

DISCLAIMER: This text was written in colonial times. It may contain terms or descriptions that the modern reader finds racist or offensive. By publishing it, we do not intend offense, nor do we condone or assert such things ourselves.

THE LIFE
OF
DANIEL WILSON, D.D.,

BISHOP OF CALCUTTA AND METROPOLITAN OF INDIA.

BY
JOSIAH BATEMAN, M.A.,

RECTOR OF NORTH CRAY, KENT; HIS SON-IN-LAW AND FIRST CHAPLAIN.

With Portraits, Map, and Illustrations.

BOSTON:
GOULD AND LINCOLN,
60 WASHINGTON STREET.
NEW YORK: SHELDON AND COMPANY.
CINCINNATI: GEORGE S. BLANCHARD.

1860.

Source: <http://www.archive.org/details/cu31924008011367>

*Modernized and annotated by
William H. Gross www.onthewing.org May 2013*

Last updated: 8/16/2022

PREFACE.

In his preface, a biographer may be allowed to say a few words concerning himself; and I would gladly use this privilege to deprecate any charge of presumption in undertaking the present work, and to acknowledge my obligations to those friends who, by their contributions, have enriched it.

The late Bishop left the copyright of his works, and his private papers, to his son, the Rev. Daniel Wilson, and this would seem to have pointed him out as the biographer; but the tie of relationship was deemed too close to permit that freedom of speech, and impartial exhibition of character, without which the records of a life are valueless.

It was necessary, therefore, to select a substitute; and in this selection, the combination of personal knowledge, relationship near enough yet not too near, some ecclesiastical experience, and a familiarity with Indian life and customs, were deemed desirable, if not indispensable, qualifications.

Thus it fell out that the duty was assigned to me; and, coming unsought, it was not declined.

iv PREFACE.

The delicacy and difficulty of the undertaking were sufficiently obvious. To draw a likeness when the expression was continually varying; to describe a character far above the common standard; to preserve a just balance between the inner life with God and the outer walk with man; to touch controversy on many points, without awakening, or at least embittering it; to discuss the proceedings of great religious societies without doing harm; to speak of individuals without giving pain; to tell the whole story “without partiality and without hypocrisy;” — all this, and much more, was requisite; and how could I not but painfully feel my own incompetency, and my need of that wisdom which is from above, and which is “first pure, then peaceable?”

For nearly two years, however, I have given myself to the work with all diligence, and in humble reliance upon the guidance and the grace of God. He has been pleased to continue the leisure, and bestow the health which were alike indispensable. May He now condescend to give the blessing, and make the finished work tend to the good of His Church and the glory of His great name.

The various sources from which the information worked into this Biography was derived, are pointed out in the book itself. It will suffice, therefore, to say here, that every statement rests upon direct and undoubted testimony. To the counsel and advice of friends, in doubtful matters, I have been much indebted; but the final decision, in every case, and the undivided responsibility, rests with myself alone.

PREFACE. v

I wish that the name of my brother, the Rev. Daniel Wilson, could have appeared with my own upon the title-page, as calculated to give authority to the work, and confidence to the reader; but he was unwilling to take (as he was pleased to say) the credit, without sharing the labor. Every word, however, has passed under his eye, and met, generally speaking, his approval. This was his wish; and to this he was entitled, as the chief guardian of his father's honor.

The verdict of the public must necessarily be a subject of great uncertainty and some anxiety. Peeling the impossibility of pleasing all, I only venture to profess honesty of purpose, and to express a hope that the acknowledged difficulty of the undertaking will be allowed to plead on my behalf, and procure pardon from those who may detect faults, and indulgence from those who may feel disappointment.

It only remains for me gratefully to acknowledge my obligations to those who have so readily placed letters and papers of various kinds at my disposal, and have been otherwise assisting during the progress of this work. I am indebted to the Marquis Cholmondeley for many important letters; to the family of the late Rev. Dr. Pearson, Dean of Salisbury; to Mrs. Stone and Mrs. Ashby, surviving daughters of the late Rev. John Eyre, and to Mr. Vardy, Jun., for access to early and authentic documents; to Lady Malkin, Mrs. Foljambe, Miss Wilson and Mrs. Drew, daughters of the late George Wilson, Esq.; to my own immediate relatives; to the representatives of the late Rev. C. Jerram and

vi PREFACE.

Rev. William Jowett; to H. Harford, Esq., of Blaise Castle; to, Miss Cecil; to the Rev. J. W. Cunningham, the Rev. Francis Cunningham, the Rev. Henry Venn, the Rev. Henry Elliott, the Rev. John Hambleton, the Rev. S. C. Wilks, the Rev. Thomas Harding, the Rev. George Clayton, and the Rev. J. Tarlton, for numerous letters, valuable advice, and interesting anecdotes; to the venerable Dr. Marsh, Mr. Bridges, Mr. Clifton, and Mr. Woodward, for oral communications; and, above all, to Archdeacon Pratt for two thousand five hundred folio pages of important records, copied at my request, and under his own eye, from the archives of the diocese of Calcutta. To all these friends I would desire to express grateful acknowledgments. They will find, I trust, that their confidence has not been abused, nor their advice neglected.

J. BATEMAN.

NORTH CRAY RECTORY, KENT,

NOVEMBER 17, 1859.



Engraving from the 1832 painting by Thomas Phillips R.A.

Contents

PREFACE	i
CHAPTER 1. EARLY LIFE. 1778-1796.	1
THE WILSON FAMILY — PARENTAGE OF DANIEL WILSON — SCHOOL DAYS — APPRENTICESHIP — WILLIAM WILSON — EMPLOYMENTS — JOURNALS — LEISURE HOURS — ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF AND OF OTHERS — IMPORTANT CONVERSATION — RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS — LETTERS TO MR. EYRE — TO HIS MOTHER — BREAKFAST WITH REV. JOHN NEWTON — STATE OF MIND — SECOND INTERVIEW WITH MR. NEWTON — HIS PIOUS GRANDFATHER — JOSEPH WILSON — SYMPATHY AND INSTRUCTIONS OF MR. EYRE — LETTERS — CLOUDS — FIRST COMMUNION — SUNSHINE.	1
CHAPTER 2. CALL TO THE MINISTRY. 1796-1798.	17
THE DEEP FOUNDATIONS OF RELIGION — SUBJECT OPENED — LETTERS TO MR. EYRE — HIS FATHER'S REFUSAL OF HIS WISH — HIS OWN REASONS — CONSULTS REV. ROWLAND HILL — JOURNAL — CONSULTS REV. R. CECIL — FATHER CONSENTS — ENTERS AT OXFORD — PUPIL OF REV. J. PRATT.	17
CHAPTER 3. STUDENT LIFE. 1798.	24
REV. J. PRATT — STUDIOUS HABITS — LETTERS — ATTEMPTS AT DOING GOOD — FAMILY PRAYERS — JOURNALS — ATTAINMENTS.	24
CHAPTER 4. COLLEGE LIFE. 1798-1801.	27
STATE OF THE UNIVERSITY — ST. EDMUND'S HALL — HIS FRIENDS — REV. J. CROUCH — JOURNALS — SCRIPTURAL DISCUSSIONS — VACATION — LETTERS — EXPENSES — TENDERNESS OF CONSCIENCE — CONFIRMATION — LONG VACATION — JOURNAL — COUSIN ANNE — REMINISCENCES — PLAN OF STUDY AT HOME — CORRESPONDENCE — PROSPECT OF A CURACY — EXAMINATION — DEGREE — UNIVERSITY PRIZE — HEBER AND WILSON — COMMON SENSE.....	27
CHAPTER 5. CHOBHAM. 1801-1803.	40
CHOBHAM AND BISLEY — REV. R. CECIL — PARISHIONERS AND VISITORS — PREACHING — MR. PEARSON — CECIL'S MANNER — LATIN JOURNAL — ORDINATION AT FARNHAM — REFLECTIONS — FIRST SERMONS — SUCCESS — SKETCH OF SERMONS — DEDICATIONS OF CHARACTER — PROSPECT OF TUTORSHIP — OF MARRIAGE — LETTER OF WILLIAM WILSON — JOURNAL — FAREWELL SERMON — LONDON — HIS MARRIAGE.	40
CHAPTER 6. FAMILY LIFE. 1803-1832.	52
JOURNAL — MRS. WILSON — BIRTH OF HIS CHILDREN — HAPPY HOUSEHOLD — DOMESTIC CHARACTER — TROUBLES — DEATH OF LITTLE ANN — ILLNESS AND DEATH OF HIS YOUNGEST CHILD — TWO ELDER BOYS AT WORTON — LETTERS TO THEM AT SCHOOL AND COLLEGE — ORDINATION, PREFERMENT, AND MARRIAGE OF HIS ELDEST SON — NARRATIVE OF HIS SECOND SON — DESCENDANTS.....	52
CHAPTER 7. OXFORD AND WORTON. 1804-1809.	62
ASSISTENT TUTORSHIP AT OXFORD — REFLECTIONS — RETIREMENT OF MR. CROUCH — SOLE TUTOR — HIS PUPILS — HIS MANNER — "BANDS WILSON" — HIS INDEPENDENT CHARACTER — LATIN APPEAL — DISCUSSION IN CONVOCATION — HIS WALK BEFORE GOD — SUNDAY AT WORTON — NATURE OF THE CURACY — SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY — OXFORD VACATIONS — MANNER OF PREACHING — RESULTS OF PREACHING — MR. WILLIAM WILSON, OF WORTON — MEMORIAL — CALL TO ST. JOHN'S, BEDFORD ROW — DIFFICULTIES — FINAL SETTLEMENT — RETROSPECT.	62
CHAPTER 8. LITERARY LIFE. 1810-1831.	75
HABITS AND TASTES — LIBRARY — PRIZE ESSAY — SERMON ON OBEDIENCE — FUNERAL SERMON FOR MR. CECIL — STYLE — CONVERSATION WITH BELLINGHAM — ON CONFIRMATION AND LORD'S SUPPER — FUNERAL SERMONS FOR MR. CARDALE, MRS. CARD ALE, AND REV. W. GOODE — PAMPHLET ON	

SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE — CONTROVERSIES ON THE SUBJECT — SERMON ON REGENERATION — VIEWS ON REGENERATION — OFFENCE TO THE UNIVERSITY — POLITICAL VIEWS — SERMONS TO CHILDREN — ANNIVERSARY SERMON FOR CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY — PAMPHLET IN DEFENCE OF CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY — VOLUME OF SERMONS — DOCTRINAL VIEWS — ANECDOTE — PRAYER-BOOK AND HOMILY SOCIETY — FUNERAL SERMONS FOR THE REV. THOMAS SCOTT — PREFACE TO ADAM'S "PRIVATE THOUGHTS," BUTLER'S "ANALOGY," WILBERFORCE'S "PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY," BAXTER'S "REFORMED PASTOR," QUESNEL ON "THE GOSPELS" — DR. CHALMERS — "LETTERS FROM AN ABSENT BROTHER" — EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY — HANNAH MORE — ROMAN CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION — SIR R. PEEL — LETTERS TO "CHRISTIAN OBSERVER" — SIR J. MACKINTOSH — DR. CHALMERS — MR. SIMEON — SERMONS ON LORD'S DAY — FUNERAL SERMONS FOR MR. CHARLES GRANT, REV. S. CROUCH, REV. B. WOODD — CONTROVERSY WITH DR. BURTON. 75

CHAPTER 9. ST. JOHN'S. 1811-1824. 97

ORIGIN OF ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL — DR. SACHEVEREL — CLOSING OF ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL — MANNER IN THE PULPIT — COMPOSITION OF SERMONS — ANECDOTE OF A FRENCH PASTOR — NUMBER OF SERMONS — COURSES OF SERMONS — LOST MSS. — CONGREGATION — DISTINGUISHED AUDITORS — FIRST IMPRESSIONS — EXTENSIVE USEFULNESS — DR. BUCHANAN — CANON DALE — BASIL WOODD — CORRESPONDENCE — QUESTION OF LAW — CONFIRMATION — COLLECTIONS — DISTRICT VISITING SOCIETY — AUXILIARY BIBLE SOCIETY — VISITS TO OXFORD, NORFOLK, BIRMINGHAM, DUBLIN, ARMAGH, BRISTOL, MANCHESTER, STAFFORDSHIRE, NORTH WALES, LIVERPOOL, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, CAMBRIDGE, HALIFAX, HUDDERSFIELD, CASTERTON, LEEDS, KNARESBOROUGH, CHANNEL ISLANDS, FRANCE — ANECDOTES — OPINIONS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS — FRENCH TRANSLATIONS — ECLECTIC SOCIETY — FAILURE OF HEALTH — CONTINENTAL TOUR — DANGEROUS ILLNESS — RECOVERY — BECOMES VICAR OF ISLINGTON. 97

CHAPTER 10. ISLINGTON. 1824-1832. 129

LIVING OF ISLINGTON — DR. STRAHAN — SUCCESSOR FOR ST. JOHN'S — LETTER FROM MR. PRATT — HIS OWN IMPESSIONS — ANTICIPATIONS OF THE PARISHIONERS — PAROCHIAL MATTERS — VESTRY MEETINGS — ADDITIONAL SERVICES — NEW CHURCHES — PUBLIC APPEAL — PRAYER — BISHOP OF LONDON — CHURCH COMMISSIONERS — SITES — PLANS — CURATES — SCHOOLS — PASTORAL ADDRESS — LECTURESHIP VESTRIES — GUILDFORD — JOURNALS — ILLNESS OF MRS. WILSON — HER DEATH — CONFIRMATION — NEW LIBRARY — PERSONAL HABITS — CONSECRATION OF NEW CHURCHES — PROPRIETARY SCHOOL — THE APOCRYPHA CONTROVERSY — NEWFOUNDLAND SCHOOL SOCIETY — PARISH TROUBLES — MR. CHURCH-WARDEN WOODWARD — BISHOP TURNER — CHARLES GRANT — FIRST IDEA OF BISHOPRIC OF CALCUTTA — INTERVIEW WITH MR. CHARLES GRANT — APPOINTMENT TO CALCUTTA — INTERVIEW WITH LORD GREY — CONSECRATION AT LAMBETH — REFLECTIONS — ECLECTIC SOCIETY — ATTENDANCE AT COURT — VISIT TO FARNHAM CHAPEL — ISLINGTON TESTIMONIALS — DEPARTURE FROM ISLINGTON. 129

CHAPTER 11. THE VOYAGE TO INDIA. 1832. 163

PORTSMOUTH — THE "JAMES SIBBALD" — OCCURENCES ON THE VOYAGE — RELIGIOUS SERVICES — FOUR GERMAN MISSIONARIES — THE SINGING SAILOR-BOY — STUDIES — CORRESPONDENCE — CAPE TOWN — HOSPITALITIES — VISITATION OF THE SCHOOLS — INFANT SCHOOL — SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE — ORDINATION — DEPARTURE FROM CAPE TOWN — CORRESPONDENCE — SICKNESS — THE HOOGLY — WELCOME TO INDIA. 163

CHAPTER 12. INDIA. 1832-1834. 173

JURISDICTION OF THE INDIAN EPISCOPATE — ITS STATE ON HIS ARRIVAL — FIRST DIFFICULTY — HOW SETTLED — FIRST SERMONS IN THE CATHEDRAL — CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE ARCHDEACONS AND OTHERS — MARRIAGE OF HIS DAUGHTER — HIS DOMESTIC LIFE AND PERSONAL HABITS — RESIDENCE AT TITTAGHUR — BISHOPS HEBER AND TURNER — LORD W. BENTINCK, GOVERNOR-GENEEAL — ECCLESIASTICAL QUESTIONS — FREE SCHOOL — LENT LECTURES — CLERICAL MEETINGS — BISHOP'S COLLEGE — ORDINATIONS — CONFIRMATIONS — NATIVE BAPTISMS — INFANT SCHOOLS — STEAM COMMUNICATION — BEGUM SUMROO'S FUND — THE NEW CHAPTER —

CHURCH-BUILDING FUND FOR INDIA — MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE AMONG NATIVE CHRISTIANS — RELATION OF THE CHAPLAIN TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE BISHOP — THE INDIAN CLIMATE — CORRESPONDENCE.....	173
CHAPTER 13. PRIMARY VISITATION. 1834-1835.	215
BISHOP'S CHARGE — VOYAGE TO PENANG — SCENERY — PRODUCTIONS — POPULATION — EPISCOPAL REVIEW — PENANG HILL — SINGAPORE — CHURCH BUILDING — SCHOOLS — LANDING AT MALACCA — JOSS HOUSE — DUTCH HOUSE — MOULMEIN — CONSECRATION OF THE CHURCH — CEYLON — ITS TROUBLED STATE — MARRIAGE LICENSES — BIBLE TRANSLATIONS — DUTCH PROPONENTS — COTTA — SPLENDID SCENERY — KANDY — ANCIENT TEMPLE — KING'S PALACE — BHUD'S TOOTH — INTERVIEW WITH ADIGARS AND PRIESTS — BADDEGAME — SEVERE STORM — LANDING AT MADRAS — SOUTHERN MISSIONS — CASTE QUESTION — TANJORE — CONFERENCE WITH THE NATIVES — SWARTZ — TRICHINOPOLY — CORRESPONDENCE.....	215
CHAPTER 14. PRIMARY VISITATION. — (Continued.) 1835-36.	271
MISSIONARY CHARGE — DEPARTURE FROM TANJORE — VIZAGAPATAM — VISIT TO THE TEMPLE OF JUGGERNAUT — ARRIVAL AT CALCUTTA — DIVINE SERVICE AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE — THE ARCHDEACONRY — THE MISSIONARIES — CONTROVERSY WITH THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY — SELECT VESTRY — CALCUTTA DISTRICTS — LA MARTINIÈRE — DAILY LIFE — VISITATION RESUMED — THE SYRIAN CHURCHES — CONFERENCE WITH THE METRAN — WHITE AND BLACK JEWS AT COCHIN — GOA — BOMBAY — OLD FAQUEER — CORRESPONDENCE.....	271
CHAPTER 15. PRIMARY VISITATION. — (Concluded.) 1836-1838.	317
BOMBAY CHARGE — THE MARCH — THE ESCORT — THE CAMP — AHMEDNUGGUR — EUROPEAN TROOPS — AURUNGABAD — LITTLE GROUP OF CHRISTIANS — MHOW — DURBAR AT INDORE — NEEMUCH — NUSSEERABAD — AJMERE — JYEPOOR — DAY AT THE PALACE — THUGS — DELHI — MEERUT — MUSSOOREE — NEW CHURCH — JOURNEY ACROSS THE HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS — SIMLAH — "SERMONS PREACHED IN INDIA" — RETURN TO THE PLAINS — ON THE SUTLEJ — LODIANA — KURNAUL — THE CITY OF DELHI — VISIT TO THE KING — AGRA — TAJ MAHAL — BAREILLY — CAWNPORE — CHURCH BUILDING — FUTTEHPORE — ALLAHABAD — THE PILGRIMS — PILGRIM TAX — ON THE GANGES — ARRIVAL AT CALCUTTA — KRISHNAGHUR — BURDWAN — DEPARTURE OF DR. MILL AND BISHOP'S CHAPLAIN — DEATH OF SIR BENJAMIN MALKIN — JOURNAL — CORRESPONDENCE.	317
CHAPTER 16. SECOND VISITATION. 1838-1842.	357
THE BISHOP'S SECOND VISITATION — IMPORTANT CHARGE — VOYAGE TO THE STRAITS — CHITTAGONG — SIR WILLIAM JONES' HOUSE — APPOINTMENT OF PROFESSOR STREET — LENT LECTURES IN CALCUTTA — FIRST IDEA OF THE NEW CATHEDRAL — AWAKENING AT KRISHNAGHUR — PROPAGATION SOCIETY MISSIONS — BAPTISM OF NATIVES — CONSECRATION OF CAWNPORE CHURCHES — LUCKNOW — DELHI — ALMORA — MUSSOOREE — SIMLAH — MOONLIGHT AT AGRA — ADDITIONAL CLERGY SOCIETY — GWALIOR — JHANSI — SAUGOR — JUBBULPORE — CALCUTTA — CONTROVERSY WITH PROPAGATION SOCIETY — MRS. WILSON AND FEMALE ORPHAN REFUGE — JOURNAL-LETTERS — SYLHET AND CHIRRAPOONGEE — TEN THOUSAND ORANGES — CAUBUL TRAGEDY — JOURNAL-LETTERS — CORRESPONDENCE.....	357
CHAPTER 17. FIRST METROPOLITICAL VISITATION. 1842-1845.	386
BISHOP'S FIRST METROPOLITICAL CHARGE — PENSIONS FOR BISHOPS — MINUTES OF CONFERENCE WITH SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS — MADRAS — BISHOP SPENCER — TANJORE — SWARTZ — TINNEVELLY — PALAMCOTTA — SYRIAN CHURCHES — OPEN MISSION SET UP — BOMBAY — JOURNAL-LETTERS — PUTTEHPORE — NYNEE-THAL — SIMLAH — SERMONS ON EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS — GIFT OF TEN THOUSAND RUPEES TO HIS CATHEDRAL — LODIANA — UMBALLAH — SEIZED WITH JUNGLE FEVER — HIS DANGEROUS STATE — MR. PRATT'S NARRATIVE — BISHOP'S REFLECTIONS — ORDERED HOME — SAILS FOR ENGLAND — CORRESPONDENCE.....	386
CHAPTER 18. FOURTH VISITATION. 1845-1848.	410

FOURTH AND FAREWELL CHARGE — LEAVES CALCUTTA — ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND — OLD FRIENDS — PROPOSED PLANS — ADDRESS FROM THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY. AND REPLY — RETURN OF FEVER — VISIT TO ADDINGTON AND HUDDERSFIELD — ELLAND SOCIETY — DURHAM — SHERBURN — RIPON — YORK — LORD METCALFE — DINNER BY EAST INDIA COMPANY — PRESENTED AT COURT — PRIVATE AUDIENCE — VISIT TO MILK STREET — DINNER AT THE MANSION HOUSE — CHURCH MISSIONARY ANNIVERSARY SERMON — JOURNALS — RADCLIFFE INFIRMARY SERMON — JERUSALEM CONSECRATION SERMON — CHOBHAM — BRIGHTON — EXETER — TORQUAY — QUEEN'S COMMUNION PLATE — FAREWELL SERMON — LEAVES ENGLAND — VOYAGE — ARRIVAL IN CALCUTTA — JOURNALS — CONSECRATION OF CATHEDRAL — REPORT — LORD HARDINGE — JOURNALS — CORRESPONDENCE.	410
CHAPTER 19. FIFTH VISITATION. 1848-1851.	438
BISHOP'S FIFTH CHARGE — VOYAGE TO BOMBAY — ACCIDENT — CEYLON — MADRAS — CALCUTTA — JOURNALS — CHANGE OF RESIDENCE — THANKSGIVING SERMONS — VALIDITY OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAW IN INDIA — SIR CHARLES NAPIER — NEW PALACE — MR. PRATT MADE ARCHDEACON — PRINCIPAL KAY, OF BISHOP'S COLLEGE — LORD DALHOUSIE — JOURNALS — VISITATION — CHURCH BUILT FROM "ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS" — REV. J. BLOOMFIELD, DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN — RAJAH BROOKE — VOYAGE TO BORNEO — RETURN TO CALCUTTA — JOURNAL — PROFESSOR STREET'S ILLNESS AND DEATH — CATHEDRAL MISSION CONVERTS — DANGEROUS ILLNESS — CORRESPONDENCE.	438
CHAPTER 20. SIXTH VISITATION. 1851-1855.	459
CHARGE — JOURNALS — SUDDEN DEATHS OF MR. WEITBRECHT AND PROFESSOR WEIDEMANN — VOLUME OF SERMONS ON "THE GREAT ATONEMENT" — BISHOP OF VICTORIA — IMPRESSION MADE UPON HIM — LOVE OF FLOWERS — VISITATION — ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH — MRS. ELLERTON AT THE PALACE — GATHERING OF THE BISHOPS — CONSECRATION OF THE BISHOP OF LABUAN — CORRESPONDENCE.	459
CHAPTER 21. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 1855-1857.	474
LAST CHARGE — VISITATION TO BURMAH — MEETS LORD DALHOUSIE — SUCCESSFUL APPLICATIONS — PROMPT ACTION — AMERICAN MISSIONARIES — PRIMITIVE ABODE — MODEL FARM — TAKES SPIRITUAL POSSESSION OF BURMAH — SERMONS — CONFIRMATIONS — VOYAGE TO MADRAS — BISHOP DEALTRY — VISIT TO CEYLON — PEARL SERMON — LORD AND LADY CANNING — CALCUTTA JOURNALS — THANKSGIVING SERMON FOR PEACE — CATHEDRAL IMPROVEMENTS — DONATION — TERRIBLE ACCIDENT — TENDERNESS OF SPIRIT — REARRANGEMENT OF CATHEDRAL ENDOWMENT FUND — PLAN FOR A COADJUTOR BISHOP — INDIAN MUTINIES — SERMON ON "PRAYER, THE REFUGE OF THE AFFLICTED CHURCH" — THE BISHOP ENTERS HIS EIGHTIETH YEAR — REFLECTIONS — MEETING FOR PRAYER — HUMILIATION SERMON — CAPTAIN PEEL AND THE "SHANNON" — TRIP TO SAND-HEADS — CAPTAIN KEY AND THE "SANSPAREIL" — FIVE LETTERS — RECEIVING-SHIP — REFLECTIONS — RETURN TO CALCUTTA — HIS DEATH — FUNERAL SERMONS IN ISLINGTON — NARRATIVE OF ARCHDEACON PRATT, DR. WEBB, AND MR. WALTERS — RESPECT PAID TO THE BISHOP'S MEMORY — TESTIMONIES TO HIS WORTH.	474
CHAPTER 22. REFLECTIONS ON THE BISHOP'S CHARACTER.	510
HIS ENERGY — THE SIMPLICITY OF HIS AIM — HIS DEEP PIETY — SPIRIT OF PRAYER — STUDY OF SCRIPTURE — MORAL COURAGE — UNTIRING INDUSTRY — CONSISTENCY — DEEP SELF-ABASEMENT — FIDELITY TO CHRIST — MISSIONARY ZEAL — GROWING CHARITY — UNBOUNDED LIBERALITY — FEARLESSNESS — PECULIARITIES.	510
INDEX.	517
Map of India 1824 by Reginald Heber, D.D.	524

THE
LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON, D. D.
CHAPTER 1. EARLY LIFE.
1778-1796.

THE WILSON FAMILY — PARENTAGE OF DANIEL WILSON — SCHOOL DAYS — APPRENTICESHIP — WILLIAM WILSON — EMPLOYMENTS — JOURNALS — LEISURE HOURS — ACCOUNT OF HIMSELF AND OF OTHERS — IMPORTANT CONVERSATION — RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS — LETTERS TO MR. EYRE — TO HIS MOTHER — BREAKFAST WITH REV. JOHN NEWTON — STATE OF MIND — SECOND INTERVIEW WITH MR. NEWTON — HIS PIOUS GRANDFATHER — JOSEPH WILSON — SYMPATHY AND INSTRUCTIONS OF MR. EYRE — LETTERS — CLOUDS — FIRST COMMUNION — SUNSHINE.

The name of Daniel Wilson has been more or less prominently before the church for fifty years. He was the eldest son of Stephen Wilson and Ann Collett West, and was born in Church Street, Spitalfields, on July 2nd, 1778.

For many generations the Wilson family has been settled at Stenson, a hamlet of Barrow-cum-Twyford, near Derby.¹ In the register books of the parish it may be traced up to the year 1657, when those records ceasing, the clue is lost: and as a somewhat curious coincidence in connection with this biography, it may be noted that in the year 1682-83, there is the entry of a marriage solemnized “per dominum Danielem Wilson.” Prosperous in their affairs, they gradually rose from tenant farmers, to be landowners in their own right, and freeholders of the county. The custom seems to have been, always to keep the eldest son at home

2 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. I.

to succeed in due time to the farm; and then, giving the younger sons the best education possible, to send them into the wide world of commerce. Participating in the growing spirit of enterprise which has pervaded the country during the last century, and upholding the family character for integrity and ability, many of these younger sons have attained high rank in the commercial world, realized large fortunes, and have become possessors of considerable landed estates.

Among them, Stephen Wilson held an honored place. He lived for some years in Spitalfields, carrying on the business of a silk manufacturer. From there he moved, in the year 1798, to No. 12 Goldsmith Street, Cheapside. For some time he had a country house, called Marsh Gate, at Homerton; and finally resided till his death in New Ormond Street, Russell Square. He was a gentleman, a true Christian, a kind father, and a good master; methodical in his habits, and somewhat quick in his temper. In middle life he was grievously afflicted with asthma, and died of that complaint on the 7th of December 1813, aged 60 years.

His wife, Ann Collett West, before referred to, survived him many years. She belonged to a highly respectable family who had been intimate with the Rev. George Whitefield; and her father, Daniel West, was appointed one of his trustees. In early life she had chosen “the better part,” and subsequently became an exemplary wife, an affectionate mother, and a careful mistress. She died in the faith of Christ, on the 3rd of June 1829.

At his birth, their son Daniel was a weakly child, and was placed out to nurse in the country. But after a few years this early delicacy entirely passed away, and he grew up a healthy, vigorous boy, with a firm step, buoyant spirits, and a handsome, intellectual countenance.

¹ One of the last acts of the Bishop of Calcutta was to send £50 as a donation towards the erection of a vicarage house in the parish above referred, on the application of Ambrose Moore, Esq., a near relative.

A few traditional stories of his early days still linger in the memory of friends, but they are not worthy of preservation. He himself records the fact that when at school, and sensible of some transitory impressions of religion, he used to get up on a chair, select a text, and preach sermons to his schoolfellows.

When he returned to England for his health in 1845-6, he visited on one occasion the house where he was born, pointing out the broad oak railing of the staircase down which he used to slide, and inquiring as to the fate of one of a group of mulberry trees at the bottom of the garden, which he instantly missed. It was one of those good, roomy, and comfortable houses which abound in the old-fashioned parts of London; and the sight of it seemed to recall to his mind many of the pleasing reminiscences of childhood.

1778-96. EARLY LIFE. 3

At the age of seven years he was sent to a preparatory school at Eltham, in Kent, kept by a Mr. and Mrs. Searle: and from there, in his tenth year, he was removed to Hackney, and placed under the care of the Rev. John Eyre.

Mr. Eyre had been curate to the Rev. Richard Cecil, at Lewes for a short time, about the year 1778; and was now the pious and highly respected minister of an episcopal chapel at Homerton, erected in 1729, and commonly called "Ram's Chapel," from Mr. Ram, who had built and endowed it for the service of the Church of England.

There were but six or eight pupils in the school when Daniel Wilson joined it. His master soon appreciated his character, and said, "There is no milk-and-water in that boy; he will be something either very bad or very good." A fit of idleness and perversity one day seized him, and he would neither do his accustomed work, nor an imposition which had been given him as a punishment. His master, passing through the room, saw him idling at his desk, and said, "Daniel, you are not worth flogging, or I would flog you." Not worth flogging! It stirred the boy's pride, and he was never in similar disgrace again during all the years he stayed. He became persevering and indefatigable. Finding himself unable to do his appointed work one morning, he steadfastly refused to join the family at dinner, saying, "No! If my head will not work, my body shall not eat." Before long he became the delight and pride of his master, who always spoke of him as possessing an intellect of the highest order, and used to tell how, when his own theme was written, he would sit down and write themes for the duller boys, varying the matter, but keeping to the point, in all. Under Mr. Eyre, Greek, Latin, and French were grappled with, and the usual elements of a sound and useful education were acquired. The affection manifested on the one side, was thoroughly reciprocated on the other; and his "dear master" was often consulted by Daniel Wilson in the emergencies of later-life. He remained at school till June 1792, when he had nearly attained the age of fourteen; and on the 4th of December in the same year, was taken into the warehouse of Mr. William Wilson, and bound to him, in the usual way then, for seven years. A new world thus opened before him; he had but to follow in the track already marked out, and stores of wealth lay at his feet.

Mr. William Wilson was his near relative by blood, and his maternal uncle by marriage. He was an extensive silk manufacturer and merchant. A strict and just man, he claimed "unlimited obedience" from all who served him; and expected the same industry

4 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. I.

and perseverance which he manifested himself. He was a widower with seven children, and resided at his place of business in Milk Street, Cheapside, ordering his household in the fear of God, keeping holy the Lord's Day, and conscientiously availing himself of the ordinances of the church. In his establishment, preferment followed merit. Everyone was honorably dealt with; but very little allowance was made for boyish levity or impulse. As an illustration of the strict discipline enforced, one who entered the warehouse soon after this time, testifies, that

sometimes for weeks together he never put his hat on; and that more than three years elapsed before his first holiday was granted.

But Daniel Wilson himself shall speak of these times, for they have an important bearing on his early life.

“My parents,” he says, “for the first years of their marriage, were a kind of loose church people, from the lack of piety in their parish ministers, attending regularly at Mr. Romaine’s, of Blackfriars Church, in the morning of the Sunday, and at the Tabernacle, I suppose, in the evening. When their young family made the distance from Blackfriars inconvenient, they attended at a dissenting meeting-house in their neighborhood in the morning, and at Spitalfields Church in the evening. My schoolmaster, however, being a clergyman — though not strictly regular — I was accustomed to the church service during the four years of my residence with him. When I went to live with my uncle before I was fourteen, an entire change took place in these respects; for he was a strict and conscientious Churchman, attending first Mr. Romaine, and after his death, Mr. Crowther, of Christ Church, Newgate Street, Mr. Cecil, Mr. Scott, and Mr. Basil Woodd. My prejudices, therefore (for I had no religion), were then in favor of the Church of England; and though the predilection was slight before I went to college, it became so deeply conscientious from the moment I entered the university, that I have never done any one act inconsistent with the bonds of that communion from that period.”

The records of his first three years of service are somewhat scanty. His daily duties are described in the following letter to a school companion, named Vardy, with whom for a short time he carried on an active correspondence:

“FEB. 16, 1797.

“My individual employment is not laborious, but it is constant. Our usual hours of work are from six o’clock in the morning till eight o’clock in the evening in the summer; and from seven o’clock in the morning till eight in the evening in the winter. So you see I have but little time to myself After eight o’clock, in general, I am at liberty to read or write alone, till supper-time, which is at half-past eight o’clock, or a quarter to nine; and after this I sit reading with the family till ten o’clock, when my uncle calls them to prayers, and all go to bed. But as my leisure moments were by these regulations exceedingly circumscribed, I have always been accustomed to spend a couple

1778-96. EARLY LIFE. 5

of hours in my room before I retired to rest. Then I used constantly to study my Latin and French, so that I was making considerable progress in both.”

The journals of a cousin, who was his intimate friend at this time, and who still happily survives, will give a further insight into his movements at this time. The following are extracts:

“1794, Dec. 30. Went with Daniel to Messrs. Goslings in Fleet Street.

“Tuesday. Daniel called, went with him to Wood Street.

“Saturday. Went with Daniel to Cornhill with a bill, which was returned.

“Tuesday. Daniel called, went with him to the Chapter Coffee-house.

“Wednesday. Daniel called; he went with me to the banker’s.”

Thus we have a glimpse of him in the city. We may also see him at the desk; for in the hours stolen from sleep, as he mentions, not only were Latin and French kept up, but English composition was diligently practised. An old manuscript book affords the proof. It is filled with essays of various kinds, some on the truth of the Scriptures, and some on moral subjects, after the manner of the Spectator, with appropriate mottos. There are also various translations from old devotional Latin works. All are written in the clearest hand, as if prepared for the press; and they manifest a love of literature and a skill in composition very unusual under similar circumstances. The ore would crop out.¹

¹ That is, the gold in the rock would make itself evident.

In another point of view, however, his character during these three years appears to have developed itself unfavorably. The following is the account he gives of himself in the year 1796:

“As far back as I can remember, my whole heart was given to sin. Even when a boy at school, when particular circumstances recur to my mind, I am shocked at the dreadful depravity of my nature as it then revealed itself. I have indeed proceeded in a regular progression from the lesser sins of bad books, bad words, and bad desires, to the grosser atrocities of those emphatically known by ‘the lusts of the flesh.’ I was constantly acting against a better knowledge. I had received a religious education, and had been accustomed to a regular attendance on public ordinances. I could criticize a sermon, and talk and dispute about particular notions; but I loved my sins, and could not bear to part with them. I had never gone so far as to deny any one doctrine of the gospel. I acknowledged them to be true, but for lack of that necessary attendant, self-application, I could hear whole sermons — but not a word belonged to me! I took a false idea of the gospel, and from this distorted view, dogmatically pronounced it out of my power to do anything; and so, hushing my conscience with ‘having done all I could,’ I remained very quietly the willing slave of sin and Satan.”

This witness against himself may no doubt be true; and it is to a

6 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. I.

certain extent confirmed by the testimony of contemporaries. One of these was himself in early life an attendant at the Sunday evening lecture in Spitalfield’s Church, founded by the Weavers’ Company, and preached alternately for three years at a time, by the Rev. R. Cecil and the Rev. J. Foster. This lecture, Mr. William Wilson and his family used to attend, sitting in the rector’s pew. Our informant sat with them, and his attention was drawn to Daniel Wilson by the marked irreverence he showed during divine service. While others were standing or kneeling, he would be sitting in a careless, lounging manner, and often laughing and talking. It was understood also, at the same time, that he was skeptical in his views. He himself acknowledges that he lived entirely without prayer; others testify that he scoffed at it, saying that “it rose no higher than the ceiling.”

If it was so, the fault was in the heart rather than in the head. Religion was disliked, not disbelieved. The feelings were perverted, not the intellect. These considerations will afford a clue to some of the remarks which have gone before, and to others which will follow. The age in which he lived, was, in fact, characterized by coarse infidelity. He was surrounded by the temptations of a great metropolis. His temper was impetuous, his passions were strong, and his companions, more or less, like-minded. And there can be little doubt that for a time, in early life, he “walked in the counsel of the ungodly, and stood in the way of sinners, and sat in the seat of the scornful.” But a great change was at hand!

The full tide of business is flowing through the warehouse in Milk Street; five hundred weavers in succession, of all ages and both sexes, are depositing their finished work or seeking more; customers are hurrying in and out, books are being posted, bills negotiated, and a colossal fortune reared. The master’s eye is everywhere, and in his presence all is order and decorum. But when the day draws to a close and he retires, restraint is thrown off and discipline relaxed. The young men gather together, conversation is let loose, jokes are practised, words are unguarded, disputation is aroused. The topic of religion is familiar to them, and is commonly discussed without reserve. One finds his amusement in it, a second quiets conscience by it, and a third excuses sin. Among them is Daniel Wilson, with high intellect, high powers, high aspirations — all checked and held down by SELF — in some of its linked forms of self-esteem, self-will, or self-indulgence. Such was his natural character. The *Grace of God* began to work upon this character; and a conflict ensued between the old nature and the new, between the flesh and the spirit, which never ceased till death.

1778-96. EARLY LIFE. 7

It is this work of grace, leading to true conversion, which has now to be considered; and Daniel Wilson shall himself describe the process.

He is writing to his friend Mr. Vardy, on November 29, 1796, and he says:

“One evening (March 9th, 1796) I was as usual engaged in wicked discourse with the other servants in the warehouse, and religion happening (humanly speaking, I mean) to be started, I was engaged very heatedly in denying the responsibility of mankind, on the supposition of absolute election, and the folly of all human exertions, where grace was held to be irresistible. (I can scarcely proceed for wonder that God should have upheld me in life at the moment I was cavilling and blaspheming at his sovereignty and grace.) We have a young man in the warehouse, whose amusement for many years has been entirely in conversing on the subject of religion. He was saying that God had appointed the end — he had also appointed the means. I then happened to say that I had none of those feelings towards God which he required and approved. ‘Well, then,’ he said, ‘pray for the feelings.’ I carried it off with a joke, but the words at the first made some impression on my mind, and thinking that I would still say that ‘I had done all I could,’ when I retired at night I began to pray for the feelings. It was not long before the Lord in some measure answered my prayers, and I grew very uneasy about my state.”

This uneasiness led him to immediate action. There was none of that concealment or delay so common and so hurtful to the growth of conviction in the soul. On the 9th of March it might be said of him, as it was said of St. Paul, “Behold he prays;” and on the third day after, that is, on the 11th of March, he was conferring with Mr. Eyre, as with another Ananias, on the “things that accompany salvation.” The effect of prayer was most strikingly manifested in his case. God heard in heaven his dwelling-place, and every religious feeling prayed for, was roused at once to life and action. But all was confusion. His eyes were opened, but he saw nothing clearly. And those very arguments which served to exclude truth before, now stood as stumbling-blocks in his search after it.

His first letter to Mr. Eyre, under these circumstances, deserves an attentive perusal; for few young persons, when thus brought suddenly under conviction of sin, are able to describe the tumult of their minds so clearly.

“March 11, 1796.

“I hope you will excuse my freedom while I lay before you, in a simple manner, the state of my mind. In consequence of the religious education I have received, I am theoretically acquainted with the leading features of the gospel, and though I acknowledge with shame how little practical influence they produce on my conduct, I have never rejected one doctrine of the gospel.

8 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. I.

Nor have I imbibed any of the pernicious principles of Socinians, or any other heretical sect.

“But what is to me a great stumbling-block, is the idea which I have entertained, on the supposition of its general reception among the Calvinists, concerning election. This doctrine I have conceived to mean, that all the true children of God are elected by God before the foundation of the world. Now, my wicked heart argues thus: If this is true, how can the endeavors of a weak man assist or impede the accomplishment of the divine decrees? If God has foreordained that I shall be brought to a knowledge of Himself, how can anything I do or say prevent the designs of His omnipotent will? I sometimes think to myself in this way.

“Another thing which my mind works upon, is the idea that good works are inefficacious to salvation, which depends on the conversion of the heart to God; and therefore, before any external reformation can be of any use, a change must be produced in my mind. In consequence of this idea impressing me, I venture to kneel before the Lord, and entreat Him, as sincerely as I can, to send those feelings into my heart, that it may be changed from its present pursuits to those of a heavenly nature. But alas! I find it extremely difficult to collect my thoughts; and when I utter words with my mouth, my heart seems but little engaged. When I rise from my knees and open the sacred Word of God, I endeavor to ejaculate a petition that God would open my eyes to understand His truth, and

open my heart to receive it; but alas! I find it a dead letter. I scarcely know what part to refer to, and when I have read one or two chapters, I discover no sensible difference in my feelings. I then perhaps think of throwing off my concern about religion, and determine to mix in the world, and be as cheerful as I used to be; but my mind revolts at the idea. I ask myself. Will such conduct last? When fifty or sixty years have passed over my head, what shall I think then?

“In a word, I know not what to do. I feel no love to God or Christ. I do not see the wickedness of my sins in such a hideous light as my conscience says I ought. My heart is hard. I find more pleasure in the enjoyments and levities of this world than in thoughts of futurity. What I have done, I am afraid is insincere; for though I refrain from any outward acts of sin, my mind is forever mingling in the worst scenes of wickedness. I know not what to do. But I have resolved to write to you, as a person who I have the greatest reason to think has a sincere regard for my present and future welfare, and I beg your consideration of my case, and hope you will pity and advise me.

“What I think that I most want to know is, Whether a conscientious reformation of my outward life is in the least an aid to my future safety? Whether endeavoring to lift up my heart to God in prayer, when it is cold towards Him, is not daring presumption? And what part of the Scriptures you would particularly recommend to my perusal?

“PS. — I scarcely know whether it is not too great a boldness in me to send you this; but trusting in your indulgent love towards me, I venture to send it, as I consider you the only friend I can unbosom myself to with freedom. I feel a backwardness in acquainting my dear parents with my feelings, and soliciting their advice. I can only add that if you think it would be better for me to speak to them, I certainly shall think myself bound to do it, for they have ever been to me most kind and indulgent.

“D. W.”

1778-96. EARLY LIFE. 9

The anxious state of his mind may be gathered from the fact that although this letter was written on the 11th of March, and he had since seen Mr. Eyre personally, yet he writes again on the 16th as follows:

“Since I saw you on Monday, my situation is but little altered. I feel the seeds of wickedness as strong as ever, and although they do not burst forth in profane or unbecoming expressions, or in wicked actions, yet my thoughts are too much allied to the world, and too little fixed on eternal things. If any worldly subject is talked of in my hearing, I find my vile heart hankering after it; and though I have been enabled (dare I say, by God’s grace?) to abstain from opening my lips, yet my Bible says that God searches the heart, and if such is the case, I am sure my transgressions are infinitely increased every day I live.

“I often think of what you said, ‘Is not sin your burden?’ But my heart answers, or I think it answers, ‘I would wish to feel this burden; but woe is me, I do not.’ Sometimes in the daytime, when sitting at the books, or walking in the streets, I endeavor to pray for an interest in the Saviour; but alas! I feel little need of Him, and my blind mind cannot discern how I am to know that God will accept me, and blot out my sins through the blood of Christ. In short, I utter words with my lips; I groan and sometimes weep over my situation; and yet I can refer it to no cause.”

It might be expected that his parents would soon be made acquainted with the state of his mind; and so it was. An immediate and anxious inquiry seems to have been addressed to him by his pious mother, to which he responds as follows:

“APRIL 7, 1796.

“I have received your letter, and would answer in sincerity your solemn query. How is it between God and your soul?

“What shall I say? How is it between the great omnipotent God, the creator and preserver of my life, in whom I live and move and have my being; and the soul of me, a worm of the earth, who exists only at His will? Awful thought!

“But this is not all. How is it between a just and holy God — a God of infinite purity — and my soul full of corruption and pride? How can I answer such a query?”

“But when I add to these considerations, that while this God has been blessing me with the blessings of His providence; while He has been continuing me in life, and preserving me from every danger, I have been transgressing against Him in the most aggravated manner, against light and knowledge, and even now daily transgress against Him — I say, when I think on this question in connection with these ideas, I am confounded, and do not know what to reply.

“This I know and feel: that I have forfeited His favor; that my help does not lie in me; that the curse of God is upon me; and that it is because He is God, and not man, that it has not long ago been executed. This also I am

10 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. I.

sensible of, that the curse may be executed this night, that my breath is in my nostrils, and that if I this night should be cut off, I should sink — where? Into that tremendous place where the ‘worm does not die, and the fire is not quenched.’

“But I have cried to the Lord for mercy, and endeavor still to cry to Him from, as it were, the very mouth of hell. And I have some faint hopes that the Lord will be merciful unto me, and bless me. And this pursuit I hope and trust I shall never relinquish till I am blessed with an answer of peace.

“Oh! my dear mamma, it is not the pleasures of this life, nor the possession of its vain riches or honors which I seek after. No; but it is even the happiness of my immortal soul, which must exist forever and ever. Oh! may the word Eternity never enter my ears without impressing my heart.”

On the 20th of April, Daniel Wilson had an interview with the Rev. John Newton, rector of St. Mary Woolnoth,¹ to whom his uncle’s family and his own were affectionately attached, and whose ministry they often attended. It was the custom of that excellent clergyman to open his house for religious purposes on every Tuesday and Saturday evening. On Saturday evenings, several of the London clergy regularly met there: on Tuesday evenings, he received (to use his own words) “Parsons, Parsonets, and Parsonettas.” On these occasions some religious subject was freely discussed and conversed upon, and the meeting closed with prayer.

Mr. Newton also had his breakfast-parties, open to friends by invitation. They were perhaps the most edifying; for the good old man, in his velvet cap and damask dressing-gown, was then fresh and communicative, always instructive, always benevolent. His expositions of Scripture with his family, which consisted of a niece, some aged servants, and some poor blind inmates of his house, were peculiarly simple and devout. It was to one of these, no doubt, that Daniel Wilson was invited. He was greatly interested with what passed, and sent a very full account of it to Mr. Eyre, as follows:

“This morning I breakfasted with Mr. Newton. I hope the conversation I had with him will not soon be effaced from my mind. He inculcated that salutary lesson you mentioned in your letter, of ‘waiting patiently upon the Lord.’ He told me God could, no doubt, if He pleased, produce a full-grown oak in an instant, on the most barren spot; but that such was not the ordinary working of His Providence. The acorn was first sown in the ground, and there was a secret operation going on for some time; and even when the sprout appeared above ground, if you were continually to be watching it, you would not perceive its growth. And so, he said, it was in spiritual things.

“When a building is to be erected for eternity, the foundation must be laid deep. If I were going to build a horse-shed, I could put together a few poles, and finish it

1778-96. EARLY LIFE. 11

¹ In 1779, John Newton, author of *Amazing Grace*, was invited by John Thornton to become Rector of St. Mary Woolnoth, Lombard Street, London, where he officiated until his death.

presently. But if I were to raise a pile like St. Paul's, I should lay a strong foundation, and an immense deal of labor must be spent underground, before the walls would begin to peep above its surface.

"Now," he continued, "you want to know whether you are in the right road; that is putting the cart before the horse; that is wanting to gather the fruit before you sow the seed. You want to experience the effects of belief before you believe.

"You can believe a *man* if he promises you anything, but you cannot believe Christ when He says, "Him that comes to me I will in no way cast out." If you are cast out, it must be in some way, but Christ says, "in no way." If He had said, I will receive all who come except one hundred, then you might certainly think that you were of that hundred; but the "in no way" excludes all such arguing. There are few awakened sinners who doubt Christ's *ability* to save, but the fear seems to run on his willingness, which, of the two, is certainly the most dishonoring to our blessed Saviour. To illustrate my meaning; — Suppose you had promised to pay one hundred pounds for me, and had given me the promise in writing. Now, if you should refuse to pay the money when I sent for it, which do you think would involve the greatest impeachment to your character: to say that you were perfectly willing to fulfill your engagement, but really did not have the power; or to say that no doubt could be entertained about your ability, but you were *unwilling* to be bound by your promise?

"Unbelief is a great sin. If the devil were to tempt you to some open, notorious crime, you would be startled at it; but when he tempts you to disbelieve the promises of God, you hug it as your infirmity, whereas you should consider it as a great sin, and must pray against it.

"When Evangelist, in the "Pilgrim's Progress," asked Christian if he saw a wicket-gate at the end of the path, he said No. Could he then see a shining light? He thought he could. That light was the Bible, and it led him to the wicket-gate. But when he had passed that gate, he still retained the burden. It was not till he looked to the Cross that the burden fell from his back and was felt no more. Now," said Mr. Newton, "the gate through which you have to pass is a strait gate; you can but just squeeze in yourself. There is no room for self-righteousness; that must be left behind."

In a letter -written to his mother a few days after this interview, he says:

"The words of Mr. Newton, that unbelief is a great sin and should be prayed against as such, continually recur to my mind. Alas! My heart is unbelieving and hard, but I hope I may endeavor to pray to the great Redeemer to give me a believing heart.

"I dread that I am yet a hypocrite, and deceiving myself and others. For I feel that all my terrors and prayers arise from a fear of condemnation, and not from a love of God and concern for His glory. I feel that I dread God instead of loving Him; and that if I have at all a hatred of sin, it is unaccompanied by a love of holiness. The fear of presumption on the one hand, and of unbelief on the other — of hypocrisy here, and eternal wrath hereafter, have well-near sunk me into a state of utter despondency."

12 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. I.

A gleam of light shines through this watery sky:

"MAY 9, 1796.

"It has been some cause of relief to my mind, to reflect what could have made me first think about the concerns of my immortal soul. I look into myself, and I see a source of corruption within me which pours out iniquity like water. Every imagination of the thoughts of my heart is only evil continually. And I am convinced that if left to myself, I should have shut my eyes against the light, have gone on still in sin, and continued trampling on the blessed gospel till I had filled up the measure of my iniquities.

"In the alteration, therefore, which I hope I may say has, at least in some degree, taken place in my views, I must recognize a power invisibly operating on my mind. And what can this have been? Surely it must be of free, rich, unmerited grace! For it could never be the interest of Satan to produce terrors and conviction of sins upon me; but rather to have kept my conscience quiet, to have drowned its voice, and held me ever in his slavish chains.

“Influenced by such reflections as these, I am sometimes led to hope that God has designs of mercy towards me; that He will in His own good time open my eyes to see clearly the riches of His grace in Christ Jesus, and enable me to overcome the power of sin, and trust for salvation on His merits alone, who died, the just for the unjust, that we might be saved.”

The clouds return after the rain:

“JUNE 14, 1796.

“I am grieved, my dearest mother, to distress you with my sorrows. You may perhaps be astonished (though if you knew my heart you would not) when I say that I am dead — literally dead to spiritual things. And I am as certain that a corpse might with infinitely greater ease raise itself to life again, than I could raise myself from this death of sin to the life of righteousness. Here then I live, or rather exist, with a live body, but a dead heart. The stone lies within me, insensible to all the terrors of God’s law, or the invitations of His gospel, and I believe that unless the Holy Spirit of God awakes me from this sleep of sin, I shall continue in it till I am effectually aroused by the commencement of an awful eternity.

“This is my state with regard to spiritual things. But alas! How lamentable a reverse presents itself to view with regard to earthly things. Here all is life. Here I enjoy all my faculties perfectly — I see, I hear, I understand, I believe, I think, I speak, I act. My soul is here in its element. Such is its total depravity and vileness that words cannot express its abominations; nor can any self-exertions or human power extricate me from the sea of misery in which I am involved.

