's leave to die'! Wondrous words, and how fitting at the close of such a life!

Seventy-four years had passed, and the 'leave' came on the 25th of November, 1748. And so the casket of this rare jewel was laid quietly away in Bunhill Fields, among some others whom we shall by-and-by find—

'Nearest the eternal throne.'

GEORGE WHITEFIELD.



GEORGE WHITEFIELD.



It is something to take a blank mind, and fill it with right ideas and principles, so that he who has it shall henceforth be able to occupy a station of honour and wealth as long as he lives; it is more to take a mind in a blank state regarding spiritual realities, and become the means of filling it with spiritual ideas and principles, so that its possessor, when called into eternity, shall be admitted to the world of thrones and dominions, angels and archangels, cherubim and seraphim, and 'the spirits of just men made perfect,' where he shall feel at home in the presence of the God of the universe, and thus reach, and enjoy for ever, the highest state of existence of which created intelligences are capable. Here we see the noblest work of God; and he who is called to be a co-worker with the Deity in its performance, has an employment so exalted, that angels would consider themselves honoured if they were so engaged.

GEORGE WHITEFIELD has been called 'the greatest of preachers.' Those who lived in the same age, and saw and heard him and others, said he stood without an equal. Ought not his life to be made a study? Here, again, we see piety was the great secret of most distinguished success, in the greatest and best of all employments. When about fifteen years old, he put on his blue apron, washed mops, cleaned rooms, and became a 'common drawer' in the Bell Inn, which was kept by his mother, in Gloucester, his native city. When he tasted and felt that the Lord is gracious, he became desirous of spending his life in making known the great salvation to perishing sinners, and its attainableness by them in this life. He was told it was possible for him to realise his desire to be devoted to the ministry, if he went to Oxford as a servitor, or 'poor student.' He resolved to try and ascend the Hill Difficulty, and he went to the famed city, and

afterwards provided for his expenses chiefly by serving his fellow-collegians. At no distant time afterwards, he became a member of the 'Holy Club,' and was willing to suffer persecution for righteousness' sake rather than deny his Saviour, or prove unfaithful to his trust. Those who beheld him at that time little thought that the 'Poor Scholar' would yet become the 'Prince of Preachers'; but that came to pass. Like the two Wesleys, he felt severely at first 'the spirit of bondage' unto 'fear,' but afterwards came the 'Spirit of adoption,' crying in him, 'Abba, Father,' and soon the joy of the Lord became his strength.

When he presented himself to the Bishop of Gloucester for ordination he had not a guinea in the world, and in this respect, as well as others, he proved himself to be a successor of the Apostles, who went forth to execute their commission without scrip or purse.

He was a most successful evangelist, and has been called the John Baptist of Methodism. He felt of the powers of the world to come; and when his views and feelings were embodied in human language, and uttered in human ears, many who listened called him mad. But people of all classes, from the Society of Friends to members of the High Church party, flocked to hear him. His popularity soon became so great that had he been allowed the use of the churches they could not have contained the vast congregations that collected to listen to him; so he made a virtue of necessity, and went *out into the highways and hedges to compel the multitudes to come in*. When he was addressing the Kingswood colliers in the open air, he was reminded of his Divine Master, 'who had a mountain for His pulpit, and the heavens for a sounding-board.' He blessed God that 'the ice was broken,' and he had taken the field for the benefit of the poor pitmen, who were ready to perish 'for lack of knowledge'; thus he became the first in modern times to break through that formal way of preaching the Gospel which 'thought it almost a sin to try to save souls in any place which had not been consecrated by a bishop.' The same thing was soon done by him afterwards in London, when scores of carriages, hundreds of horsemen, and thirty or forty thousand on foot flocked to hear him.