“And indeed, the sum-total of my present situation is, that I am the most miserable, vile, and wretched creature that ever lived; and all I can do is, to look to Jesus as my only helper, and cry to Him for mercy; and but for that blessed word **UTTERMOST**, my case would be hopeless.”

Conscience, the barometer of the mind, becomes very sensitive at this time, and responds quickly to every change, as the following most affecting letter proves:

1778-90. EARLY LIFE. 13

“OCT. 28, 1796.

“Alas! my dearest mother, I continue a sinner, lying under an awful curse, and groaning under a grievous burden. Every day furnishes me strong proof of my total helplessness and inability, and yet such is the deceitfulness of sin, I constantly forget, at the time of temptation, to whom I should flee for refuge; and so, trying to resist in my own strength, I am always worsted, and Satan triumphs over me to the destruction of my own peace, and the discredit of my Christian profession in the eyes of those around me. Day after day do I fall into scandalous sin, insomuch that I think I am worse now, in my relative capacity, than I was some time back. And it is my grief and burden that it is so; and often, night after night, I bitterly bemoan myself, either for my levity, or my moroseness, or my overbearing, proud temper and forgetfulness of God, or my vile and abominable thoughts and imaginations, my intemperate language, and every other sin which naturally springs from a corrupt heart.

“But alas! What does all this avail me? Words won’t save me; and though again and again I resolve against my sins, and implore God’s gracious support, yet as soon as I arise from my knees and go into the warehouse, my thoughts, which were solemnized, suddenly disperse. No sooner does temptation present itself than I resolve to oppose it, and think I can easily overcome it. I am therefore silent for a little while. Then something is said or done which goes against the grain, and this puts me out of humor, and I feel morose and sulky, and so everything gets wrong; sin gains strength faster and faster; my words are akin to my tempers, my actions correspond, and when the devil has thus got possession of me, I love the sin and hug it, and feel an unwillingness to part with it. Yet at the same time, I am conscious that I am heaping up cause for future repentance; but I think I will go on a little longer; and then perhaps a conviction strikes me; I secretly cry to God; suddenly a fresh temptation occurs, and again I fall.

“When I am in this melancholy state, my only way is to leave the warehouse, and go into the cellar, and there make known my complaint to the Lord, and pour out my heart before Him; and on

these occasions I feel such an abhorrence of myself, and find sin the cause of such anguish to my soul, that often and often, at night, have I earnestly besought the Lord that if He would not have mercy on my soul hereafter, and deliver me from the guilt and condemnation of my sins, at least to deliver me from the power of them, and not let sin make me wretched and miserable in this world, as well as in the next.”

In the month of November in this year, he had a second interview with Mr. Newton, which, at the request of his mother, he thus narrates:

“As I spoke but little, Mr. Newton said:

“I cannot tell what to say to you, if you don’t speak. A pump, when it is dry, may be restored by pouring in a little water at the top; so if you begin, I can chatter

14 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. I.

for an hour; but otherwise, I can sit a whole morning without speaking a word. Once set me a-going, and you may get as much out of me as you please.’

“I said I was afraid I was deceiving myself — or words to that effect.

“‘That depends,’ he replied, ‘upon your response to two questions. If an angel were sent from heaven to tell you that you were to die this very night, what would you trust to — to any merits or performances of your own, or to the Lord Jesus Christ alone? And the second question is this -Which way does your life tend: are you the *willing* slave of sin, or do you *hate* and *oppose* it?’

“I asked Mr. Newton his opinion concerning reading other books than the Bible.

“‘I would not have you read many books,’ he said, ‘though some may help you forward. The Bible is the spring from which they are all derived; and you have as much right to draw from the fountain as anyone else. The Winchester bushel, you know, is kept in the Exchequer; and on any dispute about measure, it is always referred to as the true standard. Such is the Bible. It is a Living Word, and as though God were speaking to you face to face.’

“I complained of my lack of humility.

“‘We shall never think ourselves humble enough,’ he replied; ‘for as we go on, and see more of our own hearts, we shall find increasing cause for it. If you look down into a well, it seems to be deep; but all is confused, and you cannot really see far down it. Now, such is your heart. You cannot distinguish what it is now: but as you proceed you will be obliged to go down into the well, and thus get thoroughly acquainted with it.’

“He proceeded: ‘All your doubts and fears and conflicts are as scaffolding to a building, which is not part of the edifice, nor is it ornamental, but it is to be considered as a blemish. Still the house cannot be built without it; and when that is finished, all the scaffolding will be taken down as of no further use.

“‘If you are in company with Christians of thirty or more years standing, you wonder that your feelings are not more like theirs. But there is a regular gradation of progress — “Then shall we know, if we follow on to know the Lord.”

“‘I don’t like folks who jump into “comfort” all at once. It is better to go on gradually. God lays the foundation in the heart; and the walls no sooner peep above ground, than we want the roof clapped on. But that won’t do.

“‘You want what is commonly called assurance. But it is a dangerous thing, and the Lord knows you cannot yet be trusted with it. Many young converts thereby grow careless, and have turned back into the world for many years, and it is a great mercy if the Lord ever brings them back as poor prodigals.’ “

Daniel “Wilson’s aged and pious grandfather was still living, and a short conversation between the old and the young disciple, towards the close of this year, is worth preserving.

1778-96. EARLY LIFE. 15

“I was talking to my dear grandfather, when my uncle was last in the country, and he said, that when we bring our burdens to Christ, we should leave them with Him, and not take them back again with us.

“When I told him what a sinner I was, and how sin reigned over me, he told me, the Lord saw perhaps that I did not bear well the mercies He had bestowed upon me. He added that he believed sin would always cleave to us; that when he was a young man, like me, he thought he should have done with sin long before now; but he found there were old age sins, as well as young age sins; and his old nature would sometime rise; so that he found an Almighty Saviour as necessary to him now, as when he first set off.”

The words of these good men render further observations on the work of grace now going on, superfluous; and the thoughtful reader will prefer pondering on the ways of God, to listening to the comments of man. It must not, however, be supposed that the change in Daniel Wilson’s mind was unaccompanied by a change in his conduct. He writes bitter things against himself, and is very slow to recognize any signs of improvement; but they were perceptible to others. His cousin Joseph, the eldest son of Mr. William Wilson, well known in later-life, and respected wherever known, as the founder and active promoter of the Lord’s Day Observance Society, was an early associate and friend. They lived in the same house at this time, and shared the same room, and Joseph Wilson usually expressed the unfeigned astonishment he felt at the change which had taken place. Night after night he observed Daniel Wilson sitting up for hours; and engaged, not now in common study, but in the reading of God’s word, and other religious books. Oftentimes, after he had fallen asleep and awoke again, he found him still thus occupied, or on his knees in long-continued and earnest prayer.

The very individual who was instrumental in his conversion, by bidding him “pray for the feelings,” and who still survives, aged and highly respected, though unaware till recently of the effect of his words, bears testimony to the same purpose. He says that Daniel Wilson promised to be an excellent man of business; but when religion took possession of his mind, he lost all interest in it, became serious and devout, and quite “another man.”

All books of a light or irreligious character had been burned at once, as though the very bridge must be destroyed which might facilitate his return from the newly discovered country; and whereas he had been foremost in every wild scheme, he was now most anxious, not only to get good for himself, but to do good to others.

His state of mind seems to have excited great interest wherever it was known; and it is told by Mr. Eyre that on one occasion when he had returned home to Hackney, weary with a long day’s work in London, and desiring repose, one of Daniel Wilson’s letters was put

16 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. I.

into his hand. After reading it attentively, he roused himself, called for his boots, and prepared for a further effort. When asked whether a written answer would not do for that one night, he replied, “No, writing alone will not do. I must see and talk to him. I cannot leave the young man to pass the night in despair.” And he instantly set off, and walked to the city and back again, to afford him counsel and relief.

But as man, “of his own will,” cannot produce conviction of sin, so neither can he give “peace with God through Jesus Christ.” He may speak comfortable words to the “prisoner of hope,” but he cannot draw him out of the pit where there is no water. God’s time of deliverance has not yet come; and the year 1796 passed away, leaving its dark shadows upon Daniel Wilson’s soul.

On January 18, 1797, he writes, complaining of the difficulty he found in understanding holy Scripture, and reading it to his profit:

“I think my greatest trial at this time is ignorance of God’s word. I do not know how to read, where to read, nor in what manner to apply it to my own heart and conscience. Though I daily read it

and pray over it and try to understand it, yet I fear it is all in vain. It is a sealed book to me. When I read any other book, with a little attention I readily discover the meaning. But when reading the blessed word of God, which is Light, Life, and Truth itself, I do not know what I read. When I endeavor to meditate on any particular portion, I cannot, as it were, make anything of it. I hear of other Christians who see Christ in every page, who find in it food and medicine, and to whom the promises are sweet and refreshing; but to all these things I am an utter stranger. Pray for me, that God the Holy Spirit may shine on His word and into my heart.”

As the period came round from which he dated his first serious impressions, his mother wrote reminding him of it. He replied in the following letter, which shows that with him it was still a “dark and cloudy day: “

“MARCH 2, 1797.

“I think if there ever was a poor wretch whom sin has rendered miserable, I am that wretch. I do not know how to describe myself in any terms calculated to convey an adequate idea of my feelings. When I come to try myself by Scripture tests, how awful is the result! I hear the glorious Saviour himself declaring that if I do not believe on Him, I shall die in my sins; and I am constrained to say that I do not believe, that I do not see His beauty and excellence, and do not feel His preciousness and value. I hear the apostle solemnly declaring, If any man does not love the Lord Jesus Christ, let him be accursed; and of love to Christ I know I have none. And seeing I have been spared another year, a cumberer of the ground as I am, and seeing that I do not bring forth good fruit, what can I expect, but the fate of the tree mentioned in the gospel?

1778-96. EARLY LIFE. 17

“You ask me the particular day from which I date my first convictions; I am indeed unable to inform you to a certainty, but I generally reckon it to be the 9th of March 1796. The circumstance itself will never, I trust, be effaced from my mind; but as I have already acquainted you with it some time back, I shall not now repeat it.

“Pray for me, my dear mother, that I may observe the return of that day in a proper manner. It would more accord with my own inclination, and more conduce to the tranquility of my mind, could I spend it in fasting and prayer; but as my opportunities are so very circumscribed, I think I cannot do less than go to see Mr. Eyre, whose love toward me will I hope be amply repaid, not by my poor gratitude, but with the blessing of Heaven into his own bosom.”

The purpose thus expressed was carried into effect. The 9th of March found Daniel Wilson in company with Mr. Eyre, and the natural desire to know what passed on an occasion so interesting, may be to a certain extent gratified; for notes of the conversation are still extant.¹ They serve to show the general nature of the communication which took place between them, and the kind of instruction and encouragement communicated by Mr. Eyre; and they are all the more valuable, because none of the many letters which must have been written by him from time to time have been preserved.

The notes were taken from a memorandum made by Daniel Wilson, and were enclosed to his mother in a letter dated March 17, 1797.

“We were talking of repentance, and I said that the more I read about it, and thought about it, the more I found reason to fear that I never had true repentance. He asked my reasons for thinking so, and what I considered repentance to be. I replied that I had been guided by Mr. Scott’s discourse on that subject, who, among other characteristics, described it as consisting in a genuine sorrow for sin, not only on account of its punishment, but because of its odiousness and malignity as committed against a holy, just, and good God. Mr. Eyre agreed, and drew many comfortable conclusions in my favor.

¹ Still in existence; not extinct, destroyed, or lost.

“We then turned the conversation to faith, and he asked me the idea I had of it. I replied that I supposed it to be a believing apprehension of Christ as mine, and an assurance that He died and rose again for me. To this he objected, as confounding two distinct things, faith and the assurance of faith.

“I know,’ he said, ‘that is Mr. Hervey’s definition, but I think it is one of his great errors. Faith is no such thing. It is simply looking: it is simply believing. It is even less than that; for there can be no desire to look, without faith.

“Dr. _____, in his sermon preached at my chapel last Sunday (March 5), spoke in a very apposite¹ manner respecting faith. “Faith,” he observed, “was described in many different ways. It is sometimes represented in allusion to the feet, and then it is, ‘Come unto me;’ ‘As you have received Christ Jesus the Lord, so walk in Him.’ Sometimes it is spoken of with reference to the hands, and then it is, ‘To as many as received Him, to them He gave power;’ ‘Lay hold on eternal life.’

18 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. I.

At other times the allusion is to the ears, and then it runs, ‘This is my beloved Son, hear Him;’ ‘He that has ears to hear, let him hear.’ At other times the eyes are used for the purpose of illustration, and then it is, ‘Look unto me and be saved;’ ‘He that sees the Son,’” etc.

“I then said, ‘I thought if I had true faith, I would be one with Christ; united to Him, and enabled to oppose in His strength the dominion of my corruptions; but that I had no experience of all this, and consequently must conclude I was not a believer in Him.’”

“‘What you say,’ returned Mr. Eyre, ‘of the effects of true faith is correct; and this I will tell you, that you are one with Christ.’ I seemed to wait for his explanation, and he thus proceeded: ‘If I were to curse, and swear, and blaspheme the name of Christ, would you not be shocked?’ I said. Yes. ‘Well, then,’ he continued, ‘that is one thing. You are not concerned for the honor of Christ. Then, do you not love the word of God?’ I hesitated, but at length answered. Not as I ought.’ That is nothing to the purpose,’ he rejoined, ‘for none of us do anything as well as we ought to do it. But, do you love it?’ I replied in the affirmative. ‘Further: do you not love the house of God? Do you not love the people of God?’ To these questions I answered. Yes. ‘Why, then,’ he said, ‘how can you say you are not united to Christ? You love his honor, his word, his house, his people; you are united to Him in the same spirit.’

“After this conversation, Mr. Eyre went to prayer with me with the greatest affection.”

The good effect produced upon his mind by this conversation was, however, only transient. It passed away, and the heavens grew black with clouds.

“APRIL 12, 1797.

“You do not know me, my dearest mother, or else I am sure you must hate me; for to a gracious heart, such a complication of inbred corruption and outward transgression as constitute my character must, I am sensible, be altogether loathsome and detestable. I have great reason to fear that I am one of that awful number whom God has given up to final obduracy and impenitence, and who are constantly increasing their condemnation by the opportunities of grace they daily abuse, and concerning whom the Almighty has declared, that he has ‘no pleasure in them.’

“Hearing the gospel, and reading God’s word, produce no effect on my obdurate heart. All the invitations of the gospel are useless; all its threats produce no terror. The old serpent has been trying long to have my soul, and now he has it fast. He rules in it. He reigns over it. And I, his wretched slave, obey it in its lusts I truly am persuaded that my evil tempers have a more absolute sway now, than when I never knew I had a soul to be saved — or, what amounts to the same thing, when I never thought seriously about it. My dear mother, it is not willingly that I distress your mind with the account of my dreadful state. To you heaven is safe, and I rejoice in it; though I believe you will never meet there your poor son.”

1778-96. EARLY LIFE. 19

¹ Apposite: of striking appropriateness and pertinence.

From this dark cloud the following letter darts like a flash of lightning. It was written to Mr. Vardy, who was purposing at this time (though the purpose was eventually frustrated) to give himself to the missionary work, and was entering on the necessary preparation with much fear and trembling. His services were offered to the London Missionary Society; and before leaving England, he went about attending religious and devotional meetings, and preaching when the opportunity presented itself. As his friend Daniel Wilson took much interest in all this, he occasionally accompanied him and heard him preach, encouraging and cheering him, and offering such suggestions as to the choice of texts and manner of treating them as occurred to his own mind.

“JUNE 8, 1797.

“Pardon my ignorance and presumption, but I think your choice of a subject was not the most easy and simple, which is what you should aim at. I should think if you were to take texts such as these —

“‘The love of Christ constrains us.’ ‘Christ Is all and in all.’

“‘Who of God is made to us wisdom, and righteousness, and sanctification, and redemption.’ ‘With Him is plenteous redemption.’

Or any other where you would be unavoidably led to speak principally on the person and work of Christ, your heart would be more likely (humanly speaking) to be affected by your subject than other topics which, though connected with them, do not so immediately lead you to dwell on the glories of Jesus.

“I should think you might with little difficulty preach a good sermon on that one word, Christ. Begin with Christ, go on with Christ, and end with Christ; and I am sure your hearers will never be tired, for His name is like ‘ointment poured forth.’

“On such a subject you need only look within to find matter enough to explain what Christ came to redeem you from; you need only go to Calvary to see what redemption cost, and to have your soul so moved by the sight of a bleeding Saviour, that you could no longer hesitate what to say; and you need only reflect on what you are, to explain the necessity of Christ’s intercession at the right hand of God. Look more, my dear friend, to Jesus. There is nothing like looking only, looking simply, and looking perseveringly to Him.”

Words so bright, from a soul so dark, are very remarkable: to be accounted for partly by the peculiarities of a character itself full of striking contrasts, and partly by the fact that the communication of spiritual gifts is to a great extent independent of the enjoyment of them.

The attempt to benefit his friend seems to have had a good effect on Daniel Wilson’s own mind, by withdrawing his attention somewhat from himself. Nor was it an isolated act. In letters written

20 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. I.

about this time, he is found rejoicing over two of his fellow-servants, who last year were “children of wrath,” but are now “plants of grace.” He writes to one of his sisters, pressing religion on her attention; and mentions his purpose of writing to another on the same subject. He endeavors, in a similar way, to comfort his mother under some domestic affliction; and thus, watering others, he appears to have been watered himself; and at length to have found “rest for his soul.” It came like the “morning spread upon the mountains,” and in the use of God’s appointed ordinances. The account is as follows: — In a letter written to his mother on August 23d, 1797, he uses this expression: “Remember me to Mr. Eyre. I intend writing to him soon, on a subject which has lain on my mind these three months.”

And what was this subject? He tells us himself, in a letter to Mr. Eyre, written on September 7th, from which the following are extracts:

“It almost makes me tremble when I think on the important and solemn subject I am introducing; for I fear it savors very much of that spiritual pride which I feel entwining itself with my every duty. That one who knows so little of the Lord Jesus Christ, so little of his own evil heart, and who lives so little to the glory of his Redeemer, should think of partaking of that sacred ordinance which the oldest Christians rejoice in the enjoyment of is, I fear, a prominent token of self-ignorance and presumption.

“I hope I am enabled to believe that it is a table spread for the refreshment of every penitent sinner, and that all are welcome who have been brought from a state of nature to a state of grace, and from slaves of Satan, have been made willing servants of the Lord Jesus.

“If you continue to think it my duty to approach the sacred table, I should feel myself very much obliged if you would find time to talk it over with my dear mother who, I am sure, would be very willing to spare you the trouble of writing, by sending me a letter on the subject herself.”

This letter produced its due effect. On the first Sunday in October, Daniel Wilson received the holy sacrament of the body and blood of Christ for the first time, from the hands of Mr. Eyre in his chapel; and found, indeed, that “drawing near with faith,” he took “that holy sacrament to his comfort.”

On the very next day he writes to his mother, who was absent from town, as follows:

“MONDAY, October 2, 1797.

“I have nothing but mercy to tell you of. Oh that my heart was but melted with love and gratitude to my dear Redeemer for such rich grace as he is continually showering upon my soul!

“To know that my Lord still does continue, and ever will continue, to love my worthless soul; that He still pardons all my unnumbered sins, and still

1778-96. EARLY LIFE. 21

shines upon me with the beams of His love; — to feel and know such precious truths as these, is enough to break the very adamant into praise. Pray for me my dear mother, that under the mercies with which the Lord is, as it were, overloading my soul, I may be kept very humble at His feet, sensible of my utter unworthiness and absolute dependence upon Him.

“But, doubtless, the main design of your desiring me to write, was to hear how I was carried through the solemn and delightful business of yesterday; and, blessed be God! I trust I can say that your prayers for me were answered, and that the Lord was with me of a truth.

“When I came into the chapel I was very full of fears, and was rather cold while Mr. Eyre preached a sweet discourse from the words, ‘Without shedding of blood is no remission.’ Between the services I was exceedingly favored with the Lord’s presence, and was enabled to offer secret addresses to Him, that He would keep me humble, and make me give up myself — all I am, and all I have — to be His, and solely devoted to His glory.

“When I approached, with Mrs. Eyre, the sacred table, I was so full of trembling (I cannot describe my feelings), that I do not doubt I appeared very foolish to those around me.

“But not to be too tedious, I have abundant reason for gratitude and praise. Nor have the blessings of this ordinance been confined to yesterday; for, blessed be God! I think I never was so comfortable in my soul, and so desirous of loving my Saviour more and more, and living to His glory, than I have been today.”

There is the same sunshine in a letter written to Mr. Vardy, on October 4th:

“My heart is so full I know not where to begin, nor how to describe the unspeakable mercies which the Lord is showering on my worthless soul. Oh for a tongue to sing the praises of my dear Redeemer! Pray for me, that I may be kept humble and thankful.

“I wrote you word that I had opened my mind to dear Mr. Eyre respecting my approaching the sacred table; and, blessed be God for undeserved mercy! I can now tell you that on last Sunday morning I took that solemn and important step, and the Lord was with me. Never did I enjoy so much

the presence of my dear Redeemer, as I have since that time; and this, not so much in great sensations of pleasure as in brokenness of heart, and, I trust, in sincere desires to be devoted to His glory. Yesterday and today have been, I think, the happiest days I ever remember. The Lord shines so upon my soul that I cannot but love Him, and desire no longer to live to myself, but to Him. And to you I confess it (though it ought perhaps to be a cause for shame), that I have felt great desires to go or do anything to spread the name of Jesus; and that I have even wished, if it were the Lord's will, to go as a missionary to heathen¹ lands."

Thus he obtained "joy and peace in believing," and with it there sprung up a desire, which received its accomplishment after a lapse of thirty-five years. In October 1797, Daniel Wilson felt his spirit stirred to go as a missionary to heathen lands; and in October 1832, he stood on the banks of the Hooghly as Bishop of Calcutta.

¹ "Heathen" simply means not acknowledging the God of Christianity. It corresponds to the Jews' use of "gentiles" (*goyim*) or the Muslim use of "infidel." It refers to those persons or practices which are not Christian.

CHAPTER 2. CALL TO THE MINISTRY. 1796-1798.

THE DEEP FOUNDATIONS OF RELIGION — SUBJECT OPENED — LETTERS TO MR. EYRE — HIS FATHER'S REFUSAL OF HIS WISH — HIS OWN REASONS — CONSULTS REV. ROWLAND HILL — JOURNAL — CONSULTS REV. R. CECIL — FATHER CONSENTS — ENTERS AT OXFORD — PUPIL OF REV. J. PRATT.

Many eminent Christians may have felt surprise while perusing the narrative of Daniel Wilson's conversion in the last chapter. They may have known nothing like it in their own experience. The change in their own minds may have been gradual and imperceptible. They may have heard God's voice in early life, awakening, but not alarming them. They may have been built up in their holy faith, like the temple of old, without the sound of axes, or hammers, or any tool of iron being heard. And hence they will scarcely be able to realize the "strong crying and tears" of a deeply earnest mind when grace suddenly grapples with it. But it is nevertheless divine "workmanship" they have been looking at.

No doubt there is something peculiar in the case of Daniel Wilson: something peculiar in the depth of his penitential sorrow and self-abhorrence; and something peculiar in the long period of eighteen months before deliverance came. Even those who have known him best in later-life, will read with surprise the conflicts of his youth.

But there was a purpose in this, as there is in all the Divine dealings. Here was a young man of vigorous health, strong passions, quick temper, decided character, great energy, and sure to be a leader in later-life either for good or for evil. God had purposes of mercy concerning him, and important work for him to do. He was to be an "ambassador for Christ," and a "steward of the mysteries of God." All the various phases in the ministry of the church were in turn to be exhibited by him. As years rolled on, he was to be the university prizeman, the college tutor, the popular preacher, the parish priest, the successful author, the eastern bishop and metropolitan. And he was to meet and surmount all the temptations attendant upon these offices; — the "knowledge which puffs up,"

1796-98. CALL TO THE MINISTRY. 23

the "settling upon the lees," [Zeph 1.12](#) the "praise of man," the "ease in Zion," the "seeking after great things," the "lording it over God's heritage." Hence, probably, the duration and severity of the ordeal through which he had to pass. The foundations of such a superstructure needed to be well and deeply laid; and in his profound sense of the evil of sin, his open confession, his dread of hypocrisy, his knowledge of self, his conviction of weakness, his prostration of soul, his insight into the heart's corruption, we see laid the deep foundations of truth, the best preservatives against error, and the sure preparatives for future and extensive usefulness. "I have never seen in any person," said Mr. Eyre to Daniel Wilson's mother, "such deep conviction of sin, and such a view of the heart's corruption, where God has not had some great and special work for that person to do. I should not wonder if God makes your son an eminent minister in His church." Such a result seemed little likely at the time the words were spoken; but it was God's purpose, and he brought it to pass.

It was in October 1797 that the desire to enter the sacred ministry, which had fixed itself in Daniel Wilson's mind, found expression. When it first arose, it had been determinately repressed by himself, as only another form of that pride which, he said, so easily beset him. But while he kept silence, his soul had no peace; and at length, after much earnest prayer, he went to Mr. Eyre, and made known the matter.

"On Sunday night, October 15th," he says, "my soul was exceedingly drawn out in earnest prayer for direction; and while on my knees, the thought came into my mind, that the Lord never worked without means, and that it was only in the use of them that I could expect His direction. This first induced me to go to Mr. Eyre, which I did on Wednesday evening, the 18th. I had only time to say a

very few words to him. He did not wish me to be in a hurry, but promised to open the subject to my parents, and to talk to me more fully when I came next.”

This short interview was followed by a long letter written to Mr. Eyre a few days after. The following are extracts;

“Since the conversation I had with you last Wednesday, the important subject which occasioned it has continually impressed my mind, and has been often spread before the Lord. I trust it is in answer to those prayers that I feel my whole soul engrossed with ardent desires to engage in the important work, insomuch that I think I can appeal to the Great Searcher of hearts, when I assure you that the world has shrunk to nothing in my esteem, and that its pleasures, riches, and honors, are so far from being desirable in my view, that the Lord enables me to consider them as objects of aversion; and that the only thing

24 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. II.

worth living for is to be the means, in His hands, of doing good to the souls of my fellow-sinners.

“I sometimes am discouraged on account of the dreadful corruptions of my heart, and of my utter unfitness for such a great work; but these unbelieving fears vanish when the Holy Spirit enables me to remember that my ‘sufficiency is of God,’ and that it is not with excellency of speech or of wisdom, but in ‘demonstration of the Spirit and of power,’ that the blessing must come.

“It is true that mountains of difficulty seem to oppose my deliverance from Milk Street; but the Lord has all hearts in His hands; and I found much comfort from reading Acts 5:19-20, and am enabled to believe that He will fulfill in me all His good pleasure, in spite of every opposition. But I would still desire to have my will resigned to His, and when that will is manifested by the events of His providence, to say, ‘It is the Lord, let Him do as seems good to Him.’” ^{1Sam 3:18}

When the matter was first opened to Daniel Wilson’s father, it met with his decided disapproval. It thwarted all the plans which he had laid: and he would not hear it. Mr. Eyre at once communicated this check to his young friend, and told him that, under such circumstances, delay became a duty; that another year in Milk Street would do him no harm; and that measure which might be lawful if he were of full age, would at the present time be sinful. As for himself personally, Mr. Eyre said he had made up his mind what to do: he should be silent for a twelve-month, and not venture even to give an opinion. It was now November 4, 1797. On Nov. 4, 1798, he should be prepared, if his advice was asked, to give it; and to give it in a decided manner. Meanwhile, he recommended that all irritating discussion should be carefully avoided.

Daniel Wilson submitted.

“Here then,” he says, “humanly speaking, the affair rests for the following twelve-month, and if the Lord should spare me so long, I trust He will be preparing me for this great work. Nothing is desirable, nothing valuable in my eyes, but glorifying my dear Redeemer.”

The matter, however, was not allowed to rest without discussion. His mother wrote to him to ask his special reasons for wishing to change his course of life, and why he thought himself called to enter the ministry.

He deemed it a cause of “joy and gratitude that God had inclined her heart to ask these questions,” and proceeded at once to answer them. In his answer he refers to Newton’s *Cardiphonia*, where the reality of a call to the sacred ministry is discussed under three heads:

first, in the soul being moved to a warm and earnest desire to be employed in this service;

secondly, in there being, in due time, a competent sufficiency of gifts, knowledge, and utterance; and

thirdly, in the hand of God’s providence pointing out the time, the place, and the means.

1796-98. CALL TO THE MINISTRY. 25

“With regard to the first point,” he says, “the Lord has made it as clear as though it was written with a sunbeam. I feel all the desires of my soul continually and increasingly drawn out towards this work, and my soul yearns over the vast numbers of my poor fellow-sinners who never heard of Jesus, nor of the life which is in Him. The prevailing desire of my heart is that He alone may be exalted, and His throne set up in the hearts of guilty rebels, that Satan’s kingdom may be destroyed, and the love of Christ made known. Though I feel the pride of my heart rising in me, yet I trust it is not my wish to exalt the monster SELF, but to be the instrument in the Lord’s hands of spreading the savour of His name and the riches of His salvation all around.”

On the *second* point he felt himself “inclined to say a great deal;” but fearing “the detestable pride” of his heart, and knowing that all abilities and qualifications for the work were “gifts of God,” he would not say “a single word.”

On the *third* topic he enters fully, considering both God’s work within him, and the outward openings of His providence.

Touching the last of these, he states that his retirement from his present situation would cause no sort of inconvenience to his uncle; and as to himself, he is sure that he should “never make a good tradesman;” that he “never loved business;” that his “dislike for it was now increased;” and as a subordinate argument under this head, he mentions that he had lost but little of his school learning, for that even when “dead in sin,” he always had a love for it, and “used to spend many hours in study, which would otherwise have been employed worse.”

“And now I have endeavored,” he concludes, “to open all my mind to my dearest mother, on this important subject.

“What can I say to these things? If this work proceeds from the deceitfulness of my carnal heart, it will come to nothing; but if it is of God, it cannot be overturned. From where can the strong, the fervent desires of my soul proceed, save from the Lord the Spirit? For of this I am sure, that such things could never come from myself, or from Satan. Yes, my dear mother, I feel sure it is of the Lord, and I humbly believe that He will work in His good time, and then none can let it. When He is pleased to ‘lay to His hand,’ mountains will sink into plains, rough places become smooth, crooked things be made straight, and an open door set before me.”

This letter was written on November 13th; and on the 22^d he tells Mr. Eyre that he is ignorant what effect it may have produced.

26 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. II.

“I took it to my closet,” he says, “when finished, and spread it before a throne of grace, and was enabled solemnly to give it up to the Lord, acknowledging that in itself it was totally incapable of convincing my parents in the smallest degree, and imploring that He would be pleased to accompany it with His almighty power, and make it the instrument of opening their hearts.”

Though he had received his father’s refusal and Mr. Eyre’s suggestion with exemplary submission, yet when a month elapsed without anything further being said or done, his mind became harassed and uneasy. He began to fancy he had done wrong by conferring in this matter with flesh and blood: his whole soul, he says, “was agitated with fervent longings to go out into the highways and hedges and compel poor sinners to come in.” He remembered that there was such a thing as “carnal prudence,” and “the fear of man which brings a snare.” Might not his compliance with the wishes of parents and friends be a shrinking from God’s service, and an unwillingness to endure hardness as a good soldier of Jesus Christ? He could not avoid thinking, he says, that “secondary objects and motives, easily conceived but difficult to express, might have narrowed and influenced their views.” He did not feel, therefore, “full satisfaction of mind, and longed for a clearer view of the Lord’s will concerning him.”

These thoughts were tossing in his mind, and keeping sleep from his eyelids one Saturday night, when suddenly the idea occurred to him that he would consult the Rev. Rowland Hill upon his

case, and endeavor to learn through him the path of duty. Immediate action followed; and after he had sought help from God, the evening of December 31st found him in the vestry-room of Surrey Chapel, introducing himself to Mr. Hill. He was received, as might be anticipated, with the courtesy of a Christian gentleman, and invited to breakfast the next morning.

Accustomed as the Rev. Rowland Hill must have been to every variety of application, he could not help but be struck with the address of this young stranger who, immediately on being seated (the account is from his own notes), opened his business by saying that he thought he had “a call to go into the ministry.”

“Well,” said Mr. Hill, “that is a very serious thing indeed;” and he proceeded to inquire into his reasons — to probe the depth of his religious knowledge — to ask whether his parents were cognizant of the matter, and whose ministry he had attended.

These points being ascertained, Mr. Hill said that it was very difficult to advise in such a case, and suggested that his own minister should be applied to. He thought Daniel Wilson very young both in years and grace; and reminded him of the text in the Epistle to

1796-98. CALL TO THE MINISTRY. 27

Timothy, “Not a novice, lest being puffed up, he fall into the condemnation of the devil.” He inquired minutely into his connections, expectations, motives, and wishes; and finally expressed a hope, in his fervent manner, that if the thing was really of the Lord, it might prosper.

So far all was satisfactory: but now came the main question, which was at once proposed by Daniel Wilson, as follows:

“Do you think it my duty to wait till I am out of my time, before I give myself up to the work? “

“Yes, certainly,” replied Mr. Hill; ‘your time is not your own. By a mutual agreement you have bound yourself for a certain number of years, and that obligation is superior to any other. I hope,’ he added, ‘that during this time you will manifest by your walk and conversation, that the grace of God is in your heart; and that may be instrumental in altering your father’s mind more than anything else. Humility is a sweet and guardian grace. If I saw you pert and proud, and wanting to go,’ without the Lord,” I would not give a farthing for you or your preaching either. But if you are humble and child-like, afraid of taking a single step unless the Lord point out the way, then you will be owned and blessed.”

Some little disappointment may have crossed Daniel Wilson’s mind at this result of the interview; for it is natural to suppose that in the selection of Mr. Hill, there had been a secret lurking expectation that one so zealous would not hesitate a moment in sending a fresh laborer into the vineyard. But if this disappointment was felt, it was not manifested: and nothing can more clearly show the wonderful influence exerted by grace upon the natural temper, than the way in which he receives these repeated checks. There is no resistance; no kicking “against the pricks:”¹ the submission is prompt, unrepining,² and even cheerful.

“I need not say,” is his comment on Mr. Hill’s decision, “that the conversation was both sound and sweet; and, through the Lord’s blessing, I hope never to forget it.” He resolved now to tarry the Lord’s leisure, and to do each day what good he could in the ordinary duties of his calling, and to put in “a word for Christ” whenever the opportunity offered.

¹ “Kick against the goads.” Act 9.5

² *Unrepining*: not complaining or repining, contented.

About this time he began to keep a journal, in which he recorded the workings of his mind in the most unreserved manner, and occasionally alluded to passing events in which he was personally interested. From this journal frequent extracts will be given.¹

28 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. II.

We have now entered upon the year 1798, and Daniel Wilson's position remains unchanged. He has been taught that his strength was to sit still: and having learned that lesson, God now begins to work on his behalf, and at once all wills change, all difficulties vanish, and all events yield. '

It appears that he had hitherto held no direct communication with his father on this anxious subject, but Mr. Eyre had been the "daysman"² between them. Acting now upon the advice of his mother, he writes a very earnest, respectful, and affectionate letter to his father, taking blame to himself for his backwardness in not having done so before. The circumstances under which he wrote, and the result produced by his letter, are thus recorded in his journal:

"Monday, March 12, 1798.

"Through the Lord's mercy I am brought to the present moment. Two years have now elapsed since His work of grace began in my soul. It is His love and faithfulness which has kept me up to now, and I rely on his unchangeableness to be carried through all the hosts of inward and outward foes, to the haven of eternal rest. My mother has been mercifully restored to her usual health. On Wednesday, the 28th ult., by my dear mother's advice, I wrote to my honored father on my going into the ministry, and I desire to be thankful for the very kind letter I received in reply, in which he promised at the end of the year seriously to enter upon the subject, and to follow, as far as he could, the Lord's will. Oh! What a God is my God! How clearly is His hand to be seen! On my first application, my father would not hear anything about it. In the course of a month or two, his mind was so far altered as to promise that, after having faithfully served my time, he would then enter upon the subject. And now he has kindly engaged at the expiration of the twelve-month (four months of which have nearly elapsed) to take it into serious consideration. Oh! To grace how great a debtor! Oh for a heart seriously affected with the Lord's goodness, and humbly dependent on His powerful arm under the darkest dispensations!"

But this was not all. Events moved on rapidly. On the 22d of March he writes to his friend Vardy, as follows:

"I just drop you a line to say that, since we parted on Monday evening, it has been settled that I am to go to Mr. Cecil's on Monday morning next. My father yesterday informed me of this, and seemed to view things in a much more favorable light than he had yet done. He said he only wished to know what the Lord's will was; and as soon as he felt satisfied, he would no longer continue to oppose my desires. He said nothing as though the result of this interview should be absolutely binding, but hoped it would have its full weight with me as coming from a man of such wisdom and experience. To this I readily assented. After this interview I am to have another of a similar nature with Mr. Goode, of White Row. Pray for me without ceasing, that the Lord

1796-98. CALL TO THE MINISTRY. 29

may stand by me and be a mouth to me and wisdom; and that both Mr. Cecil and your poor friend may be under the immediate influences of the Holy Spirit."

Accordingly, on the 26th of March he waited on the Rev. Mr. Cecil, and announces the result to the same friend, on the same day:

¹ The first entry in this journal is made on December 26, 1797. From that date to June 13, 1801, it is written in minute shorthand. From August 1801 to September 1807, it is less continuous, and written in Latin. There is then a blank till the year 1830, when it is resumed, and written in French. While he was in India, it is all in English.

² *Daysman*: an arbiter, referee, or umpire.

“I seize the first moment to acquaint you with the blessed event of my interview with Mr. Cecil. I have not time to enter into particulars. To sum up all in one word, he is fully persuaded that I am called of God to the work of the ministry, and advises me by all means to go on in it.

“Do not slacken your prayers on my behalf, that the Lord may keep me humble and grateful for His mercies.”

A few days afterwards, however, he sends to his mother a full account of the interview:

“On the 26th of March,” he says, “after importunate prayer, I went to Mr. Cecil’s, not without great fears and tremblings. When I was seated opposite a sofa on which Mr. Cecil reclined, he said:

“I understand you have views to the ministry. Now Providence scorns to have cast you into a different line, and I suppose you have serious reasons for wishing to go out of it. I have labored, and labored successfully, to induce a young man to give himself to this work when I thought he was really called. He is the son of Sir E. M., and was in his banking-house, and had every prospect of sharing in that lucrative concern. He is now at St. Edmund’s Hall. I mention this to show you that I am quite at liberty to advise on either side, in an unbiassed manner.”

“I then related the abiding desire of my soul towards this work, and the different steps which had brought me before him as a judge. He inquired the manner and time of my conversion; and when I mentioned (as I could not help but do) the dreadful lengths of iniquity into which I had sunk, he stopped me when I called myself ‘the chief of sinners,’ to put in his claim to that character; and this was the point in which he said he exceeded every one: that he kept a kind of school of infidelity, and used to have a number of young men, and teach them to ridicule the Bible, etc.

“I told him I did not have abilities for that, or else I am sure my heart was bad enough.

“After I had finished my narrative, he said the call appeared perfectly clear to him, and he advised me by all means to go on in my pursuit. This being settled, I mentioned that my father was doubtful whether I had qualifications for a minister. In reply to this, he observed that,

“If none but men of genius and shining parts were to be in the ministry, there would be few indeed! It was not genius nor great abilities that ever saved a soul; and even a dull understanding, with industry in the use of means, and a heart set on the work, might form a very useful man. He knew some ministers now of that character, who had improved themselves so much by diligence and

30 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. II.

study, that they were as useful as any men of the day. The grand matter is, whether the heart is right with God. The main question asked at ordination is, ‘Do you trust that you are inwardly moved by the Holy Ghost to take upon you this office and ministration?’ Now, do you expect a voice to call to you from the top of the ceiling? Do you expect some dream to tell you of it? No. The only proof is a consciousness of an abiding desire after the work, with a single eye to the glory of God and the good of souls. Having this, what other token or sign can you require? You must give up all thoughts of worldly wealth, and leave your future provision in God’s hands. When I married I had only £80 a year, and I lived as well as though I had £10,000. If your heart is in your work, you will consider the salvation of souls as your reward; and, having food and raiment, you must be content.

“I have no objection to your going into the church. But you should endeavor first to learn what is the course the Lord marks out for you. I love consistency. If you think you have a general call to evangelize, and to go about proclaiming the glad tidings of salvation, then you cannot conscientiously enter the Established Church. Now I don’t call Mr. Whitefield or Mr. Berridge inconsistent characters. They were perfectly consistent. They entered the church in the simplicity of their hearts; God afterwards called them to another line; and what they had done could not then be helped. But to promise regularity, while at the same time a man intends to be irregular, cannot be done with a good conscience.’

“I told him I had no wish or purpose to be irregular; and the wishes of all my friends corresponding with my own preferences for the church, seemed to point it out as my line of duty.

“Mr. Cecil said that when he was first convinced of sin, he had no idea of being a minister. But his father was a High Churchman, and his mother a Dissenter; and his father forced him to go to college.

“This was the substance of our conversation; and I have great cause for thankfulness to the Lord, for his mercies to the vilest of sinners.

“How wonderfully has the Lord led me here! Every step my father has taken, for all I could tell, was as likely to lead backwards as forwards. And this has been blessed, I hope, to keep me more in the exercise of faith and prayer. Excuse my brevity and haste. The dying words of Mr. Hervey are much on my mind, ‘If I had my life to live again, I would spend more of it on my knees.’”

No further difficulties of any kind seem to have arisen. It had pleased God to make a plain path for his feet to walk in. The result is entered in his journal as follows:

“Oh, the wonders of the Lord’s goodness! My dear father let me go to Mr. Cecil’s and Mr. Goode’s, and after due examination, they gave their opinion that I was called of God to the ministry. My father consented to my leaving business. In a few days I am to go and enter myself at St. Edmund’s Hall, Oxford, and be at Mr. Pratt’s as a private pupil till I am ready to reside in college. My dear uncle has conducted himself with the greatest kindness during the whole matter, and has readily consented to the arrangement made by

1796-98. CALL TO THE MINISTRY. 31

my father. The Lord has led me by a way that I did not know. To His great name be all the glory!”

In accordance with the plan thus proposed, Daniel Wilson went up to Oxford and entered himself at St. Edmund’s Hall, on the 1st of May; and on the 10th of the same month, he writes to his mother from Doughty Street, Russell Square, where the Rev. Josiah Pratt then resided:

“The desire you expressed to hear from me as soon as I was comfortably settled here has not been forgotten. I am encircled with mercies. In every point of view, I find myself, as to outward circumstances, in the best possible situation. Mr. and Mrs. Pratt are extremely good-tempered and agreeable, and very pious. My fellow-students (two), though not serious, have been educated in a Moravian College, and are very civil, moral youths. I have a most beautiful view from my room over the fields, unobstructed by any houses. So much as to outward blessings; but these are nothing compared with spiritual — though all should excite gratitude from him who is unworthy of any.”

“Then they are glad because they are at rest; and so he brings them to the haven where they would be.”¹

¹ Ps. 107.30.

CHAPTER 3. STUDENT LIFE. 1798.

REV. J. PRATT — STUDIOUS HABITS — LETTERS — ATTEMPTS AT DOING GOOD — FAMILY PRAYERS — JOURNALS — ATTAINMENTS.

To enter upon the student life of Daniel Wilson after what has passed, is like gliding into a quiet harbor from a stormy sea. Former troubles enhance present enjoyment; the fretting and chafing of his mind subsides; his vehemence of expression, with much of its peculiarity, disappears; each day's employments are congenial to his taste; his correspondence becomes calm and devotional; and, though his journals still manifest a fierce conflict between the flesh and the Spirit, yet, on the whole, his growth in grace and in divine knowledge is manifest.

A wiser and better tutor than Mr. Pratt could scarcely have been elected. He was in the prime of life; had been married only a year before; and was commencing, as curate to Mr. Cecil, at St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, that career of usefulness which has justly endeared his memory to the church.

Daniel Wilson seized every opportunity, in later years, of bearing affectionate testimony to one "who had guided his youth and prepared him for the university in 1798, and continued his bosom friend till death."

"I owe to him," he says in 1845, "under God, and to two or three other eminent men, the entire guidance of my mind when I first entered seriously on the care of my salvation, and the earnest study of theology: — the Rev. Thomas Scott, the commentator, from 1796 to 1798; then, in 1798, the Rev. Josiah Pratt; next at St. Edmund's Hall, Oxford, the Rev. Isaac Crouch; and lastly, in my first curacy, from 1801 to 1803, the Rev. Richard Cecil. These continued uninterruptedly my most intimate friends, till their several deaths. But to no one was I more attached than to him who was spared to me and to the church the longest — the Rev. Josiah Pratt — my honored brother."¹

1798. STUDENT LIFE. 33

Under Mr. Pratt's guidance, he applied himself with indefatigable diligence to his studies. His time was thus proportioned out, as described by himself:

"5.30 to 7 o'clock. Devotional exercises and writing letters, as I am now doing.

"7 to 8. Preparing my Latin task.

"8 to 9. Prayers; and breakfast, during which two or three numbers of the Spectator are read by each of us in turn.

"9 to 11. Lecture on Natural Philosophy and Geography, and reading Latin.

"11 to 12. Preparing my Natural Philosophy for the next morning, and a problem of Euclid.

"12 to 1-30. Greek.

"1.30 to 3. Hebrew.

"3 to 4. Constantly to be devoted to walking for my health.

"4 o'clock. Dinner; after which Mr. Pratt hears my Greek, Hebrew, and Euclid, and then we spend the time till tea in lighter books.

"5.30 precisely. Tea.

"6 to 7. Abridging Dr. Home's Commentary on the Psalms, so as to make it my own.

¹ Charge in 1845.

“7-30 to 8. Divinity, in a strict sense.

“8.30. Prayers, and then supper; which is only, with us, a passing meal.

“Till 10 o'clock reading Adam's Geography; at 10 o'clock, retire.”

He was quite alive to the dangers attendant upon close study. To his mother he writes:

“I would cheerfully send you a long letter, if my time would in any way permit; but really I am obliged to steal a few minutes, when I ought to be otherwise employed, to scribble even a note.

“My great fear is, lest from constant application to human learning, I should lose the savor of religion in my heart. I am afraid of being puffed up with pride, and falling into the condemnation of the devil; afraid of putting means in the place of Christ, and of trusting to literary attainments, instead of the grace and spirit of my Redeemer. Believe me, I would rather be as illiterate as a ploughboy, with a warm impression of Christ's dying love upon my heart, and a single aim to enthrone Him in the souls of my fellow-sinners, than a cold-hearted worldling, with all the learning in the universe.

“One thing let me impress upon you as a particular favor: that you will always be faithful to my soul. Never shun to tell all that is in your heart, as soon as you perceive, or think you perceive that I am going back into the world, that I am losing my spirituality, or falling into a bigoted, narrow spirit. If you knew what a heart I have, your fears for me would be increased, and I trust your intercession on my behalf would be doubly earnest.”

Of his own accord he seized every possible opportunity of doing good to those who had been his former companions, and to whom he feared he might, by his example in time past, have done harm.

34 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. III.

Conversations are preserved; and copies of letters, having this end in view, are still extant; and in advanced life he was happy enough to know that some of his earliest friends were walking with him as heirs of the grace of life.

His new position was soon recognized. In the month of June, referring to a pleasant visit he had paid to an aunt at Highbury, he says:

“The Lord was with me at family prayers this morning, which they made me take. But alas! I feel so much abominable pride after it, that the reflection confounds me.”

This may be contrasted with his first attempt of a like kind about two years before; and the account of it may encourage some, by showing with what trembling lips a “man of prayer” sometimes begins. The letter was written to a friend, and it refers to a request made to him by his uncle, that he should engage in prayer with his family in his absence.

“No words can convey any idea at all equal to the intense trouble of my inmost soul on that occasion. The family consisted of four men and two female servants, out of whom one only feared the Lord at the time. Conceive my feelings if you can! I am sure I cannot describe them. I was, however, enabled to cry mightily unto the Lord for help, and though my uncle was willing I should make use of a book, and though I was never before engaged in such a service, I was helped to trust the Lord alone. When I first knelt down, I trembled like a leaf from head to foot. I was scarcely able to speak. My head, as it were, turned round, and I knew not where I was. However, I began; and the Lord began too: for my heart was enlarged, and I was enabled to go through the exercises with liberty and satisfaction.”

A few extracts shall be now given from his journal.

“JULY 1, 1798.

“Should I be spared till tomorrow, I shall enter my twentieth year; now, therefore, I desire to look back a little at the year which is passed. Surely I may say that goodness and mercy have followed me. I find I am the same poor sinner I ever was, equally unable to take a single step without Christ. He has

stirred up my soul to desire the work of the ministry. He has opened the way for me, subdued all opposition, removed all difficulty, and brought me to my present condition. Oh! What a God is my God; and what an ungrateful wretch I am! Instead of living to the glory of my God and Saviour, I live, alas! in much darkness. I live much in the spirit of the world. My love is very cold and weak. But, O Lord Christ! You are my hope, and You alone. Oh! give me true repentance, true faith, true humility.”

“SEPTEMBER 9.

“Sunday is now passed, and I would desire to bless God for His mercy to me. I have had through grace a good day. I have enjoyed much of God in His ordinances, particularly under Mr. Pratt, whom I think a most excellent

1798. STUDENT LIFE. 35

preacher. As we came home this morning in a coach, I had some conversation with him. He told me if the Lord intended to make use of me in the church, I must have a long schooling.”

“SEPTEMBER 23.

“I have been much harassed about the reality of spiritual things. On Tuesday I dined with Mr. Eyre, at Hackney, and had a very pleasant time. He advised me to study mathematics, geometry, and history, and to write themes. He said Mr. Cadogan wrote three hundred sermons before he preached at all.”

“OCTOBER 21.

“I am to leave Mr. Pratt on Nov. 5th, and go to Oxford the day following. And now, O my soul! what is your state before God? Alas! it is very bad indeed. Oh that it were with me as in months past! Where is that love to Christ and love to souls that I once had? What will become of me? “

“OCTOBER 28.

“I had a most interesting conversation with Mr. H, my fellow-student, today. I hope the work of grace has begun in his soul. We ended by a mutual promise to correspond.”

Thus, to use his own expression when examining the state of his heart and affections before God at this time, he was “sometimes up and sometimes down:” but on the whole, it is evident that he was making progress in the divine life.

There could be no doubt of his diligence in general learning. He continued during the six months of his student life to rise at five o’clock, and retire at ten o’clock. One hour’s exercise in the day sufficed him. At breakfast the “Spectator” and “Johnson’s Lives of the Poets” were read through. Hebrew, Greek, Latin, and the elementary parts of mathematics occupied the morning. The afterpart of the day was assigned to divinity, logic, history, natural philosophy, geography, and general literature. The books read were, “The Holy Scriptures “ in Hebrew and Greek, Hooker’s “Ecclesiastical Polity,”¹ Doddridge’s “Lectures,” Fuller’s “Calvinism and Socinianism,” Rowning’s “Natural Philosophy,” Dralloy’s “Epitome of Logic,” Chisseldon’s “Anatomy,” Adam’s “Geography,” “Anacharsis’ Travels,” Wilcock’s “Rome,” Bisset’s “Life of Burke,” Blair’s “Lectures,” and Payne’s “Epitome of History.”

This account was given in answer to the inquiry of a friend, after some little time had elapsed, and might, therefore, he says, be incomplete. Some of the books are now little read; but the enumeration serves to show what were then considered standard books for students, and to prove the industry manifested by Daniel Wilson during the six months’ preparation for the university.

His student life at Mr. Pratt’s ended in November 1798; and thus furnished, he entered into residence at St. Edmund’s Hall, Oxford.

¹ That is *Richard Hooker*.

CHAPTER 4. COLLEGE LIFE. 1798-1801.

STATE OF THE UNIVERSITY — ST. EDMUND'S HALL — HIS FRIENDS — REV. J. CROUCH — JOURNALS — SCRIPTURAL DISCUSSIONS — VACATION — LETTERS — EXPENSES — TENDERNESS OF CONSCIENCE — CONFIRMATION — LONG VACATION — JOURNAL — COUSIN ANNE — REMINISCENCES — PLAN OF STUDY AT HOME — CORRESPONDENCE — PROSPECT OF A CURACY — EXAMINATION — DEGREE — UNIVERSITY PRIZE — HEBER AND WILSON — COMMON SENSE.

Seventy or eighty years have witnessed great changes and improvements in our universities. All testimony goes to show that, towards the close of the last century, religion had little life there, and learning had little encouragement. The *Classes* and the *Tripes* which now gauge a man's ability, and assign him his proper place, were then unknown. At Oxford, with which only we now deal, the examination was a mere form. A man chose not only his own books, but his own examiners. It was consequently the very general custom to choose the easiest books, and the most indulgent examiners. There was no audience. The three Masters of Arts who were the examiners, and the undergraduates to be examined, were alone present; and it was not unusual to proceed to the Schools from a pleasant breakfast, or to adjourn, after the successful termination of the day's labors, to a good dinner!

“QUID SOLIDUS ANGULUS!”

Such was the question of an examiner in the schools: and receiving no answer from the respondent, he answered himself by grasping the corner of the desk at which he stood, and saying —

“HIC SOLIDUS ANGULUS.”

Such is a specimen of the traditional stories of that day; and it might be capped by many of the same kind.

A glimpse also may be obtained of the state of religion prevalent at the same university. A most accomplished member of St. John's, an excellent scholar, and one who was deemed a model of an

1798-1801. COLLEGE LIFE. 37

undergraduate of those days, not only never read his Bible, but did not possess one. Being remonstrated with by a friend, his rejoinder was — “How can I help it? Do you think that I could by any possibility go into Parker's shop and ask for a Bible!”

If such was the tone of the university, those who maintained religious consistency were, of course, marked men; and those who read diligently, formed the exception rather than the rule. Happily it is no longer so. No one now can obtain real university honors without deserving them; and no one now would shrink from purchasing a Bible.

Before the last century had closed, many changes had begun, and many abuses were corrected. The authorities of the university appointed the examiners, and publicity was given to the examination. Though there was not as yet any fair and impartial criterion of ability, such as the *Classes* have since presented, yet the opinion of the Examiner was publicly expressed, and sent through the university the gradually widening circle of commendation or disgrace.

It was in November 1798, that Daniel Wilson entered into residence at Oxford, and took possession of his rooms at number four, up two flights of stairs, in St. Edmund's Hall. It was but a small society, and perhaps at that time better known for its piety than its learning. Still, he says that he found the men reading what required from him five hours preparation daily.

He was soon introduced into a pleasant circle of young men, like-minded with himself; among whom he specially names in his journal, Marsh,¹ Petch, Hyson, Knight,² Randolph, Wheeler,³ Pigott, Greig,⁴ Hood, Fry,⁵ Morris, and Lardner; and soon after Pearson,⁶ and Spooner,⁷ Cawood,⁸ Natt,⁹ and Glead.¹⁰

The Hall was happy in its vice-principal and tutor, the Rev. Isaac Crouch. His influence over his pupils was most beneficial, and the good effects of his wise and paternal counsels seem never to have been obliterated from their minds. Thirty-four years after this time, Daniel Wilson, writing to him from the Indian Ocean, says:

“I look back now with fond delight to my introduction to you on April 30th, 1798.

38 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IV.

I recall your friendly advice, cautions, and instructions. I remember the Greek Testament lectures (of which I still have my short-hand notes), the delightful dinner parties, the Sunday evening readings, the various scenes where I used to see your friendly countenance, and where I used to pass such happy hours with Mr. Greig, William Marsh, Cawood, and others. Many and many a reflection dropped by you in conversation, now returns to my mind with double force. Accept, then, once more my best acknowledgments. I have now in my cabin your present of Van-der-Hooght's Hebrew Bible, given to me by you in 1801. It has been my companion ever since. Its binding has become again as old as that which you replaced by so splendid an exterior, thirty-two years back.”

And when, in the year 1835, Mr. Crouch died, he summed up his character as follows:

“There have, perhaps, been few men more remarkably adapted for the sphere in which he moved.

“His course of solid, quiet, unobtrusive labors precisely met the circumstances of Oxford and of his own society during the period that he was called to fill the post of public tutor. To maintain a spirit of vital piety in union with modesty, good order, and diligence in their studies among a number of young students, is at all times a most difficult task. Nearly sixty years then from the present time, it may readily be conceived that the attempt in a great university was both arduous and doubtful. Mr. Crouch, however, made it in the strength of God, persevered in his one great object, overcame prejudice gradually by a uniformly holy life, gained the affections of his pupils, acquired the confidence of the Heads of the university, saw new opportunities of useful influence continually opening before him, witnessed the rising tone of Christian doctrine and feeling in his own society, and retired as his health declined after nearly thirty years' service, with the universal benedictions of the young and the respect of the aged resting on him.”

Such was the college tutor. Attention may now be turned to the undergraduate. On Nov. 23, he writes in his journal:

“Surely I am surrounded with mercies! How good and gracious has the Lord been to me! I have been for two hours in company with Mr. Greig, Marsh, Hood, Fry, and Morris — all of them excellent men — and I feel quite another creature. I am able to go on with my studies as much as I could wish. I

¹ The venerable Dr. Marsh.

² Afterwards the Rev. W. Knight, Rector of St. Michael's, Bristol, and author of “Lectures on some of the Prophecies,” etc.

³ Afterwards a Judge in the Supreme Court of Calcutta.

⁴ A Fellow of St. John's, and Curate of St. Nicholas', Worcester, at his death.

⁵ The Rev. Thomas Fry, author of “The Life of Legh Richmond.”

⁶ Afterwards Rev. Hugh Pearson, D. D., Dean of Salisbury.

⁷ Afterwards the venerable W. Spooner, Archdeacon of Coventry.

⁸ Afterwards Rev. John Cawood, Vicar of Bewdley.

⁹ Afterwards Rev. John Natt, Fellow of St. John's, and Vicar of St. Sepulchre, London.

¹⁰ Rev. J. Glead, B. D., Vicar of Chalfont St. Peter's, Bucks.

have got an interleaved Greek Testament to take down Mr. Crouch's lectures, which are indeed excellent."

"DECEMBER 1.

"Yesterday I was at Mr. Fry's, and was introduced to Mr. Spooner and Faber. As to myself, I hardly know whether I am a child of grace or not. Oh, what depths of sin there are in my soul! Oh for a new heart, desires, affections, pursuits, objects!"

1798-1801. COLLEGE LIFE. 39

"December 16.

"I wrote yesterday to my brother, and said a little about his soul. Oh that it may be blessed to his good! I love college more and more, and hope God may bless me in it. I am prospered in my studies. In my soul I go on pretty well, though I have still much to strive against."

He was soon invited to join an association of pious men from various colleges, who met regularly in each other's rooms for mutual communication and the discussion of scriptural subjects. More than one fellow and one tutor belonged to it, and Mr. Crouch thoroughly approved of it. It was by his advice that prayer was omitted, in order to avoid giving occasion of offence to the authorities. One of their meetings, in 1797, is described by a member, who was then an undergraduate at St. John's. It was his first attendance.

"I was much astonished," he says, "to see Spooner place a Bible on the table as soon as tea was over, and open the consideration of a scriptural subject. It was as to 'the degree of information possessed by the Jews respecting a future state, and in what light we are to view the declaration that "life and immortality" are brought to light by the gospel.' Every one present delivered his opinion. We had many criticisms on the text, and references were made to many commentators, among others ('tell it not in Gath!') to the learned and pious Doddridge. We separated at nine o'clock, and dissolved the only party I have ever regretted to quit since I came to St. John's."

The same individual thus describes Daniel Wilson at that time:

"Wilson was very good-looking, but reserved, and somewhat deficient in manner. It was obvious, however, that he was no common person; and though he entered the university under great disadvantages as to classical learning, his extraordinary and determined diligence, aided by robust health, afforded a sufficient pledge of future eminence and success."

His first term being ended, he went to London for the Christmas vacation, and after a pleasant visit to his friends, he returned to Oxford on the 5th of Jan. 1799.

On Jan. 14th, having heard of the serious illness of one of his sisters, and of an accident which had happened to his brother, he writes to his mother; and after many expressions of most tender and affectionate sympathy, makes the following suggestions:

"Mr. Newton was accustomed to say that whenever the Lord wanted to pull him down, the trial was sure to come through his wife. She was afflicted for his good. Now perhaps, my dear mother, God sees fit to lay his hand on those who are most dear to you, in order to stir you up from the world, and make you see that every earthly comfort is unstable, and that no peace is solid, no joy lasting, but what is derived immediately from Himself."

40 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IV.

Most of the letters in the earlier part of his life, enter very little into the detail of passing events. After a kindly introduction, he generally discusses some religious topic which has occurred to himself, or been suggested by his correspondent. Letters to his father, however, form partial exceptions to this rule; and when some of those college friends with whom he corresponded in Latin, ask, "Quid novi apud vos?"¹ he responds, and tells the university news. But what is most

¹ *Trans.*: "What's new with you?"

noticeable is the careful preservation of his letters. They may be numbered by hundreds; and not merely single letters, but whole series — twenty by one correspondent, fifty by another, seventy by a third, a hundred or a hundred and fifty by a fourth. His mother preserves them, his sister preserves them, his schoolmaster preserves them, his schoolfellows, college friends, fellow tutors, brother ministers, all preserve them; and did that, long before there was any halo round his name. Surely this proves that there must always have been some powerful influence attaching to his character, and some shadowing out of future distinction. Eminent men seem to exercise this influence and cast this shadow as they walk through life; and others, seeing and feeling it, are unwilling to let, their words fall to the ground. The number of such letters introduced into this biography, bear no proportion to those which have been necessarily excluded: and it will be readily admitted, that the difficulties of the biographer have been greatly increased from the necessity of producing a true likeness with so few touches.

He writes to his father during the short vacation in March 1799, consulting him about the income tax; and mentions that, being comparatively free from lectures, he was giving more time to Hebrew and Greek. He also makes a successful application for permission to have a private tutor, in order to work at Thucydides. “I am perfectly well,” he says, “in health, not as yet experiencing any inconvenience from my studies. Very few days pass when I do not walk for about an hour.”

His father allowed him, it appears, one hundred guineas a year; and he contrived to make it suffice. Not once does the word “debt” appear, either directly or indirectly, in letters or journal. In money matters he was always very careful; and though open-handed at all times, the details of his expenditure were accurately noted. His expenses enlarged with his income, but were rarely allowed to exceed it. The college records show that his “battles” averaged about eight shillings a week. His only apparently painful act of self-denial was in the matter of books; and he turns away with regret from a fine copy of “Calvin’s Works,” because it was “too dear.”¹ He made ample amends for this special self-denial in afterlife.

1798-1801. COLLEGE LIFE. 41

His tenderness of conscience continued:

“I am very miserable,” he writes to his mother in March, “because my conscience is full of guilt. I have done two things wrong today, which are not easily retrieved, and both have arisen from hardness of heart and a sinful fear of man. In the first, I failed to speak faithfully to a fellow-collegian who is, I fear, deceiving himself; in the second, I have not introduced spiritual discourse in a party where I sat for above an hour at tea. You don’t know how heavy these sins lie upon my mind; so that I feel now as unhappy and distressed as possible. May the Lord forgive the “iniquity of my sin.”

“Last Sunday week did not pass unnoticed. The recollection of the Lord’s mercy did, I hope, in some degree affect my mind, and lead me to renew the dedication of that body and soul to the Lord, which I trust he has “bought with a price.”

In his journal, on the 28th of April, he writes:

“I have just come from the blessed sacrament. I have found it good for my soul. I have had some views of the grace and glory of Christ. Before the sacrament we had a most choice sermon from dear Mr. Crouch (Romans 8.9). My friend Marsh has been with me. I have found his conversation very profitable. We generally meet every night, spending a little time in conversation, reading, and prayer.”

The Bishop of Oxford, Dr. Smallwell, was ill at this time, and his duties were partially discharged by Dr. Cleaver, Bishop of Chester and Principal of Brazenose. All undergraduates were admitted to his confirmations on presenting a certificate from their college tutors. Daniel Wilson availed himself of this privilege, as the following entries in his journal prove:

¹ “Dear” – expensive or costly.

“JUNE 6, 1799.

“Tomorrow, if I live, I am to be confirmed. Oh! May I find it, by the Lord’s presence, good for my soul.”

“June 8, 1799.

“Yesterday I was confirmed by the Bishop of Chester; and, I trust, found the Lord’s presence with me. There were about twenty-five others.”

On the 1st of July he left Oxford for the long vacation, which was spent partly at home, and partly with his uncle in Milk Street. He thus describes his employments:

“My time, which I can depend upon, is from nine o’clock till two: and of this I spend the first hour in Hebrew, the second in Greek, and the third in Latin. After dinner, if I have time, I read French and then English.”

On the 17th of October he returned to Oxford, and set himself seriously to work at Herodotus and Livy, the Hebrew Bible,

42 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IV.

Hutton’s *Mathematics*, and Rollin’s *Ancient History*. He now also began to talk Latin familiarly with his friends Bull and Cawood. On November 9th he writes to his mother:

“I have more on my hands now by ten times than I ever had when I was in business.

“It is our mercy, as well as our privilege, that in our journey to the heavenly Canaan, we have but one thing to trouble ourselves about as to spiritual things, viz., to live near to God; and one as to outward things, viz., to keep in the path of duty. While we are going on humbly, leaving the direction in the hands of God, nothing can be eventually unsuccessful; and should the most adverse circumstances be, for a time, permitted to crowd around us, while we live near to God, neither our peace nor our safety can be disturbed.”

A few extracts may be given from his journal at the beginning of the year 1800.

“JANUARY 5, 1800.

“I would now desire to raise my Ebenezer, and say, ‘Up to now the Lord has helped me.’ I have been kept from sin. Oh! What do I owe to the Lord for his grace! I would desire to lay the whole glory at his feet, and say, ‘Not unto me, not unto me!’ The means of my preservation has been, the Lord keeping up in my heart a consciousness of my own weakness, and so preserving me from trusting in my own power and might. Thus have I been kept from day to day. But I feel a dread of committing sin. ‘Hold me up and I shall be safe.’¹

“JANUARY 26, 1800.

“How fast the days and weeks creep on! Three weeks have passed since I last wrote, and they seem but a moment. I have much reason for thankfulness, for the Lord’s goodness to me. Oh that I may still have a constant conviction of my own weakness, and a simple reliance upon the power and greatness of Christ! I do hope that I have a true repentance for sin, and that I really long for deliverance from it. But what can I say? Religion is what I have yet to learn. O Lord! To You would I look. Decide the doubt. I trust I am truly sincere. I hope I do truly wish and pray for deliverance from sin. I believe that there is nothing impossible with You! “

“MARCH 16.

“O my soul! You are this day going to approach the Lord’s table. Examine yourself whether you are in the faith. Lord, be pleased to shine in me, then I shall examine myself aright.

“I have long been a professor of religion; long called Christ, ‘Lord, Lord!’ But the question is, whether I have true grace in my heart, or am only a hypocrite: whether I am really united to Christ by

¹ Psa 119.117.

a saving faith, or whether I am still unacquainted with Him: whether I have been 'born again' by the Holy Ghost, or whether I am still a child of darkness: whether my general conduct, my tempers, my words, my actions, prove that I have a portion of divine life in my soul, or not.

1798-1801. COLLEGE LIFE. 43

"O Lord! I find in your word that you are such a Saviour as I need, that Your atoning blood cleanses from all sin, and that your Holy Spirit renews the most depraved heart and the most confirmed habits of iniquity. You are able and willing to receive the poor trembling, returning sinner. I would come, O Lord! in this character — a sinner, whose only hope is in your salvation. I would desire to renounce the service of every sin, and pray for grace to overcome every corruption.

"Be pleased to prepare me for the sacred ministry of your Gospel. Lord, if I should be ever called to preach, may I preach nothing but Christ! Lord! Make me a faithful, diligent, and (if it is your will) a successful minister."

As he was thus pressing onwards, a pleasant vista opened before him, at the end of which he caught a glimpse of one of life's resting places: a happy home. The glimpse was momentary, and the prospect distant; yet it was really of the Lord.

His uncle was now the owner of large estates at Worton, in Oxfordshire; and the distance from Oxford not being great, access was easy and frequent. Mr. William Wilson's eldest daughter was a deserved favorite with Mr. and Mrs. Crouch, and an occasional inmate of their house; and thus communication with his "Cousin Ann" had sunshine to ripen it into affection.

It was after one of these occasional visits that the following letter was written. Its careful penmanship, its gentle imagery, the words it speaks, and the words it leaves unspoken, all give evidence of a more than common interest on the part of the writer; while the store set by the letter, and its preservation even to this hour, conveys the impression that the note struck at Oxford, found a responsive chord at Worton.

"OXFORD, May 9, 1800.

"I thought of you when I was walking round Magdalen walk the other evening, and could not help imagining how pleasant and agreeable everything around you must be. I do not know when we have had so pleasant and delightful a spring. Considering how alarming the present dearness of provisions is, we are called upon to be thankful for the prospects of abundance, of which this fine weather is, I hope, an earnest. Though they are not our best blessings, yet the bounties of Providence are not, I think, to be overlooked. I hope we know, my dear cousin, how to be grateful for every mercy. Are we not also encouraged to see in the beauties of nature representations of the mysteries of grace? We cannot help remembering who is said to be the sun of righteousness; what is intended by the dew which descends upon Israel, and by the river whose streams make glad the city of God. We may call to mind likewise those plants which are planted in the house of the Lord, and flourish in the courts of our God; that tree under whose shadow we sit with great delight; and those gifts of the Spirit which are joy and peace.

"Well might the apostle say, Religion has the promise of the life that now is, as well as that which is to come; for surely no one so perfectly enjoys this

44 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IV.

world as those who use without abusing it, who see God in everything, and make every object of nature, and every favor of Providence, a cause of gratitude and praise.

"I thought when I began, I should have nothing to write; but I have got to the end of my sheet before I suspected it, and have a thousand things more to say."

There are corresponding entries in his private journal, but the topic must be deferred for the present.

The long vacation had again commenced, and he makes the following remarks on the return of his birthday:

“JULY 2, 1800.

“I have this day entered the twenty-third year of my age. Oh that I might begin this year with feelings of gratitude for present mercies, and desires for more grace! Lord! be pleased to visit my soul. I would reflect on the past year with deep humility. Lord, I confess my vileness, my unthankfulness. I desire to lie down this night in deep repentance, and to accept with my whole soul the free offer of salvation which you have made in Christ.

“I came home yesterday, and found my family and friends all well. I have this night been reading for the first time in Calvin’s works, and have settled my plan for the vacation. I hope, by getting up at five o’clock, to have seven hours for study before dinner; and in the after-part of the day, I hope to have time for French and Divinity, and writing Latin.”

The manner in which he “settled his plan” is recorded by one of his sisters. As soon as he arrived at home, and the first greetings were passed, he appealed to his mother. “Now, my dear mother, I am about to read. I can let nothing interrupt me until two o’clock. Then I shall be ready to enjoy your company and that of my sisters till tea-time, when I must have two or three hours more study before I go to bed.”

All this was acquiesced in by his family, and rigidly adhered to by himself. He was never interrupted. A friend might occasionally be introduced into his little study, but he himself was never called down. And surely the secret of his success in later-life is involved in this resolute purpose, resolutely carried out.

In his journal he writes:

“OCTOBER 5.

“I have been receiving the holy sacrament at Mr. Newton’s church, and have had the Lord’s presence in some degree. Oh, what cause I have for thankfulness! Mr. Newton preached from Psalm 130. Well might I say that I have been in ‘the depths’ — the depths of sin, the depths of temptation. Lord, I cry unto You out of the depths. Be pleased to hear my voice.”¹

He returned to Oxford in November, thus entering upon his third

1708-1801. COLLEGE LIFE. 45

and last year. A letter to his mother of Jan. 12th, 1801, is here inserted as a specimen of the correspondence before referred to, as showing the state of his mind, and as exhibiting a clearness and comprehensiveness of views uncommon in one so young.

“The time I spent with you in town appears to me now like a dream that is passed away. Thus it is that our life is hastening along. One scene presents itself, and then vanishes; a second follows, and disappears in like manner. Now we are well; anon² sickness seizes us. At this moment, everything is prosperous and comfortable; the next, all is dark and miserable.

“From reflecting upon these changes, however, we may learn two important lessons — the one solemn, the other encouraging.

“It is a solemn consideration, that, amidst all the fluctuations of life, we are still making rapid advances towards eternity. Every wave, whether placid or turbulent, wafts us nearer to that awful³ shore. Like a ship which continues to make its way, whatever the passengers on board may be doing, we are perpetually hurried forward, whatever may be our employments.

¹ Psa 130.1-2.

² *Anon*: at another time, or in a little while.

³ *Awful* here would mean “awe-filled.”

“But as this is a solemn thought, so is it encouraging to contrast the uncertainty of all things here below with the unchangeableness of our gracious and Almighty Lord. This is our safety, that there is One who has said, ‘Because I live, you shall live also;’¹ and that there is an unfailing fountain of love and mercy in Him to remedy all the evils of time, and to crown us with every blessing.

“The more Satan can bring us to look upon the waves, the sooner we shall sink. It is when faith is fastened upon a crucified Jesus, that peace dwells in the heart, and holiness adorns the life and conversation. God gives us this ‘precious faith,’ that, looking unto the Great Captain of our salvation, and receiving every supply from His fulness, we may go on our way rejoicing. The command is ‘Rejoice in the Lord always.’² May the Lord the Spirit produce this grace in us continually, and enable us to know more of the power of that kingdom, which is righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.”

He writes also to his father, and refers to the general alarm produced by the king’s illness and the state of public affairs. He promises to take more exercise; describes his happiness and comfort in every respect; expresses his delight in the new study of chemistry; refers with pleasing anticipations to Faber’s “Bampton Lectures;” and with a slight touch of humor, says that the gayer part of the university were expecting this year to usher in the “reign of the saints,” for the proctors and pro-proctors (among them Mr. Crouch) were all religious men.

College Essays also engaged him a good deal. He refers to one sent in at Christmas last, and to another now in preparation on the subject of the “Penitent Thief.” He was also busily employed every Sunday in writing sermons, thus showing that the great work of the ministry was kept prominently before him.

46 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IV.

We now also have an opportunity to observe the change which four years had made in the state of his mind and his mode of expression. It will be remembered that in the year 1797 he wrote “out of the depths,” to encourage his friend Mr. Vardy in “preaching Christ.” In January of this year a somewhat similar concurrence of circumstances happened, and we find a penitential letter respecting himself, and a hortatory³ letter to a college friend (Mr. Cawood) who had just taken holy orders, and entered on his work. The change is interesting.

“OXFORD, JAN. 1801.

“Evils and dangers of all kinds surround me, so that life sometimes becomes a burden. Grievous temptations make me sigh and groan. Satan presses me down, and would willingly prevent my rising up again. He meets me in the ‘way,’ and would turn me from it. No peace is granted, no truce is made. Nor indeed do I wish it, if only my strength holds out.

“Nevertheless, God stands by me; and I would willingly acknowledge His wondrous love. But for His succor, I would have been lost. While mentioning my own miseries, I would never forget His mercies.”

The stirring exhortation follows:

“To you, my friend, who have now entered into the vineyard, what shall I say? May every happiness, and every blessing, and every good be yours. Be faithful; be fruitful. Time is short. The Lord is at hand. Eternity approaches. Watch and pray. Let not your heart fail, for Christ is your helper. Do not be puffed up, for you are ignorant and powerless. Do all things as if the Judge was standing at the door.

“But why do I call these things to your mind? Rather let me engrave them on my own heart.”

¹ Joh 14.19.

² Phil 4.4.

³ *Hortatory*: giving strong encouragement.

The following letter may be introduced here as manifesting a similar contrast. In anticipation of his leaving college, the curacy of Mr. Cecil, at Chobham, had been offered to him, and respecting it he writes as follows:

“JUNE 7, 1801.

“I hope and believe that in the measures which have been taken as to Mr. Cecil’s curacy, the Lord’s will has been principally sought after, and not man’s. And this it is which gives me the most consolation under the weight which lies upon my mind. If God has pointed out in His providence my post, He will supply grace and strength proportioned to it. In my case, indeed, I am persuaded nothing will do but a simple reliance upon the grace and power of Christ. I feel my weakness and ignorance, and I pray to be strengthened and taught by Him. The prospect of having to stand, as it were, between the living and the dead, cannot fail to fill me with apprehension. So far as this feeling drives me to a throne of grace, and forces me to cast all my care upon the Lord, it is salutary; and I hope to have grace to repress and overcome any distrust of

1798-1801. COLLEGE LIFE. 47

the promises of the Redeemer, or that fear which is harassing and unbelieving. When Mr. Romaine came to Blackfriars, he said in a letter, that he found it very hard work to manage his own heart; and he trembled at the idea of having to deal with several thousands. How infinitely more strongly does this apply to a child in age, as well as in experience, if a man like Mr. Romaine found occasion to use it!”

If the subdued tone of this letter is contrasted with his eagerness and impetuosity when the first idea of the ministry entered his mind, the benefit of sound learning and religious education will be abundantly manifest. His natural abilities were the same, his acquired information much greater, his religious principles more mature — he was thus in every respect better qualified for the Master’s service; and yet, when bid to enter in, he goes and takes the lowest place, showing evidently that if something of warmth and fervor had subsided, much self-knowledge and humility had been gained. In him was strikingly confirmed the wisdom of Mr. Cecil’s remarks touching the qualifications for the sacred ministry:

“Whoever would succeed in his general interpretations of Scripture, and have his ministry that of a workman who needs not be ashamed, must be a laborious man. What can be produced by men who refuse to labor? A few raw notions, harmless, perhaps, in themselves, but false as stated by them. What then should a young minister or candidate for the ministry do? His office says, Go to your books; go to retirement; go to prayer. ‘No,’ says the enthusiast,¹ ‘Go to preach. Go and be a witness.’ A witness of what? He doesn’t know.” — Cecil’s Works, vol. i. p. 166.

The time now drew near when he was to be examined for his degree and leave the university. His course throughout had been marked by the most indefatigable diligence. Long after he had left his college, traditional stories were told of his studious habits. In order to acquire a good Latin style, and enable himself to converse familiarly in that language, he was said to have translated the whole of Cicero’s *Epistles* into English, and then to have re-translated them into Latin. It was reported also that he would often read through the whole night, and when utterly worn out, throw himself down on the carpet for a short respite. The first of these stories may be true enough; but the second must be rejected, as foreign to all his habits, and contrary to the advice given by him to his friends at the time, and to all young students in later-life.

The examination which he had to pass for his degree, furnishes no criterion of the extent or accuracy of his attainments. The ground he had to make up to overtake his competitors is easily measured, but there is nothing to show how far he had outstripped them in the race.

48 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IV.

¹ *Enthusiast* here means someone who is impetuous and over-emotional, casting prudence and preparation aside in favor of getting on with the business; this is seldom to anyone’s benefit.

The following short entry in his journal is the only notice he himself takes of the matter:

“JUNE 13, 1801.

“I was examined last week; and if I live, I shall go to town on Wednesday, and be ordained in September.”

It was therefore with great surprise, and some embarrassment, that two early Latin letters were discovered, in which he himself gives a minute account of his examination in 1802 — a year after he had left the university and entered the church. These letters, moreover, correspond with an entry in his journal, dated “CHOBHAM, JULY 14, 1802,” in which he states that he had been at Oxford for three weeks, that he had passed his examination, and done all things required by the statute for the degree of Master of Arts. This added to the embarrassment: for who in these days ever heard of a real examination for the degree of Master of Arts? The whole matter was involved in mystery till explained by the kindness of Dr. Macbride, Principal of Magdalen Hall. Looking back more than half a century (as perhaps he alone at Oxford could do), he called to mind an examination statute passed May 1800, which included candidates for the degree of M. A., as well as for those of B. A. The examiners were the same for both degrees; and the examination was to be equally strict, equally necessary, and equally public.

But in this, their new-born zeal, the authorities of the university had gone too far. The degree of B. A. is in most cases a necessity, while the degree of M. A. is a luxury only; and hence, when it was to be preceded by an examination, it was dispensed with altogether, or sought at Cambridge, where no such ordeal was required. The result of the statute was that the number of Masters of Arts at Oxford sensibly diminished; and though not formally repealed, the statute was allowed rapidly to fall into neglect and disuse.

But Daniel Wilson came under its operation, while it was in vigorous action; and we are thus enabled from his second examination to supply what was lacking in the details of the first.

He writes to his friend Mr. Cawood, and makes very light of it:

“You seem,” he says, “to make a great deal more of the examination I have just passed, than it deserves. I can scarcely help smiling at what you say, and at the anxiety you feel. I only gave three days for direct preparation, and you need not give one. But since *omne ignotum pro magnifico*,¹ I will tell you what really took place.”

He then goes on to say that he was examined with his friend Wheeler, and a Christ-church man. The books he took up in Greek

1798-1801. COLLEGE LIFE. 49

were Thucydides and Herodotus. But in Latin he made no selection — he took up all: “*omnes optima setatis auctores*”² — “*omnes aureos auctores*,”³ are the expressions he employs. His friend Wheeler followed his example in the Latin, and took up Sophocles and Longinus in the Greek. In Hebrew Daniel Wilson stood alone.

A book was first put into his hand called the “Gentleman’s Religion,” and he turned a page of it into Latin. The Greek Testament followed. He read part of Mark 13, and answered questions about the temple erected in the time of Vespasian, and the prophecies concerning it in the Old and New Testament. Livy was then opened, and a page translated. This led to many historical questions.

¹ “Everything becomes an unknown.” That is, what is unknown leads to (becomes) conjecture.

² All the best instigators of the age.

³ All are golden instigators.

Up to this time he confesses he was not without apprehensions, not knowing where the examination might lead him; but now all fears subsided.

Latin being finished, Hebrew came on. He took up the whole Hebrew Bible; but the examiner (wisely perhaps for himself) confined his examination to the first Psalm and some grammatical questions, which were readily answered.

His friend having passed a similar ordeal, they were now bid to sit down while others were called on, approval¹ being expressed with what they had done.

While sitting apart, the junior examiner, as if casually, asked whether Wilson had read Physics, and then put certain questions, such as, "Whether the angle of refraction was equal to the angle of incidence?" — "Whether a ray of light passing from a thin into a denser medium would be deflected from the perpendicular?" etc.; all of which were, of course, answered. Mathematics, logic, and metaphysics were passed by; only one of the sciences being required by the statute.

When he was again formally called up, the third book of Thucydides was selected, and he was put on at one of the speeches. Neither this, nor the historical questions connected with it, gave him any difficulty. Xenophon followed, instead of Herodotus (which was his book); but he took things as he found them, and the passage selected was (he says) neither "obscure nor difficult."

Thus ended the examination; and the senior examiner confirmed his former sentence by saying, in a loud voice, that Wheeler and Wilson had done themselves the greatest credit, and obtained the highest honor. The Christ-church man gained his testamur,² but nothing more; and six men were rejected. There were about one hundred auditors.

The letter closes by saying, "I have told you all this, that you

50 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IV.

may understand how little you have to do, and how little to fear. You would prefer, I know, that I should tell you all, rather than be silent from sham modesty. Nothing, therefore, as a friend, have I concealed from my friend."

Nothing more was open to him as an object of ambition, but the university prizes. Two prizes are annually given for Latin verse and English prose, and occasionally a third, for English poetry. They are open for competition to those men only who have completed the fourth year from their matriculation. The subject of the English prose essay in the year 1803, was *Common Sense*; and, being then duly qualified, he entered the lists, and carried off the prize. He had previously consulted his three friends, Mr. Crouch, Mr. Pratt, and Mr. Pearson, and though not sanguine, they had encouraged the attempt. So little did he anticipate success himself, and so little did the subject dwell upon his mind, that it was not even mentioned to any of his family, nor is there a single allusion to it in his private journals. Surprise, therefore, mingled with, and greatly enhanced the pleasure felt by all, when his name was publicly announced as the successful competitor. His first notice of it himself, is in the following terms:

"You have heard of the prize having been adjudged to me for my essay. It was perfectly unexpected by me, I confess. God has wise ends in everything. It was He who directed the whole concern.

"Oh for grace to be humble, watchful, dependent, and simply devoted to the glory of my divine Lord! Pray for me to be kept at the feet of Jesus, learning His word, and seeking the honor which comes of Him only.

¹ That is, approval.

² A certificate of merit or proficiency.

“In consequence of the news, which I did not receive till Sunday, after church (May 29, 1803), I set off for Oakingham to meet Mr. Crowe, the public orator, at 7 o’clock on Monday morning. It seems I am to be at Oxford on Thursday, June 9th, Monday, June 13th, and Wednesday, June 15th, for purposes connected with the delivery of the essay.”

Again he writes, on June 2d:

“The first rehearsal of my essay is altered from Saturday, June 11th, to Thursday, June 9th. This essay has already given me more pain and apprehension than you can possibly conceive. It is a terrible thing to deliver it before the university.”

His apprehensions, however, were groundless. Some who were present still survive, and they speak of his delivery of the essay as being characterized by perfect self-possession, combined with a modest consciousness of the distinguished audience before whom he stood.

1798-1801. COLLEGE LIFE. 51

One contemporary describes the meeting and greeting of college friends from various parts on the occasion. He names Natt, Spooner, Pearson, Wilson, Adderley, and Gleed; and says that the commemoration in the theatre went off admirably; that there was a splendid oration from the Professor of Poetry, and that “Wilson delivered his essay with considerable effect, and was received with very general applause.”

He shared the honor, in his turn, with many who were then starting in life, and have since risen to high distinction in Church and State — with Lord Sidmouth, Dr. Burgess, Bishop of Salisbury; Blackstone, Lord Tenterden, Dr. Philpotts, Bishop of Exeter; Dr. Goplestone. Bishop of Llandaff; Dr. Goodenough, Dr. Phillimore, Dr. Whately, Archbishop of Dublin, and others.

But it is especially interesting to recall the fact that he was followed on the rostrum by Reginald Heber. The one had delivered his essay on “Common Sense,” when the other rose to recite his poem of “Palestine-”

There is something affecting in the picture of these two young aspirants, thus brought together in the morning of life, who were afterwards called to bear “the heat and burden of the day” in the same far-distant field; something also in the scrolls they held, characteristic of the men — the one, throwing over India the charm of poetry, piety, and a loving spirit; the other, stamping upon it the impress of scriptural supremacy and evangelical truth; — something of adaptation, also, in the divine ordering of those consecrated spots where “they rest in their graves,” — the chancel of St. John’s, Trichinopoly, and the chancel of St. Paul’s, Calcutta.

Daniel Wilson himself referred in later-life to this meeting in the Oxford theatre.

“Is it not a singular coincidence,” he said, “that Heber, my revered, able, and pious predecessor, delivered his poem of ‘Palestine’ on the very day that I delivered my English prose essay on ‘Common Sense?’ I well remember, as I came down from the rostrum, seeing Heber, who sat immediately behind, testifying his applause in the kindest manner, though I never made his acquaintance till July 26th, 1812, when Mr. Thornton introduced him to me at St. John’s Chapel, Bedford Row, after hearing me preach from Hebrews 2.3.”

The day following these recitations, one of the Heads of houses met Mr. Crouch in the High Street, Oxford.

“Well, Mr. Crouch,” he said, “so ‘Common Sense’ has come to Edmund Hall at last.”

52 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IV.

“Yes,” replied Mr. Crouch, with his quiet humor, “but not yet to the other colleges.”

Thus ended Daniel Wilson’s undergraduate life. He never took his name off the books of his university. He passed his examination the first week in June 1801; took his degree of B. A. on

March 2, 1802; was examined for the degree of M. A. on June 30, 1802; had the prize assigned to him in May 1803; became M. A. on October 10, 1804; and was made D. D., by royal mandate on April 12, 1832.

CHAPTER 5. CHOBHAM. 1801-1803.

CHOBHAM AND BISLEY — REV. R. CECIL — PARISHIONERS AND VISITORS — PREACHING — MR. PEARSON — CECIL'S MANNER — LATIN JOURNAL — ORDINATION AT FARNHAM — REFLECTIONS — FIRST SERMONS — SUCCESS — SKETCH OF SERMONS — DEDICATIONS OF CHARACTER — PROSPECT OF TUTORSHIP — OF MARRIAGE — LETTER OF WILLIAM WILSON — JOURNAL — FAREWELL SERMON — LONDON — HIS MARRIAGE.

Chobham is a pleasant agricultural village in Surrey, parochially connected with Bisley, a retired hamlet three miles distant. At the time of which we write, the population of the united parishes amounted to about eighteen hundred. There were two churches. Mr. Thornton was the patron, and the Rev. Richard Cecil the rector.

These small livings had been offered to the Rev. Mr. Cecil in the year 1800, as affording the prospect of some respite from the arduous duties of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, of which he was the minister. He reluctantly yielded to the advice of his friends; and having accepted the charge, bent all the powers of his mind towards its fulfillment. At his first coming he found everything in disorder. Religion was neither valued nor understood. The people were rude and irreverent; and on the first Sunday of his appearance among them, so great was the uproar, and so loud the talking in church before service, that, as he sat in the vestry, he burst into tears, and said, "Can these dry bones live?" But this was soon changed for the better. All the year round a curate was at work, and for the three summer months Mr. Cecil himself resided, and took the duty. He conciliated the farmers by his disinterestedness, and won the laborers by his earnestness. Additional services were commenced; large and attentive congregations gathered; and it was soon said, as of Zion in the olden time, "This and that man was born there." Among other interesting cases of "peace at last," one is told of a poor uneducated man, a miller's laborer named Joseph Waller. He was on his dying-bed, and the fifty-fifth chapter of Isaiah was being read to him. Though weak, and faint, and full of pain, yet

54 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. V.

when he heard the words, "Incline your ear and come to me: hear, and your soul shall live;" he gathered up his strength to say, "What a mercy, sir, that it is not 'Read, and your soul shall live!' for if it had been, I could not have been saved, for you know I am no scholar. But, blessed be God! It is 'Hear, and your soul shall live.' I have heard, and believed, and trust I shall be saved."

Visitors would occasionally appear in that quiet village; and it is recorded that on one occasion, in the year 1800, the well-known Arthur Young, then secretary to the Board of Agriculture, put up at the little Chobham inn on a Saturday night, and attended church on Sunday morning. Mr. Cecil preached from Jeremiah 8.20-22; and so much was Mr. Young impressed by the deep pathos and powerful appeals of his discourse, that he walked the three miles to Bisley, to hear him again in the afternoon. Mr. Cecil possessed an unusual power of impressing a congregation and riveting their attention. Sometimes a sentence, or a single word, sufficed. On this occasion he preached from the parable of the ten virgins; and from the moment he gave out the text, land pronounced the words, "The DOOR WAS SHUT," the whole body of the people hung upon his lips in breathless awe. This sermon confirmed the impression made upon Mr. Young in the morning. He sought and obtained an introduction to Mr. Cecil, and spent the evening with him in serious and animated conversation. The best results followed; and from this time religion shed a calm and steady light upon his path, even to the end.

In his latter years, Mr. Cecil was occasionally a great sufferer. He always sat in the pulpit, and often preached in pain. But few men have been more distinguished for originality of mind, and grand yet simple views of truth; while in his power of arresting the attention, convincing the

understanding, impressing the conscience, and affecting the heart, he stood unrivalled in his day.

To be trained then under such a man for the work of the ministry, was no small advantage; and this advantage Daniel Wilson enjoyed at Chobham. Though not to be ordained till the middle of September, he came down at the beginning of August. He found Mr. Pearson, who had preceded him in the curacy, but had been compelled to resign it from ill health, still in residence; and for some months the two friends lived together, and 'had all things in common!' One small sitting-room sufficed for the future "bishop" and "dean," and just admitted two tables for their desks; while books were scattered on the floor around, or piled up in their respective bedrooms. They walked, read, and prayed together; and thus cemented a friendship which had been commenced at Oxford.

1801-1803. CHOBHAM. 55

Mr. Cecil was a frequent visitor at their little room, favoring them with most instructive and original conversation. He never wasted time in idle talk, but began at once upon some subject connected with the ministry, or some ancient or modern book in theology; or he would analyze some great religious character, or discuss some event in his own life: and thus pour forth a rich and copious stream of wisdom and experience. Then perhaps an attack of pain would come on, and, having no couch to receive him in their little room, he would lie upon the floor, often turning on his face for a time to conceal every expression of the anguish which he felt. The paroxysm once passed, he would resume his former attitude, and continue his discourse.

Such was the nature of his personal communication. A specimen of his correspondence will now be given, not only illustrative of character, but adapted to all times and all ministers.

"I particularly wish you would study hard to prepare yourself for this place. It is not enough that a man has good intentions. He also needs capacity, knowledge, aptitude — all of which, you know, are greatly improved by study; and study itself much depends on method.

"Now, then, for the method. Go among the poorest and most illiterate of the people where you dwell, and let your subject of discourse to them be the solar system. Endeavor with great plainness to defend Copernicus against Tycho; and make them thoroughly understand the difference and the superiority. Don't let one depart till he is fully convinced that the sun must be placed in the centre.

"'Stop,' you say, 'I shall never be able to make them understand my very terms.' No? Then invent new ones adapted to their capacity; for it is much easier to give people right notions of the solar system than of the gospel; and they will be far more willing to let the SUN stand in his place there than here. Pray, therefore, study hard, and in a way a college never teaches."

It will appear from notes made by him at the time, and entered in his journal, that Daniel Wilson availed himself to the utmost of the opportunities thus afforded him, and diligently gathered up the crumbs which fell from that rich man's table. They are written in Latin, and the necessity of translation will explain the difference of style.

"I came to Chobham on August 1st, 1801, for the benefit of Mr. Cecil's advice and instruction; the object being that I might become qualified to preach, and that, discovering my faults, whether natural or acquired, I might correct them. I instantly perceived the advantage to be derived from this. Nor have I been deceived. I have great reason to be thankful for the opportunity. God grant that I may turn what I have learned to my own profit and the promotion of His glory.

56 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. V.

"*I want, suavity.*¹ There is a kind of austerity and roughness about me, which is easily discernible, and seems wrought into my very nature. I must strive, therefore, to infuse something of kindness and

¹ [The quality of being gracious or ingratiating in manner.](#)

urbanity into all I do, and particularly into the composition of my sermons; for kindness wins assent. Whereas, to attempt to sway and control men by violence, does but excite opposition and dislike.

“Modesty, also, is a great thing in a young man. All are ready to yield to one who is really modest; not claiming authority, but desirous of pleasing others, and showing himself the helper and the friend of all.

“A clear and simple style of writing must be carefully cultivated — but so as to avoid everything low and vulgar. That power of expression and flow of imagination which moves and persuades men, is much lacking in me. I must therefore seek by diligence and perseverance to acquire those qualifications which nature has denied. Subjects must be selected for discussion which breathe love, peace, and good-will, and which naturally, perhaps, I should be disposed to pass by.

“AUGUST 1, 1801.

“I have passed several days lately in composing sermons. If I have at all improved, my thanks are due to God above. It is only through Him that I know what I ought to do, or can have strength and power to fulfill the same. I have tried to avoid coarseness, and show tenderness, and have so far succeeded. I say this not to nourish pride, but that I may recognize God’s mercy, and freely acknowledge it. Many things have yet to be done. That to which I have attained with so much labor, I can scarcely call the foot of the mountain. Far be it, then, from me to begin to idle on the ascent, or foolishly think I have reached the summit. I have finished two sermons, which have been well thought over. I am now meditating on others.

“AUGUST 29, 1801.

“There is danger lest, while desirous of learning from Mr. Cecil, I should copy him too closely. His address, countenance, cast of mind, and style of elocution are so entirely his own, and so appropriate to himself, that it would be a great fault were I to attempt to imitate them. I must be very careful lest, by treading in his steps, I make myself ridiculous. One would fain always be like the person one admires; but to copy peculiarities is foolish. It will not, however, be very easy for me to avoid this. I have a tendency to fall into the track of every one I love and am familiar with. I must therefore be on my guard, and aim at consistency. Whatever there is of good in me, I will try to improve, and not think of acquiring habits foreign to my own. Rather let me, by correcting my faults and supplying my defects, adapt myself to Mr. Cecil’s disposition and turn of mind. May God give the attempt a happy issue.

“AUGUST 29, 1801.

“Many things are yet lacking. While leaving out harsh words, I do not introduce soft things. I treat the sweetest subject roughly, and do not use that persuasiveness which might compel assent. It is right enough to constrain men and draw them from sin, unwilling though they be. But the sermons

1801-1803. CHOBHAM. 57

should precede the battering at the door. Constant threats harden the mind, while the introduction of tender topics melt it to tears at once.

“By laboring at a subject, I become too diffuse. It is very well to urge the same thing over and over again in different words, because common people more readily understand it. But it must not be dwelt on too long. What does not throw light upon a subject, tends to darken it.

“Illustrations should be brought forward, and chiefly those which are to be found in Scripture, for these at once instruct and delight; and resting on the truth itself cannot be challenged; above all, they are easily understood.

“Scripture should be often quoted. What a man says on his own authority is not sufficient. The words of God come with power, and win assent, and have a savor of dignity and majesty. That may be well thought to have a direct bearing on the salvation of men, which has been written by the inspiration of God’s Spirit.

“SEPTEMBER 4, 1801.

“I have much yet to learn. Christ must be magnified in every sermon. To neglect Him is to neglect all. If a man were to preach Judaism, he would do no good. He might say what was true, and what perhaps could not be denied, but there would be no result. Why? Because he failed to raise before the eyes of all, Christ the bronze serpent.¹ Everything is cold, dull, and torpid without the Sun. It is His warmth which makes those members glow which otherwise would be numbed.

“Duties must be so explained that their connection with gospel truth may be evidently seen; while gospel truth must be so laid down that duties may cling to it. When we have clear light, it is a shame to walk in darkness. To teach only what the better-instructed among the Jews would have taught, avails nothing. We must go further; and not only dwell upon those things which the ancients knew while darkness was yet lingering on the earth, but exhibit prominently those illustrious gospel truths which the Sun, now risen, has made manifest to all men.”

SEPTEMBER 10, 1801.”

Impressed with such thoughts, he prepared for his ordination. He had previously been accepted as a candidate by Dr. Brownlow North, Bishop of Winchester; and he was ordained after due examination, on September 20, 1801. He went straight from Farnham to Chobham, and wrote to his mother as follows:

“I have, indeed, reason to be thankful for the mercies I have lately received. Every circumstance connected with my business at Farnham was so ordered by a kind Providence that I met with no difficulties. Nor have I less reason to be thankful for the support I have received in this early stage of my ministry. Not only was I enabled to compose my sermons with comfort, but being kept from fear in the delivery, my memory not becoming confused, and above all, my being able to feel what I was about, and speak from the heart — all are so many mercies which call loudly for gratitude.

58 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. V.

“I feel now the need of double grace, humility, and circumspection. Having to answer for the souls of the inhabitants of two extensive parishes, will call for all the watchfulness, and love, and tenderness, which I can possibly exercise. And yet I am not sufficient of myself to think anything of myself, but my sufficiency is of God. It is for my comfort to reflect that the work is God’s. The event is with Him. May I only have grace to aim simply at His glory, and rely simply on His arm, and I shall not finally be discomfited. He can make strength ‘perfect in weakness,’² and show that, while the treasure is in earthen vessels, the ‘excellency of the power’³ is of Himself, and not of man.”

On the same day the following entry appears in his journal:

“I am now numbered among the dressers of God’s vineyard. I entered into holy orders on the 20th of September, by the imposition of hands of the Bishop of Winchester. While Mr. Cecil is absent, I shall have two sermons to preach weekly, one at Chobham, and one at Bisley. All difficulties having been removed by the help of God, I am now happily discharging my sacred functions. What I had prepared, being committed to memory, I was enabled to deliver freely. Nor have I to complain of any unkind reception; on the contrary, I have to acknowledge, with gratitude to God, that it was far beyond my expectations.

“In my first sermon I addressed the willingness of Christ to receive sinners coming to him — ‘Him that comes to me I will in no way cast out.’⁴ In the second, I endeavored to explain the peace which Christ gave to His disciples — ‘Peace I leave with you.’⁵

“Grant, Almighty God, that those things which by your grace have happily begun, may by your power be brought to a good result.”

¹ Num 21.9.

² 2Cor 12.9.

³ 2Cor 4.7.

⁴ 1John 6.27.

⁵ 2John 14.27.

He then resumes his notes upon ministerial efficiency; a few more of which may be added:

“The minister is invested with authority. His power consists not in the strength of his body, but of his character. If his reputation is lost, all is lost: respect goes; influence ceases; what he says, evaporates; what he does, drags.

“The great point is, to combine affection and respect. To attain this, we have nothing in our own power. God alone can give it. But He usually bestows His blessing upon those who exhibit diligence and perseverance.

“OCTOBER 5, 1801.

“Sermons must be composed not by gentle, but by stringent methods; not by humoring the mind, but by coercing it. It is indispensable that he who writes many, should write quickly. The subject for discussion may be deemed a secondary matter; but when once suggested to the mind, it should be immediately seized and dealt with. Necessity draws out the powers of the mind, and brings its riches to the light. The most celebrated men have excelled others by the force of will. Compulsion must be used. The mind must be urged. The faculties must be excited. Nothing must be yielded to delay,

1801-1803. CHOBHAM. 61

fastidiousness, or languor. The doors must be beaten in and broken down, if they will not open. The imprisoned mind must be let loose, and the barren invention stimulated. Sluggish and heavy thoughts must not be tolerated. If unwilling and reluctant, they must be dragged by force from their hiding place, hurried to the plain, pushed upon the course, and compelled to run the race, leaning upon anything or nothing.

“OCTOBER 14, 1801.”

Towards the close of the year he found himself alone, with the whole duty of the two parishes on his hands. It called forth all his energies, and he set himself diligently to work. He writes to his mother as follows:

“I have been very well since I returned from town, and proceed with comfort, and I hope success, in my work. I have not seen any fruits as yet, but I suppose it is too early for me to be anxious on that topic. In God alone is my hope, both to support and bless. His promise stands engaged on my behalf: ‘My word shall not return unto me void.’¹ Here I rest, praying and believing that, while He enables me to prophesy to the ‘dry bones,’ He will, as seems best to Him, make them rise up ‘an exceeding great army.’²

“The more I enter into my great object, that of ‘winning souls,’ the more easy and delightful everything appears to me. But it is not always that I retain those views of eternity, of sin, of heaven, of a Redeemer, of the value of souls, which it is my duty and interest to be actuated by. I have need to pray, with the disciples, ‘Lord, increase my faith;’³ ‘Lord, give me a faster hold of You, as my master, my friend, my portion, my Saviour, my all in all.’

“I have begun in good earnest to see a little more of my people, being by this time established in my situation. I call, in general, on three or four every day, and give books and advice as I find occasion, and pecuniary relief when I think it needed. I hope God will bless me in this part of my duty. If it is useful only in subservience to the public ordinances of the church, I shall be thankful. The insight this employment gives me into the hearts and dispositions of men, shows me more the value of salvation, and the wonderful mercy of God when any one is brought to receive it. God be praised for His ‘unspeakable gift!’ God be praised for ‘a Saviour!’ How little we know of the infinite love contained in that divine word — a *Saviour!* God grant that by His Spirit we may see more, and feel more, and live more to the glory of Him who has called us out of darkness into His marvellous light.”

¹ Isa 55.11.

² Eze 37.4, 10.

³ Luk 17.5.

Every entry in his journal, from this time, shows that these were not mere idle words. He was continually traversing the parish from end to end; every mud hut was visited; and the names of each individual or family at Chobham and Bisley may be found recorded, with traits of character, and slight reports of failure or success in dealing with them; so that at length he obtained from Mr. Cecil himself the name of "The Apostle Wilson."

62 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. V.

Nor was he without encouragement and a measure of success.

"I drank tea last night," he writes, "with one of our farmers. All was life and feeling, humility and tenderness; his mind was set upon God, and awake to its true interests. It was delightful to be in his company. And yet this same farmer, a short time ago, was the first to laugh at 'the Methodists,' and was accustomed to mount his horse and ride to some other church on the Sunday. How great a change!

"S and widow S are, I trust, about to give themselves to God. They are both evidently touched, by the preaching of God's word, with a deep sense of divine things. O, Holy Spirit, may it indeed prove thus!

"There is one young person now to whom I hope the Divine Spirit has given grace through my instrumentality.

"I have reason to hope that H, moved by grace, has been brought to a sense of divine things. Oh that it may prove so!

"I have at length heard of two persons who have received real good from my preaching. Grant, Lord, that being truly Yours, they may be saved from wrath through Jesus Christ. To You it belongs to call sinners, and separate them from others. To You, therefore, be all the praise. Grant to me that I may be ever grateful to You! "

On the 14th of April, 1802, he was refreshed by a visit from Mr. Cecil.

"My most dear friend, Mr. Cecil," he says in his journal, "came yesterday. I hope to derive much benefit from his sermons. For five months I have been going on without advice, solely by my own guidance; so that I began to think I had improved in preaching, and was shutting my eyes to my ignorance and errors. But now I have a standard set up before me, by which I may accurately measure my real attainments, and learn my progress and shortcomings; what I should do, and what to leave undone."

He must have felt great relief from these occasional visits of Mr. Cecil, for he now had three sermons to preach every week, and very little spare time for preparation. Thus, at the end of May, being again alone, he writes:

"I have reason to be thankful that I was enabled to go through last Sunday here with some spirituality of mind and much comfort. I never went up to preach with so little preparation. Two hours was nearly all the time I had for this purpose. The next week does not promise to be much better, I am so unaccountably occupied. But this is not what I like."

He appears to have begun, first of all, by writing his sermons fully out, and committing them to memory ("mandata memoriae"¹ is his expression). But he soon adopted the plan of taking up notes only

1801-1803. CHOBHAM. 63

into the pulpit; and the following is a sketch of one of his early sermons, written in March 1802, on a narrow strip of paper, and in common hand:

"Ezekiel 33.11.

¹ "committed to memory"

“Context: —

“1st. The command. ‘Turn,’ etc.

“1. Turn from evil ways.

“2. Turn to God and holiness.

“3. Turn by grace of Holy Spirit.