What was the secret of that power which produced such

results amidst such opposition? The great Grecian orator when asked, What is the secret of popular speaking? said, 'Action,—action,—action.' But it is not the action which is *acted* that produces powerful effects; it is the action which is *felt*. Could Demosthenes have moved his hearers as he did unless he had felt keenly as a patriot for the freedom and interests of his country? In proportion as he realised the consequences of Philip's sway, his feelings taught him so to act as to move his countrymen to do their utmost to prevent it. Was it not so with Whitefield? According to the laws of mind, can any subject be expected to move the hearers more than it moves the speaker? If so, must the speaker possess his subject, or must his subject possess him, that he may sway his hearers at his will? If Whitefield has obtained the name of 'a flaming seraph,' was it not because he lived much in spirit where seraphs dwell? No one has said he was a giant in intellect; yet all acknowledge that more than gigantic results followed his labours; and hence can we account for his success without looking beyond the region of mind? Whitefield saw human life, not on the side of fallen human reason, or human philosophy, but on the side of Divine teaching, which is the side of eternity. Could he have risen to his distinguished piety and usefulness if he had been governed by the maxims which usually rule mankind? The Christian ministry, like Christianity itself, is intended to produce superhuman results by superhuman powers. The true preaching of the Gospel is the pulse of religious society, and thus becomes the grand elevator of human life. What nation can rise high in religion or morals when the tone of the pulpit is low and feeble? Where preaching is without point and power, can it be wondered at if the people return to their homes no more inclined to be religious than when they left them? Can that ministry be right under which a sinner can sit at ease in his sins from Sabbath to Sabbath, and from year to year? Whitefield's preaching met the requirements of God, and the necessities of his hearers. It tended to people heaven with saints, which is the great end of the Christian ministry. There is no public pleading before any audience which can compare with the preaching of the Gospel. In a court of

justice the pleader will sometimes weep as he addresses the jury, because he has a case of life or death in hand; how much more natural and becoming, then, are tears when the speaker is addressing his hearers on personal matters affecting them on a scale as high as heaven, or as deep as the bottomless pit, and as lasting as eternity! Can we wonder that Whitefield frequently wept? How could he help it? 'Is there not a cause?' Can the awful and tremendous future which the Bible reveals as the common destiny of mankind be rightly studied, and the Christian ambassador set it before an audience without feeling? yea, without weeping? In proportion as the mind enters into Divine teaching on such matters, a *man must feel and act intensely*. Is not the contemplation of heaven enough to produce tears of joy? and is not the thought of the bottomless pit enough to produce tears of sorrow? Did not the great Teacher, as incarnate God, weep when contemplating the miseries which are coming on the finally impenitent? Dr. Young justly says, 'On such a theme 'tis impious to be calm.'

Whitefield's zeal ought to be studied as an expression of his views and feelings. He has been spoken of as labouring as if he 'made haste to die.' Is not the key to his ministerial life in the fact that he believed the Bible, and studied human life under the light of its teaching? We know a minister about whom it has been said, 'When he preaches to believers, it is as if he had come down from heaven; when he preaches to sinners, it is as if he had come up from the pit.' Was not the character of Whitefield's zeal derived from something like that? Apart from the teaching of the Bible, what was there in human life to lead him to labour and live as he did? Only admit that the Bible is the teaching of God on what has reference to man, then is not the conduct of Whitefield natural, reasonable, philosophical, and religious? The motives and the principles of the Christian ministry have a place and a power peculiar to themselves; and the commission of no other man in this world shows him such important things to be done, and such weighty reasons for doing them, as that of the Christian ambassador. Whitefield's life was cheap in his own estimation, if it could be spent in saving souls.

He crossed the Atlantic thirteen times to preach the Gospel in the New World, where he travelled from Maine to Georgia. He is supposed to have preached eighteen thousand sermons, which would be over ten a week for the thirty-four years of his ministry!

His eloquence. His voice spoke to the ears of the people who listened; his gestures spoke to their eyes; his heart to their hearts; and the whole of Whitefield addressed itself to the whole of those who composed his congregations. It was something, indeed, when he could command the attention and admiration of such men as Chesterfield, Bolingbroke, Horace Walpole, and the other distinguished persons who met at the house of Lady Huntingdon to listen to his oratory. At other times he addressed the cool heads and hearts of such persons as Hume and Franklin; yet they were moved to warmest eulogy when talking of his merits as a public speaker. When the sailors who listened to his description of a ship in distress cried aloud, 'Take to the long-boat!' when the ship-builder at Plymouth 'could not lay a plank had it been to save his life,' whilst listening to him, yet had 'built many a ship from stem to stern' when at church listening to the vicar; when John Newton 'had no hesitation in pronouncing him the first preacher in the country'; when Garrick, the actor, said 'he could make his audience weep or tremble by varying his pronunciation of the word *Mesopotamia*,'—he stands before us as a man to be wondered at, if regarded merely as an orator.