“2d. The encouragement. ‘As I live,’ etc. God has no pleasure in the death etc., which he proves —

“1. By having given his Son.

“2. By his repeated invitations.

“3. By giving space to repent.

“3d. The expostulation. ‘Why will you,’ etc.

“1. Sin will be your ruin.

“2. God is willing to save.

“3. If you die, it is your own fault.

“Application; —

“1. Have we turned?

“2. Exhort to turn.

“3 Exhort to diligence as Christians.”

The preservation of this sermon has been apparently quite accidental; and some little interest attaches to it, from an entry which appears in his journal as follows:

“MARCH 13, 1802.

“Widow Waller has been brought to a right mind, and been enabled to rejoice in God, from a sermon which I preached from Ezekiel 33.”

The germs of character, which developed themselves in later life, may be discerned in these early days of his ministry; and four incidents which occurred at Chobham, though trifling in themselves, will serve to show his resistance to natural tendencies, his readiness to receive advice, his attachment to church order, and his superiority to petty jealousy.

The first incident he shall relate himself.

“I gave way to a foolish shame today. Purposing to visit Mr. Bayley, when I got near, overcome by a childish fear, I gave up my purpose, and passed by the house.

“It will be necessary to check fear of this kind, unless I am willing either to lose my time, or neglect my flock.”

64 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. V.

Accordingly it was checked at once, and on the next day he writes as follows:

“I have made haste to do as I have said. I have seen Beauchamp, Taylor, Tucker, Bayley, and others. A clergyman who would benefit his people is not at liberty to please himself.”

The same determination characterized him through life. Disinclination might overcome duty once, but not twice. Search all his journals, read all his letters — hundreds of self-accusations will be found, but not one excuse. He never stood looking at a fault when discovered, but instantly grappled with it.

The next incident will serve as an illustration of his readiness to receive advice. During one of Mr. Cecil’s visits to Chobham, he had endeavored to correct that loudness of voice and

vehemence of action in the pulpit, which threatened to become habitual and excessive. This is noticed in Daniel Wilson's private journal, and his remark is as follows:

"I clearly perceive that my preaching is very bad. It is all '*vi et armis*.'¹ I make clamor, and shouting, and noise my helpers — as if sound without sense ever did any good. I must spare no pains to correct these faults, now that I know them. I only grieve most deeply that when Mr. Cecil in the kindest manner mentioned them to me, I perceived a secret sensation of anger, when I ought to have felt nothing but gratitude."

This was his manner through life. The advice given was not always remembered, nor always followed; for the bow, bent for a time, would return to its original bias. But no man ever received it more readily, or acknowledged it more gratefully.

The third incident is copied from his journal:

"As I was walking, today, to visit a sick person, a woman, who lived beyond the boundaries of the parish, met me and asked whether I would go and see one of her family who was at the point of death. Thus asked, I did not exactly know what to say. I could have refused; but when I had reflected a little while, I told the woman I felt constrained to assent. Did I do right?"

No doubt he did right, for Death will not wait for the proper parochial clergyman. But the doubt, or rather the exception, proves the rule. His earnest desire to do good found free course only among his own people. When, a short time before this, some

1801-1803. CHOBHAM. 65

proposal had been made to him by Mr. Eyre, which, though calculated for usefulness, was not strictly regular, his reply, though characterized by modesty and deference, was very firm:

"I consider myself," he said, "as directed by God's providence to a particular part of the vineyard, and that it will be a duty irreversibly incumbent on me never to enter into engagements with the bishop which at the same time I intend to violate."

Thus he connected evangelical truth with church order; and thus he formed a link between the past age, which often separated piety and ritual,² and the present age which, with greater or less success, combines them.

The fourth incident occurred when he went up to Oxford, in May 1802, for a short time. His place at Chobham was supplied by his friend Marsh — now the venerable Dr. Marsh. On his return, he makes the following entry in his journal:

"Praises of all kinds were showered on him. My people were so struck with his countenance, his address, his sermons, his courtesies, that they lauded him to the skies. God be praised! "

This entry is very characteristic. It never required any self-control in him to hear another commended. Once satisfied that the truth of the gospel was secure, his "God be praised" was always ready. He was above or beyond the influence of petty jealousy through life.

The year 1802 was now drawing to a close, and the reflections in his journal at the time may serve as a specimen of many others scattered through it during the year. They show him still struggling with sin, and walking humbly with God.

"DECEMBER 17, 1802.

"This year is almost gone. How fast time flies! How near eternity approaches! A month seems scarcely to have passed, when a year is gone. As I have abundant cause to give God thanks for benefits received, so have I still greater cause to implore pardon for my many and shameful sins. How good is God! How worthless, slothful, and ungrateful am I! Words cannot express with what chains my soul is

¹ "Armed violence."

² Originally, 'regularity.' It refers to equating "piety" with being regular in church attendance and duties

bound, with what diseases it is wasted, with what desires it is consumed! O Jesus! you are the Saviour of mankind; be my Saviour, be my Physician, my Lord, my Comfort, my All in All! “

Up to here, his mind had been fixed upon the duties of his Cure;¹ but now two events occurred which first unsettled, and then withdrew him from it.

66 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. V.

The one was his appointment to a tutorship at Oxford, the other was his marriage.

The following is his own account of the first of these events;

“JANUARY 23, 1803.

“I have wonderful things to record. I have refused the curacy of Henley, which has been offered to me, because when I came here, I engaged to stay with Mr. Cecil three years. This being settled, lo! another matter, much more serious, occurs. Mr. Crouch wishes to know whether I should be willing to return to Oxford, and, conjointly with himself, undertake the office of tutor at St. Edmund’s Hall. It is to be with this understanding, that the lighter part of the duty falls upon me at first, but that I should be prepared eventually to take the whole burden. The question is under consideration. The Principal has to be sounded. Mr. Cecil must be consulted and persuaded. Almost everything lacks arrangement. May God’s will be done! This alone grieves and vexes me — that, with so great a matter hanging over me, I am so feeble in mind, so full of sin, so backward in prayer, watchfulness, and submission.”

The same subject is again referred to on the 9th of March, a day never forgotten by him:

“Seven years have passed since the grace of God came with power to me, who was buried in total darkness. I acknowledge myself to be the vilest of the vile, and I grieve over it. Still the grace of God is exceedingly abundant towards me. I wish to be nothing, and would cleave to Christ only.

“The Oxford business is approaching its completion. The Principal has consented. My parents acquiesce. Mr. Cecil, though disinclined, does not absolutely refuse. I have written to Mr. Crouch, to say that I shall be ready to undertake it as soon as I have fulfilled my engagement to remain with Mr. Cecil for three years. This must be done, unless Mr. Crouch can find someone whom Mr. Cecil would be willing to take in my place, and thus set me free. The will of the Lord be done.”

The other important matter which now engaged his mind was his contemplated marriage with his cousin Ann. The probability of this event has been hinted at in a former chapter, and it now assumed a practical form, and progressed *pari passu* ² with the appointment to the Oxford tutorship, and the selection of a successor at Chobham. His affection was deep and sincere. It had grown with his growth and strengthened with his strength. But all outward manifestations of it had been suppressed while, as he says in his journal, he was “not in a position to marry.” The moment, however, that the Oxford proposal made an opening, the hidden waters gushed out and had free course. He addressed his parents on the subject, and made known his wishes to them, and then through them to his uncle, Mr. William Wilson.

1801-1803. CHOBHAM. 67

The immediate consequence appeared in a letter written by that gentleman to his daughter, so full of kindness and good sense, that it may serve as a model to parents, and is accordingly introduced here. Its preservation is due, doubtless, to her to whom it was addressed.

“LONDON, MAY 7, 1803.

“And now, my dear Ann, I am going to mention a circumstance which will require your cool and deliberate consideration. Your uncle Stephen called upon me soon after I got home to inform me that his son Daniel had an attachment to you, and wished to know whether I had any objection to your forming such a connection in marriage.

¹ That is, his “curacy.” A curate is a person authorized to conduct religious worship.

² That is, his relationship with Ann was endangered by the appointment.

“I gave him no other answer, but that it was a very important subject, and I must have full time for consideration. I have prayed earnestly to God for direction. I have considered the matter well according to the best judgment God has given me; and on Thursday evening I gave your uncle this answer: that I had determined to lay the matter before you simply as it is, and leave you to act just as your judgment and feelings directed you. ‘

“Whether you would wish to marry at present I do not know; or if you do wish to marry, whether you would prefer your cousin Daniel to any other man for a husband, I am equally ignorant. I think it right to add, for your information, that if you prefer remaining single, in all human probability your circumstances in life will be such as to enable you to live rather in a state of affluence; and that if you think it right to marry your cousin, they will probably be such (for the present) as will enable you to enjoy the comforts of life, though not its luxuries. I should suppose your income would be about the same as Mr. and Mrs. Crouch’s now is.

“And now, my dear Ann, I will pray earnestly to God for you (and I have no doubt you will pray earnestly for yourself), that He would give you wisdom and grace, that you may be enabled to form such a determination as shall hereafter prove for your own comfort and happiness, and for the glory of God.

“You have long known your cousin Daniel. You know his person, you know his character, you know his manners and situation in life. Take some time well to consider the matter, without asking the opinion or advice of others, so that you may do it with a mind clear and uninfluenced by persuasion. Think well first, whether you would wish to marry at present; and if you think you should, then consider well whether you feel such an attachment to the person, such an esteem for the character, and such a satisfaction in the situation in life of your cousin Daniel, that you would prefer him to any other man for a husband.

“If, after you have well-considered it yourself, and formed your own views of it, you wish to consult your aunt, I have no objection. And for your satisfaction, I would just further observe, that whatever your determination is, it will be perfectly satisfactory to me.

“When you have well-considered the matter, I shall expect to hear from you, and I hope you will write with the most perfect freedom.”

A second letter, written by Mr. William Wilson a week after, will tell the result:

68 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. V.

“LONDON, MAR 14, 1803.

“I am perfectly satisfied with your decision, and will pray earnestly to God, that if the proposed connection be formed, it may tend to your present and future happiness, and to the glory of God.

“I must cease to be your father before I cease to love you, to pray for you, to advise you, and seek your happiness.

“Since receiving your letter, I have informed your uncle that he may let your cousin Daniel know that he has my consent to express his attachment to you. Whether he will do this by letter, or personally, I do not know; whether he will do it soon, or defer it for a little time, I cannot say. Whenever he does make the application, I have no doubt you will treat him with all that openness and candor which so important a subject requires, and which your own disposition would incline you to.

“I forgot to mention in my former letter that your cousin’s view is still to go and assist Mr. Crouch at Oxford, and that Mr. Cecil is to release him as soon as he can get another curate likely to suit him.”

But what is passing meanwhile in the little house at Chobham? Let the private journal testify:

“I confess that my mind is much disturbed by these various cares. I need faith, patience, and submission to the will of God. Nor am I destitute of an inward feeling of tranquility and peace. Stayed upon God, I desire to do nothing but His will. I trust all to Him, who can rule, and order, and perfect everything, and make all at length work together for my good. Oh that I might be as earnest in divine things as I am in earthly and transitory things! O God! Make me entirely Yours, and may all I have be dedicated to You.

“MAY 18, 1803.”

There could not be much doubt whether, when set free, he would express his attachment “personally, or by letter — whether he would do it soon, or defer it a little.” It would not have been like him to hesitate in such a matter; and accordingly we find him at Worton on the 16th of May, pleading his own cause. Nor did he plead in vain. He became an accepted suitor; and after a fortnight’s holiday, a correspondence began which, with interruptions from frequent visits, was continued till their marriage.

It touches, perhaps saddens, the heart, to read the thirty letters written by him which still remain — all full of pleasant anticipations — all leavened with true piety — all preserved with so much care; but all now reading like “a tale that is told,” or a “dream when one awakes.” Few letters written under such circumstances would bear the light. But these might all be published. They are models of good sense, simplicity, tenderness, and piety. One extract from the first, and another from the last, may be given as specimens of the whole — the one was written immediately after his return from his

1801-1803. CHOBHAM. 69

first visit to Worton, the other immediately before his departure from Chobham to claim his bride.

“CHOBHAM, MAY 24, 1803.

“On my return I found nothing had been done during my absence. I had everything, therefore, to attend to myself; so that I have really done nothing this week, except stealing an hour or two each day to visit a few of my people. But I can safely say, that amidst all my avocations, numerous and fatiguing as they are, not a single hour has passed when I have not repeatedly and affectionately remembered my dear cousin. I wish I could add that thoughts of Jesus my Master rose as frequently and spontaneously in my mind. But alas! It is not so. It is as natural for me to connect in my mind everything I see and hear, with the idea of what my cousin Ann would think of this, and what she would say of that, if she saw it, as it is for me to eat my food. Oh that I could connect in the same familiar manner all I do with the thought, what God would think of this, and what His view would be of my conduct!

“I can devise no scheme at present for seeing you again. I must wait till Mr. Cecil comes down. I am sure my heart is in Oxfordshire. How hard it is for corrupt creatures to enjoy the most lawful pleasures in a lawful degree! God must be still supreme in our hearts, or else we are idolaters. May He be the Lord of all our affections and desires. We cannot love Christ too much; we cannot think of Him too much; we cannot strive to please and honor Him too much. He requires all our love, all our thoughts, all our obedience. Come, you divine Saviour, and rule in the midst of Your enemies! Cleanse, pardon, and sanctify us!”

An interval of some months occurred, during which he was engaged in the performance of his usual duties, in anxious inquiries for a successor, and in several visits to Worton; and then he wrote his last letter, of which the following is an extract:

“Chobham, November 15, 1803.

“I send you a line tonight for fear I should be prevented seeing you, as I intended, and still intend, on Thursday. Mr. Cottam (his successor in the curacy) has not arrived according to our plan and his promise. His conduct is without excuse, not only as a breach of an adjusted plan, but as an encroachment upon a man in my delicate circumstances, when an hour of delay is like an age.

“This is however certain, that if others fail of their duty, I must not fail of mine. My dearest cousin may be assured that nothing in the world shall keep me from her most delightful society, but absolute duty. I feel now a regret that I agreed to wait for Mr. Cottam. I should otherwise have been in London yesterday.

“In London? Yes, my dear cousin, and with you, assuring you of my most tender, sincere, and ardent affection. But the disappointment today throws a damp over my mind. For one delay and one mistake may lead to a thousand others. It shows me the uncertain nature of every earthly arrangement. It makes me rejoice as though I did not rejoice. It makes me feel again and again my dependence upon God for everything I am, and everything I hope in time

70 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. V.

and eternity. May we feel a resigned will to the Lord’s will in everything. May we say, What you will, as you will, when you will.”

The last entry in his journal before leaving Chobham, after the most humbling confession of sin, concludes as follows:

“OCTOBER 15, 1803.”

“Let me rather turn to You, O Lord Jesus! whom I have rejected, and whose blood I have trodden underfoot. Be to me light, salvation, hope, all in all. Touch my hard heart; soften, renew, fill it with your grace. Rule, direct, control me by your Holy Spirit. Grant that I may earnestly flee from sin, that I may truly repent, that I may be always on the watch, that I may walk in the ways of holiness, that I may abhor the lusts of the flesh, and never sanction them in thought or will! Grant that I may be indeed dead to sin, and alive to God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

Large congregations assembled to hear the three farewell sermons which he preached on Sunday, November 13th. All were much affected, a feeling in which he largely shared.

His subjects for the pulpit were:

“Wherefore I take you to record this day that I am pure from the blood of all men. For I have not shunned to declare to you the counsel of God.”¹

“For I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and Him crucified.”²

“And now, brethren, I commend you to God and the word of His grace, which is able to build you up, and to give you an inheritance among those who are sanctified.”³

His ministerial work at Chobham and Bisley was then ended, and he had only to arrange his temporal affairs; among which it may excite a smile to read that he disposed of his horse (evidently kept for use only), with saddle, bridle, and clothing, to a neighboring clergyman for six guineas! And then he finally left this first scene of his ministerial labors.

“I left those most dear places,” he writes to his friend Cawood, on Nov. 20th, “with much regret. They have first seen me as a preacher: they have cheered comforted, and loved me. All things there have worked for good. Church, rector, and people have alike smiled on me. Nor has the Spirit of God left me without fruit. I know that some have, by the grace of God, and through my instrumentality, been awakened and born from above. I speak, of course, only as a man, for only God can see the heart.”

He arrived in London Nov. 17th, and was married at the Church of St. Lawrence Jewry (the parish in which his father-in-law lived), by the Rev. Henry Foster, the aged rector, at nine o’clock on the morning of the 23d Nov. 1803.

¹ Acts 20.26, 27.

² 1Cor. 2.2.

³ Acts 20.32.

CHAPTER 6. FAMILY LIFE. 1803-1832.

JOURNAL — MRS. WILSON — BIRTH OF HIS CHILDREN — HAPPY HOUSEHOLD — DOMESTIC CHARACTER — TROUBLES — DEATH OF LITTLE ANN — ILLNESS AND DEATH OF HIS YOUNGEST CHILD — TWO ELDER BOYS AT WORTON — LETTERS TO THEM AT SCHOOL AND COLLEGE — ORDINATION, PREFERMENT, AND MARRIAGE OF HIS ELDEST SON — NARRATIVE OF HIS SECOND SON — DESCENDANTS.

- “Aprilis 1°. Rem fratri exposui de uxore.
25°. Litteras ad patrem dedi.
“Maij 7. Consensit avunculus.
14. Voluit consobrina mea.
16. Wortonium primum adii; 20°. reliqui.
“Junii 10. Secundo eum locum adii; 17°. decessi.
“Julii 11°. Tertium iter incepti; 16°. confeci.
“Augusti 20°. Quartam viam confeci; 31° re absoluta.
“Oct”. 4. Quintum iter introivi; 12° perfecti.
“Oct”. 31. Sextum iter, Londinium nempe, cepi; Nov. 5. abivi.
“Nov. 17° Londinium perveni, Chobhamia relictS.
23. Nuptise celebratse felicissimis auspiciis.”¹

This entry is so characteristic, that it is left as it stands in the journal. Three days after, it is followed by these devout aspirations and thanksgivings:

“God has granted all my wishes. My marriage is happily accomplished. Mr. Cottam arrived at Chobham, and released me from my duties there on

72 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VI.

November 16th. I immediately went to London, and now my most dear cousin is mine. We first went to Henley, and then proceeded sweetly and tranquilly to Worton. Now, on the third day after our marriage, I would acknowledge God as the author of all my blessings, my refuge, and my consolation. He has given me a prospect of happiness in my dear wife that I had never anticipated, or even hoped for. All is so calm, sweet, pleasant, and novel, that I scarcely know myself.

“O God, greatest and best! Smile upon our marriage. Grant that we may love You more and more each day. Grant that our lives, studies, plans, and purposes may all be in accordance with your will. Grant that we may always look to You as our hope, our joy, our sure foundation, our all in all. Grant that Christ may be glorified by us both in life and death. Grant that your Holy Spirit may dwell in our hearts as His habitation. His home. His resting-place. His temple. Grant that He may rule over us, sanctify us, destroy sin in us, make known to, and perfect in us, Your will.”

¹ A translation is annexed, lest a translator should not be at hand:

- April 1st. I opened to my brother the subject of my marriage.
25th. I dispatched a letter to my father.
May 7th. My uncle consented.
14. My cousin was willing.
16. I went for the first time to Worton; 20th, I left.
June 10. I went there a second time; 17th, I departed.
July 11. I set out for a third time; 16th, I finished the visit.
August 20. I made a fourth journey; 31st, the matter was settled.
Oct. 4. For the fifth time I went; 12th, I returned.
Oct. 31. I began a sixth visit, but now to London; Nov. 5, I took my departure.
Nov. 17. I left Chobham and came to London.
23. Our marriage took place under most happy auspices.

“WORTON, NOVEMBER 26, 1803.”

Thus his family life commenced; and it contributed so greatly to his happiness, that though the main object of these memoirs must be to exhibit him in his character as a public man and minister of God, yet one chapter may well be exclusively assigned to him as a husband and a father. In order to do this as a whole, and preserve the unity of the subject, the course of time will necessarily have to be anticipated. This is certainly undesirable; but it is a less evil than the continual interruption of the general narrative by details of private life.

The memory of Mrs. Daniel Wilson is dear to all who knew her. As a daughter she had her father's testimony that she had never given him one hour's uneasiness. She had been a guide and protector to her younger sisters (deprived of their mother) in very early life; and her character was always distinguished for self-denial, charity, simplicity, lowliness of mind, unaffected modesty, sound judgment, and true piety.

The public life which she was called to lead would never have been her choice, for she loved retirement, and was naturally inclined to silence and reserve. But she neither murmured nor hesitated when the path of duty led from Worton and its quiet country scenes, to Oxford, London, and Islington. She accompanied her husband there, ever desiring his usefulness, interested in his work, anxious for his honor; presiding over his household, and fulfilling all her appropriate duties in the fear of God. If upon her husband was bestowed the spirit “of power, and of love, and of a sound mind,” then upon her was bestowed the “ornament of a meek and quiet spirit, which is in the sight of God of great price.”

They had not been married more than six weeks, and were staying

1803-32. FAMILY LIFE. 73

in London for a short visit, when she was seized with a violent inflammatory attack. Her life was in the most imminent danger, and it was some weeks before health gradually returned. His remarks upon this trial were as follows:

“God has poured many benefits upon me. I received my wife again raised, as it were, from the dead; and I myself, so lately torn with anxiety, am lighthearted and happy.

“Nothing now oppresses me but the evil heart within. Grant me, Lord, a heart submissive, tender, broken, contrite. Grant that, moved by your great goodness, I may worship and serve You truly. May Your spirit rule over, reign in, and purify me!”

While in London he preached six times: once in the Lock Chapel; once at St. John's, Bedford Row; once at Christ Church, Newgate Street; and three times in Long Acre Chapel.

In November 1805, his eldest son Daniel was born; in September 1807, his second son John; in June 1809, his daughter Amelia. These three were born in Oxford.

In November 1811, a second daughter, Ann Margaret, was born; in March 1814, a third daughter, Eliza Emma; and in November 1816, a third son, William. These three were born in London.

Thus God “made him a house,” and for nearly fourteen years (with one sad interruption occasioned by the death of his infant daughter Amelia in 1809) the voice of joy and health was heard in it. In the year 1816 he sends a pressing invitation to his friend Mr. Hill, and says:

“Our hearts, our home, and all we have are at our command. Your wife, your children, and yourself, will be received with the greatest delight. Our children will be rejoiced to see their little friends. We are the most merry and happy household in London.”

Such words could be written only in the sunshine.

Daniel Wilson can scarcely be regarded as a domestic man. He was not naturally fond of children, nor as patient with them as some men are. His time was too much occupied, and his

mind too much engrossed, to enter into their pursuits, though he liked to have them about him at proper times, and then found both pleasure and recreation in their company. He always desired their good, and was ready to promote it at any sacrifice. His feelings were in reality very sensitive: when all went well with them his heart was glad, and when they suffered, he suffered with them.

74 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VI.

The first heavy family affliction occurred in the year 1818, and was occasioned by the death of his daughter Ann, under circumstances peculiarly distressing. She was a child of remarkable promise: her fine understanding, strong affection, and early piety, endeared her to all, and made her a treasure to her parents. She was taken ill with inflammation of the lungs, and the medical attendant entirely mistook her complaint. In the morning he had declared that there was no danger: in the evening she was a corpse. Her father had gone up to her room, to assist in giving her some medicine, with no feeling of apprehension. He took her on his knees, and while she leaned her head upon his shoulder, said to her, "Little Ann must put all her trust in Jesus Christ. Papa is praying to Jesus Christ for little Ann." She gave one sigh, and breathed her last.

No tongue can describe the first agony of the bereaved mother. She threw her arms round the neck of her father (who was on a visit) almost in distraction, and for the moment refused to be comforted.

But this dark hour only served to throw out in brighter colors her Christian principles. There was no murmuring against God, and no complaints of His dealings with her. Her mind soon returned to its habitual frame of submission and resignation to His holy will. But she never entirely recovered from the shock. The wound never quite healed. To the hour of her death she felt a pang at the recollection of her dear lost child; and one of her sweetest pleasures was to read to her other children the "Memorial" of their little sister's sayings, and prayers, and traits of character, which has since attained wide circulation in a publication called "Little Ann."

On the following day the bereaved father communicated what had occurred, to a friend:

"How can I tell the distressing event? We have lost our sweet daughter Ann. She died last night in my arms, and has taken our hearts with her; or rather, may she have drawn them more closely to that Saviour, into whose bosom she has fled. She was ill only a few days. O, my friend, what a stroke is death when it indeed falls! We desire to lie in our Saviour's hands, and pray for that holy and beneficial use of affliction which He alone can grant. We leave London for Worton tomorrow. The dear remains of our babe are to follow us on Monday, to be interred in the family vault. I know all is right. I pray for grace to kiss the hand of my chastening Father. I see more than enough need for this and every other cup of sorrow; and I wish and strive to turn to my Saviour's love, as the solace of the sorrowing heart."

The wound occasioned by the death of "Little Ann" was yet

1803-32. FAMILY LIFE. 75

unhealed, when it pleased God again to visit him. His youngest child, William, was seized with alarming illness, and became a source of great and long-continued anxiety. The father himself shall tell the sad tale, as he told it to Mrs. Hannah More, in June 1818:

"It is impossible for me to describe to you what we are going through. After the sudden death of one child — a lovely girl, about six and a half years old — a second child has been seized with sickness, and has now continued for above seven weeks in a most affecting and alarming state. We are watching our dear little boy dying before our eyes. He has been for eight days in perpetual convulsions, except as opiates compose for a time his agitated frame. The afflicted mother hangs over her suffering child with an anguish I cannot describe.

"Thus it pleases our heavenly Father to exercise us, with by far the most severe trial we have ever known.

“For myself, as a minister of the sanctuary, I am quite assured that God ‘in very faithfulness has caused me to be troubled.’ I want bringing down. The natural tendency of my mind is towards excessive activity and bustle, with all the secret love of display and the praise of men which accompanies such a turn of character. I have now gone on seventeen years in the sacred ministry, with a large share of health and spirits, and with some success in the great work of ‘reconciliation’ entrusted to me. Some recent circumstances, in which I had, however, very little personal effort, have brought me still more before the public eye; and now my heavenly Father chastens me for my profit, that I may be a partaker of His holiness. He takes me aside from my public duties to private self-examination; and He calls me from preaching to praying; from the instruction of others, to the instruction of myself. He bids me look inward, and take the gauge and measure of my heart. He commands me to be silent, and contrite, and interior in my religion. He is preparing me for comforting, perhaps, the minds of others with the comfort with which I myself am comforted of God; and while He confines me to the chamber of sorrow, is perhaps fitting me in some better manner to discharge those high and elevated duties of a steward of the mysteries of God, which I have so little honored as I ought. Oh that I may learn softness, confession, humility, and tenderness in this school of suffering!”

The illness of this dear child lasted for some months, and at length the conviction was forced upon the minds of the anxious parents that his intellect would be permanently clouded. It was too true. The little boy grew up, an object of solicitude and tender sympathy, to the age of five years, and then gently passed away. When this event occurred, his mother was absent; but her husband announced the tidings to her by letter, dated June 1821.

“I am sure you will be prepared for any tidings about our dear William which it may please God to send. We have both felt long the extreme uncertainty

76 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VI.

of his health, and the sudden changes which might take place at any moment. Do not therefore, my love, be grieved overmuch when I tell you that the dear babe is taken from the troubles and afflictions of this world, to be a glorified and happy spirit before the throne of his Saviour and Redeemer.”

He then goes on to describe the symptoms of his illness, the attention of the medical man, the care of nurse and friends, and adds:

“When I -wrote to you yesterday I was under no kind of alarm whatever, and fully believed he would have been as well as usual today. However, about five o’clock this morning the sweet little fellow breathed his last without a sigh or groan. Everything has been done that could be done; but it was God’s will. The dear child is now an angel before the throne of God and of the Lamb. Our prayers for him have been answered in the way God has seen best.”

Soon after, he writes to a friend, on the same sad subject, from Worton:

“I have broken up all my engagements and come down here to comfort the absent mother. The remains of the dear child follow me tomorrow. My dear Mrs. Wilson is much calmer than I could have expected. She discerns the mercy which is shrouded in the tomb. The feeble lamb is now safe in the bosom of the heavenly Shepherd, and with expanded and unobstructed powers he is now singing His praise above. Every year on earth would have increased the pain arising from his intellectual deficiency, and the anguish of our anticipations for his future comfort. God has seen fit to provide for him in the best manner. Thus have three children been removed, and one half of our little flock transmitted to the heavenly pastures. May we so nourish the remainder as to fit them, by their Shepherd’s grace, for the same divine glory!”

Meanwhile the two elder boys had been growing up. Their grandfather’s estate at Worton was their playground; and, indeed, their first school also, for early-on they had been placed under the tuition¹ of the Rev. Mr. Borrows, curate of Worton, and afterwards minister of St. Paul’s, at Clapham. Fully occupied as their father was, he always made his engagements subservient to

¹ [The training or instruction provided by a teacher or tutor.](#)

their holidays, and often found time to write to them. One letter to each may be given as a specimen of his manner with children. To his son Daniel, then eight years old, he writes, on November 5th, in a large, round hand:

“I should have written to you long ago, but I had not a minute to spare. Today is the 5th of November, and there will be many bonfires.¹ We think also that there will be an illumination tonight. We often talk of you, for we love you most dearly. We hope you try to be a good boy. And when you do anything

1803-32. FAMILY LIFE. 77

wrong, always confess it at once. Pray to God to make you good. When I was at Norwich, I heard the following story: At a meeting for a Bible Society at Yarmouth, there were a number of tables fastened together at the end of the room for the speakers to stand upon. A fat clergyman was making a very tedious speech, and was so earnest that he was stamping with his feet and throwing himself about; when lo! just as he was most vehement, the tables slipped asunder, and he fell between them with a tremendous crash, to the sad disturbance of his speech, but the great amusement of the company. He was not at all hurt, but never attempted to finish his oration.”

Again he writes to his son John, then six years old:

“Your dear mamma and I long to see their sweet little Johnny again; and we hope, if it pleases God, we shall see him when the summer comes, if not before. We hope dear Johnny will try all he can to learn; and that both the dear brothers may be good boys, and be fitted for useful men, if God spares their lives. Pray try also to be as obedient to Mr. Borrows as you can. And love God for He has loved you, and sent His Son to die for your sins. And our blessed Saviour said, ‘Allow the little children to come to me and do not forbid them.’ What a happy little boy will you be, if you learn to love and serve Jesus Christ! This will make you happy in this world, and happy when you come to die. Farewell.”

Time rapidly glides on; and now the anticipations of college life call forth a father’s anxious counsel. The following letter was written to his eldest son, in the year 1823. Its value will be instantly perceived:

“As you are now going to college, I wish to give you a very few cautions and hints which may be of use to you there:

“1st. Be diligent in your studies, so far as your health will allow. The idle man is open to every temptation.

“2d. Be regular in your morning and evening devotions. Prayer and the reading of the holy Scriptures every day will be the means of strengthening you in all that is good, and bringing down God’s blessing upon you.

“3d. Keep holy the Sabbath. God’s day, if well-observed, will sanctify the whole week.

“4th. Never associate with those who do not fear God, except so far as absolute duty requires, and then only for the shortest time possible.

“5th. Let nothing seduce you to seldom think of your manner of education, of your parents, of the piety in which you have been trained, and of home. If these thoughts ever come into your mind, reject them as a great temptation.

“6th. Keep up a regular correspondence with your mother and myself; conceal nothing from us, but make us your confidants in all things.

“7th. Avoid extravagance; contract no debts; be upright and punctual in all your dealings, small as well as great.

78 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VI.

¹ [Guy Fawkes Day in England, celebrating the thwarting of a plot to blow up the Parliament building.](#)

“8th. Aim at subduing selfishness, self-will, self-conceit, self-consequence. Be modest, kind, attentive, obliging, friendly, amiable.

“9th. Take care of your health. Take regular exercise. Retire early to rest — take from seven to eight hours’ sleep — and rise early when you are well.

“10th. Avoid faults; but when you commit them, guard against a spirit of self-justification. Acknowledge them frankly, and repair them as quickly as possible.

“11th. Remember the end for which you go to college is to qualify you for future usefulness as a humble, laborious, patient minister of the gospel of Christ. The academic knowledge you acquire is not just source of pride, but rather of fear, lest you should not use it aright.

“12th. Constantly implore the grace of God’s blessed Spirit to enable you to do all these things; for it is only by Divine Grace we can really and constantly do our duty to God and man; and, after all, our defects are so innumerable, and our sins so aggravated, that we must put our whole trust for acceptance in the alone merits of our Lord Jesus Christ. The Christian is not a perfect man; but he is sincere. He really aims at serving God in the gospel of His Son. He confesses and forsakes his daily ignorances and sins; and thus, by divine mercy, he is kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation, and ascribes all his blessings to the merits and death of Jesus Christ, to the influences and grace of the Holy Spirit, and to the undeserved love of God, his heavenly Father.

“To this adorable and Triune God I commend you, my dear son.

“SATURDAY, JANUARY 11, 1823.”

This letter may be followed by another, after his son had entered into residence at Wadham College, Oxford:

“I am quite willing that you should sit for the scholarship, on the express condition of not over-reading, of not sitting up later than ten or eleven o’clock, of not neglecting your exercise, and of not going on a day longer if your health should begin to fail.

“My object is invariably the same — to make you a pious, useful, upright, humble servant of God. Learning is merely furniture — means — an appendage — a qualification. The end of life is to serve God, to save the soul, to do good in our generation, and to be prepared for heaven.

“The union of diligence and humility — this is what I would aim at myself, and impress on others, and especially on those whom I love best — my children.”

In the year 1825 John Wilson joins his brother Daniel at Oxford, and the father’s sympathies were still more strongly moved:

“We are always talking or thinking of you. God bless you both. Remember, my beloved sons, that the effectual grace of God infused by the Holy Ghost is necessary for you daily, to strengthen your resolutions, to quicken faith and prayer, and to guard your hearts in the fear of God. His Grace is a

1803-32. FAMILY LIFE. 79

secret operation, not distinguishable from the workings of your own minds except by its effects. It is also to be sought for in the use of means; but it is still the MIGHTY principle of all religious feelings and duties. This doctrine keeps the Christian from pride, self-confidence, and presumption, on the one hand, and comforts and encourages him in all his efforts on the other.”

Again the scene changes; and now the ordination of his eldest son draws near. A few days previously he writes to him as follows:

“The date I have already referred to (1801) reminds me of the vows I undertook at that period, and in the obligation of which you are about to share. A study of the epistles to Timothy and Titus, upon your knees, is the best preparation for the office of the sacred ministry. The whole secret lies in three things: Christ — immortal souls — self-humiliation.

“The first is our theme, our song, our glory, our hope, our joy! It includes Redemption, the Holy Ghost, the title and pledges of the heavenly inheritance.

“The second is the great object of all our labors. To estimate the value of souls — to gauge eternity — to sum up everlasting happiness and misery as at the door — all dependent on our zeal, our faithfulness, our skill, under God: this is inconceivable!

“The third regards our own spirit and conduct before God and man.

“Each is essential.

“God Almighty bless, preserve, and sanctify you. Farewell.”

A few more lines were sent to greet his son on the morning of his ordination, December 21st, 1828:

“You will receive this on the morning of your ordination. Let me assure you of the fatherly affection and tenderness with which I think of you on this important occasion. May God, our blessed Saviour, make you a chosen vessel unto Himself, to bear His name before a lost world.”

This ordination was soon followed by a presentation to the rectory of Worton, and a most happy marriage, in both which events the father took the liveliest interest. One letter to his new daughter (for he opened his heart at once, and enshrined her there), when sickness had entered the household, and caused deep anxiety, will serve to illustrate his tenderness and sympathy.

“Do not be cast down, my dearest dear Lucy. God has reasons for all He does, both as to the time and manner of acting — both as to the persons, the malady, the severity of the attack, the continuation or relaxation of the symptoms, and the effects on those around. Then take up the book and read: the promises will shine with brighter light; the grace of Christ will burst upon the soul with softer and sweeter glory; the communion of the heart with the Holy Spirit in penitence and silence will be more interior; the gloom of this valley of humiliation and sorrow will be illustrated with brighter rays of anticipation

80 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VI.

of final deliverance; the prospect of heaven will open in richer and more various blessings.

“Adieu! We cannot see the glory of Christ in the storm, unless we embark with Him in the vessel. Afflictions make us to embark, for we are backward to go on board; we linger on the shore; God in love constrains us; it is His very word to ‘get into the ship, and cross over to the other side.’ Then Christ comes to us ‘walking upon the waves.’ We are frightened. He says, ‘It is I, do not be afraid!’ He has been praying for us on the mountain. He saw us toiling in rowing, even though He was absent.

“Thus Jesus thinks of us. Jesus prays for us. Jesus comes to us in the moment of extremity; and accomplishes His will in us, and glorifies His great name.”

But while thus cheered with the opening prospects of his elder son, dark clouds were gathering around the younger — the “sweet little Johnny” of an earlier day. In the morning of life, no one ever showed fairer promise than that much-loved boy. He grew extremely like his father in person; was vigorous, active, good-tempered, cheerful, and a universal favorite. “If ever anyone could have made me doubt the corruption of human nature,” said his wise and observant grandfather, “it would have been John Wilson!”

But, alas! That very cheerfulness and amiability of character which made him a favorite with the good, exposed him to the seductions of the bad. The preparation for college, and college itself, proved an ordeal through which he could not pass. Perhaps he had not found his fitting sphere; perhaps a secular and more stirring life might have harmonized better with his disposition and cast of mind. Be this as it may; the fears of all who loved and watched him with tender anxiety, were too surely confirmed. He listened to evil counsellors, formed loose habits, fell into bad company, and finally, with his father’s cognizance and acquiescence, retired to the Continent.

To these sad events the following extracts refer. They may serve to show to other parents the resource of the troubled heart:

“What a scene of folly, blindness, and perverseness human nature exhibits! With everything to supply his wants and even gratify his moderate desires, my unhappy son rushes into misery under the name of pleasure, and defies both God and man.

“Such is the dignified, rational and elevated creature, formed originally after the image of his glorious Creator, and capable of some measure of His felicity.

“The FACT of human depravity, who can doubt, who knows his own heart, or sees the fruits of folly in the young around him? I know I have your prayers. I have found it exceedingly hard to bear up under this affliction, which

1803-32. FAMILY LIFE. 81

during the last two months has been threatening me — I mean, that I find submission, resignation, hope, patience, active and calm exertion, hard. I find faith, love, repose in God, hard. Indeed, I do not know when I have suffered more from inward temptations of various kinds than during this season. Satan has come in like a flood, and in ways I could least expect. Still, I hope my deliberate judgment is, that ‘God is my refuge and strength, a very present help in trouble.’ I know He can only do what is right with me. I know His grace can magnify itself in the most imminent perils. I know that my own sins as a man, a parent, and a minister, deserve far more than I have suffered. I know that this dispensation is designed to humble, teach, and purify. How can I fail to preach more feelingly to sinners, when I have such a memento in my own house?”

Again, on Nov. 6th, he writes to his friend:

“My poor, poor boy, I have sent abroad, as you know. God Almighty have mercy and bring to Himself the alienated mind of this sinful prodigal. ‘When HE CAME TO HIMSELF’ — what an expression! So did Newton, and Cecil, and Buchanan in later times; and Augustine and Ambrose in former ages. I believe this visitation is intended, among other lessons, to teach me the fall of man more deeply; the doctrine of special grace; the inefficiency of all means in themselves (the two boys had a precisely similar education); the vanity of creature expectations; the bankruptcy (as Cecil said) of domestic, as well as every other source of human joy; the excellency and consolation of, the gospel as a spring of hope; the value of the Bible, and the promises of heavenly repose.”

John Wilson never ceased to be the object of his father’s anxious thoughts and earnest prayers; but they met no more. After sojourning in several places on the Continent, he finally settled at Bagneres de Bigorre, on the Pyrenees. There he was seized with a fatal illness. His father was in India; but his brother hastened over: and a hurried journey of a thousand miles brought him to his brother’s bedside, on the 13th of August 1833:

“O my dear, dear brother!” was his first exclamation, “that you should have come this long way to see your poor dying brother! Let me look at you! You will stay with me, and pray with me?”

When a little calmer, he made his confession in these words:

“I feel myself to be the greatest of sinners, the vilest wretch that ever lived! No one has been so wicked! But the Bible tells me, ‘Him that comes to me, I will in no way cast out.’¹ I have tried to pray. I hope God has heard me, but I cannot tell.”

Five large and deep abscesses rendered life miserable, and death

82 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VI.

inevitable; but the effectual, fervent prayer of a righteous man availeth much; and the prodigal had “come to himself.” All the marks of true penitence were discernible, and the words in the parable were exactly descriptive of the state of his mind: “Father, I have sinned against heaven and before You, and am no more worthy to be called your son.” His greatest earthly desire had been to see his brother, and his greatest fear lest he should have been taken first. He had no wish to live; no, so great was his self-distrust, and so thorough his conviction of his own

¹ The text of his father’s first sermon. Was this a link in the chain of answers to prayer!

weakness, that he wished to die. His mind had been for nearly a year in great wretchedness and misery. Conviction of sin and pride of heart had been fiercely struggling, but shame had kept him silent.

He fell ill on the 24th of May. At first he was in the most dreadful state of terror and despair; for he felt that sin had found him out. He could not pray, and nothing gave him comfort. At length a gleam of hope seemed to break through the gloom. He was enabled to cry for mercy, and grace began to work.

“I feel myself now,” he said, “the vilest of sinners; but I believe I have found mercy in the blood of Christ. Is it not written, ‘His blood cleanses from all sin?’”

“Tell my father that I die a true penitent. The great burden on my conscience is my horribly, horribly vile conduct towards my father! I bless God for this affliction. Less than this would not have brought me to Him. I dread to recover, lest I should fall back into the world.”

He talked earnestly to his wife and friends on the subject of eternity. He loved his Bible. His favorite text was, “There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repents.” He was patient under the most intense sufferings, and thankful for every mercy and every alleviation. He received the holy sacrament humbly, and found it a means of grace to his soul.

As the hour of death drew near, he seemed to become more and more prepared for that great change.

“My sufferings are nothing,” he said, “to what sin deserves. How much has Christ suffered for me!”

Looking back upon the past, he said:

“How many Sabbaths have I lost! How many privileges abused! What infinite mercy, that I, the chief of sinners, should obtain pardon!”

“You see,” he said to one of his gay friends, “what I suffer. It is religion alone that supports me at this hour. Oh! Do not neglect religion. Do not put it off.”

His weakness increased. Delirium supervened, and on the 27th of August 1833,

1803-32. FAMILY LIFE. 83

he departed this life. He lies in the cemetery at Bagneres, in a plot of ground chosen by his brother, and afterwards purchased by his father, and enclosed. His remains were followed to the tomb by many friends, to whom of late he had been much endeared, and over him the words of our devout burial-service were read by his sorrowing brother. He rests in that distant grave till the morning of the resurrection day, adding solemn emphasis to the words of holy Scripture, that the “wages of sin is death;” and that Christ “is able to save to the uttermost all that come unto God by Him.”

The chapter of Daniel Wilson’s Family Life is now concluded. Two children were left. God had spared two — a son to succeed him at Islington, and a daughter to accompany him to India. In process of time, these have become two bands; and he lived to hear himself called “grandfather” and “great-grandfather.”

The grandchildren of the one family are Daniel Frederic Wilson, and Katherine his wife, Lucy, Wilberforce, Emily (Fanny, deceased), Louisa, Ellen, Edward, and Arthur.

The grandchildren of the other family are Alice Wilson Bateman, Hugh, Gertrude, and Marian Amy.

The great-grandchildren are Daniel Leathes Wilson and Ada.

Reader! When this cluster of young names meets your eye, let prayer ascend, that they may be written in the Lamb's book of life, and that Daniel Wilson "may never lack a man" to stand before God forever.

CHAPTER 7. OXFORD AND WORTON. 1804-1809.

ASSISTENT TUTORSHIP AT OXFORD — REFLECTIONS — RETIREMENT OF MR. CROUCH — SOLE TUTOR — HIS PUPILS — HIS MANNER — “BANDS WILSON” — HIS INDEPENDENT CHARACTER — LATIN APPEAL — DISCUSSION IN CONVOCATION — HIS WALK BEFORE GOD — SUNDAY AT WORTON — NATURE OF THE CURACY — SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY — OXFORD VACATIONS — MANNER OF PREACHING — RESULTS OF PREACHING — MR. WILLIAM WILSON, OF WORTON — MEMORIAL — CALL TO ST. JOHN’S, BEDFORD ROW — DIFFICULTIES — FINAL SETTLEMENT — RETROSPECT.

We must now leave the path trodden by little feet, which has led us far in advance, and return to the highway.

In the year 1804, Daniel Wilson was residing with his family in the High Street, Oxford. His collegiate duties occupied him during the week, and he officiated as curate of Worton on the Sundays.

His connection with Oxford lasted, in the whole, eight years and a half. From January 1804 to January 1807, he was assistant tutor at St. Edmund’s Hall; and from January 1807 to June 1812, he was sole tutor and Vice-Principal. Midway — that is, in the year 1809 — he resigned the curacy of Worton, and took charge of St. John’s Chapel, Bedford Row, as successor to Mr. Cecil. Having secured a house in Chapel Street, Bloomsbury, he moved his family there in June 1811; but another twelve-month elapsed before he finally resigned his official duties at Oxford to the Rev. John Hill, who had been a pupil trained under his own eye, and gave himself up exclusively to the work of the ministry.

It is this sketch which has to be filled up in the present chapter. The materials are but scanty, for the life of a college tutor presents few striking incidents, and the curriculum of his daily duties is somewhat monotonous. There is succession, but little change.

The feelings with which he contemplated his new scene of duty, are graphically described in a Latin letter to a friend before he had left Chobham:

“I leave Chobham with great regret. My heart is bound here by all the chains of love, and the ties of gratitude and affection. Whereas everything

1801-1809. OXFORD AND WORTON. 85

unknown daunts the mind. I fear Oxford. I tremble to think of its Dons, and its duties, and the general tone and coloring of its maxims and opinions. I cannot forget the past. I cannot but dread to encounter new trials, new men, new pursuits, with a variety of difficulties and temptations hitherto unknown, unheard, unthought of. But to shrink, would prove me faithless. I undertake the office, not of my own will, but from a sense of duty. As God, then, is the author, so I hope He will be the helper. Under Christ’s guidance none need despair.”

Once he had really entered upon his duties, his position at St. Edmund’s Hall was of a subordinate character.

“Mr. Crouch guides and governs,” he says, writing to his friend Mr. Cawood, in May 1804. “I lean upon his counsel, and gladly listen to his most gentle words. Those duties which he assigns to me, I perform with all my might. Primary matters belong, as they ought to, to him; the secondary matters, such as mathematics, logic, and the sciences, belong to me. I have to study much myself, and I also have three private pupils. It is wonderful how all this occupies me; so that, during term-time, I have not a moment to spare.”

He foresees the danger of his position. Writing from Worton to the same friend during the long vacation, he says:

“I like my position. Everything falls out as I could wish. But I see many dangers looming in the distance. My heart is already becoming entangled in worldly studies, so that divine things lose their

savor. I wish to count all things loss for Christ. I wish to love and cherish divine concerns; but pride, ambition, secular pursuits, and cares, beset me and make my path slippery and insecure. Pray for me.”

Two years sufficed to give reality to these fears.

“AUGUST 8, 1806.

“It would require not merely letters, but volumes, to tell you all my inward conflicts and anxieties. My soul is sick. I am perplexed and overborne with college and university business. I have wandered from God. You would not believe, my friend, how weak my mind is, how perturbed, not to say hardened, so that I feel no love for sacred things, nor derive any profit from them. Sin, disguising itself in the form of those literary pursuits in which I am engaged, has deceived, wounded, and almost slain me. I scarcely see Christ, and scarcely love Him. That glow and fervor which I used to feel spreading over my whole soul, is extinguished. Well do I know that I have grieved the Holy Spirit. Literature, books, reputation, position, and all that class of evils which need not be enumerated to one who knows the heart, like some insidious disease, are undermining my strength. I can all but see the poison circulating in my veins. What ought I to do? I want to know what you think, and what you advise. I find myself surrounded by difficulties, in a position which, but for my own fault, would be easy and pleasant. It is quite clear that my soul is in a bad state; that I want counsel, watchfulness, and diligence; and that

86 THE. LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VII.

I am nourishing in my bosom a bitter enemy, whom with all my power I ought to drive out and keep out.”

As yet, however, there was no deliverance. On the contrary, in the year 1807, his duties were largely increased by the retirement of Mr. Crouch. During the Christmas vacation, he writes to the same friend from Worton:

“JANUARY 1807.

“Our friend Mr. Crouch has now resigned to me the whole management of the Hall; and, utterly incompetent, I am left alone. I can scarcely yet tell what I am to do, and what to leave undone. Nevertheless, I must follow the leadings of God’s providence.

“The number of young men in the Hall at present, and the measure of their attainments, are not, perhaps, beyond my reach; but what plans may be adopted for the future, I do not know. You will easily understand how much I am engaged when I tell you that this next term I have to lecture on Aristotle and the tragedies of Æschylus; that the New Testament has to be critically and copiously dealt with, and Aldrich’s *Ars logica* to be entered on. I will do what I can. If I cannot do for my pupils all that my wishes and the duties of my office require, yet nothing shall be lacking that good-will, kindness, and careful study can accomplish. It seems to me that my main object must be so to instruct them in the saving knowledge of God, and so to imbue their minds (as much as it lies in me) with true piety, that, however little they may profit by me in secular matters, they may nevertheless learn to love God, to believe in Christ, to despise and reject the vain traditions and fancies of men, to estimate aright the value of the soul, and to know and be ready to proclaim the excellent glory of the Cross. If they know and understand these things savingly and experientially, they know all.

“So far as all this goes, my opinions remain unchanged and immovable, though I know well that I am unable to follow them diligently, or carry them out successfully by my own power and might.”

Actuated by such motives, he entered upon his duties with energy and corresponding effect. The Hall increased in numbers, and rose in reputation, without losing its distinctive character for piety. The plans he refers to were carried into effect. Greek, Latin, ethics, logic, and mathematics, each had their place, while weekly lectures were given in the New Testament. These were carefully prepared and duly appreciated. Each man present read a few verses from the Greek, and was then expected to render them into Latin. An explanation and comment by the tutor followed. His remarks were both critical and practical. Commentators of various kinds

lay upon the table, and were constantly referred to. The doctrines of holy Scripture were laid down with great force and clearness. All fanciful matters were passed by, with a word of caution or condemnation;

1801-1809. OXFORD AND WORTON. 87

but primary truths were dwelt on with the utmost earnestness and simplicity. Thus the attention was arrested and the heart impressed; and it is the testimony of those few excellent and able men who still survive and retain the impression of these lectures, that they were much blessed of God, and led many young men to a saving knowledge of the truth, and a glad entrance into the ministry.

The plan of inviting the undergraduates in small parties to the familiar communication of the house and table, was also continued by the Vice-Principal. His lady was always present with her gentle courtesy and kindly greeting, and this, with the introduction of the children, helped to break through the formality of these parties. But still they are said to have lacked ease. They were made too much a matter of business and duty. The desire to do good was too obvious to be pleasant; and the family prayers which closed the evening were oftentimes personal and monitory.¹

The truth appears to be, that in spite of the interest felt in his pupils, and of his real desire to promote their welfare, he held them at the full academic distance. And though he could, and often did, relax into all the mirth and buoyancy of health and high spirits, yet his general bearing was grave and distant. He found it easier to condescend than to unbend.

“When we called,” says an old pupil, “at the beginning of term to pay our respects, somewhat unmindful, perhaps, of our personal appearance, his welcome would be of this kind: ‘I am very glad to see you, sir; but, Mr. _____, where are your bands?’”

He was very strict in the enforcement of university regulations upon others, and in the observance of them himself. He was almost the last man who wore bands, and thus obtained for himself the sobriquet of “Bands Wilson.” The men of his hall were required not only to attend the Sunday morning sermon in St. Mary’s, but to give on Monday a brief analysis of it.

His character, however, rose far above all his peculiarities. His pupils honored, admired, and still remember him with the most affectionate regard; and his influence was felt, to a certain extent, over all the university. He was uncompromising in his religious principles, and fearless in the avowal of them; and no academic authority, nor conventional usage, could silence him when any sense of injustice, or desire to right those who had suffered wrong, required him to speak.

One instance occurred in the year 1807. A young man of his own hall had gone up to be examined for his degree. He had been

88 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VII.

prepared in divinity, logic, ethics, and mathematics; and his books were Horace, Quintilian, and Cicero de Officiis, in Latin; with Homer and Thucydides, in Greek. It so happened that he was the first man called upon by the examiners, and the first book put into his hands was Horace, with which he was least familiar. Being of a nervous temperament, he soon lost his self-possession, and became confused. Horace swam before his eyes, and his translation was incorrect. Considerate examiners would have given him time to recover himself, or have tried him in one of the other Latin books, or allowed good Greek to balance bad Latin. But in the present case they did nothing of the sort. Neither Quintilian, nor Cicero, nor Homer, nor Thucydides were ever opened. Some few questions were asked in the sciences, but so few and so

¹ *Monitory* – admonishing; serving to warn.

superficial, that they could not be supposed sufficient to alter what looked like a foregone, or, certainly, a hasty conclusion. And the result was a summary dismissal, and a refusal to grant the required “testamur.”

Who would not sympathize with such a case? But the sympathy of the tutor was mingled with righteous indignation; and, careless alike of precedent or of consequences, he wrote, printed, and circulated among all the members of Convocation, a full statement of the case, with very spirited comments, in which he charged the examiners with undue haste or unfairness, and vindicated his pupil from the slur cast upon his name, and the injury done to his prospects. A single copy of this statement remains, and it seems to be the only authentic record in existence of what made a great impression on the whole university, and was the subject of conversation in every “common-room” at the time. Most Oxford men of that day remember it, but few have seen it. It is too long for insertion here, but two extracts may be given:

“The distinct grounds, then, of Mr. Wilson’s solemn complaints in this unprecedented affair are, that -when his pupil performed indifferently in Horace, his second book was not so much as entered upon; that, however he might be considered by the masters as a man of suspicious attainments, he was not treated as such; that the conduct of his examination was not sedulous¹ and accurate, but so cursory and superficial, that, when he had answered with readiness everything that was proposed to him, he was not so much as allowed to proceed so as to secure his testamur; that thus his failure is to be attributed, not to his lack of ability to reply, but to a deficiency of inquiries on the part of the masters; that his examination was such as to preclude the recovery of his recollection when he was most perturbed, or the display of his real knowledge when he could most completely command his feelings; that if the design of the examination is to estimate the actual state of the candidate’s progress in literature, the present candidate has, to all intents and purposes, not been

1804-1809. OXFORD AND WORTON. 89

examined at all; and that, in a word, if the best-prepared student in the university had appeared under similar circumstances, the result of such a trial must of necessity have been the same.”

The statement ends thus:

“This statement is made by Mr. Wilson in the most accurate and impartial manner, from this only motive, that he may rescue Mr. _____ from an ignominy which he is very far from deserving. Mr. Wilson is aware that his only support is the clear integrity of his cause. His society is small, and little known to the university. But the grand foundations of justice should be common to all. And if the members of small colleges are to be overlooked in the examining school, and subjected to neglect, or caprice, or injustice, the consequences to the reputation of the university may be easily imagined, as well as to the feelings of those gentlemen who will have to learn, that no diligence of preparation, or superiority of attainments, can in every case ensure their success.

“ST. EDMUND’S HALL, OXFORD,

“May 18, 1807.”

But the matter did not end with this spirited remonstrance. It was shortly after revived in Convocation, and we get a glimpse into the interior of that assembly, comprising, as it did and does, all that is dignified and venerable in the university. Though young in years and standing, Daniel Wilson seemed to have accustomed himself to take part in the discussions of that body; and notes of several speeches made there by him still remain. No doubt it was a formidable undertaking, and one of which comparatively few were capable; but with fluency in Latin, and a good cause, he feared nothing.

It appears that a discussion had been raised on a statute, by which it was proposed to improve the mode of examination; and when there had been much disputing, a distinguished individual

¹ Marked by care and persistent effort.

referred to Mr. Wilson, and to the bearing of the statement he had published upon the statute under discussion. He rose when thus appealed to, and after apologizing for his youth and inexperience, and approving of the proposed statute (most probably that by which the “classes” were established), with certain qualifications, he proceeded to speak for himself:

“I cannot but acknowledge,” he says, “that our warmest thanks are due to those eminent persons to whom we owe this statute. If I myself have done anything which might seem to lower the character of your examination, it has been with great reluctance, and because I felt compelled to do it. I acted deliberately and unwillingly; — not from any preconceived plan of my own, but from a sense of duty; not from motives of self-will, but from the promptings of my office; not from a love of party, but from a painful yet stern necessity.

90 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VII.

I had no wish to injure the reputation of the eminent persons concerned in the matter, for I well know that they sustain the highest character for ability and learning. I conceive that their error may be ascribed to negligence, mistake, or carelessness. But what I myself did, was done to rescue, and in some degree restore, the character of a young man of ability, probity, and well-furnished mind, from what seemed to me shameful and undeserved reproach. That he deserved his ‘testamur,’ I knew. It was not with me a matter of opinion merely, but of certainty. I did not listen to report, but spoke from personal knowledge. I was not present at what passed, yet I realized it all. Nor could I hesitate for a moment to step forward, when I perceived that his character was in my hands, and that he relied on me alone.

“I beg you to forgive me, if I have offended in any way against the practice of this House in what I have now said. But, standing in a new character, I have adopted a new and unusual mode of appeal. I have only to express a hope, in conclusion, that the statute now under consideration, and whatever else may be designed to promote the dignity and honor of the university, may be ever attended with happy and prosperous results.” -

A university is not easily moved; but all this must have made “no small stir” in it; and the good effects may have been real, though not ostensible. Many an examiner may have preserved his calmness, and many a young aspirant gained his testamur, from reflections suggested by this manly appeal. It required more real courage and decision of character from the tutor of St. Edmund’s Hall, than it would have done from the Head of Christ-Church, Brazenose, or Oriel.

This is his walk before men; what was his walk before God? Let his journal tell the process of self-examination. He is preparing for the reception of the holy sacrament; and, retiring into his chamber, he communes with his own heart, and his spirit makes diligent search. He says:

“I hope to receive tomorrow, and by faith to feed on, the most blessed body and blood of Jesus Christ. I wish, therefore, to examine into my true state before God, that my repentance may be deepened, divine grace obtained from the fountain head, and my dedication renewed.

“1. *What of my faith?* It is unstable and weak. The unedifying books I am obliged to read, and the variety of secular studies in which I am engaged, vex and harass my soul. I strive to repel the doubts which they suggest, and do not willingly give place to them; but nevertheless they weaken my strength and chill my soul, so that I scarcely feel the power of faith, except now and then when my heart gets touched and softened. Grant, Lord, that tomorrow my faith may be confirmed, and all unbelief removed.

“2. *What of my love?* Alas! It is languid and cold. Lately it has revived while I have been reading devotional books; but for many months previously it has been heavy and cast down. Literary pursuits and the love of sin have

1804-1809. OXFORD AND WORTON. 93

robbed me of it; and now I cannot raise, or retain for ever so short a time, any fervent desire after God my Saviour. Grant, O Holy Spirit! that tomorrow my hard heart may be softened by your grace; that

my love, burning so dimly, may be rekindled to a flame; and that, all hindrances being laid aside, I may love and follow God as my chief joy.

“3. *What of my life?* Here also sin abounds. I swell with pride of all kinds. My heart is full of it. I groan also under corrupt affections. Grant, Lord Jesus! That tomorrow I may abhor myself and my past life, and determine to live with more humility, purity, and chastity. May every corruption be crucified.

“4. *Am I exercising Christian watchfulness?* I have been somewhat stirred up of late by reading Dr. Owen. But a relapse soon comes. Heart, affections, mind, temper, studies, life, all need watching. Grant to me. Lord, that constant vigilance, that I may be found ready when you shall come.

“5. *Do my sacred duties flourish?* In these, the power is of God alone. I often find great enjoyment in them. But I want to get nearer to the consciences of men. I do not love my hearers as I ought, nor aim enough at their salvation: rather I seem to desire their good opinion and applause. When hearts are touched, I do not give the whole glory to God. Grant, Almighty God! that I may be more diligent in duty, that I may deal more closely with conscience, that I may bring home to myself the truths I preach to others, that I may love the flock more, and always be looking to You for the grace I need.

“6. *How is it with my academic duties?* Never yet have I been able to discharge them aright. But I trust hereafter, by God’s help, not only to promote the studies of my pupils, but to form their manners, hearts, and principles, and to instruct them carefully in the holy Scriptures. Nothing can be done effectually if the heart remains unmoved. I also wish to so order my own words and actions, sermons, tempers, manners, that all may tend to promote their edification.

“Finally, O blessed Lord! to whom all the secrets of my heart are open, I beseech You to draw me to yourself. When I present myself at your table, move upon my soul, incline me to your will, fill me with your love, purge away my sins, purify my affections, and fit me for the discharge of all the duties to which I am called; that so, refreshed by the body and blood of your dear Son, I may love You fervently, follow You gladly, flee from all sin, carefully perform every duty, and thus be more and more prepared for that glory which you have promised to all the regenerate through your Son Jesus Christ.”

But this picture of his daily life at Oxford would be very incomplete if his Sundays at Worton were not introduced. Allusions to Worton have frequently been made already, but no details have been given. There are two Wortons: Upper and Lower. They are villages lying between Banbury and Woodstock, in Oxfordshire; and their united population, consisting of farmers and agricultural laborers, does not exceed two hundred. Two small churches afford them the means of religious worship. When, with some reluctance,

94 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VII.

Daniel Wilson first accepted the curacy, everything had fallen into sad neglect. The curate had been a keen sportsman. He kept his hunters, and was one of the most eager to ride across country. The neighboring clergy were like-minded; and the discussion at clerical parties turned chiefly on country sports. Five services were performed by the curate of Worton on Sunday, so that the utmost speed was necessary. The old clerk was sent down from Upper to Lower Worton (about three-quarters of a mile), the moment that morning prayer was ended, and he could rarely get down and begin to toll the bell, before the curate, having finished his sermon, was down upon him and ready to begin. Two or three stragglers were driven in, and the second service was hurried over like the first. Such ministrations produced their due effect, and the congregations consisted generally of not more than fifteen or twenty persons.

The contrast between all this and the earnest ministry of Daniel Wilson, must have been very striking. The following letter, addressed to his mother at the close of the year 1803, will show the spirit with which he entered upon his duties:

“DECEMBER 30, 1803.

“I am called a laborer, a minister, a steward, an ambassador, a worker with God; may I fulfill the solemn duties which these titles imply, and which they require of me! An idle laborer, a careless minister, an unfaithful steward, a false ambassador, a sleeping watchman, will bring down upon himself a tenfold destruction.

“I wish, my dear mother, to be more like Mary sitting at the feet of Jesus, and learning His words. I wish to be more like Isaiah, who cried aloud and did not spare in showing his people their transgressions, and the house of Israel their sins; I wish to be more like St. Paul, instant in season and out of season, reproving, rebuking, exhorting, with all long-suffering and doctrine; above all, it is my prayer to have in me the same mind which was also in Christ Jesus, to have Christ formed in me, to walk worthy of the Lord unto all well-pleasing, being fruitful in every good work, and abounding in the knowledge of God.

“I now have two parishes on my hands, where death and sin and darkness have reigned uncontrolled. Jesus is unknown here, grace is a stranger here, holiness is neither understood nor desired. All is under the power of the ‘strong man armed.’ But the Bible teaches me a charm which has a sovereign efficacy: — ‘I, if I am lifted up, will draw all men unto me.’ ‘The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God.’ ‘We have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God and not of us.’

“These are my first principles. This is my system. I desire to preach ‘peace by Jesus Christ,’ and then pray to the spirit of Jesus to apply it savingly to the heart and conscience. I am only ashamed that I do it so weakly and imperfectly.”

1804-1809. OXFORD AND WORTON. 95

During the Oxford vacations his work at Worton was easy and pleasant, but during term-time it involved considerable labor. He was responsible, as tutor, for the morning and evening prayers in his hall; and when he could not get the duty otherwise supplied, he had to officiate himself, and then hasten sixteen miles for the Worton services. But this was not usually necessary. His general plan was to leave Oxford in a post-chaise about eight o’clock, so as to arrive in ample time for morning service; and then to return in the same conveyance, after service in the evening.

His sermons at this time were nearly if not entirely extempore, and by their simple language, stirring appeals, and faithful exhibition of the truth, were admirably adapted to his hearers. His texts were generally chosen from among those which involve great and primary truths; and being clearly explained and strongly enforced, were never forgotten. There are many old people still living who, though they cannot recall his sermons, will repeat his texts. He seemed to throw off all the trammels of scholastic life, and to enter into the feelings, and use the language familiar to village congregations. His illustrations were drawn from all common country objects and occupations — the seed, the sack, the common; or, the farmer, husbandman, and gardener.

On one occasion he had been preaching on the resurrection of the body, and had dwelt upon the dying of the grain of wheat before it springs up to new life. Two farmers were standing by the church porch after service, when one remarked: “There, you see, he knows almost everything. He told us truly how the seed dies afore it grows. He is not like our parson, who scarcely knows the difference between a cow and the moon.”

“I remember,” said a laboring man, who had been referred to for recollections of these days, “when one time he was speaking of victory over sins of the heart, and he impressed his thoughts upon us by saying, in his earnest way, ‘Now, if you want to subdue sin in your hearts, you must encourage all that is holy there. He who will keep tares out of the sack, must fill it up with wheat.’”

Deddington is a large village in the immediate neighborhood, and its common was being enclosed: “Mark,” he said, “the way to heaven is not like an open common with very many ways running through it, but a road fenced on both sides by the word of God.”

Occasionally, there was a rapidity of utterance in the pulpit, and an impetuosity of manner; but this was not habitual or constant. His delivery was quiet and deliberate, and so distinct that the whole sermon was often taken down, in common writing, from his lips. He was very close in his appeals to conscience, and so solemn and

96 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VII.

impressive in his warnings and exhortation, as to produce a trembling awe. "Pray do not let Mr. Wilson preach here again," said a lady to her minister in an adjoining parish, "he alarms one so!" And this was doubtless sometimes true, for he was in earnest, and could almost say, with the apostle, "Whether we are beside ourselves, it is to God; and whether we are sober, it is for your cause; for the love of Christ constrains us."¹

The effect of all this was not sudden, but progressive, and it may encourage some who think that they are laboring in vain, and spending their strength for nothing, to listen to his own account. In July 1804, he writes to his friend Mr. Pearson: "My Worton flock improves very little, if you speak of true religion. I cannot, however, say that my ministry has been altogether unsuccessful." In May 1806, he writes again: "We are going on well in our churches. The congregations are numerous and attentive; and on Sunday last we had fifty-eight communicants. I hope the Lord is doing something for us, and that several are seeking a better country, even a heavenly [one]." Again, in January 1807: "A certain measure of success attends me at Worton. The congregations are numerous for the place. They hear and receive gladly the divine Word, but very few attain to salvation. Pour upon us, O Holy Spirit! the heavenly grace, that the dead may hear your voice and live." During the long vacation of the same year, he says: "Affairs prosper now at Worton. We have a Wednesday service as well as on Sundays. The church is crowded. It is delightful to see such a great company listening to the word of God; while we may hope that many will be endued with divine life, and attain to heavenly blessedness."

These prayers were heard; these hopes realized; these efforts crowned with success. The word of the Lord had free course, and was glorified. A great impression was produced all over that part of the county, and multitudes began to attend his ministry from more than twenty villages and towns around Worton. They crowded the little churches, hung around the windows, filled the churchyard, and on one occasion no less than one hundred and sixty communicants assembled round the Lord's table.

Though he seldom left his own people, yet on one occasion, in compliance with the wishes of his brethren, he consented to preach in three different churches on the same Sunday. As the distance was on the whole very considerable, he was driven round in his father-in-law's carriage. As the carriage was waiting at the last

1804-1809. OXFORD AND WORTON. 97

church to take him home, the old family coachman heard two farmers, who had just come out of church, conversing with one another.

"Well, friend," said one, "What do you think of this gentleman?" "Why, I think he is a preacher."

"Well," said the first, "I only know I have followed him all round, and heard him preach three times today!"

"Can you tell me," said a stout farmer to a clergyman, "whether Mr. Wilson will preach anywhere in the county next Sunday? If so, sure I shall hear him."

¹ 1Cor. 5.13.

One pious woman, who had no special claims upon her, used to spend the week going to and fro to hear him. She lived at a distance of eight or nine miles, and not being able to walk more than two or three miles a day, she had her fixed resting-places. She set off on the Thursday; rested and slept twice on the way; reached Worton on the Saturday; heard Mr. Wilson on Sunday; set out on her return trip on Monday; and reached home on Wednesday, in time to set out again on Thursday.

“I thank God,” said a laboring man, “that I have been able to come the whole distance of seven miles to Worton Church for eight years, without missing more than two Sundays.”

“But surely the long walk must sadly weary you?”

“No,” he replied, “the walk appears short and easy, when I have listened to those simple truths of the gospel which nourish my soul.”

The word of the Lord was precious in those days.

Many of the old people at Worton are still living, and may well be allowed to tell their own tale.

Mary Taylor, an aged woman of ninety years, was asked if she remembered Mr. Wilson.

“Oh, yes!” she replied. “I remember him well. My husband and I used to go and hear him preach. Great crowds of people came from all parts. One day I saw the tears running down my husband’s cheeks after the sermon was done. He said to me, ‘What makes you look at me so?’ I said, ‘Well, John, I’m glad to see you as you are.’ We were both crying under the effects of the sermon we had heard. My husband and I both felt it in our hearts, and I bless God that I ever heard him preach.”

Her daughter, Ann Gibbard, was standing by, and said that she remembered one of the last sermons at Worton. He said, “Folks say they don’t know how to pray and serve God. Now I give you one little word to remember: try, t-r-y, t-r-y.”

98 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VII.

Another person, named Martha Gibbard, aged eighty-one, said:

“I well remember him, and used to wait upon him at the Big House. He used to come from Oxford in a post-chaise every Sunday. After morning service at Upper Worton, he drove down here. He used to bring a cold dinner with him. Sometimes I boiled him a pudding. After the afternoon service, I used to make tea for him, and sent out some for the post-boy. If he found the boy had not gone to church, he would not give him any tea. Between services, large tables were placed in the outhouses for the men to eat their dinners on. Two men used to come regularly from Fenny Compton, fourteen miles off. I have sometimes had as many as twenty women sitting in my own cottage on a Sunday. The church used to be filled long before the bell rang, and then the schoolroom that opened into it. The people used to stand beyond the porch, half-way down the churchyard, and to crowd round the windows. He laid out the text so plainly that everyone could understand it, and spoke so loudly that everyone could hear.”

An old woman, named Betty Frewin, remembered the text of his second sermon. “Fear not, little flock.”

“Attention was soon aroused,” she said. “One told another, and at last they crowded from all parts. There was a great outpouring of the Spirit. Many of the congregation were in tears. They used to come and speak to him after service, and to shake hands with him when he entered his chaise to return home. Many of the people used to assemble, in fine weather, between services, for singing and prayer. Gigs and carts were put into the courtyard at Lower Worton, and horses into the stables.”

The description of an old family servant was as follows:

“He was the finest preacher I ever heard; he struck home so powerful. I never heard anyone like him. ‘Remember,’ he used to say, ‘that Satan is standing at the church porch to take away the good seed that has been sown in your hearts.’”

Two young men of the village of Swerford, named Thomas Wheeler and John King, had been living in carelessness and indifference about religion. On one occasion they set out to enjoy the pleasures of the Sunday feast in the village of Great Tew; but, in the good providence of God, something induced them to turn aside and enter Worton Church. They were so powerfully affected by the sermon, that, by mutual consent, they gave up all idea of the feast, and on their walk home, conversing upon the things they had just heard, they went down into a stone quarry by the roadside, and there, kneeling down, united in what was probably their first earnest prayer to the God of salvation. Thomas Wheeler continued a consistent Christian to the end, and John King went out as a missionary to New Zealand. Nor was this a solitary instance of the

1804-1809. OXFORD AND WORTON. 99

effect of divine grace; for two other young men, belonging to Deddington, named Matthews, who received their religious impressions at about the same time, followed John King as missionaries to New Zealand.

The good work thus carrying on, was materially aided by the influence of his father-in-law, Mr. William Wilson, and the pious efforts of his daughters. They were admirable women. Taught of God, they laid themselves out, with unbounded charity and unwearied diligence, to teach others, and to render permanent the work of grace that was going on. They were very successful in establishing small schools in the surrounding villages, and the whole neighborhood was by their means supplied with Bibles and prayer-books.

A poor but very respectable woman once came to them for a supply out of their stock. She had borrowed a horse and a pair of panniers, and proposed to take as many Bibles and prayer-books as possible for sale among the friends she was about to visit. She succeeded in her application, and in due time returned with every book sold and properly accounted for. "But," she said, "not one of the books reached my friends; for they were all bought by the people of the villages I passed through; and before I got to the end of my journey, I had not one left."

The country at this time was frequented by gypsies, and Mr. William Wilson, as a county magistrate, deemed it his duty to watch them closely. One day, taking his usual ride over his estate, he came suddenly upon a group of these vagrants. Approaching unobserved, he perceived about twenty of them sitting in a circle, with their attention riveted upon someone in the centre. It was one of his own daughters, who, with deep feeling and earnestness, was reading from the New Testament! The good father turned his horse and rode quietly home. "I left her undisturbed," he said, "in her good work; for I felt that my child was a better magistrate than I."

Instances of this kind could be multiplied, but these suffice to show how the good impression made on Sunday was continued through the week, till Worton became like a "watered garden which the Lord has blessed." If his work had ended then, God's gracious purpose in putting him into the ministry would have been abundantly manifest. His labor had not been in vain. He had sought "for Christ's sheep that were dispersed abroad," and had done all that in him lay to bring them to "that agreement in the faith and knowledge of God, and to that ripeness and perfectness of age in Christ, that no place might be left among them for error in religion or viciousness in life."¹ Many in that day arose and called him

100 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VII.

blessed, and the good savor of his name still remains. The tidings of his death in India produced a strong sensation in this field of his early labors. A marble tablet over the entrance of Upper Worton Church, stands as a memorial that he once was curate there; and a piece of plate

¹ Ordination Service.

purchased with the small free-will offerings of the poor, and presented to the communion table of the Lord, tells in its graven lines of a love and gratitude which fifty years could not efface.

Happily his mantle fell upon others like-minded with himself, and a succession of faithful men have gathered in the harvest of which he sowed the seed. Worton is still a favored spot. May she know the day of her visitation!

In the year 1809, another part of the vineyard required Daniel Wilson's ministrations. A voice from St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, called him, and he obeyed the call. The account of the circumstances leading to this change is contained in a letter written from Oxford to Mr. Pearson:

"At Christmas last, Mr. Cecil sent for me to Clifton, and urged me much to take St. John's as his curate, when my assistant at St. Edmund's Hall should be in a situation to act alone. I objected strongly on the ground of St. John's, not being suitable to my cast of character; but this difficulty being removed by the assurance he gave me of the universal approval manifested when I have taken duty for him, I then agreed that, in the course of two or three years, if God should please, I would yield to his wishes. With these impressions I left Clifton, and scarcely thought further of the affair, till a letter from him reached me about a month back, to state that his health was very rapidly declining, that things were falling to pieces at the chapel, and to urge me to take it wholly, as minister, while his life remained to him and the power to consign it legally.

"I was seized with the utmost consternation; and the moment the term closed, hurried to town to weigh the summons. I found Mr. Cecil too far gone to be capable of giving advice, but his mind was fixed on me as his successor. I stated to Mr. Cardale and the principal people of the chapel, all my difficulties, arising chiefly from Mr. Hill (my proposed successor at the Hall) being yet an undergraduate, and incapable of being left. No obstacle would divert them from their entreaties, and I yielded at length, on the supposition that no impediment arose in the execution of our plan. The Principal of St. Edmund's Hall consented without a scruple to the succession of Mr. Hill, upon my promise of continuing to superintend till he should be settled and had become a Master of Arts. Three bishops — Oxford, Hereford, and London — loaded me with civilities and kindness, and I left London on Saturday, virtually Minister of St. John's. My plan is to be there in the vacations, and such times during the term as I can be spared, and to manage at Oxford till Mr. Hill is Master of Arts and of an age for holy orders, so as to be able to officiate for me in the Hall chapel and at Worton."

1804-1809. OXFORD AND WORTON. 101

This was written in March. Somewhat later he lifts up the veil a little higher, and shows his motives:

"The employment of a tutor at Oxford has been far from being perfectly congenial to my mind. As to the propriety of my leaving the university, and giving myself wholly to my ministry, I cannot have a doubt. The gradual decay of vital piety in my own heart, is too obvious and too alarming a symptom, not to force itself upon my conscience. May God yet spare me for His honor!"

Although there was as yet only a general understanding upon the subject, and no legal arrangement, yet when the long vacation had commenced, that is, on July 2d, 1809 (his birthday), he entered upon the public duties at St. John's Chapel. He was assisted first by the Rev. Henry Godfrey, afterwards President of Queen's College, Cambridge, and then by the Rev. Mr. Arnott, the Rev. Mr. Bartlett, and other able and good men.

The effect was instantaneous. Owing to Mr. Cecil's long-continued illness and retirement to Tunbridge Wells, the congregation had become unsettled, and the income from the chapel much reduced; but in the month of September, Mr. Cardale, who acted as Mr. Cecil's man of business, reported the chapel filled, everybody pleased, and almost every pew let.

But clouds gathered over this pleasant prospect. Mr. Cardale, in estimating the income of the chapel, had unintentionally made a serious mistake; and in attempting to rectify it, had given so much offence to Mr. Wilson, that on the matter being reported to his friends, they advised him to put an end to the negotiation. And this result would too surely have followed, had it been a

common case. But it was not a common case. Mr. Cecil's feelings were warmly interested. He was most anxious to secure Mr. Wilson's services for his people's benefit. And though suffering under an attack of paralysis, which proved fatal after a few months, yet when he heard of the probable rupture of the negotiations, he roused himself to write the following words, doubtless among the last he ever wrote:

"My heart is almost broken at the news; I beseech you not to break it quite by confirming it."

The response was immediate:

"Nothing in the world shall be lacking on my part to remedy the evil you apprehend. There is no person in the world to whom I am so much indebted, and whom I would go such lengths to serve."

When such feelings actuated this father and son in the gospel, all

102 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VII.

obstacles gave way. The negotiation was resumed, and the arrangement finally made. It secured two hundred guineas a year to Mr. Cecil and his family for the remainder of the lease of the chapel, and left about three hundred pounds a year as income to Mr. Wilson. For this he had to resign his tutorship and curacy, which had together yielded about £500 per annum. So disinterested were his motives, and so sincere his desire to give himself up more entirely to the work of the ministry.

This arrangement was completed early in October 1809. He officiated at St. John's till the eighth of that month, and then returned to Oxford to fulfill the duties still incumbent on him there.

But the tie was now loosened, and though he had the prosperity of St. Edmund's Hall still at heart, and took part in all matters connected with the university, yet "no man can serve two masters." His London and his Oxford duties were incompatible; each requiring, as they did, his whole time and thoughts. The strain upon his mind, also, was too great, as may be judged by the delight with which he hailed every temporary respite. It is thus he writes to a friend, on one occasion when he had retired to Worton. The feeling of relief almost made him poetical.

"WORTON, AUGUST 25, 1812.

"I was so overwhelmed in London, where the heat doubles the labor, that I most gladly fled and hid myself in this sweet rural retreat. After some months, passed either at London or Oxford, I cannot tell you how delighted I am with the aspect of the country, with its pure air, its silence, its tranquility, its devotion. Everything there smiles brightly, and invites sweetly to peace, reflection, and the discharge of virtuous and placid duties. I know scarcely any pleasure to be preferred to that which the mind enjoys, when returning to the country after a long absence. Yes; I could almost say that the divine love of our holy faith then shines most vividly when, hindrances being removed, cares cast away, and intellectual conflicts hushed, the mind is enabled to recover itself, to recall the past, to draw near to God in prayer, to invite the indwelling of the Spirit, and thus to obtain refreshment and strength for the return of its accustomed duties."

There was great difficulty also in obtaining help during his absence for his assistant minister at St. John's, and he was indebted at various times to many friends — to Mr. Pratt, Mr. J. W. Cunningham, Mr. Robinson, of Leicester; Mr. Burn, of Bristol; and others. Moreover, his family were now removed to London, and they felt his frequent absences a great privation. All parties, therefore, must have been glad when, the three intervening years having rolled away, the Rev. John Hill was able to take upon himself the official

1804-1809. OXFORD AND WORTON. 103

duties attached to the vice-principalship of St. Edmund's Hall, and thus set Daniel Wilson entirely free.

This was at the close of the year 1812. Eighteen years afterwards he cast back a glance at these times, and summed up, in a few comprehensive words, the result of his reflections upon his Oxford and Worton life:

“My time at Oxford was utterly without profit as to my soul. Pride grew more and more, and carnal appetites enchained me. On the other hand, Worton afforded me much spiritual consolation. These nine years were passed, I trust, in the path of duty, though amidst struggles, temptations, and frequent estrangements of soul and spirit.”

A sermon preached before the university in the year 1810, and subsequently published, has not yet been mentioned. But this opens the door of his study, and introduces the chapter of his Literary Life.

CHAPTER 8. LITERARY LIFE. 1810-1831.

HABITS AND TASTES — LIBRARY — PRIZE ESSAY — SERMON ON OBEDIENCE — FUNERAL SERMON FOR MR. CECIL — STYLE — CONVERSATION WITH BELLINGHAM — ON CONFIRMATION AND LORD'S SUPPER — FUNERAL SERMONS FOR MR. CARDALE, MRS. CARD ALE, AND REV. W. GOODE — PAMPHLET ON SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE — CONTROVERSIES ON THE SUBJECT — SERMON ON REGENERATION — VIEWS ON REGENERATION — OFFENCE TO THE UNIVERSITY — POLITICAL VIEWS — SERMONS TO CHILDREN — ANNIVERSARY SERMON FOR CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY — PAMPHLET IN DEFENCE OF CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY — VOLUME OF SERMONS — DOCTRINAL VIEWS — ANECDOTE — PRAYER-BOOK AND HOMILY SOCIETY — FUNERAL SERMONS FOR THE REV. THOMAS SCOTT — PREFACE TO ADAM'S "PRIVATE THOUGHTS," BUTLER'S "ANALOGY," WILBERFORCE'S "PRACTICAL CHRISTIANITY," BAXTER'S "REFORMED PASTOR," QUESNEL ON "THE GOSPELS" — DR. CHALMERS — "LETTERS FROM AN ABSENT BROTHER" — EVIDENCES OF CHRISTIANITY — HANNAH MORE — ROMAN CATHOLIC EMANCIPATION — SIR R. PEEL — LETTERS TO "CHRISTIAN OBSERVER" — SIR J. MACKINTOSH — DR. CHALMERS — MR. SIMEON — SERMONS ON LORD'S DAY — FUNERAL SERMONS FOR MR. CHARLES GRANT, REV. S. CROUCH, REV. B. WOODD — CONTROVERSY WITH DR. BURTON.

Daniel Wilson was always a student. In childhood he read for amusement, in manhood for information, in old age for relaxation. He read everything which had any bearing, direct or indirect, upon the great object of his life — the ministry which he had "received of the Lord Jesus." Works of imagination, falling outside those limits, had little interest for him, and no power over him. He did not feel the attraction which others feel, nor need the self-restraint which they need. The imaginative faculty cannot be regarded as predominating in his mind. Though living at the very time when the tales and novels of Walter Scott were exerting all their witchery, it is doubtful whether he ever read one of them; and if not these, certainly no others. He was familiar with the poems of Cowper, Thomson, Goldsmith, Gray, and others; and when a leisure morning and a country scene invited him, he would expatiate¹ in them with real pleasure. But the opportunity and the indulgence were alike rare. The hymn was perhaps a greater favorite than the poem. Many of the best hymns were firmly fixed in his memory, and he loved

1810-31. LITERARY LIFE. 105

to repeat them, and to have them sung. His voice would join in the praise; but it is impossible to say that it added to the harmony. He had no ear for music, and this defect, as is usual, extended to the pronunciation of languages; for those which he knew perfectly, and had read extensively, he yet could not pronounce correctly. The ear was faulty, not the intellect. His library was very large and choice. The accumulation, in his later days, exceeded ten thousand volumes. Many, of course, were books of reference. While he had any work in preparation for the press, everything having any bearing on the subject was purchased without stint, and then retained. He was careful of his books; said that he looked upon them as his children, and could not bear to see them ill-used. No turning down of the leaves was tolerated, and even a "mark" was deemed unmanly. "If you cannot tell where you leave off, you are not worthy to read a book," he would say. He needed quiet for study, but not solitude. "Go or stay, as you please; but if you stay, be quiet;" and then he would turn, and in a moment enter the world of books. He kept no late hours; his last reading (as his first) was always devotional and scriptural; and he generally retired about eleven o'clock. In working hours, all his reading had reference to the sermon, or the controversy, or the publication which might be in hand. But in the hour of repose, after dinner, or in the country, the current literature of the day had its turn, and one member of the family generally read aloud to all the rest.

¹ Add details, as to an account or idea; clarify the meaning of and discourse in a learned way, usually in writing.

Thus his mind got full, and the full mind will overflow, and give forth fertilizing and refreshing streams. We now have these to trace.

The Prize Essay at Oxford has been already alluded to. This was his first public appearance; but it had been preceded by two or three papers, sent privately to the "Christian Observer," under the signature of "Clericus Surriensis."¹ He continued at intervals, in later-life, to send papers to the same valuable periodical, in which he always felt the greatest interest. In 1805 he sent an article on "The unspeakable gift of God." In the volume for 1814, there is an admirable article on "Crude Theology," which was continued in the following year. An excellent paper appeared also in February 1815, on "Our spiritual contest with the world." This has been recently reprinted, with the writer's permission, at the request of some clergymen in Yorkshire. Other papers no doubt might be traced, though he left no list. The signature generally was D. W.²

On the 28th of January 1810, he preached before the University of

106 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VIII.

Oxford, the sermon to which allusion was made in the last chapter, entitled "Obedience the Path to Religious Knowledge." It was sent to the press almost immediately, and has since passed through several editions.

In order to appreciate it rightly, the standard in the university pulpit at that time should be considered. Doubtless, many eminent preachers were then living, and many able sermons were delivered; but these were exceptions to a very general rule. The country clergy, summoned in their turn from their respective parishes, and stirred by some local quarrel with the squire or churchwarden, would usually pour out their griefs into the faithful bosom of Alma Mater, or indulge in doleful prophecies concerning the doom of a church in which such things were tolerated.

In default of the country clergyman appearing in his turn, his place in the pulpit was supplied by some resident official; and now the sermon was generally one which had seen hard service in days past, and was destined to see much more in days to come.

"Put them in fear, God, that the nations may know themselves to be but men."³

"And what, my brethren, did the nations suppose themselves to be? Gods, to be sure."

Tradition thus records one text and introductory sentence; but charitably forgets the remainder of what used to form the joke of colleges and common-rooms sixty years ago.

Contrast with such preaching, the sermon under review. Imagine the distinguished audience, the earnest preacher, the sound doctrine, the clear reasoning, the almost unequalled voice, the impassioned appeals, the response of conscience; and then the effect described by an undergraduate of that day will be better appreciated:

"I can never forget," he says, "his bold and animated sermon before the university on that text from John 7.17, 'If any man will do his will, he shall know of the doctrine whether it is of God,' and I shall never lose the impression of the breathless silence with which its stirring appeals to the conscience were heard by the crowded congregation at St. Mary's."

¹ [The clerk of Surrey.](#)

² Later in life several elaborate reviews were written by him. In 1821, he reviewed Sermons by the Rev. Isaac Milner, Dean of Carlisle; and also the Rev. Charles Simeon's *Horae Homileticae*. In December 1822, an American publication was examined, entitled, "The Conversation of Our Saviour with Nicodemus," by Dr. Jarvis, of Boston. In November 1831, will be found a review of "Biblical Notes and Dissertations," by Joseph John Guiney; and in December of the same year, a review of Scott's "Continuation of Milner's Church History," concluded in the Appendix

³ Psalm 9.20.

Opinions were, of course, divided at the time. Some called the sermon Calvinistic, and some anti-Calvinistic — for Calvinism was

1810-31. LITERARY LIFE. 107

then the battleground of the church. But in truth it was scriptural. The text leavened the discourse, as it ought to do, and the preacher, in delivering it, was evidently unconcerned as to what system it supported or opposed. His object was to invite his hearers from the “tumults of debate to the tranquility of obedience, from theory to practice, from pride — the parent of error — to a submission of heart to God,” and his aim was to enforce what the Saviour taught, viz., “that a right disposition of heart was essential to the attainment of every just sentiment in religion; that obedience was the path to knowledge; that a correct judgment must flow from the fear and reverence of God; and that, if any one would enter upon a successful inquiry into the doctrines of Christianity, he must be prepared for such an inquiry by a spirit of humble piety.”

It was not a sermon to be forgotten, and has not been forgotten. It has edified many, and by God’s blessing may edify many more. Though no truth of God is displaced, it is yet thoroughly practical, and makes experience subservient to the reception of the truth. It will be valued by all who believe that John 7.17 is as true as Heb. 11.6.

The author’s own account of the publication is given in a letter to a friend:

“OXFORD, FEBRUARY 16, 1810.

“The return of Mr. Crouch to Oxford was exceedingly fortunate. I have submitted my sermon to his review, and have been so much pressed to publish it, that I have ventured on that bold step. It will be published on Tuesday or Wednesday. And now let me entreat you to send your full and most free opinion. I have been so incessantly engaged with the subject for nearly three months, that my mind is perfectly jaded. I have contemplated it, as it were, till I have no distinct views at all, and I fear much that some gap in the argument will be discovered. You will come to it fresh. Send me, then, your real sentiments in every point of view.”

Two funeral sermons for the Rev. Richard Cecil were next published. They were preached in St. John’s Chapel, on Aug. 26, and Sept. 2, 1810, and serve as a kind of model upon which all his funeral sermons were subsequently framed. His plan was first to elucidate the text, then to delineate the character, and then to draw a series of practical inferences. It is not easy to imagine a better plan; but perhaps by the adaptation of it to every case, a sense of sameness or weariness may be produced.

In the present case, the sympathies of all parties were thoroughly aroused. The congregation of St. John’s had been “built up” by Mr. Cecil, and the preacher was his own son in the faith. The occasion was a great one, and he rose to it. All his tenderest feelings

108 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VIII.

were excited, and all his powers called forth; and nothing can surpass the vigor of his style or the graphic touches with which he portrays Mr. Cecil’s character as a man and a minister. Quotations might be multiplied in proof of this; but it must suffice to say, that the sermons themselves will well repay an attentive perusal.

His style was now beginning to be formed, and it proved at first better adapted to the pulpit than the press. It wanted simplicity, and was on the whole, perhaps, too rhetorical. It abounded with sounding epithets. However effective this may be in a public address, it is less calculated to bear the calm investigation of the closet; and the hearer might admire what the reader would be disposed to criticize and condemn. The following short passage in these sermons will serve as an illustration, and show how a redundancy of words adds no real force to ideas. The preacher is enlarging on the gospel, and he speaks of “the magnitude of the objects which the Bible proposes to man, the sublimity of eternal pursuits, and the scheme of redemption by an incarnate

Mediator;" but not content with leaving the ideas thus expressed to produce their own effect, which surely might have sufficed, he overloads them with epithets, and speaks of "the stupendous magnitude of the objects which the Bible proposes, the incomparable sublimity of eternal pursuits, and the astonishing scheme of redemption." Some may admire this florid style, but it cannot be recommended for imitation.

His next publication was entitled "Conversation with Bellingham, the Assassin of the Et. Hon. Spencer Percival." The interview was brought about by a distinguished member of Parliament, on the Sunday evening previous to the criminal's execution, but was attended with no good results. The account of what passed in conversation at that interview was published immediately after, and attracted much attention. But the narrative lacks both simplicity and individuality, and can scarcely be considered a happy means of conveying to the public important scriptural truth.

In the year 1814 he preached a sermon at St. Bride's, before the members of the Church Missionary Society, on the occasion of the departure of several missionaries and others to the western coast of Africa.

This was followed in 1815 by the publication of two addresses to the young — one on Confirmation, and the other on the Lord's Supper. As tracts, they have passed through more than twenty editions; and, though multitudes of similar publications have appeared,

1810-31. LITERARY LIFE. 109

they are not likely to lose their popularity. They go near to exhaust the subjects which they treat; and exhibit that moderation, gravity, earnestness, and faithfulness, which characterize all the author's theological writings.

Several publications appeared in the year 1816, and among them two funeral sermons for Mr. and Mrs. Cardale. These were two of the eminent Christian characters for which St. John's Chapel was distinguished. Of Mrs. Cardale, Mr. Cecil used to say: "I cannot tell who of my congregation is Hope and Faith, but certainly Mrs. Cardale is Charity." Her end was peace; and the preacher describes very touchingly the closing scene of her life:

"She was not afraid of death, but she feared its circumstances, lest her patience should fail, and she should dishonor her Lord and Saviour. It pleased God, however, so to disappoint these fears that she may really be said not to have known what death was. Her departure was so tranquil that the exact moment of transition could not be ascertained. Lying unmoved in her bed, on which she had just been placed on account of her great weakness, she meekly breathed out her spirit without a sigh or groan. As the infant falls asleep in the arms of the affectionate parent, so did this exemplary woman fall asleep in the arms of Jesus her Saviour, on Thursday, February 8, 1816, in the seventy-seventh year of her age."

Mr. Cardale, her husband, has been already mentioned as the friend and chief adviser of Mr. Cecil. He had managed the pecuniary concerns of his chapel, and was instrumental in raising the sum of £3000 towards the support of his declining years, when compelled to retire from it. He afterwards attached himself affectionately to Daniel Wilson's ministry. In his seventieth year, feeling that the end of all things was at hand, Mr. Cardale sent to him, and expressing an anxious wish to examine the foundations of his hope towards God, he begged for help in the inquiry.

Thus humbly beginning the work of self-examination, he soon experienced that peace of God which passes all understanding; and with variations, this continued to the end. He died in the Lord. The preacher in summarizing his character, enumerates integrity, liberality, the union of opposing excellences, strong and enlightened attachment to the church, distinguished loyalty, and fervent piety.

He was next called to give utterance to his feelings over the grave of the Rev. William Goode, who had been curate to the Rev. W. Romaine for ten years, and succeeded him as rector of Blackfriars, London. The funeral sermon was preached in that church, in April

110 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VIII.

1816. Mr. Goode had been among the original founders of the Church Missionary Society, and from his pulpit sixteen of its anniversary sermons were delivered. The testimony borne to the character of this eminently good man in the funeral sermon is affectionate and discriminating; extracts from his letters at different periods of his life are introduced as illustrative of his piety, humility, and holiness.

Passing by several single sermons and addresses, a pamphlet next claims our consideration. It was published this year in reference to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. It was entitled, "A Respectful Address on certain Inconsistencies and Contradictions which have lately appeared in some of their Books and Tracts;" and it was published originally without the name of the author. The facts connected with it are as follows:

Dr. Mant had published a tract on the baptismal question. It advocated extreme views: insisting on the invariable connection between baptism and regeneration; asserting that none could possibly be unregenerate who had rightly been baptized; ascribing a difference of operation to the two sacraments, in that the efficacy of the one was uniform, and of the other contingent; and denouncing all contrary opinions as enthusiastic, dangerous, and heretical.

This pamphlet excited much controversy, and was ably replied to by the Rev. John Scott, of Hull, and the Rev. T. J. Biddulph, of Bristol. But the matter assumed a graver aspect when the tract was adopted and put upon the list of the Christian Knowledge Society. This was considered a breach of the moderation befitting a society which professed to represent the Church of England. It called forth earnest remonstrances from many attached friends, and led to the publication of Daniel Wilson's pamphlet. He did not profess to discuss the general subject. He wished only to prove, and he did prove, that there was a manifest inconsistency in the adoption of Dr. Mant's tract — since it directly contradicted the statements of at least fifty other tracts standing on the society's list.

Immediate action followed; both sides rallied their forces, and various letters to the society appeared in rapid succession. Among these letters was one written by Dr. Wordsworth; and the struggle began over it, to which none but Daniel Wilson's own words can do justice. He writes Feb. 10, 1816, and says:

"The meeting of the S. P. C. K. took place last Tuesday. All the world was there. I took part in it. We gained one of our points, as to the reading

1810-31. LITERARY LIFE. 111

of Dr. "Wordsworth's letter, of which I told you. Dr. Pott and the Dean of Chester wished to go to the ballot at once. But Messrs. Dealtry, Babington, Macaulay, White, and myself, strongly insisted on the reading of the letter. The old doctors were astounded. The dean said that for fifty years he had never heard of such a thing. Someone, I know not who, called out loudly that no end of harm would follow. Two hours passed before they would consent to put the question to the vote. At last Mr. Shepherd, of University College, Oxford, advised them to consent. He supported Mr. White's motion for the reading. Hands were held up. The chairman (Archdeacon Cambridge) declared that he could not decide which party had the majority. Again the motion was put, and then he decided that it was gained. All then listened to the letter. It was a clever and luminous exposition, in which the writer altogether objected to Dr. Mant's tract. This was why they wished to conceal it from us. But all was now unveiled. Our opponents had used two arguments against the reading of the letter — one, that it only referred to the style of the tract, and did not enter into the subject-matter; the other, that Dr. Mant had assented to the suggestions of the letter, and made the necessary alterations.

“You mark, my friend, the piquancy of the first reason, and the honesty of the second! The real fact was, that the letter was very important, that it touched upon the doctrine itself, and absolutely disapproved the tract.

“The letter finished, we passed, after two hours’ contention, to the ballot. Here we lost our point. Thirty-seven stood out for the tract, and thirty against it. Four would not vote. So large a minority gave us confidence; we resolved instantly to propose another motion which should open the way to a discussion on Baptism. I was preparing to do it, when, all at once, Mr. White, who was not aware that I was the author of the ‘Address,’ proposed a resolution on it.

“A storm instantly arose. The old doctors wished to know the author. Mr. White knew nothing about it. Everybody fired up. There was no more consideration, no more order. All was confusion, and a frightful noise deafened us. At length Lord Keyton proposed that Mr. White should only give notice of a motion, and not make it. We were all willing. But word it how?

“During the tumult I had withdrawn a little back, in consideration of the circumstances connecting me with the ‘Address.’ At length, after two hours more, the society agreed that a notice of motion to be given by Mr. Dealtry at the meeting on March 5th, should be in these terms: ‘That the society would take into consideration such contradictions as might appear in their tracts.’ Mr. Dealtry was to make the motion, in case Mr. White could not be present.

“We separated, half dead with heat and fatigue, but cheered by a success greater than we had dared to expect. The consternation of the members was laughable. Dr. Mant balloted on his own tract. The next meeting will be crowded. Everybody is speaking of it. May God’s Spirit guide and direct us! I cannot describe to you the exact state of things. They began by attempting to trample us under their feet. They were driven off. We gained the reading of the letter. The ballot itself showed our power. The appearance of the meeting was very odd. I never saw anything like it. We hoped

112 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VIII.

everything, and the truth sustained us. All our friends must be in town on the 5th of March.”

The vividness of this description excites the desire to know the end; and happily the desire may be gratified, for another letter has been preserved. It was written Feb. 27, to the same friend.

“No doubt you are anxious to know what has happened in the society since my last letter. Dr. Dealtry wrote to me on February 18th to say that Archdeacon Wollaston was very uneasy at the differences rising up among the members of the society, and he was sure that Dr. Mant would make the required alterations in his tract. Mr. Dealtry replied that he would do anything to promote peace. We therefore all met together — Dealtry, John William Cunningham, Basil Woodd, Pratt, Stewart, Pritchett, and I, on Wednesday morning, February 20th. Mr. Dealtry repeated what he had written. We discussed matters for three hours. I was not myself willing to yield without reserve to the courteous words of the archdeacon. But it was agreed that Mr. Dealtry should for the present withdraw his notice of motion by a letter, which should explain our motives.

“At 12 o’clock we went to the meeting of the society. We expected nothing — but, what do you think? There was the Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Sutton) in the chair, and by him the Bishop of London (Dr. Howley).

“We seated ourselves, and the ordinary business went on. At length Mr. Dealtry rose and presented his letter. It was read twice. The archbishop followed, and condemned it strongly, as self-willed. He could not consent that matters should remain as that letter left them. He himself proposed a committee to examine the matter to the bottom, and to report upon the society’s works. Thus the archbishop’s censure falls dead. He begins by blaming the letter, and ends by adopting its suggestions! The fire blazed up, as it always does when truth is on one side and numbers on the other. For three hours there was a hot dispute as to whether Mr. Dealtry should be on the committee. We could not speak freely, for the presence of the archbishop constrained us much. He would not let us discuss the doctrine itself, but only the question of the contradictions among the tracts. But, in spite of all, many things were said touching the root of the matter. As for the Bishop of London, he made a long address, in which he admitted pretty nearly all we wished. Nevertheless, Mr. Dealtry was rejected, and the committee named.

“After the meeting, there was a good deal of conversation between Mr. Dealtry, Cunningham, and myself, and Drs. Mant and Pott. But we could agree on nothing. Conciliatory suggestions did no good. No one approved them. Nothing will be done on the 5th of March. It will be necessary now to remain quiet until the report of the committee is presented. Adieu.”

Many will feel interested at this glimpse into the interior of things in the year 1816. At that time there were venerable men who fervently prayed, “Give peace in our time, Lord;” and who

1810-31. LITERARY LIFE. 113

would have been ready to meet Daniel Wilson with the remonstrance, “Are you not the one who troubles Israel?”¹

To this, his earnest and anxious reply is ready: “All the religion of Jesus Christ fades away before the dogma of Dr. Mant. Regeneration is reduced to baptism — then explained away — then lost sight of. ‘Whoever is ashamed of me and of my words in this evil generation, of him the Son of Man shall be ashamed when He comes in the glory of His Father and the holy angels.’”

The report of the committee was, on the whole, deemed satisfactory; and what the “Respectful Address” had contended for, was admitted to a certain extent. A new edition of Dr. Mant’s tract was also published, in which the most objectionable expressions — all those indeed on which the controversy turned — were expunged or modified.

So that the ventilation of the question did good. Had the venerable society been guided at the time with that dignity, prudence, and moderation, which so happily characterize it now, the discussion would never have been raised.

Roused by it, Daniel Wilson determined to preach upon the subject of Regeneration, when again called to address the university in the year 1817. His reasons are assigned in the following letter, dated Jan. 13th.

“As to my subject — I know not what to say. I think much of your arguments. I love peace with all my heart. I know well the responsibility which attaches to me, and particularly in the university. But — but — but — there are an infinity of reasons on the other side:

“1. The doctrine of Regeneration is of primary importance. All turns upon it.

“2. It is a doctrine on which the attention of everyone is now anxiously fixed. That is a great point.

“3. It is a doctrine opposed by the World and the Devil, in a way which absolutely commands the Church of Jesus Christ to speak out plainly.

“4. It is a doctrine which I am more bound to maintain, because of the part I have taken in London, both in the ‘Address’ I have printed, and the opinions I have expressed at the Christian Knowledge Society.

“5. Moreover, a discourse from me upon this subject will arrest attention.

“6. And if I pass it by, it will be like shrinking from what I consider the truth of Christ.

“These are my reasons. As for the method of treating a subject so serious, I find myself in a difficulty. I wish to speak as the Oracles of God. I desire to discuss the question with a gravity and force which may touch the heart.

114 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VIII.

But how to accomplish this? How difficult to mingle in controversy without losing Charity and Humility! But I must make the attempt.

“I have no idea of treating the matter polemically. I wish rather to show the state of man, the nature of grace, the divine character of the New Birth, and its necessity for the attainment of the

¹ 1King 18.17

knowledge of God, for our salvation, for the performance of our duty, for grafting in our hearts the love of the truth and hatred of sin, for uniting us to God and bringing about a divine communication with Him through the Spirit.

“What grandeur attaches to that idea of Union with God! What elevation and dignity! But who can conceive that our English Protestant Church would confine it only to the sacrament of Baptism? Those who understand not its grandeur may well lower it, till nothing remains save what Baptism confers; but the true Christian ought, above all things, to rise to the height of the doctrine, and not lower it to his own standard.”

The sermon was accordingly preached on the 24th of February, from the words, “That which is born of the flesh, is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit, is Spirit.”¹ It is not necessary to enter into the discussion, further than to explain the preacher’s views. He dreaded the intermingling of the Church and the World, and the mistaking of the form for the power of Godliness. He held that the great spiritual and moral change called the New Birth, was an essential and distinguishing feature of the gospel. He believed it to be always necessary in itself, but not always and necessarily wrought in Baptism. He called it Regeneration. Others contend for the thing — he contended for the word also. He was willing to use other scriptural expressions, such as “Conversion,” “Renovation,” “Renewal,” as expressing the change from “darkness unto light, and from the power of Satan unto God;” but he would insist upon the liberty to use the word “Regeneration” also. Baptismal regeneration was not necessarily, in his view, real regeneration. The liturgical sense of the word was one thing, the saving sense another. They might be identical, but proof was lacking:

“If the infant, as the faculties of reason and understanding are unfolded, gradually displays a spiritual frame or temper of mind according to the holy image of God, the case is decided; he does not need the blessing which we no longer merely hope that he has received, but which we rejoice to discern in its obvious effects. But if, as he advances in age, he appears to be utterly void of spiritual knowledge and spiritual obedience, he evidently still needs, as in the instance of the adult void of true piety, this inward renewal in all his powers in order to love and serve God.

“The greatest divines of our church, including the Reformers themselves, frequently speak of Regeneration, and the New Birth, simply and by itself, as well as in connection with the sacrament of Baptism. With them, so far as I

1810-31. LITERARY LIFE. 115

understand their language, Conversion, Renovation, Regeneration, New Birth, a New Creature, Transformation, are terms employed, as applicable in common to the general doctrine of the incipient recovery of man to the image and love of God, not indeed in opposition to what may perhaps be called the ecclesiastical completion of it in Baptism, or to its occurrence by means of that sacrament, but still not as invariably connected with it.