His success was amazing, whether looked at directly or indirectly. He went through the world like the sun in his might, carrying everywhere light and blessedness. His success in Moorfields during Whit Week amongst the great gatherings for revelry and dissipation, seems to be unequalled in the history of preaching in modern times. The notes he received from persons who had been blessed by his labours were more than a thousand; and three hundred and fifty joined his congregation at the Tabernacle, as the result of those few days' labours. His success in America was so great, that after his first visit to Philadelphia, he was told that one of its distinguished Ministers

'had blistered his feet in going to and fro to visit those who were anxious to obtain the great salvation.' Writers on the age of Whitefield say, that he was one of the most important men that ever lived in the New World, because of the beneficial influence of his life and labours on society. His life was a scene of great conflicts and as great victories.

What was the secret of his glorious career? Was it a display of Divine sovereignty, or was it the result of rightly observing the fruitful and beneficial laws of the government of grace? Has not the government of grace its established principles and uniform laws as well as the natural world? Are not both governments under the same Divine Ruler? Are not most of the principles and laws of God's moral government illustrated by facts which nature supplies? Are we not led to conclude from the parables of the Great Teacher, that there is in many respects a striking analogy between the two? Could a piece of good land in a favourable site, with abundant sunshine, and rain, and dew falling on it, produce a crop without the co-operation of the husbandman with the laws of nature? If in the time of harvest there was nothing but weeds, should we blame Divine sovereignty or the neglectful husbandman? Does the government of nature *bless at random*, or only in proportion as its laws are rightly observed?

Some public teachers seem to be losing faith in the means employed to convert the world, and think another dispensation must be introduced to accomplish the grand designs of human redemption. But what led to the revivals which have already taken place? Did not much prayer precede the day of Pentecost? Has not that been the rule regarding all the revivals of religion that have since transpired? A Minister of very distinguished success has publicly said, 'When the laws of the government of grace are rightly observed, there are fewer failures in the moral than in the natural world.' If so, do we need a new dispensation? Are not the death of our Divine Redeemer, the gift of the Holy Spirit, the revelation of the will of God as we have it in the Bible, and the appointment of the ministry of the Word for human salvation, standing blessings and lasting

resources for the benefit of mankind, on which the Church may calculate to the end of time? Have they not brought about that religious change in human life which already has transpired where the Gospel has been faithfully preached? Are they not



WHITEFIELD'S LAST SERMON.

amply sufficient to accomplish what has yet to be done? Look at what took place in Great Britain and Ireland only a few years ago, when the great revival was going on; or at what took place during the recent visit of Messrs. Moody and Sankey to our

shores. So much was the public mind ruled by the movements, that the public press was employed in publishing the triumphs of Christianity. Did professors of religion then talk of the need of another dispensation? Did not some go to the other extreme, and express anticipations which sober persons could not endorse?

If a state something like these revivals could be maintained, who would doubt the conversion of the world in due time? Is it not possible for the Church to reach such a state of grace that when the Divinely-appointed means are rightly used, success will be the rule, and failure the exception?

Whitefield's death was very beautiful. He wished to die in the pulpit, or soon after leaving it, and he had his desire. Like a light which consumes itself by serving others, such was Whitefield. He went to Newburyport, in America, where he was expected to preach the next day. While he was at supper the people crowded the pavement in front of the house, and even its hall, so impatient were they to hear him. He was exhausted, and wanted rest. What could he do? When rising from the table, he said to a Minister who was with him, 'Brother, you must speak to these dear people; I cannot say a word.' He then took a candle, and hastened toward his bedroom; but before reaching it the 'ruling passion' suggested that he ought to say something to those who were hungering for the bread of life, and had gathered there to hear him. His generous heart held him back from his bed; so instead of retiring to rest he stood on the stairs and addressed the people. He had preached his last sermon; this was to be his last exhortation. Whilst he was speaking to his hearers about their spiritual interests, he was so mastered by his subject, that he continued his discourse until the candle which he held in his hand burned out in its socket. Thus closed his labours on earth, for that night the Master said, 'It is enough; come up hither.' So ended the life of this eminent servant of the Lord Jesus Christ, having made the world much better for his existence in it. 'They that be wise shall shine as the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness as the stars for ever and ever.'

JOHN WESLEY.



JOHN WESLEY.



HE pedigree of John Wesley has been traced to a certain Guy, of Welswe, near the city of Wells, in Somersetshire, who was created a thane by King Athelstane about the year 938. He married Phenan, the only daughter of a neighbouring chieftain. The twelfth in direct descent from Guy and Phenan was Sir William de Wellesley, created by Edward III.