“When we consider the magnitude of that change in all the faculties of the soul which we have before described, in connection with the actual character in every period of life of the vast majority of those who have been baptized, must not this one consideration forbid us to suppose that Regeneration is invariably connected with Baptism? For myself, at least, I must distinctly avow that this one consideration, independently of other numerous, and in my mind conclusive, arguments on the subject, is abundantly sufficient to prevent my entertaining for a moment such a supposition. And on this ground, not only the propriety but the necessity of the use of the term which I am now maintaining, seems to me at once and undeniably to follow.”²

Such were the views propounded in this sermon, and such the opinions held, with little modification, by the preacher to the end of life. The unbiased exhibition of them in this place would in every case have been a duty; but it is especially so, now that the question has been so

¹ John 3.6.

² Sermon on Regeneration.

strongly revived. Recent authoritative decisions, though they have not ended controversy, have brought this one positive result, that a certain latitude of opinion is admissible in the church upon the subject of Baptism. Though opinions, therefore, may differ from those expressed in this sermon, and some may approve and some disapprove, yet none may condemn.

The delivery of it gave great offence to the authorities at Oxford, and permission to print it at the university press was refused by the then Vice-Chancellor. "It savors of St. Edmund's Hall," was his reply; "the press is engaged." It was printed, however, and went through five editions.

This year (1817) was a troubled one. The transition from a state of war to peace was attended with much national and individual suffering. The harvest was bad, commerce depressed, disaffection widely prevalent. Daniel Wilson was alive to the emergency, and printed an excellent sermon on "Contentment," applicable not only to the times then present, but to all times of national trouble. With it may be classed other single sermons, one preached at St. Mary's, Oxford, before the judges, and another at Islington, on the death of the Duke of York.

He was not a politician properly so-called, but he took a warm

116 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VIII.

interest in all matters connected with the good of the Church and the welfare of the State. The newspaper was a necessity to him. The chief Reviews were always looked for with interest, and some anxiety. He was a loyal, but not a party man. There was perhaps a growing liberality as he advanced in life, but for the most part he formed an independent judgment on each matter as it arose. Thus when all the nation was convulsed by the trial of Queen Caroline,¹ his mind retained its balance:

"My simple common-sense opinion," he says (and it is almost the only allusion to politics in the whole of his correspondence), "has long been that the name of the queen never ought to have been omitted in the state prayers, till guilt was legally established, and that it ought to have been restored, and the usual external honors of her rank conceded, the moment the bill failed. Then she would have been taken out of the hands of an angry Opposition, and consigned to the sure fate of profligate and abandoned females. Still — still — still — I know not what to say. All hearts are agitated — the minds of our common people are poisoned — the balance of our Constitution is weakened — the Ministry is feeble and indecisive — and the meeting of Parliament is looked forward to with real consternation. The gentry and clergy are sound, but the people are demoralized. The sooner a man arises to whom the full confidence of the country may gradually attach, and whose hands may grasp firmly the reins of the state — a minister like Pitt — the better."

This year he also printed the first of a series of sermons to very young children. The second was preached in 1820, the third in 1822, and the fourth in 1823. They are admirably adapted to their purpose, and ought to be preached when Dr. Watts'² "divine songs" are sung.

In the month of May he preached the anniversary sermon of the Church Missionary Society, at St. Bride's Church. The cause of missions was always near his heart, though he could have no presentiment that he should one day enter into that field of duty. His public appeal on this occasion was full of force and earnestness, and the result corresponded. The sum of £393. 11s.

¹ George IV's determination, following his succession to the throne in 1820, to finally obtain a divorce from his estranged wife, Caroline of Brunswick, sparked an opposition campaign, both in Parliament and in the country, which threatened the survival of Lord Liverpool's Tory administration. It also led to extensive proceedings in the House of Lords, which took on the appearance of a state trial. Caroline, who had been living abroad for the past six years, arrived unexpectedly in England to claim her right to be crowned queen. The government, under intense pressure from the king, reluctantly agreed to introduce a bill of pains and penalties into the House of Lords, which would have annulled the royal marriage and deprived Caroline of her title. <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/periods/hanoverians/queen-caroline-affair-1820>

² Isaac Watts (1674-1748) English hymn-writer and theologian; the "Father of English Hymnody" (authored 750 hymns).

11d. was collected; being the largest amount raised for the society during the first twenty-seven anniversaries.

Next year he was called to a still more decided effort on behalf of the same society. On the 1st of December 1818, a public meeting had been summoned by advertisement to form a Church Missionary Association at Bath. The then bishop of Gloucester (Dr. Ryder) presided. He was also Dean of Wells and a Vice-Patron of the society. At this meeting, the Ven. J. Thomas, Archdeacon of Bath,

1810-31. LITERARY LIFE. 117

appeared in his official character, and delivered an address, which he afterwards printed, as a protest against the introduction of the society into his archdeaconry. He denounced the attempt as a violation of ecclesiastical order; charged the presiding bishop with invading the province of his episcopal brother; declared that the society had assumed a title to which it had no claim; expressed his conviction that the Association would prove a hot bed of heresy; and finally, as archdeacon, recorded his protest against its formation.

Looking back forty years, it is hard to realize all this. In these days, few indeed would be found to countenance it; but the archdeacon claimed to speak in behalf of nineteen-twentieths of the clergy then within his jurisdiction.

It was imperatively necessary that the protest should be noticed, and the accusations against the society repelled, and Daniel Wilson was requested to undertake the duty. His reply is a model of clear argument, grave rebuke, and good temper. By one and the same process it acquits the society and condemns the archdeacon. Even after the lapse of so many years, it may be read with interest and profit. Apart from the direct issue, it upholds the whole principle of missions, and the whole machinery of the Church Missionary Society. From the attack made upon it, that society rose triumphant, and has ever since waxed stronger and stronger. The obligation then conferred has been gratefully acknowledged in the following terms. Referring to this controversy, the committee says:

“Pamphlets on both sides, to the number of eight or ten, were published; but that which was written by Mr. Wilson vindicated the constitution of the society with much Christian temper and spirit, passed through fourteen editions within two months, and rendered such aid to the cause, that the hostile attack was turned into an important benefit.”

His own notice of the pamphlet is as follows:

“January 22, 1818.

“I am writing after a strangely long silence. You must forgive me, my friend. Business has absorbed me so that I have not had a moment, I will not say of leisure, but of peace and quietness. Noise, confusion, hurry, quarrels, sorrows, afflictions, even despair, have encompassed and nearly overwhelmed me. Now I begin to breathe again. My pamphlet is revised. The answer of the archdeacon has not yet appeared. I am able to resume my ordinary duties after a month of uneasiness.

“You know, I believe, that various friends have been of the greatest use to me in compiling my pamphlet. I read it twice to Mr. Wilberforce, and some touches of his marvellous eloquence will appear in the new edition. The two Grants have helped me, particularly Mr. Robert Grant, to whom I am indebted for the argument on Authority, and on the contributions of the poor. I do not

118 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VIII.

mention Mr. Pratt and Mr. Bickersteth,¹ because you know as well as I, the interest they take in our Society. I am anxious about the archdeacon's reply, knowing well my own shortcomings, and the

¹ Edward Bickersteth (1786-1850) was an English evangelical clergyman. He practised as a solicitor (lawyer) at Norwich from 1812 to 1815. In 1816 he took orders, and was made one of the secretaries of the Church Missionary Society.

maliciousness of the enemies of religion. But my trust is in God. His arm, His providence, His Spirit — these are my weapons.”

The pamphlet eventually passed through seventeen editions. Many publications professing to reply to it appeared, but none were considered worthy of notice. There was no response from the archdeacon, and the fire died out from lack of fuel. But from the ashes sprang up a warmer zeal and a greater liberality on behalf of missions, and it was all overruled of God, that so “His way might be known upon earth, and His saving health among all nations.”¹

“The success of the pamphlet,” says a contemporary, “was perfect, and the excellent society derived essential benefit from the investigation of its principles and labors.”

While this controversy was going on, Daniel Wilson’s first printed volume of sermons appeared. They had been preached at St. John’s, and were published, as the dedication states, to supply, in some degree, the deficiency of personal communication.

The book seems to have met with a rude reception in some quarters at first; for, writing on the 28th of January to a friend, the author says:

“As to my poor volume, you know how it has been condemned. Do write without delay, and give me your candid opinion. The last page had scarcely left the press, when the archdeacon’s affair came on, and disturbed all my accustomed train of thought.”

Whatever check the volume may have received on its first appearance, it was momentary. All opposition was instantly overborne. The first edition of eight hundred copies was sold in a fortnight, and another called for; and many followed in rapid succession. It proved handsomely remunerative. The author used to speak of having realized £600 or £800 by the publication. This would be thought little of, perhaps, in the case of some popular work or important history; but a volume of sermons is a very different thing, and remuneration is rarely thought of by the author.

The discourses in this volume may be taken, no doubt, as fair specimens of his preaching at St. John’s at that period; and they lose nothing by comparison with the productions of the pulpit in the present day. They are really sermons. In arrangement, they come between the innumerable divisions of earlier writers, which overload the memory, and the modern essay, which makes no impression on it.

1810-31. LITERARY LIFE. 119

Errors of style are to be found; but they are well-near forgotten in the clear exposition of scriptural truth, the discrimination of character, the appeals to conscience, the interesting narrative, impressive exhortation, and tender pathos which everywhere abound, and which lack only the living voice, the appropriate delivery, and the promised grace, to accomplish all the great ends of preaching.

Imagine the capacious building, the crowded audience, the rapt attention; every eye fixed upon the preacher, and every ear listening to the following words, taken from a sermon on the “Passion of our Lord,” and the effect may easily be realized:

“In speechless agony he hangs upon the cross. Even his heavenly Father withdraws from him. The darkness which surrounds the cross was but an emblem of the sufferer’s soul.

“Who can speak the mysteries of the scene? All the other sorrows of his passion are not to be compared with the dereliction he now endured. How bitter the pang of separation from God is, can be best told by those who most ardently love Him. His presence is life. It has made apostles sing praises in prison, and martyrs triumph at the stake. What then must the Son of God have now felt, whose love for his Father was perfect, and whose union with Him was inexpressibly intimate. Of no other part of

¹ Psa 67.2

his passion did the Saviour utter a complaint — not of his sufferings in the garden, or at the bar of Pilate, or when nailed to the cross — not under the insults of the Jews — not of the thorns, the nails, the vinegar, the gall — not of the flight of his disciples. But when his heavenly Father withdrew the communications of his presence, he exclaimed in the depth of his anguish, ‘Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani!’ — ‘My God, my God, why have you forsaken me!’ Then was the travail of the soul. Then he endured the wrath of God, the curse of the law, the temptations of the powers of darkness; all the woe arising from a full view of the evil of sin, and of the accumulated guilt for which he was about to atone.

“Well may the Greek Church have adopted the remarkable language which occurs in her Litany — By your unknown agonies. Yes, what we know of these agonies is little indeed — it is but a faint image of the incomprehensible and unutterable reality of the sufferings which he endured. We are able only to say that he sustained all the pain of which his perfect human nature was capable; and all the anguish inflicted by the anger of God, the penalty of sin, the terrors of judgment, the assaults of the devil. And if in this world a single drop of divine wrath, falling into the conscience of a sinner, has at times quenched every hope and involved him in inconceivable misery, darkness, horror, and despair; who shall measure the depth of that agony when all the vials of eternal wrath were poured out even to the dregs, on the head of the Redeemer!”

We may learn from this volume his views on the main doctrines of the gospel.

120 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VIII.

Do we desire to know how he speaks of *Conviction of sin*?

“Men must be convinced of their sins, or perish. And whether this conviction resembles the sudden alarm of the Philippian jailor, or the gradual illumination of Cornelius, Lydia, the Ethiopian eunuch, and the Bereans, the results are the same. The careless and wicked are effectually brought to see their sin and danger, and to inquire after the way to salvation. They are pricked in their hearts with remorse and confusion; their vain excuses are silenced; they feel their lost condition; they humble themselves in contrition of soul before God, and admit without reserve the charge of guilt and condemnation which His holy law prefers against them.”¹

Do we desire to know how he defines *Faith*?

“Faith is an implicit credit given to the Divine testimony in the holy Scriptures. Faith receives with simplicity the witness of God, that cannot lie. The penitent reads, under its influence, every part of the volume of inspiration, and credits all he reads, however new, mysterious, or humiliating. Since, however, man is a fallen and ruined creature, and the leading truth of the Bible is the record concerning Christ — Faith, when genuine, fixes most intensely on this doctrine. It consequently produces, in the first place, a humble supplication for mercy, and a simple trust and reliance on the Saviour’s merits; and then forms us to a union with Him, and a hope in the future blessings He has promised. It thus becomes the substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen. Especially, it works by love, purifies the heart, and overcomes the world; and the fruits of holiness, thus produced, distinguish it as a living and divine principle, from a natural, speculative, and unproductive assent of the understanding.”²

Do we wish to know how he treats *Good Works*?

“Repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, are the beginning of all religion. This will lay the axe to the root of the tree. By *repentance* the sinner breaks off from transgression. By *faith* he receives the gift of righteousness, and obtains the benefit of remission. The merits of Jesus Christ being imputed to his account, he is accepted as righteous before God. He who thus receives forgiveness from the hands of his compassionate Saviour, will assuredly begin to love his neighbor as himself. Thus holiness and pardon will be inseparable. The regenerating grace of the Holy Spirit which he has already received in its incipient³ operation, will make him more and more a new creature. He

¹ Serm. 3. p. 68.

² Serm. 5. p. 108.

³ Only partly in existence; imperfectly formed.

will put off the old man with his deeds; he will put on the new man, and be gradually adorned with all the softer virtues of compassion, meekness, and forgiveness, towards those around him. This is Christianity. This is the principle and practice of religion.”¹

1810-31. LITERARY LIFE. 121

There is an admirable sermon in this volume on the “Ten Talents,” a consolatory one on “Religious Dejection,” and an encouraging one on “Decision in Religion,” from the character of Ruth.

Two important discourses also will be found on “The Force of Habit.” They have evidently been prepared with more than common care, but cannot claim the merit of entire originality. The basis of the argument on which they rest will be found in Bishop Butler’s fifth chapter on a “State of Probation as intended for moral Discipline and Improvement.” The illustrations employed, and the adaptation of Christianity to the argument, is Daniel Wilson’s; but the first idea and the argument itself is Bishop Butler’s. In the pages of the one, it stands an admirable and unanswerable moral essay; in the hands of the other, it is moulded into two powerful and convincing evangelical sermons. When we read that “the principle of virtue improved into a habit will plainly be a security against the danger we are in, from the very nature of propensity or particular affections,” we recognize Bishop Butler. But when we read that “there never was, and never can be, any other effectual mode of changing the intellectual habits and social usages of the sinner, of stopping him from rushing down the precipice, of awakening him from his profound lethargy, except that which the Scriptures reveal, viz., an entire conversion of the whole soul to God, by the mighty operation of the Holy Spirit,” — we recognize Daniel Wilson. He seems now to have conceived the idea, which he subsequently worked out, that the argument from analogy allows for expansion, and could be made available, not only in support of a revelation from God, but of Christianity (in its distinctives) as being that revelation.

One interesting anecdote connected with this volume of sermons may be mentioned now, though properly belonging to a later period. A young American clergyman named Douglas had arrived in London, quite alone, in search of health. Being seized with sudden and serious illness while sojourning there, he was asked whether he wished to see a clergyman. He at once named Mr. Daniel Wilson, from the simple circumstance that he had read and appreciated this very volume of sermons. A message was accordingly dispatched to Mr. Wilson, and found him at Mr. Fowell Buxton’s. After communicating with the messenger, he returned to the company, and related the circumstances of the case. At his request all present then knelt down and prayed that the communication about to take place with this unknown and dying man might be blessed of God. The first interview, which was satisfactory, was followed by several others, and then Mr. Douglas died. Being a stranger in a strange land, and having no certain burial-place, Mr. Wilson, who

122 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VIII.

had taken deep interest in the case, opened his own vault, and buried him with his own family. Some months passed on, and the circumstance was fading from memory when, at a large gathering of English clergymen, the Rev. Mr. Nettleton,² an American, was requested to describe the revivals of religion then taking place in his native land. He illustrated his remarks by the case of a Mr. Douglas, a young clergyman, whose first religious impressions had been produced at one of these revivals. He mourned over him as one lost; and told how he had come to Europe, had arrived in London, was improving in health, and anticipating a return to America and

¹ Serm, 10. p. 288.

² Asahel Nettleton (1783-1844). American theologian and pastor from Connecticut who was highly influential during the Second Great Awakening. The number of people converted to Christianity as a result of his ministry is estimated at 30,000.

extended usefulness, when suddenly all tidings from him had ceased, and all traces of him had disappeared. "I have been," said Mr. Nettleton, "from one end of this great city, to the other. I have inquired of many if they had ever met him; but the name of Sutherland Douglas was unknown to all. Can any here tell me anything respecting him?" Mr. Wilson was one of the clergy present, and he at once stepped forward, and, in a voice broken with deep emotion, said: "My dear sir, I can tell you all about him. I attended on his dying hours, and he now is buried in my family vault." The whole assembly melted into tears at the affecting narrative and striking coincidence. And all pondered on the wondrous chain of God's providence, of which the sermons now under review formed one link.

Sermons preached about this time for several parochial schools, will explain his views on the important subject of national and scriptural education; and a sermon before the "Prayer Book and Homily Society," unfolds the principles which he thinks must be settled before secession from the church can be justified.

"For myself," he says, in a sermon preached at Islington, "I will teach my child all the great facts and verities of the Christian religion; and with these I will connect an enlightened but devoted adherence to the edifying rites of our Episcopal Church. I will present my child at the font of baptism. I will teach him to ratify in his own person, in the rite of confirmation, the vows then made. I will lead him to the altar of our eucharistic sacrifice. I will train him to observe the Sabbath, and celebrate the public worship of God in the sublime devotions of our liturgy. To these habits I will add a spirit of steady loyalty to his king and country, a willing subjection to the law, a reverence to the persons of those in authority in Church and State. Thus I will teach him to honor all men, to love the brotherhood, to fear God, and honor the king. Nothing shall persuade me, while I have the Bible in my hand, to separate these essential parts from the solemn duty of education. No, I will sow the young soil with the specific seed which I wish to reap. I will graft the tree with the precise kind of fruit I wish it to bear. I will bend the tender shoot in the very position and form in which I wish to see it grow.

1810-31. LITERARY LIFE. 123

I will imbue the new vessel with the fragrant odor which I wish it ever to retain.

"I will indeed go as far as anyone in promoting harmony and cooperation with other bodies of Christians, where we are agreed in main principles. And when we cannot cooperate, I will unfeignedly love them still; but I will distinguish between charity and indifference; and I prefer acting on my own convictions, and adhering to my own church in a matter like education, where the sacrifice of principle can only lead to a hollow alliance, without abiding charity, or real esteem."

On the subject of "Secession," he says:

"Before an individual proceeds unwarrantably to disturb the unity of the church by separation and division, he should be prepared to reply to these two questions:

"1. Is he ready to subvert altogether the existing establishment of church polity?

"2. Has he a fair probability of substituting for it another decisively better?

"Because the subversion of any church would inevitably follow, if each individual were to act after the example which, so far as he is concerned, he authorizes and encourages.

"And because, if nothing greatly superior is to succeed, in a fair prospect of human events, all the guilt of disturbing without amending, of exciting confusion with no adequate countervailing advantage, will lie at his door."

The sermon before the Prayer Book and Homily Society, as opening his views on church government generally, was prepared with much care; and before being preached, it was submitted to the judgment of Thomas Scott, the commentator. An interesting account of this remains, the last interview with that excellent man. It was written at Aston Sandford, on June 25, 1819.

“I sat up with Mr. Scott last night till near twelve o’clock, talking over my correspondence with the Bishop of Chester on the doctrine of salvation. This morning he gave us a most beautiful exposition of Romans 10.12, etc. Afterwards, Mr. Scott went over my homily sermon with me. He alters but very little, and approves of most of my ecclesiastical notions.

“Mr. Scott is tolerable in health, though seventy-two years old, and asthmatic for forty-five years. He is very busy with his new edition of the Commentary on the Bible. He has now finished the whole of the first volume, and parts of the second and third. He finishes four or five sheets a week, expounds twice a day, has above a hundred communicants at his sacrament, is popular and beloved in his neighborhood, and has fuller churches than ever. It is quite delightful to see him once more in the flesh.”

Before long he was called to preach the funeral sermon of this venerable man of God. There was no one whom he more delighted to honor, no one in whom he placed more confidence, no one whose

124 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VIII.

writings he more habitually studied. To the close of his life, Scott’s Commentary on the Bible was the book of his choice. It exactly suited him. He never seemed sensible of its defects. He never felt it heavy. New authorities arose, new comments appeared; but still his word remained the same — “The old is better.” He recommended it to everyone whom he valued, and read it always himself. Its accordance with Scripture, its perfect honesty and integrity of purpose, its moderation in statements of doctrine, the practical and holy tendency everywhere manifest — all of these won his heart and kept it. And now, when called to bear testimony to the writer’s excellencies in a funeral sermon, he threw himself thoroughly into the work. He had to describe a man of strong natural and original powers. [Though] at first a determined opponent of the chief truths of the gospel, gradually borne on by the simple force of truth to agree with the common faith of the church, to his own dismay and to the injury of his temporal interests, and to admitting those doctrines which he had denied. Arriving at this point, all his powers were consecrated to God. He became the laborious preacher, the voluminous writer, the wise commentator, the sagacious adviser, the opponent of error in every shape, the leader in everything that was valuable. Limited in finances, a heavy preacher, a great sufferer, he yet had much happiness, and did much good. And the savor of his name remains, if not as a popular, yet as a most wise, useful, and holy man.

Such was the character Daniel Wilson had to portray, and he did it well. One sermon was preached, at first, in the neighborhood of Aston Sandford, the small church in that parish admitting scarcely a tenth of the mourners who crowded from all parts of the neighborhood; and this sermon was expanded into two, when preached subsequently at St. John’s. They are so largely quoted in the admirable and well-known “Life of the Rev. Thomas Scott,” written by his son, the late Rev. John Scott, of Hull, besides having themselves passed through several editions, that further reference to them is needless. For those who may think them too eulogistic, the following extract from letters written at the time are inserted here. They are the words of one who, when they were written, was Canon of Durha; but who now, with so much Christian wisdom and gentleness, occupies the highest ecclesiastical dignity in the church.

“1821. I have read “Wilson’s sermons on Scott with great interest. But surely he paints too highly, and praises above measure. What more could have been said of Luther? And we had the same strain about Milner too. Are all apostles?”

“1822. I remember last year expressing an opinion that Daniel Wilson had extolled

1810-31. LITERARY LIFE. 125

Scott beyond bounds. Really, since I have read his life, I think otherwise. His devotedness, disinterestedness, industry, scriptural wisdom, and truly apostolic character, are most admirable and instructive. What a pity that he could not to a greater degree recommend his *matter* by his *style*.”

In the year 1823, appeared the first of a series of Prefaces to various select Christian authors, published by Chalmers and Collins, of Glasgow. They were five in number. The preface to Adams' "Private Thoughts" appeared in 1823, to Butler's "Analogy" in 1825, to Wilberforce's "Practical View" in 1826, to Baxter's "Reformed Pastor" in 1829, and to Quesnel's "On the Gospels" in 1830.

The preface to Adams' "Private Thoughts" is short, but complete. It inspires a desire to read the work which it introduces. It contrasts the depth and seriousness of the author's reflections with the superficial divinity of the day. It anticipates objections, and removes them. Thus it accomplishes every purpose which a preface has in view, and it neither needs nor asks for any higher praise.

The preface to Butler's "Analogy" takes a far higher flight, and requires a longer notice. It was here that the writer aimed at extending the argument from analogy, and adapting it to Christianity, to which reference has been already made. How he succeeded, other authorities higher and abler than he who writes these lines, shall say.

The first authority is that of Dr. Sumner, Bishop of Winchester:

"The preliminary remarks and analysis of the argument prefixed to the volume of Butler's analogy are in themselves masterly performances, and may not improperly be instanced as the finest proof he (Daniel Wilson) has left of his mental power. They are written in his best style; brief, yet clear; vigorous, and terse, and flowing."

The second is Dr. Copleston, then Provost of Oriel College, Oxford, and afterwards Bishop of Llandaff:

"APRIL 1825.

"I have but just finished your *Introductory Essay to Bishop Butler's Analogy*, and although it appears to me that your abridgment of the author is exact and judicious, yet the latter part of the essay is what I chiefly admire and value. The remarks from p. 85 onwards are excellent, and will be of great practical use, which I believe abridgments seldom are, except to the person who makes them.

"But the connection of this argument with the other branches of Christian evidence is admirably pointed out and illustrated. I have no doubt, also, that you are right in thinking that Butler has fallen short of that view of Christianity which is most effectual in subduing the heart of man and training him for heaven. But allowance may surely be made for the nature of his argument, which was principally to refute the infidel, and bring men as willing disciples to the gospel. The full development

126 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VIII.

and the powerful enforcement of gospel truths is the constant business of our profession. He has not entered so largely into this office as might have been done, and yet, as it seems to me, he has gone as far as his undertaking required him to go. The foundation has been firmly laid. And everyone who has advanced thus far, must know that a great deal remains for him to do before the work can be considered as completed. This work gives ample scope for the abilities and zeal of all our fellow-laborers, and I willingly acknowledge that among them you have had a distinguished share. That the due reward of such labors may be your lot in this life, as it certainly will be hereafter, is the sincere prayer of, etc. etc.,

"EDWARD COPLESTON."

The third authority is that of the Key. C. Jerram, his friend and successor at St. John's:

"I go the full length with you in all you say, and admire the manner in which you bring the subject home, and show its vital importance.

"I think, also, that your remarks on the argument of Butler, retaining all its force, or even augmented force, on the supposition of your statement of evangelical truth being the basis of the system, is exceedingly good.

“I wish an Act of Parliament could be obtained to prevent any edition of Butler from being circulated without your Introduction.”

The preface to Wilberforce’s “Practical View” attempts, in the first place, to give a just conception of the merits of the work itself; it then describes the reception it met with on its first appearance, and its connection with the revival of true religion; and concludes with some general observations on the gradual progress which had since taken place. Much valuable matter is thus secured, and the interest in the work greatly increased.

The venerable author himself read this preface, and there maybe some truth in the remark he made after doing so, as recorded in his “Life;” for the terms employed were highly laudatory:

“Such things ought never to be published till a man is dead.”¹

Daniel Wilson naturally availed himself of this opportunity to express his abhorrence of slavery; but his opinion found fuller and freer utterance subsequently in a sermon preached at Cheltenham, Islington, and St. John’s, and ultimately committed to the press in 1830, under the title, “The Guilt of forbearing to Deliver our British Colonial Slaves.”

The preface to Baxter’s “Reformed Pastor,” is not so much an explanatory comment on it, as a stirring appeal, on the basis and after the manner of it.

1810-31. LITERARY LIFE. 127

The writer does in 1829 what Baxter did in 1656 — he attempts to rouse a slumbering church, and bids all to faith, and calling upon God. A few words from a letter addressed by Dr. Chalmers to him will be a sufficient commendation:

“EDINBURGH, MAY 14, 1829.

“I have just perused with very great delight your preface to Baxter’s ‘Reformed Pastor.’”

Quesnel, “On the Gospels,” was the last of the series of Prefaces. It is chiefly historical and explanatory, and will be found both interesting and instructive. The praise bestowed upon the labors and research of sixty years, is mingled with the cautions necessary for the perusal of the work of one who, though excommunicated by the Pope in 1714, yet lived and died a Roman Catholic.

Midway among the Prefaces, viz., in 1823, appeared a work of a different character. Weighed down with his abundant labors, Daniel Wilson was compelled to seek rest and recreation on the Continent. His family accompanied him; but all being occupied with their respective journals, the duty of a correspondent fell on him. His letters were read by a large circle of anxious and admiring friends at home. They naturally inspired interest, and the demand for publication, eventually made, could scarcely be refused.

The result was the appearance of two small volumes entitled “Letters from an absent Brother.” They were what they professed to be, and literally are, without pretension. When first published, they entered too much into matters of personal detail; and many of the conclusions were no doubt hastily drawn. But much of this was altered in a second edition; and there is a freshness of feeling running through the whole, an enjoyment of nature, a vein of true piety, a zeal for God, a description of Popish² superstition and Protestant laxity, a seeking out of good men, and of doing good works, which unemotionally interest the reader, carry him unwearied from place to place, and leave him pleased and instructed with this unexciting narrative of a five months’ continental journey.

¹ “Life,” vol. v. p. 846.

² That is, Roman Catholic superstition – ‘popish’ referring to the Pope of Rome, and hence Roman Catholic teachings.

But the most important of all his works before he left England (and this is the limit assigned here to his “Literary Life”) was “The Evidences of Christianity;” it was completed and published in two volumes in the year 1830. This was probably the last book of the kind presented to the church before the modern school arose, which, disregarding evidences, laid the main stress of Christianity upon tradition and church authority. The introduction of a principle so essentially

128 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VIII.

Popish into a Protestant church, could not fail to cause great agitation; and the pendulum which had before been keeping true time, has ever since been oscillating violently between the two extremes of Tractarianism¹ and Latitudinarianism.² When agitation ceases, as cease it will, and quietness returns, then Christianity will be regarded once more as a “reasonable service,” and works upon the evidences such as this will assume their proper place, and be rated at their proper value. The chief uniqueness of “Evidences,” as distinguished from similar attempts, is that it combines close reasoning on the evidences, with strong appeals to the conscience. No doubt a certain difficulty follows: for those who need the evidences will disregard the appeals, and those who value the appeals will not need the evidences. Still, there are four large and important classes to whom the work will be invaluable: *first*, those who are entering on a religious life; *secondly*, those who are satisfied of the truth of Christianity, but unable to give to anyone that asks a “reason for the hope that is in them;” *thirdly*, those whose faith may have been shaken by communication with unbelievers; and *fourthly*, those who are anxious to revive forgotten truths in their own souls.

For all such characters, these volumes are well-adapted, since they do exactly what is wanted. They speak at once to the head and to the heart. No labor was spared by the author. He availed himself of the writings of seventy-nine other authors to enrich his own; twenty-three different works in various languages were consulted on the single subject of inspiration. There was no haste. Eleven years elapsed between the first conception and the final publication. It was in the year 1819 that he thus wrote to Mrs. Hannah More upon the subject:

“9 CHAPEL STREET, NOVEMBER 16, 1819.

“I have need of your advice. The awful signs of the present period have led me to think that possibly a course of sermons on the ‘Evidences of Christianity’ might not be without its use. The objections to such a step are, I am aware, sufficiently formidable. The number of works extant; the improbability of those who are infected with infidelity being present; the difficulty, in the hurry of other indispensable duties, of preparing such a course as may tolerably satisfy a thinking person; the danger of injecting doubts into the minds of the unstable, etc.

“The arguments in favor of the measure are the obvious ones of the arrogant and widely diffused publications of infidelity, the necessity of inculcating old truths, the hope of confirming the minds of the young, and the satisfaction of having made the attempt.

“Now, allow me to request your opinion on this preliminary question.

¹ The principles of the founders of the Oxford movement were expounded in pamphlets called ‘Tracts for the Times.’ The Oxford movement involved High Church Anglicans; it eventually developed into Anglo-Catholicism. Its members were often associated with the University of Oxford. They argued for reinstating lost Christian (Catholic) traditions by including them in Anglican liturgy and theology. They saw the Anglican Church as one of three branches of the Catholic Church.

² Today this would be called “Liberalism” – being so broad-minded and tolerant (giving great ‘latitude’) in standards of religious belief and conduct, that the truth of God is set aside in favor of human acceptance and forbearance. It rejects the idea that some truths (or *any* truths) are worth dividing over. In the end, it denies that absolute or biblical truth even exists.

“I have an idea that a middle line might be traced out between cold external argument, and flimsy declamation;¹ something solid and yet practical; not

1810-31. LITERARY LIFE. 129

controversial or over-critical, and yet not vapid and insulting to an adversary; something that should partake of Paley’s historical clearness, and Abbadio’s close reasoning, and Grotius’ brevity, and Scott’s practical and weighty argument, and Porteus’ inimitable sweetness and piety, and half a dozen other virtues of half a dozen other men, which were never combined, and which it is madness, and presumption, and folly even to talk of imitating, and which throw the whole attempt into a mere fairy vision.

“But seriously, I have a notion in my head that something of argument and practice might be conjoined.”

In consequence of Mrs. Hannah More’s advanced age and weak sight, her answer was conveyed by means of an amanuensis;² but before the letter left, she took the pen and traced a few lines of encouragement, ending thus:

“What your hand finds to do, do, not only with all your might, but quickly. May the Holy Spirit direct and strengthen you, dear sir, is the prayer of your faithful and affectionate

“Hannah More.”

Thus encouraged by the advice of Mrs. Hannah More, and many other friends, he began to carry his design into execution. He prepared a course of Lectures, and delivered them at St. John’s Chapel during the winter months of the year 1819. Then followed their preparation for the press; and in October 1820, he reports progress as follows:

“WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1820.

“I cannot prevail upon myself to break up my ten weeks’ retreat this summer without giving you some kind of account of my progress in the work which you were so good as to encourage me to undertake. I have been steadily pursuing it at every leisure moment, and have made a rough copy of the whole. The subject has so opened on my mind as I have gone on, that I more and more perceive how it allows new illustration, and additional statements in almost every branch of it. Nor can I help, at times, stopping to admire the goodness of the Divine providence in surrounding the most important of all inquiries with a brightness of evidence to which nothing was ever equal or similar. It was, indeed, only last week that I was meditating on one topic — sufficiently exhausted, one would think — that of the Scripture Miracles, and I was really filled with surprise at the prominent and untouched elevation on which they stood, and looked down, as it were, with disdain on the wretched prodigies which infidels have sometimes dared to set up against them.

“The variety of the Christian evidences has also been a subject of my admiration, and I feel persuaded that when the inspiration of Scripture, and the excellency and efficacy of the Scripture doctrine, sustained by the accumulated historical testimonies are brought forward fairly before an honest mind, the conviction of the truth of Christianity must be quite irresistible.

“In short, my dear madam, I am enraptured with my subject; and whether

130 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VIII.

I ever live to complete my projected book or not, the study delights and edifies me, and more than repays the labor it may require.

“I think it will take a year and a half more to complete my design. For I cannot go on fast. Everything demands thought, and reading, and prayer. Two volumes *octavo* will be about my limit. A mere table of contents satisfies no one. And I cannot well compress such an argument into a less

¹ [Vehement oratory.](#)

² [Amanuensis: transcription from speech; that is, she dictated the letter.](#)

compass, for it is by the weight which each branch lends to the rest, that the entire force is to be collected.”

It is interesting thus to penetrate the mind of an author, and trace the progress of his work. How few who take it up, and skim it slightly, and offer easy criticisms, are aware of the labor and research, the thought and prayer, that have been given to its composition.

The design was not completed at this time. Health forbade, and a change of circumstances intervened, as will be related in due course. It was not until 1827-1830 that the Lectures were again delivered in Islington Parish Church, and finally completed and published.

It would be a vain attempt to analyze the work. It must be read. In fact, it has been read and diffused so widely in four editions throughout England and India, that any further notice would be superfluous, if not impertinent. No thoughtful reader can rise from its perusal without finding knowledge increased, doubts removed, faith confirmed, and every good purpose strengthened.

Meanwhile all England was convulsed by the avowed purpose of the Government to concede the claims of the Roman Catholics. In years past, Daniel Wilson had been adverse to the concession of their claims; but now his mind changed, and he took a prominent and earnest part in furthering the proposed measure.

When Sir Robert (then Mr.) Peel, resigned his seat for Oxford, and again became a candidate for it, Daniel Wilson warmly supported him. His reply to a member of Convocation was published, and was as follows:

“ISLINGTON, FEBRUARY 19, 1829.

“I shall have the greatest pleasure, not only in voting for Mr. Peel, but in lending all the help I can in promoting his reelection. I consider his conduct to have been most noble. If I differed from him in judgment, I should still support him on the ground of his admirable public services; but, agreeing with him as I do, I shall naturally be most anxious to serve him. I conceive Mr. Peel has rendered the most important and critical service to his country which any statesman has done in my memory. The tranquility of the empire will be owing very much, under Providence, to his manly and honorable decision.

“Let me know the day of election, and I will come down at all events.”

1810-31. LITERARY LIFE. 131

When the measure was under discussion, he wrote a letter to the editor of the “Christian Observer,” which was afterwards separately published as a pamphlet, in which he stated at length the reasons which had led him to change his mind, the evils which he apprehended from a refusal of the measure, and the benefits he anticipated from its adoption. He also entered at length into the religious bearings of the question. This letter had a wide circulation, and made a great impression. It alienated some friends from him for a time, and sacrificed a few forever. But there were many with him — Wilberforce, Acland, Dealtry, the Grants, etc.; and all kinds of testimonies are still extant, expressing assent and approval. Letters from Sir J. Mackintosh and Dr. Chalmers, are among them. The former sought an interview for the purpose of consulting him how best, in his speech in Parliament, the religious difficulties of the question might be met; and the latter writes from Edinburgh, as follows:

“I have to offer you my best thanks for the copy of your admirable letter, in whose reasonings and views I entirely acquiesce. My speeches are not worthy of perusal by one who has read, and far less by him who has produced, your full and comprehensive view of the question.”

Mr. Simeon, of Cambridge, also says, in characteristic words:

“The best way is to let Mr. _____ alone. You are not the only friend of robbery and murder! I remember Mr. Cecil says, ‘If a little man is attacked, he is very anxious to vindicate himself, because

he is afraid of being snuffed out.' There must be a larger pair of snuffers than any Mr. _____ possesses, to snuff you out, my brother, or to impair your light.

"I think I once told you that I take the moon for my pattern. When she is at the full, the dogs bark at her. But I never yet heard of her stopping to inquire why they barked.

"Your co-heretical friend and brother,

"C. Simeon,"

This first letter, written in March, was followed by a second in April. In it he stated the measures which he considered desirable for Ireland under her altered circumstances. These measures were chiefly of a religious character; and this second letter, though not so brilliant or exciting as the first, was yet eminently practical and useful. Dr. Chalmers said of it, that he felt "quite confident a great and general impression would be made by the views thus brought forward."

Whatever judgment may be formed of the part he took in this matter, there can be no doubt as to the singleness of his purpose and his earnest sincerity. In later years he expressed regret, and a feeling of disappointment, that the result had fallen

132 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. VIII.

short of his anticipations. But it is too soon to decide. We know but in part. The problem is not worked out even now. The results, when developed, may show that the tendency of the measure was to promote the glory of God and the good of the church.

The year 1830 was productive of another valuable work. Seven sermons on the "Lord's Day," were preached and published. It was a favorite subject; and here the author tells us "all his heart." He yields nothing to timid friends or angry foes. The seventh day of rest, as instituted in Paradise, confirmed on Sinai, morally binding upon all, restored to its integrity by our Lord, changed from the last day of the week to the first by his apostles, designed for holy purposes and the soul's health — these points, and others of much moment, are supported by arguments of all kinds, drawn from all sources.

A critical reader may, perhaps, find fault with the accumulation of arguments, and say that three or four weak points will never make a strong one. He may also complain of the style; for though it is not florid¹ now (that is past), it was unpleasantly authoritative. These faults, however, are trifling compared with the result, which is to place the divine authority and perpetual obligation of the Lord's Day upon a basis incontrovertible and immovable.

Two or three funeral sermons may be noticed together: one occasioned by the death of Charles Grant, Esq., in 1823; one by the death of the Rev. Samuel Crowther, vicar² of Christ Church, Newgate Street, in 1829; and one by the death of the Rev. Basil Woodd, minister of Bentinck Chapel, Marylebone, in 1831. All are interesting, and the discrimination of character admirable.

A controversy arose, in 1831, between Daniel Wilson and Dr. Burton, Professor of Divinity at Oxford. It sprung primarily from the errors of Mr. Bulteel, and turned upon the subject of baptismal justification. While engaged in it, a friend called, and found him not only busy, but anxious and uneasy. Inquiry having been made as to the cause, Mr. Wilson said:

"I am doing a most difficult and delicate thing. I am reading over a controversial letter which is about to be printed, in order to find out and strike out whatever is not in a Christian spirit. There is

¹ Elaborately or excessively ornamented.

² A *vicar* is similar to a *rector*. The difference has to do with the source of his income. A vicar is the clergyman in charge of a parish or mission that is financially supported from the outside (usually by the crown); while a rector is the clergyman in charge of a self-supporting church that pays him directly. In England most churches are supported by their diocese, so most are vicars. Vicars reside in the church "vicarage," rectors in the church "rectory;" in Scotland, a "manse."

not a more difficult thing than to write on controverted points in the true spirit of the gospel. After I have done what I can myself, I shall send it to a friend, that he may correct what I have left imperfect.”

We may now open the study door, and return to scenes of active life. The first object which meets the eye is St. John's, Bedford Row.

CHAPTER 9. ST. JOHN'S. 1811-1824.

ORIGIN OF ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL — DR. SACHEVEREL — CLOSING OF ST. JOHN'S CHAPEL — MANNER IN THE PULPIT — COMPOSITION OF SERMONS — ANECDOTE OF A FRENCH PASTOR — NUMBER OF SERMONS — COURSES OF SERMONS — LOST MSS. — CONGREGATION — DISTINGUISHED AUDITORS — FIRST IMPRESSIONS — EXTENSIVE USEFULNESS — DR. BUCHANAN — CANON DALE — BASIL WOODD — CORRESPONDENCE — QUESTION OF LAW — CONFIRMATION — COLLECTIONS — DISTRICT VISITING SOCIETY — AUXILIARY BIBLE SOCIETY — VISITS TO OXFORD, NORFOLK, BIRMINGHAM, DUBLIN, ARMAGH, BRISTOL, MANCHESTER, STAFFORDSHIRE, NORTH WALES, LIVERPOOL, BUCKINGHAMSHIRE, NORTHAMPTONSHIRE, CAMBRIDGE, HALIFAX, HUDDERSFIELD, CASTERTON, LEEDS, KNARESBOROUGH, CHANNEL ISLANDS, FRANCE — ANECDOTES — OPINIONS ON VARIOUS SUBJECTS — FRENCH TRANSLATIONS — ECLECTIC SOCIETY — FAILURE OF HEALTH — CONTINENTAL TOUR — DANGEROUS ILLNESS — RECOVERY — BECOMES VICAR OF ISLINGTON.

St. John's Chapel was built in the reign of Queen Anne and the days of Dr. Sacheverel. It stood upon ground belonging to the trustees of Rugby School, and within the boundaries of the Parish of St. Andrew's, Holborn. The tradition is that the queen, looking favorably on Dr. Sacheverel, and desirous to promote him, sent for the patron of the rectory of St. Andrew's, which was then vacant, in order to express her wish that the Doctor should be appointed rector. The presentation belonged to the noble family of Montagu, now merged, by the marriage of the heiress, in the Dukedom of Buccleugh and Queensbury. Some intimation of the queen's purpose having transpired, a "clerk" was selected and duly appointed, before her Majesty's summons was obeyed, and her wish expressed; and then with courteous words the impossibility of compliance was pleaded. Queen Anne, however, was not to be so baffled. The newly-appointed rector was made a bishop. This not only vacated the living,¹ but placed the next appointment at the disposal of the Crown. It was instantly conferred upon Dr. Sacheverel, and he lived and died Rector of St. Andrew's. He was buried in the chancel of the church, and the inscription over his tomb still remains: "*Infra jacet Henricus Sacheverel, S. T. P., Hujusce Ecclesiffi Rector. Obiit 5 die Junii, Anno Dom. 1724.*"²

134 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

Some of the citizens were greatly offended at the appointment, and as a safety-valve against the pressure of High Church doctrines, combined and built St. John's Chapel in Bedford Row. If this was indeed its mission, it has been accomplished; and now the place which once knew it, knows it no more.

One Thursday evening in November 1856, when the verger³ was about to ring the bell and summon the congregation for the usual week-day evening service, he could produce no sound. Still many were assembled, and divine service proceeded; but when the minister ascended the pulpit, he perceived, from signs not to be mistaken, that the whole of the immense and massive roof had shifted and sunk, and might at any instant crush him and the whole congregation. A very short sermon naturally, and most wisely, followed this discovery; and that was the last sermon preached, or *ever* to be preached, in a chapel where the TRUTH AS IT IS IN JESUS had been so long and so faithfully held forth by a succession of able and pious ministers.⁴

¹ That is, the means of living – the paid church office (or *benefice*).

² Below lies Henry Sacheverel, S. T. P., the Ecclesial Guide. Died June 5, in the year of our Lord. 1724.

³ A church officer who takes care of the interior of the building; he acts as an attendant (carrying the *verge* - a ceremonial or emblematic staff) during ceremonies.

⁴ The chapel has been recently pulled down, and the materials sold.

The building had never been consecrated, but was held on lease by each successive minister, who officiated under the bishop's license, with the consent of the rector of the parish; and this was the tenure by which the chapel was held in the days of Cecil and Wilson.

Possessing no sort of ecclesiastical character externally, the building was yet in the interior, and previous to an enlargement in 1821, which brought forward the galleries and injured the proportions, a noble and imposing structure; and few recollections of a religious kind are more deeply written on the memories of a generation now passing away, than of the crowded congregations in that interior, hanging upon Daniel Wilson's lips, and listening to his commanding oratory and impassioned appeals. There was nothing of affectation in his mode of address, thus to win popularity or draw a crowd. He stood as God's minister to do God's work. He was an earnest man, when earnest men were comparatively rare; he fully preached the gospel when preachers of the gospel were comparatively few. Add to this that he was steadfast when many were given to change, and moderate when many were prone to extremes, and you have the primary causes of his great and ever-increasing influence at St. John's. There were others. His manner was natural. His voice was perfect. His enunciation was remarkably clear and distinct. His action varied with the subject; now grave, now vehement, but always graceful and appropriate. When through a crowd of standing

1811 — 24. ST. JOHN'S. 137

auditors, he walked up the long side-aisle, before the sermon, with features set and full of seriousness, every eye turned towards him with a feeling of interest as to what the Lord God was about to say by his mouth. Those who have known him in the decline of life, or those even who have only known him in Islington, have no idea of his power in the pulpit of St. John's. In the decline of life, peculiarities often crept into his discourses; and in Islington, local and parochial matters upon which he wished to influence men's minds, were frequently introduced; but there was nothing of the kind at St. John's. He was then like a man "set for the defence of the gospel." Mr. Simeon used to say that the congregation was at his feet. All felt his power. The preaching of "Christ crucified," and the salvation of the souls of men were his great objects — never forgotten — never out of sight. There was a seriousness in his manner, before which levity shrunk abashed; an occasional vehemence, which swept all obstacles before it; a pathos and tenderness, which opened in a moment the fountain of tears; and a command, which silenced for a time the mutterings of unbelief

In the earlier part of his ministry at St. John's, he preached *extempore*. He thought it most useful at the time and for the people. Writing to his assistant minister, in the year 1811, he says:

"Of the taste of the congregation of St. John's, I am perfectly ignorant. Since I have been ministering to it, I have simply adopted that course which I conceived on the whole to have the preference — to be most for the glory of God, and the salvation and holiness of the church. I may have erred fundamentally in my opinion, as I have unquestionably fallen short of every part of what I have aimed at accomplishing. But while my views continue the same, I certainly should violate my conscience were I to act upon the sentiments of others."

His sermons were thoroughly prepared, but only a few notes taken up into the pulpit. These notes were gradually enlarged, in order to lessen, as he was accustomed to say, the strain upon his mind; and finally, the sermons were fully written, though not always preached as written. His mind was clear, and his self-possession unruffled. Argument, therefore, readily mingled with exhortation, and exposition of Scripture was varied by appeals to the conscience. There were no set phrases to fill up gaps; no needless repetitions to spin out time; but all was clear, solid, natural, impressive, and instructive. Occasionally there was hesitation for lack of the right word; but the only effect of this was to excite the idea of fulness of matter and eagerness of purpose. Every part of the service was in harmony, and in the spirit of a memorandum which

138 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

had been left by Mr. Cecil, when no longer able to exercise his ministry:

“I am anxious that whoever takes the future management of the chapel, should conduct it in the same order; and that no new customs should be introduced; that all neglects and abuses may be watched over and restrained; and that the same grave and holy uniformity be preserved.”

The prayers were accordingly read without any chanting; a psalm was sung after the second lesson, as well as before the communion service and sermon; the organ, which was one of the finest old instruments in England, was played by Miss Cecil, a mistress of the art, who caught up and carried on the sentiment and feeling of the hour; and the whole was grave, devotional, and edifying.

The sermons were often long, but that was deemed no grievance; and, as he had no parochial charge, they were made the centre round which other duties revolved. Texts were selected on the Sunday evening or Monday morning, and his thoughts were then concentrated on them for that week. If a brother clergyman was met in the streets, the conversation would turn, not on the current news of the day, but upon last or next Sunday’s sermon: — What is the text? What is the treatment? What is the effect? No labor was deemed too great. He had that peculiarity which characterizes every distinguished man — he was painstaking. He was always a student, and delighted in study. The body of the discourse was written in very large short-hand, so as easily to catch his eye, for he was very short-sighted in middle life; while the blank side was covered with extracts from critics, commentators, fathers, divines, and devotional writers of all kinds. This involved great labor, and must by no means be confounded with the “short and easy method” of looking at a commentator, adopting his comment, and from it framing the sermon. In one of his manuscript sermons, which had been several times preached, there are long extracts on the blank leaves from eight different authors; and six or seven sermons, examined promiscuously, show long quotations from fifty-nine different authorities — among them Vitringa, Luther, Lowth, Calvin, Scott, Henry, Maclaurin, Leighton, Davenant, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Daille, Bishop Pearson, Dr. Wells, South, Milner, Macknight, Clement of Alexandria, Bourdaloue, Bishop Horsley, Waterland, Lardner, Blomfield, Butler, Girdlestone, Cecil, Hooker, Sumner, and Witsius. Thus he had material for many sermons under one cover, and upon the same text; and by varying the authorities, he could, and did, vary to a great extent the tone and character of the discourse. Thus the sketch formed in his own mind, was filled up with the great

1811 — 24. ST. JOHN’S. 139

thoughts of great men; and what was original was enriched from the stores of others. This power of adaptation is not common, but it was one of Daniel Wilson’s peculiarities.¹ He was always on the watch for useful hints. A simple, pious, and unpretending French pastor was once brought to his study to be introduced to him. At St. Quentin, the place where this pastor ministered, a species of revival in religion had taken place, and through his instrumentality. He related the circumstances in a simple way, and particularly mentioned one sermon he had preached, which appeared to have produced a great effect upon his people. Mr. Wilson had listened with much interest up to this point; but the instant he heard of the sermon, out came pen and paper, and a rapid series of questions began. What was the text? What were the divisions? What was the plan of treatment? What were the classes addressed? All was taken down, avowedly for future use, in the hope that a similarly good effect might be again produced. Thus he gathered honey for his own hive from every quarter.

A register was kept of every sermon preached, with ruled columns, and short comments, such as

¹ That is, a characteristic trait.

“Christmas day, 1811. I was very dry, cold, and lifeless. I did not seem to come home to the hearts of the people.

“Feb. 26, 1812. This was a most delightful service to my own mind.

“Nov. 16, 1817. Funeral sermon for the Princess Charlotte of Wales.

“April 16, 1820. Sermon on Dean Milner’s death.”

Before he went to St. John’s, he had preached six hundred and forty sermons. While at St. John’s he preached one thousand one hundred and eighty-seven sermons. At Islington he preached eight hundred and twenty. At various places, between the years 1801 and 1832, he preached seven hundred and eighty. While at home on a visit from India, seventy-eight. And in India itself, two thousand three hundred and one; — making a total of five thousand eight hundred and six sermons, and addresses partaking of the character of sermons! It is not meant that he composed that number of separate sermons, but that he had preached that number of times. Many sermons were preached eleven and twelve times, and many oftener still. It was his frequent custom. Thus he writes to his assistant at St. John’s, in 1809, from Oxford:

“I have just been prevailed upon to take a charity sermon before our corporation here. I think of 1Peter 1.22, as the text. I mean to try it first at Worton, and then bring it to Oxford, on its way to St. John’s, December 10th.”

140 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

He was fond of courses of sermons, and preached them regularly on Wednesday mornings during Lent, and at other times on Sunday. Thus, during successive Lents, he preached on the Fifty-first Psalm, the temptation in the wilderness, our Lord’s prayer, our Lord’s passion, the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah; and at other times from the fifty-fifth chapter of Isaiah, the Epistle to the Ephesians, the early chapters of the Acts, the books of Jonah and Ruth, the history of Hezekiah, the parable of the Marriage Supper, the thirteenth chapter of 1st Corinthians, the work of the Holy Spirit.

Some of these courses of sermons were wonderfully effective in his hands.