Baron Noragh. His second son, Sir Richard de Wellesley, married the daughter of Sir Nicholas de Castlemartin, of Dangan, Ireland, and through her came into possession of the Dangan estates. From him descended the Earl of Mornington, of musical renown, the Marquis of Wellesley, one of the most distinguished of Indian statesmen, and the Duke of Wellington, one of the most eminent and successful of English soldiers. The fourth son of the first Lord Noragh settled in Shropshire. One of his descendants became Grand Porter to a Welsh prince, and in a generation or two the family adopted the name of Porter; Sir Robert Ker Porter, the traveller, and Jane and Anna Maria Porter, authoresses, sprang from this stock.

Following the original line, at the nineteenth generation we reach Sir Herbert Wesley, who married, in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, a daughter of the Irish branch of the family. He lived in the little village of Westleigh, near Bideford, in the county of Devon. To him were born three sons, the youngest of whom, Bartholomew, entered the ministry. He held the combined rectories of Catherston and Charmouth from about 1640 to 1662, when he was ejected on account of his Puritanism. In the same year his son, John Wesley, was turned out of the living of Winterborn-Whitchurch, in Dorset, for the same cause, though he had not been episcopally ordained. Both continued to exercise the ministry as Nonconformists and suffered much

persecution. Bartholomew Wesley died about 1680; John, two years before.

It is a little surprising to find the son and grandson of these Nonconformist worthies Rector of Epworth, and holding theological opinions widely different from those of his forefathers. Samuel Wesley was born in December, 1662, about four months after his father's ejection from his living. He had been educated a Dissenter, but had joined the Church of England out of pure conviction. He married, probably in 1689, Susanna, the youngest daughter and twenty-fifth child of Dr. Samuel Annesley, a celebrated Nonconformist minister.* Before her acquaintance with her future husband began, Susanna Annesley had forsaken the denomination in which she had been brought up for the Established Church. This change, too, was the result of conscientious conviction.

To Samuel and Susanna Wesley were born nineteen children, nine of whom died in infancy. Their fifteenth child was born June 17th, 1703. He was baptized John Benjamin; but as no other member of the family had two names, 'Benjamin' was dropped by common consent and the boy always known as John Wesley. Both his parents possessed high intellectual qualifications, and manifested sterling piety; but his mother's influence was specially beneficial to her children. The success of Mrs. Wesley's system of child-training has attracted great attention to it, but that success was due at least as much to the mother herself as to her method. The very essence of her system was unvarying regularity of discipline; she never deviated from fixed laws. In minute particulars as well as in important matters she enforced unconditional submission, believing that 'in order to form the minds of children, the first thing to be done is to conquer their will and bring them to an obedient temper.' But she was no mere martinet; love for her offspring inspired her discipline, and of this they were fully persuaded. She desired

* Daniel De Foe's first wife is supposed, with the highest degree of probability, to have been Dr. Annesley's eldest daughter. The connection of the author of *Robinson Crusoe* with the founder of Methodism is worth recording.



THE OXFORD METHODISTS.

earnestly that her children should grow up God-fearing men and women, well instructed in the Scriptures. She spent an hour or two every week in private conversation with each of them, that she might understand them the better and cause them to be the freer and more open with her. In after years her son John remembered these little fellowship-meetings with deep gratitude. Solicitous for the spiritual welfare of all her children, Mrs. Wesley paid special attention to John, not from partiality, but because a remarkable deliverance when the parsonage-house was burned to the ground impressed her with the conviction that she ought to be more particularly careful of the soul of a child whom God had so mercifully preserved. John Wesley, too, regarded this escape as a Divine call to unusual devotedness; he considered himself 'a brand plucked from the burning.'

At the age of eleven years John Wesley went to the Charter-house School in London, and in 1720 he matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford. At the University he studied diligently and successfully, obtaining considerable distinction by his scholarship. He had resolved to enter the ministry of the English Church, and was ordained deacon in 1725, priest in 1728. Throughout his academical career we mark a continually increasing seriousness, a sterner and yet more stern resolve to work out his own salvation by the use of every conceivable means of grace and channel of religious activity, and a curious combination of mysticism and asceticism in his opinions and practices. But most of all the observer is struck with the intensely earnest force of the man; whatever he does must be done thoroughly, no difficulties can daunt or turn him, and his companions instinctively regard him as their chief. The name 'Methodist,' now borne by one of the largest Christian Churches in the world, was originally a nickname applied to a religious company of which John Wesley was the principal member.

Eagerness for arduous service induced the young Clergyman to set sail for the infant colony of Georgia, hoping to become a missionary to the Indians. He embarked October 14th, 1735; he landed again in England, February 17th, 1738. He had failed in the object he proposed to himself, and he had incurred

the ill-will of the settlement. But the voyage was far from fruitless. Wesley had been brought into contact with the Moravians. Their calmness in a terrible storm at sea and subsequent intercourse with them had convinced him that they knew more of true religion than he did. 'In the ends of the earth' he had learned 'that I, who went to America to convert others, was myself never converted to God.' Shortly after his return to his native country John Wesley met Peter Böhler, a Moravian Minister. Through his instrumentality the sincere goer about to establish his own righteousness was 'clearly convinced of unbelief, of the want of that faith whereby alone we are saved.' For this faith he sought till Wednesday, May 24th. On that day his private reading of the Scriptures and the anthem he heard at St. Paul's seemed to point to his deliverance from his bondage. 'In the evening,' to use his own words, 'I went very unwillingly to a society 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.'

John Wesley has 'that faith whereby alone we can be saved'; what will he do with it? First of all, he will satisfy himself that such faith as his wears well; he will observe its workings in those who possess it. For this purpose he visited the Moravians in Germany, and was thereby fully assured of the excellent effects and abiding permanence of the faith that worketh by love. Immediately on his return to England he preached confidently the doctrine of justification by faith. That doctrine, as he held it, was equally removed from Legalism and Antinomianism. At the commencement of his evangelical ministry he spoke in the Moravian and other similar societies, and in such churches as were open to him. Gradually, as his views became known, the clergy closed their pulpits against him, and the societies afforded scant scope for his energies, even had he not felt bound to separate himself from them for theological reasons.

While Wesley was in London, George Whitefield had been preaching with remarkable success in the open air to the Kingswood colliers. He summoned Wesley to his aid. With many misgivings did the propriety-loving Clergyman follow the example of his more impulsive friend and begin field-preaching. But necessity was laid upon him, and on April 2nd, 1739, he declared the Gospel to some three thousand souls, 'speaking from a little eminence in the ground adjoining the city' of Bristol. That visit to Bristol may not unfairly be considered as the origin of the Methodist Churches; for then, not only did their founder commence to proclaim 'the grace of God that bringeth salvation,' regardless of early prejudices and the commandments and traditions of men, but there the united societies took their rise, and the first Methodist chapel was built.

It is impossible within the limits of this sketch to give any adequate conception of the gigantic and heroic labours thus begun. They extended over more than half a century. Ceaseless evangelistic journeys throughout the United Kingdom would have so occupied most men as to effectually prevent the accomplishment or even the inception of any other work. But Wesley, while he travelled more than a quarter of a million miles, and preached more than forty thousand sermons, found time to be the organiser and chief administrator of a growing Church, a voluminous author, an extensive reader, and a busy editor. In him single-eyed devotion to the glory of God were conjoined with boundless energy, indefatigable industry, and vigorous bodily health.

The spiritual destitution of the people and the apathy of their pastors summoned Wesley to preach the Gospel as freely, frequently, and publicly as possible. He had no intention of founding a denomination or making a name for himself. But he could not leave his converts unsheltered and unshepherded; hence the establishment of the Class-meeting and the employment of lay assistants. He did not intend that these assistants should preach, and when Thomas Maxfield, in his absence from London, began to preach, he was not merely surprised but seriously alarmed. He yielded, however, to the sincere conviction that this lay agency

was raised up by God. Chapels were built, not as rivals to or substitutes for the parish churches, but simply to hold services in when the church doors were shut. The Methodists were expected to attend the public worship of the Church of England and to receive the Lord's Supper at the hands of its ministers. The course of events separated Wesley more and more widely from the Establishment, but the divergence was none of his seeking and caused him great pain. In this matter he followed the plain indications of Providence, at no small sacrifice of personal feeling. Ultimately he ordained some of his assistants, and suffered them to administer the sacraments, and he relaxed considerably the prohibition against Methodist services in church hours. The first Conference met in 1744. During Wesley's lifetime the Conference was a purely consultative body. But in 1784 he enrolled in Chancery a Deed of Declaration, which constituted it the supreme authority in Methodism after his death. So acute an observer cannot but have foreseen the inevitable consequence of these acts and have marked the sentiment and tendency of his societies on the subject. But the prolonged deliberation that preceded these steps and the visible reluctance that accompanied them acquit him of the only serious charge that has, with any show of plausibility, been brought against him, that he was ambitious and desired to increase his own fame. In the very best sense of the phrase John Wesley was a 'waiter upon Providence.' He would not move restlessly before the pillar of the cloud; he would not linger behind when it was clearly in motion.