Many of his manuscripts were lost; many were published; many were stolen and destroyed by native servants in India; so that those now in existence are but like “two or three berries on the uppermost branches,” — reminiscences of “labors more abundant.” He ever acted on the saying, which was often on his lips: “We may err in a thousand ecclesiastical matters, but we cannot be doing wrong in preaching the gospel.” This, therefore, was his delight; and here he was “instant in season and out of season,” reproofing, rebuking, and exhorting, with “all long-suffering and doctrine.” He never came up to his own idea of what a preacher should be; for, writing to Mrs. Hannah More, soon after the first publication of his volume of sermons, in 1818, he says:

“Let me thank you for your flattering opinion of my volume, which infinitely dissatisfies me, however kindly my friends may bear with it. I have a conception sometimes of what preaching ought to be — but I fall far short in every attempt.”

The congregation assembling at St. John’s was calculated to draw out all the powers of the minister thus set over them in the Lord. They were gathered from all parts of the metropolis, and there were few persons truly interested in religion who were not occasionally present. In later-years when, as bishop, Daniel Wilson passed through the length and breadth of India, he was still among his hearers; and the sermons preached at St. John’s were the frequent subjects of discourse. “I remember hearing your lordship at St. John’s” — “I remember such a text, or such a sermon at St. John’s” — these were the constant salutations.

Among the regular attendants were John Thornton and his sons — names suggestive of singular goodness and beneficence. There sat Charles Grant with his family, and two sons, distinguished afterwards, the one as Lord Glenelg, President of the Board of

Control, and Secretary of State for the Colonies; the other as Sir Robert Grant, Governor of Bombay. There also sat Zachary Macaulay, accompanied by his son, the legislative counsellor of India and historian of England — ennobling literature, and now ennobled by it. Dr. Mason Good was there — a physician of high repute, the master of seventeen languages, and translator of the Psalms and the Book of Job who, from a disciple of Belsham, was now “sitting at the feet of Jesus.” Near him might be seen Mr. Stephen and his family, Mr. Cardale, Mr. Bainbridge, Mr. Wigg, Mr. Charles Bridges, and many others of high repute and piety. Lawyers of note, also, who afterwards adorned the bench, were pew-holders in St. John's. The good Bishop Ryder often attended, and Lord Calthrope, Mr. Bowdler, the “facile princeps,” as he was termed, of the rising barristers of his day, and Sir Digby Mackworth. Mr. Wilberforce was frequently present, with his son Samuel “to take care of him.” The late Duchess of Beaufort, also, often sought to hear him, with many members of her family. Individuals of every “sort and condition” were thus assembled — high and low, rich and poor, one with another. Thirty or forty carriages might often be counted during the London season, standing in triple rows about the doors; and though there was, as is too often, unhappily, the case in proprietary chapels, but scant accommodation for the poor, yet they loved to attend, and every vacant sitting-place was filled by them, the moment the doors opened.

The importance of such a congregation is obvious at a glance; and the minister himself was quite sensible of it. In November 1711, the early days of his ministry, he wrote to his wife:

“Mr. Stephen enclosed to me a letter from Mr. Marriott, a gentleman very high in the law, who came to St. John's with Mrs. Marriott on Sunday evening, in which he expresses his conviction that every part of the discourse was agreeable to divine truth. What a cause of praise to the Giver of all mercy! May the conviction thus wrought, lead to still further measures of knowledge and grace. How important is the situation of a minister in London! He never knows whom he is addressing.”

And in a letter of a later date, he expresses himself to the same effect:

“On Sunday evening I was quite surprised as I was going into chapel, by a knock at the vestry door, and Mrs. R. Ryder and Lady E. Somerset (daughter of the Duchess of Beaufort), with another lady, requesting me to find them seats. May God our Saviour bless his word to these and all others who hear it.”

All persons were not, of course, equally attracted. A first sermon did not always please; but let anyone hear him a second time, or

142 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

a third, and they seldom wished to hear any other preacher. “I will never go to hear that Daniel Wilson again,” was the expression of a young man then training for the law, and making no profession of religion, now of mature age, unspotted reputation, and true piety, who had been persuaded to attend St. John's. But he did hear him again; and now his observation on retiring from the chapel, was, “I will never hear anybody but Daniel Wilson, if I can help it.” Failing in his endeavor to obtain a pew, he sat for six months upon one of the drop-scats affixed to the outside of the pew doors in the middle aisle; and there, amidst the crowd of worshippers, drank in the word of life.

It is told of another individual, now advanced in life, and distinguished both in the political and religious world, that when he first came up to London, to study for the bar, he casually (as men speak) entered St. John's Chapel one Sunday evening. After standing for a long while in the aisle, and failing to get a seat, he felt vexed and chafed, and was retiring. One of the settled congregation, however, saw him going, followed him to the outer door, brought him back, and made room for him in his pew. The sermon that he then heard was instrumental to his conversion, and he walked from there in the way that leads to everlasting life. The incident is not

only encouraging to ministers, but instructive to pew-holders; the opening of a door may lead to the salvation of a soul.

Another incident may also be noted. A near relative of Daniel Wilson was one of a large company, when a gentleman approached and sought a personal introduction. "I wished to be introduced," he said, in explanation, "to a relative of one to whom I owe everything for time and eternity. I am only one of very many who do not know and never spoke to Mr. Wilson, but to whom he has been a father in Christ. He never will know, and he never ought to know, the good he has been the means of doing; for no man could bear it."

Such incidents might be multiplied; but it needs not to those who know the power of Divine grace, and who remember the sure word of prophecy, "My word shall not return to me void; and it shall accomplish that which I please, and it shall prosper in the things for which I sent it."¹ The celebrated Dr. Claudius Buchanan, writing in 1814, well expressed what many felt: "I rejoice to hear from time to time of your labors, and of the triumphs of the gospel at the church of St. John's. It is a theatre of grander events than the general Congress."

It has been already stated that no parochial charge was legally

1811-24. ST. JOHN'S. 143

attached to St. John's Chapel; and, indeed, it was necessary that the minister should be much upon his guard, lest a feeling of jealousy should be aroused in the parish. But subject to the wants of his own congregation, he was at full liberty to attend; and when his advice or help was needed, he was always to be found in his study, which was at the end of a long passage, and was connected with the chapel.

One day a young clergyman called upon him. While at college he had translated the whole of the plays of Sophocles into English verse. He now needed advice as to the publication of them; and came to ask whether it would be in any sense derogatory to his new character as a clergyman. Mr. Wilson listened to the details with much interest, and then, with the good sense which characterized him, gave the following advice: "If as a clergyman," he said, "you had given yourself to this work, it would have been unbecoming, and contrary to the duties you had undertaken. But as a college exercise it was perfectly legitimate; and the publication, now that you are in orders, will be in no sense wrong. On the contrary, it may do you good — establish your character as a scholar, and extend your usefulness. Publish, by all means; and then give yourself wholly to the work of the ministry." The advice was taken, and the results anticipated followed. The "young clergyman" then, is now the Rev. Thomas Dale, canon of St. Paul's, and vicar of St. Pancras.

But, after all, he was a busy man, and not always patient with such interruptions. He had laid to heart, and often repeated, a saying of Mr. Cecil's, that "if a minister was always to be had, he was good for nothing." Many, accordingly, who called on him, met with a kind reception, but a speedy dismissal. The moment the business was ended, the hand was shaken and the "good-bye" spoken. Of this his old friend, Mr. Basil Woodd, who was fond of a little quiet talk, used to complain. "When I go to see Mr. Wilson," he was wont to say, "before I have well-settled myself in the chair and got into conversation, I hear him say, 'Good-bye, dear Basil Woodd; here is your hat, and here is your umbrella.'"

No doubt affection was, in some degree, checked, and a certain kind of influence forfeited by this; and some persons may be disposed to blame it: but the man who himself fills a public post, with unceasing engagements, and every hour occupied, will not be disposed to throw the first stone.

¹ Isaiah 55.11.

Much time was necessarily taken up by correspondence. In the year 1812, he preached a sermon, in which he expressed an opinion that all close communication should be avoided with those who denied the divinity of our Lord; quoting as an authority the words and example of St. John, who was emphatically the Apostle of Love.

144 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

The next week a letter was sent to him by one of his hearers, twenty-three pages of closely-written paper, objecting to this statement, and avowing himself by education an Arian, "to say the least," and opening the whole controversy. It is easy to imagine what time and thought the answer would require.

Then a circumstance occurred which attracted much public interest at the time, involved much legal disputation, and occupied much time. It was the case of an excellent young person, who was shamefully treated, and finally disinherited, by a rich but half-insane father. She had no helper but Mr. Wilson, and Mr. Bartlett, who was then the assistant minister; but they gave themselves no rest till justice was done to her.

These are mere specimens of the multitude of cases which came before him as a London clergyman. Whenever anything within his range got wrong, he was applied to as the person to set it right, and he was always prompt and ready to respond to such appeals. It was not here he grudged the time.

There was a good deal of machinery connected with St. John's, which claimed his attention. There were large Sunday Schools, taught by members of the congregation, in which he was much interested. The Welsh Schools, as they were called, or schools for the instruction and entire maintenance of children of the Principality, attended at St. John's. Collections were also made annually for the St. Andrew's Parochial Schools. It was for the benefit of all these, primarily, that the "sermons to children," already referred to, were preached and printed.

The confirmations also occupied and interested him greatly. He speaks himself of one occasion, when three hundred and twenty-five young persons, "the flower of his flock," were presented to the bishop, and a large proportion of them afterwards led on to the Lord's Supper. It was for their benefit that he published his tracts on Confirmation and the Lord's Supper.

The number of communicants at St. John's was very large. Sometimes there were five hundred present at one time; and the average was three and four hundred; which would tell of a total amounting to six or seven hundred at the least. So greatly was the service protracted that, though the elements were administered to a whole rail of communicants at a time, a few minutes only intervened between the conclusion of the morning and commencement of the afternoon service.

The collections made for religious and charitable purposes were very frequent and very large. No church in London surpassed St. John's in liberality; and those who were members of it, tell now

1811 — 24. ST. JOHN'S. 145

of the pleasure they felt when, in the year 1819, on the issue of a king's letter on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, their contributions exceeded the united contributions of St. James', Piccadilly, and St. George's, Hanover Square, and amounted to £157. 13s. 11 d.

The following list is really worthy to be held in remembrance:

		£	s.	d.
Feb. 5, 1812.	Collection for British prisoners in France	106	15	9
March 13, 1814.	For the Germans suffering from French war	262	0	0
Aug. 13, 1815.	For the sufferers after the battle of Waterloo	214	0	0
Nov. 9, 1817.	For district Visiting Society	193	4	6
Nov. 19, 1817.	British and Foreign Bible Society Wednesday morning	114	14	8
March 29, 1818.	For Church Missionary Society	203	12	9
Jan. 31, 1819.	For St. Andrew's Parochial Schools	88	1	9
May 23, 1819.	For Welsh Schools	114	16	2
Sept. 19, 1822.	For the Jews' Society	125	10	5

These are extracted from his own notes, as specimens of what the congregation contributed, and as proofs that they were "fruitful in all good works."

His appeals were very urgent; for though he had perfect confidence in his own people, yet many strangers were always present, and he was not willing that any should escape. His words on one occasion will illustrate his plain speaking and power over conscience; the echo of them might even now do good to grudging Christians. He was pleading the cause of charity, and closed by saying: "Some will, I fear, notwithstanding what I have urged, pass the plate and give nothing, thinking *nobody sees*. I tell you — I tell such a one — GOD SEES."

His people were all sound in their church principles. They loved the truth, but they loved the church also, and they proved it by what took place when the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel, one of their ministers in succession to Daniel Wilson, publicly seceded, and published his reasons for so doing. Personally, he was much admired and beloved; but only about twenty individuals followed him. The body of the congregation was too deeply rooted and grounded in church principles to be moved from their steadfastness.

The first real District Visiting Society was established in connection with St. John's. The principle of visiting and relieving the poor methodically, and by the instrumentality of the laity, was then a novel experiment, though now so extensively prevalent. The suggestion was owing to Mr. Stevens, one of the congregation. Every Tuesday evening the visitors met their minister in the vestry for

146 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

consultation and prayer; and the report of their proceedings, drawn up by [Mr. Wilson] annually from the year 1812, are still extant. Sums varying from £500 to £800, were expended every year, vast good was done, and an admirable example set.

It needs scarcely be added, that associations for aiding all the great religious and missionary projects of the day were in active operation. The minister of St. John's took a lively interest in the proceedings of the City of London Auxiliary Bible Society, and all the local reports from 1812 to 1819 were drawn up by him. He was also an influential member of the Church Missionary Society, and habitually aided their deliberations.

But he did more than this. He was not merely a passive, but an active friend. He formed one of that band of energetic men who, like pioneers, precede the host. The track they made is now well-marked, and travelling deputations find no difficulty. But it was not always thus. Valleys had to be exalted, and mountains brought low, crooked places made straight, and rough places smooth. To introduce the cause of missions in its varied ramifications, and form associations throughout the country to give it permanence, required in those days men of moral courage and deep conviction, physical strength and intellectual power; and it found such men in Basil

Woodd, William Goode, Edward Bum, Melville Home, James Haldane Stewart, John William Cunningham, and Daniel Wilson. All honor to them.

Withdrawing from his usual duties at St. John's during the summer months, and establishing his family at Worton, or some other country place, he held himself for a time at the service of the Bible or Church Missionary Society; and when the tour marked out for him was finished, he joined his family and enjoyed his rest. Many letters remain, written to his wife during his absence, containing an account of his missionary tours. Considerable extracts may advantageously be made from these. They are interesting in themselves, and characteristic of the writer at this period of his life.

The earliest record is in the year 1813, when he appears to have gone to Oxford to assist in forming a Bible Association for the county.

“JUNE 9, 1813.

“The private preliminary meeting was very well attended, and all the business was done which we could have expected. No doubt we shall have a good meeting. We have the Duke of Marlborough as patron, and about twenty-nine presidents from the nobility and gentry of the county. What success we may have with the university remains to be seen. We are waiting for the answer of the Dean of Christ Church, in the hope of succeeding with other heads of houses,

1811 — 24. ST. JOHN'S. 147

if he should be favorably inclined. We have astonishing difficulties to meet with among the university men. I fully intended to leave Oxford on Friday, but I find so much is to be done, that I must stay as long as I possibly can. I hope God will graciously appear for us and bless us.”

Later in the autumn of the same year he visited Norfolk, in company with the Rev. J. Pratt and the Rev. H. Tacy, on behalf of the Church Missionary Society. The kind invitation of friends drew him aside for a few days to the pleasant watering-place of Cromer; and it is a sight so rare and so refreshing to see him in perfect relaxation, even for a single day, that the account, by his own pen, shall be given at length:

“CROMER, OCTOBER 8, 1813.

“On Monday Mr. Hankinson would make me dine with him to meet a neighboring clergyman. In the morning I took a charming walk upon the cliffs, with Goldsmith in my hand. The cliffs in general are not higher, perhaps, than seventy or eighty feet; but there is one, about two miles from Cromer, which is fully three hundred feet. This I ascended, and enjoyed one of the most charming sea-prospects I ever remember. The day was beautiful beyond expression, the coast almost covered with ships of every size, and waves gently heaving and murmuring around, and all nature seemed to harmonize in one song of joy and praise. Oh that our hearts might be filled with love and admiration at the glory and grace of God! Oh that we may be led by the faint glimpses of majesty and mercy which appear on the face of nature, to the full effulgence of both as they shine in the face of Jesus Christ! I met with some sweet lines of Goldsmith's, on the vanity of worldly pleasures, which I will give you; not as bearing at all on what I happen to be writing about, but as having occurred to me on the day which I am describing:

“To me more dear, congenial to my heart,
One native charm, than all the gloss of art;
Spontaneous joys, where nature has its play.
The soul adopts, and owns their first-born sway;
Lightly they frolic o'er the vacant mind,
Unenvy'd, unmolested, unconfined.

But the long pomp, the midnight masquerade,
With all the freaks of wanton wealth array'd,
In these, before triflers half their wish obtain.
The toiling pleasure sickens into pain;

And e'en while fashion's brightest arts decoy,
The heart distrusting asks, if this be joy?

"The lines I have marked are particularly beautiful, and the last is one of the most affecting I ever read.

"But Goldsmith¹ is not my only companion here. I have Milton and Cowper, besides a volume of selections. I have not read so much poetry for seven years.

148 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

"We dined at 4-30. The clergyman is a very worthy, pious man, bred and born in Norfolk, and as single-minded, unaffected homespun as ever I saw a good man in my life. I am very much afraid that the young men in this county are taking that wild, inconsiderate sort of ground which greatly tends to dishonor the gospel, and injure its effect. One of them is the greatest puppy I ever heard of; a rose in his three-cornered hat, long locks of hair, short cassock, no preparation for the pulpit, a great extempore preacher, a Hebrew critic (*alias* dawdler), and the introducer of Hutchinsonianism into the county. May God preserve our young men from this sad, idle, prating, foolish state of mind!

"The largest landowner is Mr. Coke, of Holkham. He possesses sixty thousand acres. Most of the farmers, indeed, are like country gentlemen, with ornamental grounds, handsome houses, well-educated families, and never sitting down to dinner without some 'Norfolk dumplings!' We had them at Mr. Brereton's. They tasted to me very much like our dough dumplings.

"Wet as it was yesterday, I was not the least dull, and scarcely put out of my way, except that I could not bathe, nor take my usual walk. This morning the sun shines beautifully on the earth. I ran down to the beach to bathe; but really the surf was so high, and the waves so boisterous, that I came back, and left the ladies to bathe alone — for in this village all bathe together. One man only, and one horse, supply us all. The machines are about six in number. So far is this custom carried, that several young ladies are capital swimmers, and display their skill for the amusement of those who happen to be looking on.

"I go to Norwich tomorrow, and return on Monday."

The account of his visit to Norwich follows:

"OCTOBER 11, 1813.

"Yesterday I have reason to bless God for a profitable and delightful day. Mr. Pratt preached twice on Sunday, October 3d, and the concourse to hear him was such that people were actually hanging at the windows to catch what they could of his sermons.

"Yesterday, strange to say, the clergyman of the largest and most fashionable church in Norwich offered me his pulpit. It is one of the most beautiful and magnificent churches I ever saw. It was not crowded. There might be fifteen hundred people, which was three times the usual congregation. But it consisted, I understand, of all the principal families in Norwich — mayors, old and new; mayors' wives, aldermen, members of Parliament, merchants, lawyers, gentlemen, etc. I preached from Revelation, 16.9 — 'They did not repent and give Him glory.' I was heard with the deepest attention. I preached thirty-five minutes. The first effect I heard of as following through God's blessing, was that one of the members for the city (C. Hervey, Esq.), a man of great influence and one who had warmly opposed our society as being conducted by Calvinists, has consented to become a vice-president, and acknowledged that he was wholly mistaken on the subject.

"In the afternoon I preached at St. Laurence's, a small church in comparison. Here the whole city seemed to have come together to hear what new

1811-24. ST. JOHN'S. 149

doctrine this was. People pressed to the church half an hour before service began. I imagine there must have been one thousand people. You might have walked on their heads; and what more

¹ Oliver Goldsmith (1730-1774) Anglo-Irish novelist, playwright and poet. Excerpt is from "The Deserted Village" found in his *Essays and Poems* (Vernor, Hood, & Sharpe, London, 1807), p. 258.

surprised me was that the same persons who had been at St. Peter's in the morning, flocked again in the afternoon. I am informed that all the most wealthy and influential persons were present. My text was Psalm 130.4 — 'But there is forgiveness with you that you may be feared.' In both discourses, I endeavored to declare 'the whole counsel of God,' especially insisting on the deity, atonement, and grace of our redeemer Jesus Christ, endeavoring to be as correct as I could in my language, and as little vehement as possible. I quite stand amazed at what God has wrought. Why did not we return disappointed? Who gave us favor in the eyes of forty thousand strangers? 'Not to us, O Lord, not to us, but to your name be praise.' The subscriptions now amount to £900."

In the year 1814, he was again engaged in the service of the same society, and, in company with Mr. Pratt and Mr. Jowett, visited Coventry and Birmingham, and crossed to Ireland.

From Dublin he writes:

"JUNE 15, 1814.

"We are laboring with all our might to promote the great object of our coming. We find some things to encourage, and some to impede our efforts; but I do not doubt we shall be able to form a grand society. We already have several noblemen who, we expect, will patronize our design. We are to preach in different churches next Sunday. We had only one sermon each to preach last Sunday, as we find the clergy uncommonly difficult to manage. The people are a fine, noble, generous, ardent race, full of spirit and fire, and as easily led wrong as right. They are hospitable to an excess. Our waiter blunders most ludicrously. Mr. Pratt fold him the other night that he should lock his door, and that he did not wish to be disturbed in the morning. 'Oh,' says the waiter, 'then you will call yourself in the morning.' When we called on Lady Lifford, the maid told us her ladyship was out, but that she would be soon in, 'for she will come home,' said the girl, 'at twelve o'clock, and it is now a quarter past!'

"Our presence here was indispensable. Without us no society would have been formed; whereas now in a few years Ireland will be covered with societies."

He went on by himself to Armagh, and writes as follows:

"JUNE 24, 1814.

"One line to assure you of my safe arrival at Lord Lifford's. I came here last night from Dublin, and I shall be actively engaged in preaching and establishing an association in this Metropolitan city till Monday, when I return to Dublin to embark in the packet for England. The earth does not contain, I think, a more beautiful spot than this mansion where I am now writing. It is situated on an eminence, and commands on every side the most extensive prospects you can imagine. The kindness of Lord and Lady Lifford is equal to the

150 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

warmest hopes I could have formed, and I do not doubt a good association will be established. We had a magnificent meeting at Dublin — interesting beyond all description."

He sums up the result of the Irish tour as follows:

"Our journey has been wonderfully prospered. A noble Auxiliary Society and Association was formed at Dublin; amount raised, £1200; and my Association at Armagh has four or five noblemen at its head, and twenty-four clerical subscribers."

In the year 1815, he visited Bristol, Manchester, and Staffordshire, on behalf of the Society, in company with Mr. Pratt (the secretary), Mr. Burn, and Mr. Jowett. Short extracts from his letters will here suffice to give an idea of the result.

"We had a noble meeting at Bristol, from eleven o'clock to four. Collection £67. Excellent speeches.

"At Manchester we have preached two sermons each, and today we have our meeting at two o'clock.

“I have just returned from one of the most interesting meetings I ever witnessed. The room crowded to excess. It lasted three hours.

“I preached our last Manchester sermon at St. James’. We had two thousand people.

“The result of our whole journey, including Bristol, Manchester, and Staffordshire, Mr. Pratt estimates at £2000. I really think myself it may amount to £1500. I do think God gave us the hearts of the people in a remarkable manner.”

A still more extensive tour of the same kind, and with the same companions, was undertaken in 1816. It now included North Wales.

“I write to you still in French,” he says, “because it is well for us both to accustom ourselves to the language.

“We quitted Manchester by coach at two o’clock, and arrived at Liverpool at seven. We are received at Mr. Bickersteth’s. There are one hundred thousand souls and twenty-two churches, many supplied by excellent young men. I am to preach twice, and Mr. Pratt three times.

“I preached at Everton Church in the morning, as arranged. Collection £49. I was then taken by Mr. Jones to Seaforth, about five miles from Liverpool. Mr. Gladstone, one of the first Liverpool merchants, lives there during the summer, with his wife and family. There I preached from 1Peter 2.9, and collected £28. After tea, the carriage took us to Liverpool, and Mr. Pratt preached at St. Andrew’s an excellent discourse for an hour and ten minutes. Mr. Gladstone took us home. I was not at all fatigued. We supped at ten, and sat up singing hymns till eleven. We did not get large collections. The thing is not yet understood here. Men must know the joyful sound — the joy

1811 — 24. ST. JOHN’S. 151

of grace — the doctrine of salvation — before they obey the law of Christian liberality.

“About August 10th, I hope to return and be quiet. I should like far better to remain always with you, and never part; but the work of Christ our Saviour calls us sometimes to separate for awhile. It is a duty to help on the cause of religion, and do something for that God who does so much for us.

“We have formed a magnificent association in North Wales. All is in train, and a good feeling prevails. Many seem earnestly desirous of advancing the good work.

“The first time I preached in Wales was at Tremeirchion. We began at seven o’clock. Three hundred people were present. When they began to read the prayers in Welsh, I was taken by surprise. I could not understand a word. I preached in English. No one could understand me, of course, except those who knew English. I was struck with astonishment. Half the congregation sat still, without knowing a word I was saying.”

In June 1817, he accompanied Dr. Steinkopff into Buckinghamshire and Northamptonshire, on behalf of the British and Foreign Bible Society. He writes from Buckingham, very characteristically:

“JUNE 18, 1817.

“Our friend Steinkopff is an angel. We have had during our journey much sweet and spiritual communication; and when night covered us with its dark shadows, we shut the windows of the coach, and Dr. Steinkopff began to pray to God aloud for us, for the Bible Society, for the church, and for the world. The meeting at Buckingham was very numerous, and the Spirit of our God and Saviour seemed to fill every heart with a soft and holy influence. One hundred persons afterwards met at dinner very pleasantly; and when it was over, we had much profitable and pious discourse; then I went and preached at Gawcott, about a mile from Buckingham. My text was 2Tim.3.15. The church was crammed.”

In November of the same year he paid a similar visit to Cambridge, where he collected £87, and records with great delight his communication with the Dean of Carlisle (Dr. Milner), Professor Parish, Mr. Simeon, Mr. Mandell, Mrs. Dornford, and others.

In the year 1818 he visited Yorkshire, and writes from Halifax as follows:

“This town is situated in a most romantic and beautiful spot. It lies at the base of immense hills. Mr. Knight, the vicar, has a charming parsonage. He was inducted last February, on the presentation of the Crown, and has thirteen chapelries under him.”

He passed on to Huddersfield, and writes from there:

“OCTOBER 12, 1818.

“I attended the meeting here at two o’clock. There are forty thousand souls in the district. A lady at breakfast this morning has given me £.50 as a

162 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

donation. At three o’clock I set off for Casterton, then to Leeds, and then to Pontefract.”

From Casterton he writes, on the 14th:

“This is the first quiet day I have had since I left home. I travelled eighty-four miles on Saturday, one hundred and ninety-four miles on Monday and Tuesday, eighteen on Thursday, twenty on Friday, twenty on Sunday to and from the churches, seventy-eight on Monday, and I shall have to go seventy-eight on Thursday, one hundred and ninety-eight on Friday and Saturday, and seventy-three on Monday or Tuesday — making in all full seven hundred and sixty miles before I see you again at Worton.

“I am delighted with this pious family, and the scenery before me is quite enchanting. I have just discovered a new beauty in the prospect out of my window. The sun is shining on the valley, and I discern two or three bright spots where the river is visible in the distant landscape on my left. The contrast between these glimpses of water and the thick foliage around is very beautiful, while the vast and obscure sides of the mountains beyond form a further variety, and a noble background. Thus I think, in the vale of this world, there also is a river, ‘the streams of which make glad the city of God,’ beyond which the eternal mountains stretch themselves in interminable extent. May the ‘river’ brighten the scenes we pass through, till our feet tread on those ‘everlasting hills,’ and we hunger no more, nor thirst anymore forever.

“Oh! may the refreshment of soul I have found in this journey dispose me to greater diligence, devotedness, and humility, in the regular duties of the approaching winter! The consequences of every sermon quite alarm my mind. Wherever I go, I find I am among my hearers. The squire of the next parish, W. C. Wilson, sat in my middle aisle at St. John’s, among the poor, all last spring.”

In the year 1819 he again visited the North, and wrote from Leeds to his two sons at Worton. The details of this letter are somewhat personal; but it will be remembered that we are writing, not the history of missions, but the life of Daniel Wilson, and that the insertion of everything characteristic is desirable.

“JULY 14, 1819.

“I am now more than two hundred miles from London, and as I shall be returning towards home tomorrow, I think of writing to you instead of your dear mamma.

“When I wrote on Monday, it was just after our meeting. As soon as dinner was over, I went to see the cloth manufacture of Leeds. I saw the famous carding-machine for bringing the rough wool down to a proper fineness, and throwing it, and making it ready for weaving. I also saw weavers weaving cloth sixty-three inches wide. Then we examined the milling-machine for thickening the cloth after it is woven, and the cropping-machine for cropping or picking off the roughnesses from the cloth. All these machines are worked by one steam-engine. The master, Isaac Hirst, is the first man in the world in

this way, and has beaten a hundred manufacturers, of different nations, in a competition. He has just made a blue coat for the Prince Regent, the finest ever manufactured, which cost £7 10s. a yard, and the wool of which was picked out by parcels from wool of the value of £10,000. The prince has sent him a handsome letter of thanks, and made him his own manufacturer. This Mr. Hirst, five years ago, was a common workman. So you see what industry and God's blessing can do in such a country as England.

"At six o'clock we had Mr. Hey's social meeting of about thirty friends, and I expounded and prayed with them, and then set off for Harewood, on our way to this place, Knaresborough.

"We stopped an hour at Harrogate with Mr. Lutwidge, of Hull, and read and prayed with his large family.

"At four o'clock we arrived at the Rev. Mr. Cheap's, who is one of the kindest and most pious men I ever saw. He has a parish of seven thousand souls. Mrs. Cheap is sister to the Rev. H. Fisher, now a chaplain in India. We sat down to dinner; and, among other things, there was a 'missionary pie,' sent to Mr. Cheap's for us, from a distance of twenty-five miles. It was of an immense size, with raised crust an inch thick, and contained several ducks and fowls, a tongue, mutton, and many other things.

"After dinner we had our missionary meeting in Mr. Cheap's garden, covered with an awning stretched against the house on two sides, and supported on poles in the middle and corners. The ground was laid with mats. There were benches to sit on, and a platform at the end. I was never at such an interesting meeting. There were eight hundred persons present, at least, and a Sunday School of little girls, who closed the meeting by singing most sweetly. I was quite charmed."

His tours were not always this pleasant. He writes in the year 1820, from Liverpool, where he had gone in company with the Rev. John W. Cunningham, on a missionary tour:

"I had a most fatiguing day yesterday, aggravated by the excessive rain. The anniversary of the Church Missionary Association at Chester was very interesting. They actually raised, during the eight months since their formation, £503, which, considering the opposition of the bishop, and the neutrality of the clergy, is quite astonishing. The meeting was over at 3-30. We dined in a pretty large party, and before we had fairly swallowed our hasty meal, we were hurried off to church. Two churches were opened to Mr. Cunningham and myself in the very heart of Chester; and for the first time, three or four aldermen were present when I preached and a great crowd of respectable inhabitants to hear the new doctrine. I took my favorite old sermon on Isaiah 60.1. The deepest attention prevailed; and, I am told, the greatest astonishment as well as approval was almost universally felt. May God bless the attempt!

"The rain fell in heavy showers as we walked from church to the friend's house, where the chaise was to come to take us to Liverpool. At seven o'clock we set off, and reached the river Mersey at 9-30, the rain still coming down in torrents. Amidst the darkness and confusion, we found a steamboat about to

154 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

cross to Liverpool. We went aboard, our feet dripping with wet, and having seated ourselves in the cabin, continued there till a drunken party of Liverpool tradesmen rushed in with oaths and clamor. Mr. Cunningham began to reprove the first man for swearing. This made them worse; and we were obliged to leave the cabin, and stand exposed on the deck to the inclemency of the night and the weather till we reached the port. We then had a mile and a half to walk through the drowned streets and in the darkness, to the coach-stand, and did not reach our home till eleven o'clock.

"I am marvellously limp and weary this morning. But a good cause, kind friends, and every accommodation imaginable, will soon recruit me. When I return, I shall have travelled four hundred and twenty miles, attended four public meetings, preached two sermons, and lost two nights, all in six days, with my full Sunday duty at each end of them."

In the month of August 1822, he joined the Rev. Mr. Tacy and another friend, on a visit to the south of England and the Channel Islands: and this seems to have been nearly his last official

tour on behalf of the Church Missionary Society. His health had already failed, new duties called, and other men entered into his labors. His account is dated October 14th, 1822:

“I left London on Monday, August 5th, and reached Exeter on the Friday, where our friends the Cornishes received us most hospitably. I preached there twice on Sunday, and was present at the missionary meeting.

“On Friday, August 14th, I embarked at Weymouth for the Channel Islands. Twenty-four hours of calm, and then of contrary winds and tempest (throughout which I felt as if I would die from seasickness) brought me to Guernsey. It is a delightful island — thirty thousand souls, Normandy customs, beautiful scenery, soft, mild climate, delicious fruits; — the novelty of everything charmed and fascinated me. I was never more struck. In addition to all this, I was greatly touched by the kindness and friendship of Mr. Brock. I preached in French, for the first time in my life. Imagine my embarrassment on mounting the pulpit, and seeing before me a vast array of a thousand listeners, understanding nothing but French. I managed to be understood. I believe the warmth of my heart opened my way, for it seemed to me that the more interested they were in the subject, the more they listened. There is one universal language which religion purifies and strengthens — the love of Christ, contrition of heart, faith in the redemption of the Cross — this attracts the soul of man, and is conveyed better by feeling than by words.

“I went from Guernsey to Jersey, and there had another sermon in French, and before an audience far more difficult to please. I succeeded, however, in keeping their attention. They listened with interest. God grant that it may be to their profit!

“While staying quietly at Jersey, the proposal was made for me to cross to France, the northern coast of which is not distant. I did not hesitate, knowing how uncertain another opportunity might be.”

1811 — 24. ST. JOHN’S. 155

Accordingly, he crossed to Granville, in Normandy; and, pushing on through Coutance, Saint Loo, Caen, and Rouen, reached Paris on the 3d September. He described the Paris of that day, and stayed a week.

“I preached,” he says, “twice on Sunday — first in English at the Oratoire, and then in French, at Mr. Wilder’s house. I also attended five meetings of different religious societies. It gave me peculiar pleasure to witness the beginning of such institutions. Feeble they must be, but full of hope. They are to carry light into the midst of the thick darkness, both of infidelity and superstition, which rests on all. Nothing can bring back these vivacious and irritated people to peace and religious feelings, if these societies do not.

“I left Paris with sincere regret, having begun only to taste the delight attaching to these moral and religious societies. Farewell.”

It is an interesting fact that at one of the meetings thus referred to, and which was for the Paris Bible Society, Mr. Wilson’s speech in English was delivered to the audience in French by the celebrated M. Guizot. It created a great sensation at the time; for the speech was full of devout, spiritual, and evangelical thoughts and feelings; and it was not supposed that M. Guizot was at that time prepared to sympathize with them. This visit to Paris was not without its influence upon Daniel Wilson’s plans in later-life: and his trip to Guernsey was never forgotten. Twenty-seven years after, he writes to the Rev. Mr. Brock, in answer to his inquiries on that point:

“APRIL 30, 1849.

“Forget you and Guernsey? No, no. There are few places of which I have a more lively remembrance than your dear aboriginal island, your beautiful fruit, and your own hospitable abode. I remember also the terrible voyage I had to make, and how nearly we were lost off the ‘Caskets.’ My visit to Granville is also fresh in my recollection. Nor do I forget my miserable French sermon, and the mispronunciation of ‘cour’ for ‘coeur.’ Well, many years have passed since, and I was truly rejoiced to

see your handwriting, and to receive, as I have, your young friend De Vic Carey. With him I have chatted over all the history of Guernsey, all your churches, and all your affairs.”

Before leaving this part of Daniel Wilson’s life, a few incidents connected with his tours may properly be introduced as illustrative of his character. The first has already been well-told by the Rev. J. W. Cunningham, his old and much beloved friend, in the pages of the “Christian Observer.”

Circumstances brought the friends together, on a missionary excursion, at a dinner-table, where the provision was most luxurious and costly, and where a company was assembled quite foreign

156 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

to the character of the deputation and their immediate object. In due course, the host arose and in a sort of uproarious manner called upon the company to drink “Health to the Deputation.” The whole spirit of the dinner was offensive to devout minds, and the question was how to change it. Others sat still, but Daniel Wilson rose up and said, “I believe it is customary, when any one’s health is drunk, to return thanks; and this I do most cordially; and most affectionately do I wish you, sir, in return, and to this company, good health. But then (he added, in that deep tone into which his voice naturally fell when he was strongly moved) you will, perhaps, allow me to tell you what I conceive ‘Good Health’ really consists in.’ And then he proceeded to speak of the health of the soul, in language so solemn and affecting, that everyone at the table felt the power of truth thus announced, and the whole character of the assembly was at once changed and solemnized. And yet all this was said and done with such exquisite good-humor and kindness, that not a single person was offended; but all manifested their gratitude to him in expressions of respect, almost amounting to affection.

An incident of a somewhat similar character occurred at Sir Thomas Fowell Buxton’s house in town. A large party of clergy and laity, attracted by the May meetings, had been invited to his hospitable board. All were of one mind, and all desirous of mutual edification; but the evening was passing away, and the conversation was still desultory and broken. Suddenly a loud voice was heard from the top of the table, addressing one seated near the bottom. It was Daniel Wilson speaking to Dr. Marsh. “William Marsh,” he said, “may I ask you a question? You have had some experience in dealing with criminals lying under sentence of execution; is there any one portion of Scripture that you have found more efficacious than another in bringing them to conviction of sin and true repentance? But,” — checking himself, and referring to Mrs. Fry, who was sitting beside him — “perhaps I ought rather to put the question to my neighbor. May I, dear madam, ask whether any particular passage of Scripture occurs to you as having proved most useful to that class of our fellow-sinners?”

“I can have no hesitation in answering your question,” replied Mrs. Fry; “one passage I have found far more effectual than any others; and the simple reading of it has proved most useful. I refer to the latter part of the seventh chapter of Luke’s Gospel. It has softened many hearts, and made eyes weep that never wept before.”

“The seventh chapter of St. Luke!” said Daniel Wilson. “The

1811 — 24. ST. JOHN’S. 157

latter part. Let us examine it. How glad I am that I asked you!”

Then, taking a little Testament from his pocket, he began to read the passage. This led to a comment on it, to inquiries from others, and to general conversation; narratives flowed from Mrs. Fry, and illustrations of various kinds from others, so that all were pleased, instructed, and edified.

The formation of the Bible Association at Oxford was a difficult and delicate matter in which he showed much tact. At a kind of preliminary meeting of many of the authorities of the university,

he was present, endeavoring to remove objections and to win assent. The weather was oppressive, and Daniel Wilson approached one of the Heads of houses, who was present not as an approver but a listener, with cake and wine. This gave occasion for conversation, and a hope was expressed that he would patronize the Society and take part in the meeting. An immediate refusal was given, and strong objections urged: — The Society, it was said, would increase the influence of dissent, and tend so far to the injury of the church.

“Exactly so,” replied Daniel Wilson; “this will be the result if the work is left in the hands of the dissenters; and therefore. Doctor, how important it is that men of weight and influence in the church should come forward and take the lead.”

Other arguments were added, and prevailed; and thus by his tact and good temper, he gained his point, and the Doctor became an office-bearer in the society, and made a speech at the meeting.

Again, when the “Lord’s Day Observance Society” was to be formed, and a preliminary meeting was being held, the good result was very much owing to his forbearance and influence. Many were assembled who, agreeing in the general object, differed on the subject of the tests of membership. It was strongly urged that some test should be adopted before the society was formed, and the majority of those present seemed to lean that way. Had the attempt succeeded, the original proposers of the society would have been compelled to withdraw, and the whole scheme would have failed. Before the meeting came to a division, however, [Mr. Wilson] rose and proposed an adjournment for further consideration and for prayer. This saved the society. At the next meeting, the more vehement advocates of a party test did not attend, and it was agreed that the expression of the fundamental object of the society would be sufficient: viz., that it was formed to maintain the “divine authority and perpetual obligation of the Lord’s day.” Thus a commencement

158 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

was made, and a most excellent society established, which continues to this day.

Two or three more incidents may be added, as illustrating his habit and mode of prayer:

A friend (the Rev. Thomas Harding, now vicar of Bexley) accompanied him to Brighton on behalf of one of the religious societies. Two large meetings had been attended; and the evening having been closed by an address to a circle of friends at Sir Thomas Blomefield’s, and by prayer; they entered the coach together on their return to town. There were no other passengers. The moment they had fairly started, Daniel Wilson, drawing up the window, said: “Now, my dear friend, we must have our evening prayers together before we sleep.” He then, in a few outspoken words, commended his friend, himself, and those whom they had just left, to the Divine protection; and his petitions ended, he settled himself into his corner, and fell fast asleep.

Once, on a visit at a friend’s house, he was requested to officiate at morning prayers with the family, but to be very short because of some pressing engagement. On the servants being seated, he said:

“I am requested to be very short today: I will therefore give you Christianity in a nutshell. Our heavenly Father said of our blessed Redeemer, ‘you are my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased.’ Any soul that can say of that Redeemer, ‘you are my beloved Saviour, in whom I am well pleased,’ is a real Christian. Now, let us pray.”

The last trait of character to be mentioned is related by Dr. Marsh, and is very short and simple. He sometimes travelled on behalf of these societies with Daniel Wilson, and on arriving at their inn, they were frequently compelled to share a double-bedded room. On such occasions, Dr. Marsh records the fact, that the last sight which his eyes met at night, and the first sight in the morning, was always Daniel Wilson on his knees.

It has been already stated that much of his time during his ministry at St. John's was taken up by correspondence; but no specimens of it have been given, save those that were necessary to carry on the narrative. He commonly wrote short, hasty, pithy letters, like a busy man. But it was not always thus. When his advice was seriously sought, it was seriously given; and when affliction pressed, his sympathy and counsel were always ready. Many valuable letters were thus written to a lady of high rank who felt "the warmest affection for him, and the deepest reverence for his character;" many also to Mrs. Hannah More, Mrs. Foljambe, to his sister, and others.

1811-24. ST. JOHN'S. 159

They are all dated from 1811 to 1824, the period on which the attention of the reader is still fixed; and they express his opinions on various matters of deep importance in the divine life. These opinions will, for the sake of brevity, be extracted from the letters, and placed under their different heads.

On Prayer. — "The efficacy of this great duty, or rather blessing, of the Christian profession, rests on the mediation of our divine Lord. All prayer is acceptable if presented with simplicity in the name of Jesus Christ. The various differences of attainment, though of importance in other respects, are none in this. We all stand so completely condemned before the holy law of God, that at His throne of propitiation, the very feeblest is as welcome as the strongest and most advanced suppliant. In short, no one can know himself without discovering that he is nothing, that he deserves nothing, and that he can ask for nothing in himself. But, Adorable Grace! He may, he ought, he *must* implore with humble confidence all he needs in the meritorious name, and through the intercession of the Son of God. What is that cross, that passion, those tears, those agonies of our divine Lord, if they are not the foundation of our pardon and our prayers, the spring of our peace and our expectations, the argument of our desires and our acceptance? I am persuaded that you will discover more of the harmony of these, and of other Christian doctrines, as you advance in the humble study of your Bible and the experience of its blessings."

Encouragement. — "Christianity proposes such a weight of excellence to us, that a whole life is little to reach after it. And yet it stoops to our infirmities with such exuberant kindness that even a sigh is heard, and the first incipient desire of salvation listened to and fulfilled."

Caution. — "*Festina lente* — hasten slowly — is, in a proper sense, the Christian's motto. There is nothing valuable to be done in a hurry; and, above all, nothing in religion. The most ardent and sanguine temperaments have as much to learn on the one hand, as the most dull and phlegmatic have to learn on the other."

The Union of Repentance and Faith. — "Both must be coexistent, in some measure, when they are genuine. Indeed, before we can repent, we must credit the report of the gospel as to our ruined condition, as to the holiness of the law, the threatened punishment due to transgression, and the nature of a return to God. But still, as faith pre-eminently means a belief in those parts of holy Scripture which reveal the person, work, and sacrifice of the eternal Son of God, and is thus the instrument of our pardon and justification, repentance is ordinarily represented as preparing for it. Thus: 'Testifying repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ' — 'Repent and believe the gospel.' The two, however, are the effect of the same Divine teaching; they are inseparable throughout our Christian course, and mutually aid and produce each other. The more deeply I repent, the better I am prepared to welcome the glad tidings of a Saviour; and the more affectionately and

160 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

humbly I believe these tidings, the more my heart is broken on account of sin. "They shall look upon Him whom they have pierced, and mourn."

On Confession. — "Certainly there can be no harm in a confidential disclosure of your religious difficulties to a minister of God, whose age and circumstances make it unexceptional. On the contrary, we find from the example of the apostles, that the cares, and anxieties, and most minute embarrassments of the early Christians were exposed to them, and relieved with a paternal tenderness. The epistles abound with communications of this nature."

The Bible. — “The Bible is the most brief, and yet the most full of all books. It enters into our circumstances and, like an exquisite portrait, seems to look full in the face of each beholder. The astonishing sacrifice on the Cross — there is our object of hope, our refuge from guilt, our source of mercy and acceptance. The sanctifying Spirit of grace — there is the author of holiness, the teacher of wisdom, the comforter under trouble. The two united — faith in a vicarious propitiation, and reliance on an almighty sanctifier — are the spring of our duties, and the foundation of our hopes.”

Frames¹ and Feelings. — “Our frames and feelings will vary. They depend on health, vigor, natural spirits, and much of the lower part of our habit and constitution. We must not, therefore, look too much to them. The standard of character is the bent of the higher and nobler faculties of the soul, the understanding and the will, the governing and fixed habits of our affections, the sincerity of our choice of God, the growing conformity of our tempers to the example of Christ, the uprightness, consistency, and wisdom of our conduct in the relations of life — all connected with a deep sense of utter unworthiness, and an exclusive and affectionate reliance on the merits of Christ, by whom, and on the spirit of Christ through whom, we have access to the Father.”

The Orthodox and Evangelical Clergy. — “There are two classes of divines in our Protestant Reformed Church of England. The one call themselves ‘Orthodox,’ the other are known by the term ‘Evangelical.’ The question is. Which of these is right? Which agrees most nearly with the plain language of our articles, homilies, and liturgy? Which approaches nearest to the holy Scriptures? Which affects the heart and reforms the manners of men most effectually? Which live most above worldly considerations and pursuits? Which die with most peace? Which meet the sufferings that bring on death with most patience and meekness? Which lay the best ground for tranquility of conscience before God, and for obedience to all laws human and divine before men? In a word, Which bring forth the best fruits?

“Now, to ascertain this momentous point, it is clearly necessary to understand what constitutes the characteristics of the two classes. They both agree in the fundamental tenets of the unity of the Godhead, the mystery of the Trinity, the divinity and atonement of the Saviour, the person and deity of the Holy Ghost, the immortality of the soul, and the future judgment. They both agree in admitting the inspiration of the holy Scriptures, and the authority and purity of our national church.

1811-24. ST. JOHN’S. 161

“Where, then, is the essential difference? — *In the use and application of what they believe.* The pious and devout Churchman feels himself a miserable lost sinner; feels his only hope to be in the meritorious Cross of the Lord Jesus; feels himself in need of the renewing and sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit; feels the supreme value of his eternal salvation; feels the necessity of renouncing his own moral goodness in point of merit; feels the value of time, the nearness of death, the unutterable importance of eternity, the danger of a worldly spirit, the madness of indifference to religion, and the reasonableness of an immortal preparing for immortality.

“Now, the Orthodox Churchman, as he would gladly claim to be, also allows every one of these points; but in the use of what he allows, he is so tame, so little really interested, so soon satisfied, so afraid of enthusiasm and excess, so timid and reluctant, that there is often little more than the form of piety; while the time, the affections, the pursuits, and the heart, are given to literature, or honor, or wealth, or pleasure in some form or another. To this inert and lifeless state of religious feeling and sentiment, accordingly, the plain doctrines and duties of the Bible and of the church are first insensibly lowered down, and then imperceptibly explained away; and thus a worldly religion takes the place of a spiritual one. Compare the sermons of modern divines with those of the Reformation, or their lives and standards of sentiment, and the case will speak for itself. Would the present race of ordinary clergy have written our *Thirty-nine Articles*? Certainly not.

“Then look to the lives of the two classes of men — their labors, their parishes, their families, the effect of their ministry in actually turning men from vice, folly, and perdition, to God and goodness. The worldly clergyman, however respectable in general society, scarcely aims at converting the soul of a sinner. Nothing can lay a foundation of morals and loyalty, but the fear of God and the power of

¹ As in “frame of mind.” It is a temporary psychological state.

conscience. And once the conscience of anyone is awakened to his real obligations to God, what doctrine can suit his case, but the doctrine of a crucified Saviour? The truths which he opposed before, he now flies to as his refuge and consolation. And from the faith of that Saviour springs every good word and work.”

On the Death of Relatives Unprepared. — “My general advice is this: Before the stroke of death has fallen, use all possible means for instructing, directing, and saving the sinner. After it has fallen, be silent before God. While the will of God is unknown to us, we may and should labor and pray, and hope, and wait, and never cease our efforts for the conversion even of the most obdurate. But once that will is made certain by the event, other duties are called for — submission, patience, humiliation. I would have used all the means in my power with Cain, Pharaoh, Ahithophel, Saul, Balaam, and even Judas. But once God has declared His will in the punishment of these obdurate sinners, whether by the miraculous infliction of death, or by the ordinary course of nature, leaving them to their own madness in destroying their own lives — what then is our duty? Surely, to say like Eli when his sons perished, ‘It is the Lord;’ or like David, ‘Let him curse, because the Lord has said, curse David;’ or, to be like Aaron when ‘he held his peace.’ Sin — one sin — is of a malignity so deep, and of a guilt so unspeakable, that

162 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

God may most justly punish it in any way he pleases. Our only duty then is unqualified humiliation. ‘Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?’

“I need scarcely say that suggestions like the above should be made with the greatest tenderness, and in proportion as each afflicted case may seem capable of receiving them. The first bursting out of grief should also be allowed to pass away, and the mind be propped up for a time by general considerations of God’s supreme providence and care; and then, afterwards, when reason and religion have resumed their seat, and faith is beginning to be exerted, we may throw in these and other important considerations.”

On Conformity to the World. — “I cannot wonder at the difference of judgment expressed by your Grace’s friends on so wide and difficult a subject as the World — a subject more full of practical difficulties than almost any other. Still, if I am asked my opinion, I give it honestly.

“Firm resistance to things sinful in themselves; mild expostulation¹ of inconvenient things; submission on the part of inferior relatives to the superior, in points that are not in themselves unlawful; a spirit of charity and tenderness in all cases — these are the sort of maxims I have recommended in hundreds and hundreds of instances during twenty-five years. I have ever discouraged a furious, heady opposition which irritates and inflames, which oversteps the proprieties and duties of our age, station, and sex.

“The application, however, of these general maxims must be left to the judgment and conscience of each individual, in the sight of God. It is quite possible that many young persons may have fallen by compliances which they at first made from a principle of duty. But the cause must have been, not yielding when duty required it, but neglecting the means of grace — relaxing prayer, entering into the spirit of the world, going beyond the line of duty, violating the Sabbath, and such. These would ruin anyone. The fact is, the question of the *world*, in a professedly Christian country, is very much a question of the *heart*. No minister can lay down precise rules.

“I observe that the Bible confines itself chiefly to two points, ‘The minding of the flesh,’ and the ‘minding of the Spirit’ I also observe that the duty of children to obey their parents, and wives their husbands, is most express. Nor can I omit observing such directions as these: ‘I became all things to all men;’ ‘Whatever things are lovely and of good report;’ ‘Be tender-hearted, be courteous;’ ‘The meek shall inherit the earth.’ The inimitable example, also, of our Lord in attending the marriage feast, and in going to be the guest of Levi during His ministry, and His thirty years’ subjection to His parents previously, have great weight with me.

¹ An exclamation of protest, remonstrance or reproof (opposition to it).

“I come back, therefore, to the same points from which I started. In things *per se* unlawful, we must at once obey God rather than man. In things inconvenient and displeasing, we may use all mild arguments; but if these fail, we must obey those who have authority over us, under God. In things indifferent, we are always to yield with cheerfulness and amiability. In all things we are to see that humility and charity guide every word.

“For the application of these, my general rules, prayer, the spirit of wisdom, the Bible, faith, love, joy, are the best helps.

“There is, however, another point, which has often occurred to me on this

1811-24. ST. JOHN’S. 163

subject — the WORLD WITHIN us. Evil tempers, self-will, pride, and vanity are very apt to be neglected or indulged while we declaim against the WORLD WITHOUT¹ us. Nineteen-twentieths of all sanctification consists in holy temperaments, which are far more difficult to acquire than anything else. The victory over the world is that holy superiority, that heavenly taste, that deadness to sensual gratifications and external ease, that temper which faith in the Son of God inspires, that spirit of prayer and love to God and heaven which lifts us above the atmosphere of this world, while it teaches us with meekness and self-denial to fulfill our respective duties in it, to submit our will to God’s will, and to take up our cross and follow Christ.”

Religious Evening Assemblies. — “I have been insensibly drawn in, a good deal against my own judgment, or at least fears, by Lady B., to take part in her Friday evening assemblies. I very much doubt whether it is possible, as human nature is constituted, to make a party of fifty persons either so easy as to have the appearance of a friendly coterie,² or so grave as to have the character and fruits of a religious meeting. At present my office has been to speak in a middle tone, between talking and preaching, and to engage four or five clergymen who may happen to be present, to relieve me in the recitative. But this will never do. It offends the modesty of private conversation. It is too general for the inquiring, too solemn for the cheerful, too dry for the young, too flippant for the old; and in the meantime, some of the evils of dress, and dissipation,³ and display, and loss of time, and lateness of hours, must creep in, and will increase; while the attendant good will, I fear, rather lessen.”