By far the greater part of John Wesley's other labours resulted from his success as a preacher of the Gospel. The range of his itinerancy was continually widening. For the first three years of his mission, London and Bristol formed centres whence his evangelistic journeys radiated. But in 1742, at the invitation of John Nelson, he visited Birstal, and thence travelled to Newcastle-upon-Tyne. The godlessness of the latter place astonished him, but so did the vast crowds that thronged to listen to him, and the hearty reception of the glad tidings by so many of them. Returning southward, he revisited Epworth, and being forbidden

the pulpit by the rector, preached in the churchyard, standing on his father's tombstone. That sermon bore fruit which the preacher lived to gather. Often the messenger and the message were welcomed in most unlikely places, and the word of God had free course, ran, and was glorified. Sometimes his hearers manifested mere respectful attention or even stolid indifference. Often the worst passions of the mob raged against both the ambassador for Christ and the people who heeded his ministry of reconciliation. From a very early period Wesley experienced these outrages. For instance, at Bristol, in March and April, 1740, rioters several times disturbed the meetings of the Society. Once especially 'it seemed as if all the hosts of the aliens were come together with one consent. Not only the court and the alleys, but all the street, upwards and downwards, were filled with people, shouting, cursing, and swearing, and ready to swallow the ground with fierceness and rage.' The firmness and fairness of the local magistracy, however, protected the Methodists effectually. In London the rabble more than once invaded the meeting-place, but they were awed by Wesley's calmness, presence of mind, and religious zeal. His out-door services in the metropolis were more dangerous, as the following extract from his Journal shows :

'I was desired to preach in an open place, commonly called The Great Gardens, lying between Whitechapel and Coverlet Fields, where I found a vast multitude gathered together. Taking knowledge that a great part of them were little acquainted with the things of God, I called upon them in the words of our Lord: "Repent ye, and believe the Gospel." Many of the beasts of the people laboured much to disturb those who were of a better mind. They endeavoured to drive in a herd of cows among them, but the brutes were wiser than their masters. They then threw whole showers of stones, one of which struck me just between the eyes; but I felt no pain at all, and, when I had wiped away the blood, went on testifying with a loud voice that God hath given to them that believe, "not the spirit of fear, but of power, and of love, and of a sound mind." And by the spirit which now appeared through the whole congregation I

plainly saw what a blessing it is when it is given us, even in the lowest degree, to suffer for His name's sake.'

The Middlesex magistrates did their duty, and Wesley was allowed to prosecute his work in peace.

Wesley's worst experiences of mob violence occurred in Cornwall and Staffordshire, where the clergy and justices encouraged the rioters, if they did not actually set them on. Preaching at Gwennap, Wesley was seized for a soldier, but his captor soon grew weary of the recruit he had illegally pressed, and released him. At Falmouth, on the next day, a mad mob stormed the house of a sick lady that Wesley was visiting. While only a wainscot partition was between him and the hunters, he coolly removed a looking-glass from the wall lest it should be broken. He refused to hide himself; and when the door was forced, he boldly confronted the rioters, and said, 'Here I am; which of you has anything to say to me? to which of you have I done any wrong? To you? or you? or you?' Standing bareheaded in their midst, he began to address them; and in a short time their very leaders swore no man should touch him. At Wednesbury and Walsall desperate attempts were made to ruin and drive out the Methodists. Mobs paraded the streets, smashing the windows of the Methodists and injuring their persons. As soon as he learnt how serious was the state of affairs, Wesley hastened to Staffordshire. He was permitted to preach unmolested at midday; but about five o'clock in the evening, a very large number of rioters surrounded the house where he was staying. 'Bring out the Minister; we will have the Minister!' they cried. Wesley sent for their captain, and after a few sentences interchanged between them 'the lion was become a lamb.' A similar process pacified two more of the leaders. Then Wesley walked out to the crowd, and mounting a chair, inquired, 'What do any of you want with me?' 'We want you to go with us to the justice,' was the reply. 'With all my heart,' retorted Wesley. In a pouring rain the prisoner and his guards walked two miles to the magistrate. The justice had retired for the night, and would not rise. Another justice refused to act for a like reason. So far Wesley was unhurt, and in all probability

VISIT AND THE MOB AT WEDNESDAY,



would have remained so had not a body of ruffians from Walsall driven off the Wednesbury mob and seized their prisoner. A woman, who had some authority over the first crowd, and had protected him from them, tried to defend him against the Walsall rioters, and was nearly killed in the attempt. As he descended a steep and slippery path to the town, several efforts were made to cause him to stumble, but He who keepeth the feet of His saints preserved him. Several times he was struck with an oaken cudgel, but the blow, though apparently aimed at his head, always descended on a less dangerous place. A man struck him on the breast with the fist, and another heavily on the mouth. Another rushed at him with uplifted hand to strike, but only stroked his head, exclaiming, 'What soft hair he has!' Reaching the town, Wesley tried to enter an open door, but was pulled back by the hair. The mob marched him through the main street, answering his request, 'Are you willing to hear me speak?' with, 'No, no! knock his brains out! down with him! kill him at once!' Others, however, shouted, 'Nay; but we will hear him first.' At last he broke out in audible prayer. This was more than the ringleader of the ruffians could bear; he was quite subdued, and turning to Wesley, he said, 'Sir, I will spend my life for you; follow me, and not one soul here shall touch a hair of your head.' He kept his word, and Wesley reached Wednesbury a little before ten o'clock, 'having lost,' as he records, 'only one flap of my waistcoat, and a little skin from one of my hands.' Two reflections Wesley subjoins to the account of this outrage in his *Journal* exemplify the spirit of the man: 'I never saw such a chain of providences before; so many convincing proofs that the hand of God is on every person and thing.' And, 'From the beginning to the end I found the same presence of mind as if I had been sitting in my own study. But I took no thought of one moment before another; only once it came into my mind, that if they should throw me into the river it would spoil the papers that were in my pocket. For myself I did not doubt but I should swim across, having but a thin coat and a light pair of boots.'

Furious as was the opposition, the Gospel triumphed; no-



WESLEY PREACHING AT NOTTINGHAM.

where did Methodism win more marvellous victories than in Cornwall, and nowhere were Wesley and his followers more highly respected than in Staffordshire.

Always collected and trustful in danger, always cheerful under hardships, always resolute to fulfil his engagements, always occupied about his Master's business, John Wesley toiled and endured for Christ's sake and the Gospel's, counting not his life dear unto him. A rigid economist of time, he rose early and lived by rule. 'You have no need to be in a hurry,' remonstrated a friend. 'Hurry!' was the response; 'I have no time to be in a hurry.' He made light of privations; they were trifles in comparison with his mission. When, in company with John Nelson, he itinerated through Cornwall, the sleeping accommodation was often bare boards, and they wanted food. 'Brother Nelson,' said he one night, 'let us be of good cheer; I have one whole side yet, for the skin is off but on one side.' Dining on blackberries plucked from the roadside hedge, he remarked, with grim joviality, 'Brother Nelson, we ought to be thankful that there are plenty of blackberries; for this is the best country I ever saw for getting a stomach, but the worst I ever saw for getting food. Do the people think we can live by preaching?' But neither thought of turning his back on the inhospitable county. Once he had to cross the sands between Hayle and St. Ives, to keep an appointment at the latter place. The rising tide had covered the sands. The driver of the carriage feared to go on. 'Take the sea! take the sea!' shouted Wesley through the carriage window. 'In a moment,' says the ostler, 'I dashed into the waves, and was quickly involved in a world of waters. The horses were swimming, and the wheels of the carriage not unfrequently sank into deep hollows in the sands. I expected every moment to be drowned, but heard Mr. Wesley's voice, and saw his long white hair dripping with salt water. "What is your name, driver?" he calmly asked. I answered, "Peter." "Peter," said he, "fear not; thou shalt not sink." With vigorous whipping, I again urged on the flagging horses, and at last got safely over. Mr. Wesley's first care was to see me comfortably lodged at the tavern; and then, 'otally unmindful of him-

self, and drenched as he was with the dashing waves, he proceeded to the chapel and preached.'

Long before Wesley's death most of the Methodist Societies and congregations had provided themselves with suitable meeting-houses. Many of the chapels were of a sufficiently humble pattern. Twenty-five years after his first visit to the town of Nottingham Wesley records, with much satisfaction, that he preached there 'in the new house.' This was a small octagon chapel, built at a cost of less than £130. Hitherto the services had been held in Matthew Bagshaw's house, which was ingeniously adapted to answer the double purpose of preaching-room and dwelling-place. The sitting-room proved too small for the congregation; immediately above it was the bed-chamber; a large trap-door was fixed in the ceiling of the lower room, and the preacher, perched upon a chair, itself standing on a table, could address the men in the extemporised gallery and the women on the ground-floor, much more effectually separated from each other than when only an aisle ran between them. Upon this the inexpensive chapel was a vast improvement, though many a hallowed association would be connected with Matthew Bagshaw's parlour and dormitory.

Great as a preacher of repentance, John Wesley did not regard repentance and conversion as the end of his ministry. Regeneration was the indispensable preliminary to Sanctification. Wesley as earnestly enjoined holiness upon his converts as repentance upon the ungodly. His name is inseparably connected with the doctrine of Christian Perfection. One main reason why he gathered the awakened and justified into classes was that they might be trained in likeness to Christ Jesus, and have ever before them the most exalted standard. Herein he differs from George Whitefield, whose converts were left to seek spiritual instruction where they might; and hereby the foundation was laid for a permanent work, for influence extending to successive generations.

During Wesley's lifetime Methodism spread beyond the country that gave it birth. He carried it himself to the sister kingdoms of Scotland and Ireland; and Dr. Coke and others carried it to the New World.

Space would fail us to describe Wesley's happy and honoured old age. Long before his death public sentiment had completely changed towards him. Crowds continually flocked to hear him, and his journeys were like royal progresses. To the last he retained his compassionate interest in the inmates of our gaols and his love for little children. His last sermon was preached at Leatherhead, February 23rd, 1791. His was a remarkably hale old age. On January 1st, 1790, he enters in his Journal: 'I am now an old man, decayed from head to foot. My eyes are dim, my right hand shakes; but I can preach and write still.' And he did preach and write and travel throughout that year, and for nearly two months of the next.

The death was of a piece with the life. The day before his departure he sang two verses of the hymn beginning, 'All glory to God in the sky.' He asked for a pen, but was unable to use it. 'Let me write for you,' said one; 'tell me what you wish to say.' 'Nothing, but that God is with us.' He sang again two verses of the hymn beginning, 'I'll praise my Maker while I've breath.' Then again he raised his voice in his last hymn till he was 'added to the heavenly choir':

'To Father, Son, and Holy Ghost,
Who sweetly all agree.'

He could sing no more, and ceased, saying, 'Now we have done; let us all go.' By-and-by he requested, 'Pray and praise.' And as John Broadbent supplicated for a blessing upon the system of doctrine and discipline Wesley had taught and enforced, the dying saint responded fervently. During his last night on earth he repeated again and again, 'I'll praise, I'll praise,' evidently trying to repeat the verses he had so lately sung. 'Farewell,' he said; and as Broadbent uttered, 'Lift up your heads, O ye gates; and be ye lift up, ye everlasting doors, and this heir of glory shall come in,' John Wesley passed through the gates into the city, March 1st, 1791, aged eighty-eight years.

'In person, Wesley was rather below the middle size, but beautifully proportioned, without an atom of superfluous flesh, yet muscular and strong; with a forehead clear and smooth, a

bright, penetrating eye, and a lovely face, which retained the freshness of its complexion to the latest period of his life.'

Of him Lord Macaulay wrote: 'He was a man whose eloquence and logical acuteness might have rendered him eminent in literature; whose genius for government was not inferior to that of Richelieu; and who devoted all his powers, in defiance of obloquy and derision, to what he sincerely considered the highest good of his species.'

He was buried behind City Road Chapel, but a monument to him has recently been placed in Westminster Abbey. His noblest monument, however, is the Methodist Churches in well-nigh every part of the habitable globe. When John Wesley died, the Methodist preachers in Europe and America numbered 511, and the members 120,233. In 1878 the numbers had increased to the following: ministers, 30,357; members, 4,753,524; and the attendants on public worship cannot be estimated at less than fourteen or fifteen millions. Well may we echo one of Wesley's favourite expressions, and say, 'What hath God wrought!'



FROM THE WESLEY MONUMENT IN WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