A Mournful Scene. — “I have had the mournful duty of committing to the tomb our dearest Mr. Wilberforce’s eldest daughter; and yesterday I paid a visit of sad sympathy to the afflicted family. She was a sweet, tender, lovely, and pious child; her parents’ delight and joy; and her end was so remarkably peaceful — the anticipation of heaven so mild and yet radiant, her trust in the care of her Savior so child-like, and her triumph over the fear of death so truly cheering — that the loss of such a daughter was less painful than the health or continuance in life of a disobedient son, or of anyone, in fact, that is less decided in preparation for another world.

“The scene at the funeral in Stoke Newington was very affecting. The kind uncle, Mr. Stephen; the two brothers, William and Robert; the venerable Mr. Grant, Sir R. H. Inglis and some others, combined, as it were, all the ages and functions of life around the tomb of the young sufferer, and called us, look down into the cavern which is to engulf us all — and how soon, none can tell. Blessed be that name which is above every name! There is One, who has gone down to the gloomy abode before us, and has made death the gate of life, and the grave the margin of immortality.”

State of the Church in 1821. — “A more lively impression of the importance of Christianity is, I think, evidently left on the minds of the great from the sad disorders which have recently taken place. The character of the clergy is still rising. The great religious institutions are assuming a new

164 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

importance by becoming the means of uniting the church in prayer for the effusion of the Holy Spirit. In London, as in Bristol, zealous efforts are making to excite regard for the subject. The antinomian

¹ That is, the world outside or around us — outside influences.

² An exclusive circle of people with a common purpose.

³ Unrestrained indulgence in sensual pleasure; or useless and profitless activity, expended without thought or care.

abomination has spent itself, or been forced back into its ordinary ambushes. I add to these signs for good, the Bristol, Elland, Creaton, and London societies for educating young men for the ministry of the church.”

On Irreligious Relatives. — “Young grief is a poignant one — but it is not altogether a despairing one. The same grace which has taught and quickened your own heart, may through your means reach his. And the very acuteness of your present sorrow may serve to redouble those importunate prayers, and that wise yet unremitting course of efforts which you are using on his behalf. In the meantime, the consolation of St. Paul in 1 Timothy 1.15, may be yours, changing only the circumstances. Your duty seems to be penitence, prayer, effort, and resignation; for God does what He will in the dispensations both of His providence and grace. He is sovereign in every sense of the expression. But He is also a Father, a Saviour, a Friend, a Refuge, a Rock, a Shield, a Hiding place. Our resignation, therefore, is to be opposed to impatience and murmuring — not opposed to hope, expectation, and the humble joy of faith.”

On Defective Means of Grace. — “Truly am I sorry at the state of deprivation as to spiritual instruction of which you complain. But, if on the whole we are in the way of duty, we may humbly rely still on the word of promise, on the power of God, on the efficacy of the Scriptures, on the grace of the Saviour and Comforter of the church. The great business is with the heart — wayward, foolish, perverse, unbelieving, and proud. If the heart is prostrate in penitence, and filled with holy faith in the divine Saviour, all will be right.

“May God, therefore, enable us to keep our hearts with all diligence, for out of them are the issues of life.

“You have the Bible, and the throne of Grace, and the liturgy, and some kind and pious friends, and multitudes of good books. And God can make a diligent use of these means, more beneficial to your soul than a negligent use of the most abundant ones. And, oh! pray for your minister. Who can tell in what manner the Lord may open a way for His word. And beware of fretting. We deserve not so infinite a blessing as a ‘Well of Salvation.’ Let us ask, then, with importunity, but with a submission and a sense of unworthiness. Let us not mistake impatience and self-will for zeal and holy love. If God were to send you a good minister, but not a wise, holy, sound-thinking one, perhaps you would soon begin again to complain. So wait, expect, pray; and when the man comes, he will come in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ. We must not prescribe to God, even in what we think will promote His glory.”

On Faith. — “Faith is the link between ourselves and an unseen world, an unseen Saviour, an unseen glory. Faith receives the atonement; faith is accounted for righteousness; faith purifies the heart; faith appropriates the promises; faith overcomes the world, works by love, and abounds with fruits of

1811-24. ST. JOHN’S. 165

obedience. It is a grace of the heart as well as of the understanding. It includes trust and affianced¹ as well as knowledge. It credits a divine testimony, and acts, and loves, and obeys, in accordance with the truths which that testimony reveals. It most eminently receives the record of God concerning His Son — His person, mediation, righteousness, death, glory, kingdom. On this divine Lord it relies for pardon, and grace, and salvation; and therefore ‘it is of faith that it might be by grace.’² Let us pray that the life which we live may be ‘by faith of the Son of God,’ and then we may hope that, like the ancient patriarchs, we shall die in faith, and enter into that glory which will consummate all its hopes and anticipations.”

On Love to God. — “The love of God in Christ Jesus is heaven. We were *created* to love God; we *fell* by loving self and the creature; we are renewed that we may love God again, weakly and imperfectly on earth, perfectly in glory above. We aim at this love more and more as we grow in grace. It must go through our whole nature. The mind must think of God, the will delight in God, the affections cling to God, the appetites and senses obey God, the members be instruments of God. He who loves God, and not with his whole heart, loves something else, and not God. The cause of loving God is God himself;

¹ Affiance — a pledge of faithfulness, as in a marriage.

² Rom 4.16.

and the only measure to love Him, is to love Him without measure. This is the sum of the whole law — and our utter inability to fulfill it, makes the necessity for the gospel.”

The Love of Christ. — “The love of Jesus Christ softens, melts, and fills the heart. From it flows a tender love to our neighbor in his body, soul, relations, circumstances, according to his nearness to us, his necessities, and our opportunity of benefiting him; mortifying in ourselves the contrary passions of pride, vanity, discontent, peevishness, taking and giving offence: *this* is religion; — not knowledge, but love; not talk, but power; not love in general, but love in particular; not profession, but painful mortification of self and ill-temper, that we may love with a pure heart fervently.”

On Patience. — “The world is so full of sickness and sorrow, that patience perfects and completes the Christian. *Without* this, something is lacking; *with* it, he is prepared for all the will of God. But observe: patience is to have her ‘perfect work.’¹ This expression shows that we may have something of this grace, and yet be far from having enough of it.

“Patience has then its full operation, its due and proper effect, when it bears with resignation all the various dealings of God, all the sorrows and pains, and long-continued afflictions of this life; when it holds on and holds out all God’s time, waiting for ‘the end of the Lord;’ when it receives with meekness the occasional trials which are permitted to increase our general afflictions; when, under all, faith is unshaken, humility is uniform, and love is fervent. When this is the case, patience has her ‘perfect work.’ It is to be learned nowhere but in the example of our Lord Jesus Christ, who endured the cross, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps. This is the school. Nature has no such lessons to teach, and no power to impress the lesson if she had. Philosophy and human wisdom are proud and impatient, and incapable of inculcating

166 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX

a duty which they neither understand nor value. But the Saviour is the sanctifier and redeemer of the church. In His school the penitent believer learns patience, contentment, and holy peace. There he acquires calm and undisturbed repose. He is ‘anxious for nothing, but in everything by prayer and supplication with thanksgiving, makes his requests known to God;’ and thus ‘the peace of God which passes all understanding keeps his heart and mind through Christ Jesus.’ Thus in the instructions, motives, promises, duties, doctrine and example of Christ, he learns patience. The Holy Ghost enables him to do this. Communion with his Saviour promotes it. Prayer and praise strengthen it. Affliction and experience work it. All the events of life exercise it. Heaven will terminate it, forever and ever.”

God’s Chastisements. — “It is generally by way of chastisement that God instructs. Like Jacob, or Joseph, or Abraham, or Moses, or Hannah, or Job, or Samuel, various personal or family trials come upon us; and in those seasons God opens our hearts, and seals our instruction. He teaches old lessons and new.

“He teaches the evil of sin, the glory and grace of the Saviour, the blessed consolations of the Holy Spirit, the vanity of the creature, the misery and disorder of the world, the nearness and importance of eternity.

“God instructs, also, in new points of knowledge and duty. We learn more to good effect in one month, in a season of sickness or calamity, than in ten months of prosperity. There, in the silence of a sick-chamber, the heavenly Dove can be heard in His softest notes, and can instill peace and comfort into the heart.

“And all this instruction is ‘out of God’s law.’ It is all in the Bible, but we did not observe it. God teaches us in affliction to look for it there, and to find it. A thousand beauties strike us in the Bible when God teaches us ‘out of His law.’ How blessed, then, is the man whom you chasten, Lord, and teach him out of your law! ‘The afflictions of the righteous,’ says Berthier,² ‘are the steps by which he ascends to heaven; the felicity of the wicked is the declivity³ by which he goes down to hell.’ “

¹ Jas. 1.4.

² Probably Guillaume-François Berthier, Jesuit professor and writer, 1704-1782, from his comments on the Psalms.

³ A downward slope; *declination*.

Excessive Sorrow. — “On the subject of the grief you feel, I do not doubt that the infirmity of nature may have fallen into some excess. I am sure I know no duty in which we do not fail. In affliction, therefore, we either sink into something of dejection, or we are too hardened by indifference. The devil urges us on our weaker side. But, what then? Let us confess our constant failings; let us repent of them as we do of all other sins; and let us apply to our great Physician for healing — to the balm of His wounds, to the virtue and unction of His Spirit.”

Nature and Grace. — “To plan for ourselves, to act on our own choice, to arrange our projects even in religious matters — this is human nature. To lie in the hands of our God and Saviour, to know no will but His, to frame every design in submission to His supreme control — to do this really and habitually, and in the detail of our duties — this is the effect of divine grace. The ‘only wise God’ is an expression full of deep and valuable instruction.”

1811-24. ST. JOHN’S. 167

Correspondence of another kind occupied him greatly about this same period. He had become much interested in the religious state of France, which was then a prey to superstition on the one hand and infidelity on the other; and it occurred to him that the translation of some of the works of our sound and evangelical divines might prove highly beneficial. Into this project he accordingly threw himself with his accustomed energy. He fixed upon the writings of his two great favorites, Thomas Scott and Joseph Milner, and aimed at the translation into French of the “Commentary on the Bible,” written by the one, and “The History of the Church of Christ,” by the other. The amount of labor expended in this cause can scarcely be conceived. He had to consult and interest all the more distinguished French and Swiss pastors; and, with this view, to carry on a correspondence (still preserved) with M. Gaussen of Satigny, Merle D’Aubigne of Geneva, Leander Van Ess of Darmstadt, Filleul of Jersey, Paumier of Rouen, Chabrand of Toulouse, Kieffer of Paris, Martin of Bordeaux, Perrot-Droz of Neuchatel, and many others. He had to enlist friends in England, to form a committee and raise funds. He had to select and appoint translators of the works, and correctors of the press.

Nothing can convey a stronger idea of his energy and force of character, than his undertaking to construct and guide all this machinery, amidst his numerous and constantly increasing avocations. Operations were commenced. He made himself personally responsible for £300 per annum. A London Committee was appointed to control the whole scheme; a Geneva Committee, to translate and revise; a Paris Committee, to print and circulate. The whole machinery was fairly set in motion, and worked satisfactorily, though slowly. The extent of the undertaking was to be controlled by experience and the available funds. It went so far, that the Gospel of St. Matthew, the Acts of the Apostles, and St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans, with Scott’s Comment, were translated and printed; and thus a valuable comment upon a most important Gospel, Epistle, and History, were added to the stock of French divinity. St. John’s Gospel was also translated, but not printed. No further actual progress was made. *A supply without a demand always involves the risk of failure.* There was no demand here. The scheme was not self-supporting, nor perhaps calculated for popularity; for Scott’s writings must have appeared heavy to the majority of French readers. The project all depended upon the energy and strength of one man. His health failed, and he was unable to sustain it. It fell with him; and no attempt has since been made to rebuild or to restore the ruins.

168 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

Every hour of his time would seem to be already filled up; and yet there was one more duty running through all the period now under review, which has not yet been noticed. The vestry of St. John’s Chapel may well be deemed remarkable, as a place from where numberless schemes of benevolence and Christian charity have emanated, and where “prayer was habitually made.”¹

¹ Act 16.13.

It was the head-quarters of a society called the London Clerical Education Society, formed for the purpose of carrying young men of promise and piety, but of restricted means, through the university, by defraying their expenses in whole or in part. The income of the society was variable, being raised by private contributions, and increased by occasional legacies. The trustees were noblemen and gentlemen of high reputation and proved piety, and Daniel Wilson was secretary. He was indefatigable in maintaining, so far as it lay in him, the efficiency of the society, and in keeping up the standard of piety among the young men who were selected with the utmost care, and watched over with the greatest vigilance. The society was formed in the year 1816, in connection with St. John's Chapel; and a report in the year 1822 mentions the fact that eleven young men of high character and attainments, had already been prepared for holy orders through its instrumentality. It is evident that the care of such a society must have required great watchfulness, and added seriously to the labors and responsibility of the minister of St. John's. Meetings were held in the vestry of that church.

There, also, a society assembled for many years, called "The Eclectic." It was instituted in the year 1783, and remains to this day. It numbered among its earlier members the honored names of Newton, Foster, Venn,¹ Cecil, Scott, Pratt, and other London clergy, with Mr. Clayton and some equally eminent dissenting ministers, and a few laymen. The object was to discuss subjects of divinity with a view to mutual edification; and in doing this, the discussion was quite free, and the range of subjects very wide. It met every alternate Monday, at four o'clock in the afternoon, and admitted by vote a certain number of visitors each year. Daniel Wilson became a visiting member about the year 1803, and a regular member when he was minister of St. John's, in 1809.

In a letter written to the Rev. G. Clayton in 1855, he says:

"Our meetings together at the Eclectic must be of some forty-years standing. I remember you so well, and your seat in our room, and your venerable father's, and Mr. Cecil's and Mr. Foster's on the other side of the fire-place. I am now in the fifty-fourth year of my ministry. *Deo Gratias.*"

1811-24 ST. JOHN'S. 169

It is unnecessary to dwell further upon the proceedings of this society, since they have been recorded in a most able and interesting work by Archdeacon Pratt of Calcutta, called "Eclectic Notes." It may suffice to say that Daniel Wilson was deeply interested in its welfare, and most regular in his attendance, and that he spared no pains to enrich the discussions. A few cursory remarks never contented him. Even when unable to attend, he would send his notes to be read by another; and nothing but a regard to brevity prevents the insertion in this place of specimens thus prepared and preserved. Whatever his hand found to do, he did it with his might; and he ever illustrated a truth, which all experience teaches, that *if business is to be done, it is the busy man who does it.*

The Eclectic Society will be referred to again: but it is time that this chapter should be drawing to a close. Before this is done, however, it must be noted that in 1821 the lease of St. John's Chapel expired and was renewed. The opportunity was taken to enlarge the accommodation which had been so long and so greatly needed, by adding two rows of pews all round the front of the galleries. Extensive repairs were also undertaken; and the congregation, with their usual liberality, raised nearly £2000 to meet the expenses. The chapel was closed in June 1821, and reopened in the following November. Part of the interval was passed at Brighton, where he took

¹ Henry Venn (1796-1873); Anglican clergyman who is recognised as one of the foremost Protestant missions strategists of the nineteenth century. He was an outstanding administrator who served as honorary secretary of the Church Missionary Society from 1841 to 1873. He was also a campaigner, in the tradition of the Clapham Sect, who frequently lobbied the British Parliament on social issues of his day, notably on ensuring the total eradication of the Atlantic slave trade by retaining the West African Squadron of the Royal Navy. He expounded the basic principles of indigenous Christian missions: these were much later made widespread by the Lausanne Congress of 1974.

the duty for Mr. Pearson at St. James' Chapel; and part in close and anxious attendance upon his father-in-law, Mr. William Wilson, who died in peace after a somewhat lingering illness, on the 24th of August, leaving large possessions, and the better heritage of a good name, to his surviving and sorrowing family.

And now let the reader gather up the threads of this busy life at St. John's — let him recall the family anxieties, the ministerial duties, the public controversies, the private claims, the literary labors, the voluminous correspondence, the "journeyings often," and all the varied plans of usefulness which had pressed on Daniel Wilson since the year 1812 when he first settled in London — and then consider whether it was possible (humanly speaking) for body or mind to bear, unhurt, such a continued strain. Strong and vigorous as his constitution naturally was, it began at last to give way. He had already tried change of residence, and moved on January 1st, 1820, into what then might be called a country house at Barnsbury Park, Islington. But there had been no real cessation of labor. The effects naturally followed, and he began to complain. He writes to Mrs. Hannah More as follows:

170 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

"DECEMBER 3, 1821.

"You are just the very last person that I could ever forget; but the truth is, I have been so extremely ill during the whole summer, that writing became burdensome to me.

"The sermons for Mr. Scott, thrice carefully re-written, first began to oppress me in the spring — a Confirmation followed — five months' repairs of my chapel brought large additional anxiety — the death of a dear child — and last, and deepest of all, the loss of an invaluable parent, completed the series of my afflictions, and reduced me to a state of debility and sickness from which I am hardly as yet recovered. Thanks be to the Almighty's goodness, however, I am much better, and have preached twice on each of the four Sundays since the reopening of my chapel. I am obliged, however, to be upon my guard. My weekly lecture must be dropped. My extra duties must be suspended. And I must, as I ought, go softly on the path of life, which has become to me so characteristically uncertain.

"All is right. My proud heart requires much discipline. The world within, as well as without the church, is seductive. To be upright with God; to subdue the selfish disorder of the passions; to walk humbly; to pray; to wait for heaven; to love the Master whom we serve, and the service for His sake; and, at last, to ascribe everything to His mercy and grace — *this* is religion. And how difficult to preserve, and nourish, and increase it in any measure as we ought! I do assure you, my dear friend, the nearer I approach the verge¹ of time, and look over to the eternity which lies beyond, the more I tremble for myself, and frequently desire to give greater diligence to make my 'calling and election sure.'

"You shall see before long a private memorial of my father-in-law, which I have drawn up for my brothers and sisters. I am sure it will please you."

The resolution here expressed, of refraining from all extra labor, was to a certain extent carried out during the summer and autumn of 1822; but it was too late. Towards the close of that year, his strength gave way, and in November he was prostrate. On the 29th of November, 1822, he writes thus to a friend:

"Though scarcely recovered from a languishing illness, I must endeavor to send you a few lines. May it please God that I learn the lessons which the retirement of a sick-room, or rather, which the grace of God, my Bible, and spiritual meditations should teach me. I write badly, because I cannot sit up. The world is passing away. Eternity (and how eloquent that word now is to me!) is drawing near. Nothing affects me but that which pertains to the kingdom of God. May that kingdom come! Oh that truth, love, zeal, may more and more pervade the church militant on earth! "

¹ [The boundary or limit.](#)

On the resumption of his duties, in the early part of 1823, he preached a course of sermons on the sickness and recovery of Hezekiah — moved, no doubt, by the points of similarity it

1811-24. ST. JOHN'S. 171

presented in his own case; and he thus describes his state in a letter dated Feb. 14th, 1823:

“I write without reflection, effort, or annoyance, as when speaking to a friend. It is a pleasure thus to scribble letters; and any other way would be insupportable to me. I like them to be open, free, frank, and affectionate.

“I do not have strength to go on with my ‘Evidences of Christianity.’ The papers lie quiet, waiting a more propitious day. I give myself to my Sunday sermons. One is always written, and I put tolerably strict limits to the other; nevertheless, I need your advice. No friends give me frank and open advice. I like scolding. Truth always pleases me, though sometimes it may cause annoyance at the moment. I see no one, and neither pay nor receive visits. I amuse myself with French. The translation of Scott’s *Comment* now occupies me. The work is begun at Paris, Rouen, Toulouse, and Geneva. I have written twenty letters about it lately. Geneva translates; Paris corrects the style; London superintends the sense. They will translate St. Matthew’s Gospel first. The education of young men in France also occupies me. All these things compel me to read a good deal of French. I study the first authors. My great desire is to thoroughly reveal the state of souls in France, the cause of their misfortunes, the nature of their literature, the means of remedy.

“I cannot close without one word respecting Reginald Heber’s nomination to the bishopric of the East. Never was anything, so far as I can judge, more happy.”

It will easily be imagined that a relaxation of this kind was not sufficient; and an entire change soon became imperative. Acting upon medical advice, therefore, the journey to the Continent was arranged which has already been alluded to, and was described in his “Letters from an absent Brother.” He was accompanied by his wife and family, and by a valuable friend, since deceased — the Rev. John Natt, Fellow of St. John’s, Oxford, and afterwards vicar of St. Sepulchre, London.

The anticipation of this journey seems to have acted like a stimulant upon his jaded mind, and something of the old energy is visible in the following letter:

“JUNE 11, 1823.

“I want your advice about our route — Calais, Brussels, Liege, Coblenz, Basle, Zurich, Geneva, etc.

“I beg you to give me a list of towns, places, mountains, lakes, and people, which I may visit without fatigue, while spending one month between Calais and Geneva. As soon as we leave Geneva, about the end of July, we shall make further arrangements. Paris will detain me one month — especially if my Gospel of St. Matthew is going on there. I hope to resume my customary duties the first Sunday in November. I beg you to give me a clear, decisive sketch of my route, full of lights (bright spots), so that I may omit nothing of importance; and write by return post.”

172 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

The route pursued was very much as thus sketched out; and the tour, lasting from June to November, was a source of much enjoyment. Health also returned; and when the party arrived in England, the object proposed seemed to have been attained.

But such was not the will of God.

His return was hailed with joy by his congregation, and he gladly prepared to resume his ministrations among them. He reached home on the 31st of October; but even while travelling from Dover, he felt some premonitions of indisposition, and remarked that he thought the illness of the year before would soon return. He preached, however, on Sunday morning, November 2d, from Psalm 116.12-13: “What shall I render to the Lord for all His goodness to

me? I will take the cup of salvation, and will call upon the name of the Lord;" but he was so greatly exhausted after the service that he was unable to preach again that day. This was most unusual with him.

He had been greatly agitated during the previous week by the intelligence of the sudden death of Mr. Charles Grant; and when, on this Sunday afternoon and the following day, he sat by the side of the afflicted widow, he "could scarcely," he said, "collect himself sufficiently to utter a few words of consolation." Then followed the sudden preparation of the funeral sermon, which was preached on the next Sunday morning, and subsequently printed.

Then came a sermon in the cause of charity. He was flushed and excited, and said that he had felt so nervous that he could scarcely force himself into the pulpit.

He was now under medical care, but could not be persuaded to "rest awhile." On Sunday, November 30th, he preached twice: once in an animated strain, from the words, "Awake, awake, put on strength, O arm of the Lord!"¹ and once in a low and depressed tone, from the words, "O, my God! My soul is cast down within me;"² and then he was silent for eight months.

These were, in fact, his last sermons as minister of St. John's. When he again ascended the pulpit, he was Vicar of Islington; but the way was through the "valley of the shadow of death."

Such was the will of God.

All the symptoms of the previous year's illness now reappeared in an aggravated form — total prostration of strength, abscesses and glandular swellings, languor, and faintings, and extreme depression. He seemed like one "going to the gates of the grave, and deprived

1811-24. ST. JOHN'S. 173

of the residue of his years."³ He had been a teacher of others; he was now himself sent to school. The excitement of an active life was now changed for the solitude of a sick-chamber. Higher duties in the church awaited him and the "discipline of sorrows" was the preparation. His course had been that of one "valiant for the truth;" it was now as when a "standard-bearer faints."

Who can fathom the purposes of God in thus dealing with his servant? There was no apparent cause. But we know, and are sure, that He does not willingly afflict the children of men; and that He does all things well:

Some gracious purpose has to be fulfill'd:
Some sin prevented, or some murm'ring still'd:
The process may be long, the mystery great.
But while the Father works, the child must wait"

His journal might have thrown some light upon all this, but it had been discontinued. It had long ceased to tell the results of self-examination, the hinderings of prayer, the failings of temper, the wanderings of affection, the subtle workings of pride, and the temptations attendant upon a public life and an influential position. Its very silence is perhaps suggestive.

But the chamber of sickness is to the man of God a place for retirement, humiliation, and confession; and by resorting there, something may be learned concerning the divine chastisements, and how they "work together for good to them that love God, and are the called according to His purpose."

¹ Isaiah 51.9.

² Psalm 42.6.

³ Isaiah 38.10.

This may be done in the case before us: for a sister, who was his wife's dear friend and counsellor as well as his own, was in daily and almost hourly attendance, and she kept a record of all that passed. From that record we may glean the necessary particulars.

"At the commencement of the attack," she says, "I read to him, by his desire, the third chapter of Colossians. He said, 'That is one of my favorite chapters. It contains the whole of the gospel — doctrine and practice.' He went on to say, 'Many are the lessons to be learned in affliction. What I want is to get nearer to God, and to *feel* that it is the hand of my heavenly Father. But my mind is weakened with my body, and that it is, makes me think this affliction more trying than the one last year. But though my thoughts wander, and there is much distraction of mind, yet, blessed be God! I feel that my feet are upon the Rock, Christ Jesus. I can cast myself as a guilty, helpless sinner, at the foot of His Cross, and beseech Him to have mercy upon me for His Name's sake.'

174 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

"*Dec. 8th.* He begged his wife to read the description of the Christian armor in the Epistle to the Ephesians. She read:

"'Finally brethren, be strong in the Lord.'

"'Ah!' he said, with fervor, 'that is what I desire; to be *strong* in the Lord.'

"'Stand, therefore, having your loins girt about with truth.'

"'Yes,' he continued, 'there we see the importance of sincerity.'

"'Above all taking the shield of faith.'

"'That is what I greatly need,' he said, 'for now is my trial of faith.'

"And thus he went on through all the verses — his spirits low, his feeling that of dally increasing weakness, his impression that he should not long continue here.

"*Dec. 9th.* He occupied himself a little in correcting the press for his 'Letters from an absent Brother.'

"*Dec. 17th.* This day had been appointed for a meeting to be held in the house of Dr. Steinkopff, at which thanksgivings were to be offered for the safe return of himself and Daniel Wilson. But this was now turned into a meeting of supplication and prayer, that God would be pleased to restore His servant once more to health and life. The meeting was very interesting, and attended by many friends who were addressed by Mr. Bickersteth from Psalm 68.20: 'Unto God the Lord belong the issues from death.'

"Pain, and weakness, and inflammation continuing and increasing, the congregation of St. John's resolved also to unite in prayer on behalf of their valued minister. It was not thought expedient to give anything of publicity to the design; but a certain hour was appointed, and each family was to pray 'apart.'¹

"*Dec. 22d.* He spoke of his illness as being very trying, but among the 'all things' which should work together for his good. 'My anxious desire,' he said, 'is to get the abiding permanent effect of a sanctified affliction. Affliction tends to awaken conscience, to unmask the world, to show the value of prayer, to endear the Saviour, to make us see the importance of a habitually close walk with God. God says He sits "as a refiner and purifier of silver;" and I desire to submit to His blessed will.'

"Afterwards, when reading a letter from Mrs. Hannah More, just received, in which she spoke of him in high terms, he stopped me before I had well begun, and desired me to proceed no further, adding: 'Satan is ever ready to take advantage of the kindness of friends to fill the mind with vanity.'

"*Dec. 26th.* He was a little revived, and was informed that a surveyor, sent by Dr. Straham, the vicar of Islington, wished to see him about some of his glebe-land.

"He turned away with dislike from the subject, and said: 'Glebe-land! My glebeland will be in heaven, I hope. It is my full persuasion that this affliction will be unto death, and that it becomes me to set my house in order; for I shall die and not live.'

¹ Zechariah 12.12.

“Dec. 30th. He was somewhat better, and said: ‘I desire to use every means that God has put in my power,’ and then ‘Here I am; do with me. Lord, as seems

1811-24. ST. JOHN’S. 175

good in your sight.’ When I was abroad, I went over the Porcelain manufactories. There I saw the potter take the clay and mould it to the form he wished. ‘Whether larger or smaller, handsome or ugly, he moulded it till it assumed the intended design; and when finished, if it was not the exact vessel he desired, or if there was any defect in it, he re-moulded it till it came forth agreeably to his wishes. And thus am I in the hands of my heavenly Potter, that I also may be moulded to the form He desires; and though it is trying to flesh and blood, ‘Shall the clay say to the potter. Why have you made me thus?’ Let the potsherds strive with the potsherds of the earth. My desire and prayer is that I may be as clay in God’s hands, and know no will but His.

“To the noble lady with whom he had previously corresponded, and who visited him with much sympathy and kindness about this time, he said: ‘Reunion in the heart is a divine flame; but (pointing to the fire at which he sat), unless it is watched, and continually stirred, and fed with fresh fuel, it decays and goes out. So religion in our hearts would decay and die out but for the Holy Spirit, who watches over and prevents it by His mighty power. He sends affliction to fan the smouldering embers, and stirs us up to more diligence and fervor. And my own desire and prayer is, that by this illness I may get more of the Holy Spirit’s teaching — greater nearness to God — a deeper sense of the evil of sin — more true love to Christ; and be enabled more simply to trust in His finished salvation.’ “

On the 1st of January, 1824, he was somewhat better, and his bed was covered with books.

“‘I am anxious,’ he said, ‘that the various lessons I am now being taught may never be erased from my mind. If my life is spared, I shall desire to “go softly all my days.” I am thankful that I can now read the Bible with delight; and my one and only wish is that my soul may be benefited. I desire to examine my heart, and see the depth of its wickedness. I feel that Satan is at my right hand, ever ready to take advantage over me. Therefore, to watch and pray is my constant duty, if I would walk closely with my God.’

“Jan. 2d, After walking round the room, he laid himself on the sofa, and soon broke out into these words: ‘Our light affliction, which is but for a moment, works for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory.’ And who is it that could thus call his afflictions light? The man who had been in ‘shipwrecks,’ and ‘imprisonments,’ and ‘deaths often,’ — these were light afflictions. What a spiritual view St. Paul must have had, and how he must have realized eternal things in all their vast importance, thus to have estimated the lightness of everything beside!’

“He then entered more closely into the present state of his religious feelings. He said that, for some time previous to his illness he had departed from God in heart; that his journey abroad had greatly distracted his mind, and still further increased this spiritual declension; but that it was his constant grief and lamentation, and his earnest desire was to return to the Lord with full purpose of heart; that those addresses in Jeremiah to the backslider, he especially took to himself, and felt their awakening power; that the fifty-first Psalm was the very language of his heart at this moment; that he already began to feel the salutary effects of this chastisement; that

176 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. IX.

his Bible was becoming increasingly precious to him; and that now, when awake in the night, one sweet passage after another presented itself to his memory with great refreshment; and though not yet restored to the ‘joy of God’s salvation,’ yet he could wait and earnestly pray for this blessing: adding, with particular solemnity, ‘My soul clings to the dust; quicken me, according to your word.’

“Jan. 3d. His physician told him he was getting on well; but that his constitution would have stood very little more, and that he must be extremely careful for two years to come.

“When repeating this conversation, he said that he considered it a most important opinion, and should make a memorandum of it in order that, ‘if his life was spared, he might refer to it afterward, and call to mind how near he had been to eternity.’

“Jan. 5th. He said, ‘It is one thing to bear the Christian name, and to stand well with the world, and even with the church; and another to walk closely with God. A fair profession may be kept up, while the heart is cold and lifeless.’

“Jan. 11th. He was in much pain, and unable to move. ‘I know,’ he said, ‘that this affliction does not spring from the dust, but is sent to answer some wise and gracious design. This increased pain is likewise part of the process; and God shuts me out from the world that I may be brought back to Him. And if this gracious end is accomplished, I should think little of a twelve-month’s illness. But how to get my heart alive again to God, is the great point. It must be the gradual work of time, with the Holy Spirit’s blessing upon the use of appointed means.’

“Jan. 12th. I spoke of a cousin, very ill, concerning whom Dr. Abernethy had said, ‘Not all the world could save him.’ ‘How awful!’ he said. ‘How awful, to be called before the judgment-seat of Christ! Happy the man who has fled for refuge in the days of health to that Saviour who alone can save him. Eight weeks I have now been ill; and I trust I shall ever consider them as eight of the best weeks of my life. If this affliction brings me back to God, and restores my wandering feet, I shall bless Him, though it last for eighteen weeks.’”

Some hymns were then read to him which, he said, were very sweet and pious; and his sister goes on to remark:

“His humble, teachable spirit exceeds anything I have ever met with before (and Mr. Bickersteth says the same). It is the spirit of a little child, longing, watching, eager to catch hold of anything that will impart a ray of light and instruction; and it is, I am persuaded, the immediate work of the Holy Spirit of God; for nature could never produce fruit so beautiful.

“Jan. 13th. He said, ‘I have not those sensible joys I long after. But if God sees fit to withhold comfort from me, I desire to submit; while at the same time I pray for them, and seek for them in the ways of God’s appointment.’

“Jan. 16th. He was better, and able to see friends. He rather mourned that these kind visits had broken in upon him, and robbed him of his time for reading and meditation. ‘I want to get on towards heaven,’ he said, ‘but the world intrudes; and

1811-24. ST. JOHN’S. 177

how to prevent it, I cannot tell, now that I am better.’ He said that he was reading with great pleasure Owen on the ‘Mortification of sin in believers.’ He thought it did him more good than any book of the kind he had read during his illness. It was deep and searching, and went to the root of the matter; and that was what he wanted; superficial books did not suit him.

“Jan. 19th. The physicians began to talk of Brighton. He said it would have been a great pleasure to him to have preached once before he went. ‘My dear people at St. John’s lie very near my heart. But such is not the will of God.’

“Jan. 22d. He went out for the first time for a little walk; and on Jan. 23d for a drive. On Jan. 27th, pain, faintness, exhaustion, depression — all returned, and a serious relapse was threatened. He, gradually rallied, however. ‘I feel,’ he said, ‘that this fresh attack is a kind of disappointment; but the great thing is to lie passive in God’s hands.’

“He was told of the death of the cousin before mentioned, one of whose last expressions was, ‘I have found a precious Saviour.’ With great emotion he replied: ‘What else could be desired? This is all any of us want in life or death. How awful a thing it appears to me to die! One moment fixes irrevocably our fate! And God does not judge as man judges. Man looks at the outward appearance, but God judges by the heart. When I look back upon my life, I see so much sin, imperfection, and corruption in every thought, word, and action, that my only hope of salvation is in coming simply to the Saviour as the poor Publican did, with “God be merciful to me a sinner.”’

“A few days more, and he was at Brighton. The change was immediately beneficial. But the alternations of sickness and health were frequent; and the progress, though on the whole towards recovery, was slow. The same submissive, humble, trusting state of mind, however, remained.

“I am very poorly,’ he writes, after a long interval; ‘but my mind is calm, reposing on the blessed will and mercy of God my Saviour.’

“And again: ‘My constant stay and resource is the omnipotence and mercy of God, to whom all things are known, and all things possible. That omnipotence and that mercy I desire to lay hold of by faith in the sacrifice of the Redeemer; and there I REST. Life and death are within the compass of the promise, “all things are yours.” Here is all-sufficiency for my aid.’”

These letters were written April 15th, 1824. On May 18th, 1824, Daniel Wilson was Vicar of Islington.

CHAPTER 10. ISLINGTON. 1824-1832.

LIVING OF ISLINGTON — DR. STRAHAN — SUCCESSOR FOR ST. JOHN'S — LETTER FROM MR. PRATT — HIS OWN IMPESSIONS — ANTICIPATIONS OF THE PARISHIONERS — PAROCHIAL MATTERS — VESTRY MEETINGS — ADDITIONAL SERVICES — NEW CHURCHES — PUBLIC APPEAL — PRAYER — BISHOP OF LONDON — CHURCH COMMISSIONERS — SITES — PLANS — CURATES — SCHOOLS — PASTORAL ADDRESS — LECTURESHIP VESTRIES — GUILDFORD — JOURNALS — ILLNESS OF MRS. WILSON — HER DEATH — CONFIRMATION — NEW LIBRARY — PERSONAL HABITS — CONSECRATION OF NEW CHURCHES — PROPRIETARY SCHOOL — THE APOCRYPHA CONTROVERSY — NEWFOUNDLAND SCHOOL SOCIETY — PARISH TROUBLES — MR. CHURCH-WARDEN WOODWARD — BISHOP TURNER — CHARLES GRANT — FIRST IDEA OF BISHOPRIC OF CALCUTTA — INTERVIEW WITH MR. CHARLES GRANT — APPOINTMENT TO CALCUTTA — INTERVIEW WITH LORD GREY — CONSECRATION AT LAMBETH — REFLECTIONS — ECLECTIC SOCIETY — ATTENDANCE AT COURT — VISIT TO FARNHAM CHAPEL — ISLINGTON TESTIMONIALS — DEPARTURE FROM ISLINGTON.

A VERY different scene presented itself before the eyes of Daniel Wilson when, led by the good providence of God, he emerged from “the valley of the shadow of death.” A parochial charge was now to be assumed, thirty thousand souls watched over, churches erected, clergy multiplied, schools organized, church-wardens conciliated, vestries managed, and spiritual destitution of all kinds supplied. This was very different from ministering to an attached congregation and edifying a select circle — and all this was involved in his new position as Vicar of Islington. His steps were still feeble; he paused for a short time, contemplating the prospect; and then went forward, “strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.”

The advowson¹ of the living at Islington had for many years been in the possession of Mr. William Wilson of Worton. By deed of sale, dated June 8, 1811, it had been conveyed to him for the sum of £5500; and on his death, in the year 1821, it was bequeathed to his son-in-law. Therefore when Dr. Strahan, the vicar, died on the 18th of May, 1824, it fell at once to Mr. Wilson. He was instituted on June 4th, and inducted July 2d, entering that day on his forty-seventh year. His first sermon, after a silence of eight months, was preached in the parish church, from the words, “Feed the church of

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 179

God which is among you,”² etc. But he was quite unable to continue his ministrations at Islington, or even to bid farewell to his flock at St. John's; and he retired again into the country until the month of November.

This interval will afford an opportunity to consider the state of Islington itself, and the view taken of his new duties by the vicar and his many friends.

In the year 1824, Islington had still some pretensions to be called “the country.” A few remnants of green fields still divided it from the metropolis, and traditions of shepherds and shepherdesses still lingered. All such distinctive marks are now swept away, and no casual observer can tell where London ends and Islington begins.

With its immense and rapid increase in recent years we have nothing now to do. It suffices to say that at the time of which we write, the number of inhabitants was about thirty thousand, and there was but one church and one chapel-of-ease for the spiritual necessities of that great multitude. Strong local attachment characterized the people, combined with good sense, kindly feeling, and religious principle; and under good guidance, they rose at once to duty, and

¹ *Advowson*: the right in English law of presenting a nominee to a vacant ecclesiastical benefice (a paid church office).

² 1Peter 5.2-3.

abounded in good works. But all this was marred by occasional outbursts of party spirit, easily provoked, and with difficulty allayed.

The Rev. Dr. Strahan had been the vicar for many years; and his character entitles him to be spoken of with great respect. He was a fine specimen of the old school of divines — venerable in appearance, courteous in manners, a good scholar, an excellent reader, regular in the discharge of official duties, and a favorite with a large section of his parishioners.

Under him, Islington slept. Under his successor, it awoke. And it has never slept since. It has done more, perhaps, than any other parish to meet the wants of an increasing population, and has set an example which might advantageously be followed by the whole country.

The appointment of Mr. Wilson to the vicarage, naturally caused “great searchings of heart.” He was thoroughly well known as a leader among the evangelical clergy — prompt, fearless, decided, active, uncompromising; and while many of his own St. John’s people who resided in Islington, and all who loved him for “the truth’s sake,” greatly rejoiced, there were others who feared the new doctrine, and doubted “where it would grow to.” These doubts and fears, however, did not make them forget that they were gentlemen

180 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

and churchmen, and they agreed that their new vicar should be received with all possible courtesy and respect. Such conduct had its reward; and many who at first shrunk from the messenger, lived to bless God for the message which he brought.

The event which was thus regarded with varied feelings by the parishioners of Islington, was viewed with unmingled regret by the congregation of St. John’s. They had sympathized with their minister in his illness, and felt most anxious for his recovery. Their united prayers on his behalf had been heard and answered; but the life spared was not thereafter to be spent in their service, but in another part of the vineyard. Some little disappointment, also, may naturally be supposed to have mingled with their feelings of regret; for they had just enlarged the chapel, and renewed the lease, and thus incurred a large expenditure in vain. But the contingency was not unexpected. The removal of their minister had been only a question of time; and the call of duty was too clear to be mistaken. Nothing remained, therefore, but acquiescence, and the hope that a fit successor would be found. And this, in truth, was the very first matter which claimed Mr. Wilson’s attention and obtained it. He speedily fixed upon the Rev. Charles Jerram, vicar of Chobham, who for some time had been officiating at St. John’s with much acceptance as his successor. Mr. Jerram accepted the appointment, but owing to ill health and family affliction, he did not enter upon it till the month of November, when he took upon himself the lease, and freed Mr. Wilson from all further responsibility. Meanwhile, unable to preach a farewell sermon, Mr. Wilson had taken leave of the congregation in a circular letter addressed to all, but directed to each individual member in particular. It was dated August 18th, 1824. After referring to his weak state of health, he recalled to mind the truths which had been ministered among them by Mr. Cecil and himself; appealed to every man’s conscience in the sight of God; exhorted them to stand fast in the faith; commended his successor to their kind consideration; and bid them most affectionately farewell. Some months elapsed before he was able to appear again in that pulpit, and he was then in the full discharge of his new duties.

To a wide circle of friends, also, in all parts of the country, the accession of Mr. Wilson to the living of Islington was a matter of deep interest. It was also mingled, perhaps, with some slight feelings of apprehension lest his health should prove unequal to the task, his zeal overpower his discretion, and past experience fail to meet the present necessities. One admirable letter, written to him by his former tutor, Mr. Pratt, will suffice to express what many felt; and an extract from it is therefore inserted here.

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 181

“DOUGHTY STREET, JULY 29, 1824.

“Be assured that you have, and shall have, my earnest prayers for your special success in your weighty charge. Your past life as a student, a tutor, and a minister, has been a life of great intellectual exertion, and you have had grace given you to meet its demands in a way for which very many will have reason to praise God forever. But if your constitutional temperament would have allowed you to go through this course of mental labor with the least possible demand on the spirits and physical strength, yet it would have sorely tried and sensibly worn you. But necessity now calls you to a somewhat different course; and mercifully, your new course is as expedient and desirable as it is unavoidable. To throw your whole intellect, by constant and exhausting efforts, into your ministry at Islington, as you have done at St. John’s, would bring you quickly to the grave. But that course would be out of place at Islington. Your changed circumstances will require you to render prominent and characteristic in your ministry, those qualities of tenderness and affection which will less exhaust your own spirits in preparation, and be more consolatory to your own soul in the delivery. The shepherd, the father, the overseer, the example, the ‘brother and companion in tribulation,’ ‘Paul the aged,’ rather beseeching though he might be bold to exhort — these and other similar characteristics of the maturer labors of the apostles, point out your way, and show after what manner your own closing ministry should be modelled. I trust that you will be mercifully enabled to cast all the burden of care which so great a charge brings with it, on the Lord. I hope you will cut off, as speedily as may be, all extraneous duties, such as the *French Commentary*; for I am quite persuaded that, under your circumstances, you must do personally as little as possible in things out of your parish. Surround yourself, as far as needed, with able, docile, and affectionate assistants, and then live like a father in the midst of his children; and God our Saviour, I have good hope and humble confidence, will make your last days your most fruitful.”

And what, meanwhile, was passing in Mr. Wilson’s own mind? One extract from his journal (written some years after) will tell his feelings on the retrospect of the past; and three letters, one to his son, and two to his mother, will unveil his anticipations as to the future.

In the journal he writes as follows:

“My course in London was strangely intermingled with great mercies from God, and great miseries from my own evil heart. My Saviour knows all. I can neither record nor realize all the temptations, the backslidings, the corruptions of heart, which have defiled me. It is terrible to think of.”

The letter to his son shows his deep sense of the responsibility of his new position.

“ISLINGTON, JUNE 5, 1824.

“I know you will rejoice to hear that yesterday I was instituted by the Bishop of London to the vicarage of this place. My induction, which gives me possession

182 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

of the temporalities of the cure, I have fixed for Friday, July 2d — the day of my birth. On Sunday, July 4th, Dr. Strahan’s curate leaves, and I enter on my own duties, either personally or by my curate, a Mr. Marshall, to whom I have promised my nomination. Today I shall receive the mandate of induction, which I have requested your dear uncle William [the Rev. Wm. Wilson, Vicar of Walthamstow, now Dr. Wilson] to execute.

“I am happy in the thought that you will be at home at my induction and reading-in (if I should be well enough), because I wish to interest you as early as possible in the solemn charge of thirty thousand souls, which is now laid upon me. Upon you, my dear boy, this charge will devolve some day if you live; and from you it will, I trust, descend as an inheritance of grace and mercy from your dear grandfather to future generations. Consider how much will depend on the religious character and the decided practical piety of myself and children. If this spring of all usefulness should be dried up, the parish will be a curse to us instead of a blessing and an honor — the highest honor God can put on a family, viz., to preach among such a people the unsearchable riches of Christ.”

His letters to his mother carry on the same idea, and are the more interesting, because she was now far advanced in life. His earlier letters to her will not have been forgotten. These are the last:

“WORTON, SEPT. 20, 1824.

“I just write you a hasty line to assure you that I am going on much the same. My general health is certainly gradually improving, and I think I am better now than before the *erisypelas*¹ attacked me. But all is right. Resignation is our duty and our interest. It meets and responds to God’s sovereignty over us.

“Yesterday my mind was much occupied with reflections on my ordination vows. I hope I felt some gratitude to God for his unnumbered mercies, as well as humiliation on account of my unnumbered sins and deficiencies. To have been honored by being put at all into the ministry of the glorious gospel, is an unspeakable grace. But to have been so largely blessed at Chobham, Oxford, Worton, and St. John’s, and now to have been called to an immensely wide sphere like Islington, with unbounded opportunities of usefulness, is a grace which quite overwhelms my mind. And then, when I connect this with my state of health and the extreme uncertainty of my future capacities of serving God in public, I feel that I can only lie in his hands, as clay in the hands of the potter, and say, ‘Not my will, but yours be done.’

“It is not the least of my mercies, that up to now everything has gone on so admirably at St. John’s and at Islington. I expect trials as to both. But up to now all has been calm — in pity to my bodily and mental infirmities. I bless God, also, that your life and health have been spared to see me placed in my last scene of duty; for I can anticipate no further move in this world. My warmest affections are fixed on your happiness and comfort, and that of my dear brothers and sisters. I pray God to bless them all, and prepare them for his heavenly kingdom.”

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 185

“WORTON, NOV. 14, 1821.

“I have been meditating today on the words of Elihu, ‘Then he opens the ears of man,’² etc.

“One design of our heavenly Father is to break up our counsels and plans and thus hide from us that secret vanity and self-applause which are so natural to us. It is now a twelve-month since my thoughts and plans and purposes have been overturned. I have been, during this time, again and again forming my schemes, and God has withdrawn me from them. I thought I should be well enough to do this or that. I designed to preach so often at St. John’s; I planned what I would do this month and the other — God has ‘withdrawn’ me from my purposes! I have not preached once at St. John since Nov. 20th, 1823, that is, for exactly a year; and now my dear brother and friend begins his new duties there.

“Now may I cease from all purposes, and take myself to prayer. May I now be nothing, that God may be ‘all in all.’ If I should be permitted to enter upon my new duties at Islington, may I enter on them fearful, humble, resigned, emptied of self; without schemes, purposes, or castles in the air; and with pride and self hidden from my eyes. May Christ live in me. May I be content to know the duty of the day, and leave off planning, and foreboding, and managing for futurity, as out of my province.”

The intervening months having passed away, he returned in November; and on Sunday, the 28th, preached an Advent sermon from Mark 1.15, “The time is fulfilled and the kingdom of God is at hand. Repent, and believe the gospel.” He thus afforded some indication of the course he intended to pursue. He desired to win a way for the gospel of moderation, gentleness, and order, without failing in fidelity, or compromising the truth. He knew the congregation before whom he was called to minister, and recognized his new position. Before long, however, some persons began to wonder at what they deemed a sacrifice of principle. He seemed to restrain himself in

¹ An acute streptococcal infectious disease of the skin, characterized by fever, headache, vomiting, and purplish raised lesions, esp. on the face. Also called “Saint Anthony’s fire.”

² Job 33.16-17.

the pulpit. His appeals seemed to be less fervent, and his manner less earnest. They said, "He was very different at St. John's." They almost doubted if he preached the gospel. But this was "their foolishness." The sermons were the same. They were St. John's sermons, wisely adapted to Islington; and the course pursued was the one most likely to produce the desired effect — "if by any means I may save some." He was gently remonstrated by a well-wisher, and his reasons were asked. The answer was immediate, and to this effect: — "I could preach away the parish church congregation in a fortnight; and in another fortnight, perhaps, I could fill it with a congregation twice as large. But these are my parishioners. I do not wish to drive them away. I long for their souls

186 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

as one that must give account. My heart's desire is to lead them to Christ. The branch in the vine must not be cut off, but made fruitful." And his actions out of the pulpit, as well as in it, were in accordance with these words. When troublous times came on, and many were offended, some friend told him of an angry parishioner who had declared that neither he nor his family would ever come to the parish church again. "What do you say?" was the vicar's response, "What name did you mention? Where does he live? I will call on him tomorrow morning." He called accordingly, and saw the family, and all was set right in a moment; for few could resist him when he wished to please. It is scarcely necessary to say that this action was entirely disinterested. As vicar, he was of course independent of all secular motives; and the slightest intimation of an intention of giving up a pew in church, was followed by twenty earnest applications for it. The effect of the conduct he pursued was, in the end, what he desired. None left the church; but on the contrary, prejudices began to yield, hearts to soften, grace to work. Religion became prominent, and worldliness drew back complaining and murmuring: — "There is no such thing as getting a comfortable game at cards now, as in Dr. Strahan's time." One old gentleman, a High Churchman from his youth, was so full of anger at the change, that he could scarcely speak upon the subject. He threatened to leave the parish altogether. But while he lingered, the angel of the Lord "laid hold upon his hand," and all was changed. "No," he replied to an application about his pew,¹ "I shall not leave. I shall remain. I find now that religion is heart-work." It will readily be supposed that vast crowds assembled in the church, and that every standing-place was occupied. It was the practice of the vicar now to sit in the pulpit. He was at first compelled to do this from ill-health; but it became a habit, and he continued it to the end of life. A stool was constructed which would take to pieces, and which raised him, sitting, to the height of a person standing. Cross bars steadied it and rested his feet; and upon these, when excited by his subject, or desiring to impress some weighty truth upon his auditors, he often rose, greatly increasing his height, and suggesting the idea originated by John Knox, that he was about to "flee out of the pulpit." The effect, though not graceful, was impressive, and earnest; and in Daniel Wilson's case, something of dignity was always attached even to his peculiarities.

But it is not in the pulpit we shall now have to consider him, so much as in the parish. In parochial matters he was instantly involved, and there was something characteristic in Islington, which

1834-32. ISLINGTON. 187

made every movement complicated. It was not simply a parish with vicar, church-wardens, church-rates, and vestry-meetings, but it was governed by a local act of Parliament. A large body of trustees was elected by the people at large, and they managed the funds of the parish, subject to the approval of the rate-payers assembled in vestry. There were three church-wardens, the senior of whom exercised, officially, the chief authority. They assigned the pews (with few

¹ Specific pews were applied and paid for by attendees who could afford them, the funds from which defrayed church costs.

exceptions), collected the rents, and applied the proceeds to church expenses. The public vestry-meetings were, till recently, held in the church itself (the chairman having his seat in the reading-desk), when scenes of turmoil and confusion sometimes took place, unbecoming everywhere, but most disgraceful in the house of God. Excited crowds filled all the pews, loud clamor frequently arose, religion itself was assailed, profane words were heard, and evil passions of all kinds were let loose. But this belongs to a later day; at first the sea was calm.

Additional church accommodation was the most pressing want; but as a previous step, it was necessary to consider whether that which was already available could be rendered more efficient. In the parish church, there were but two services on Sunday — one in the morning, for which the vicar was responsible, and the other in the afternoon, which was supplied by a lecturer. A third service in the evening, therefore, was clearly practicable, and as a temporary measure, the vicar offered to be responsible for the duty if the parish would defray all the necessary expenses. The first vestry over which he presided was called to consider this matter. It was held on February 17th, 1825. His own account of it is as follows:

“ISLINGTON, FEBRUARY 18, 1825.

“I had, last night, my vestry for nearly four hours at the church, on the evening service. About two hundred persons attended, and long discussions arose — not upon the main question, for all approved of opening the church, but on the points. Whether the church should be entirely free, or the seats be let? And then, whether the expenses should be paid by the church-wardens, or by voluntary subscription? It was carried at length, unanimously, that the church should be free, and by 117 against 59 that the church-wardens should pay the expenses. Nothing could be more kind and respectful than their whole conduct to me, personally, but I was worn out with standing, speaking, talking, and calling to order — in short, ‘ruling the waves of the sea, and the tumult of the people.’”

The plan was immediately carried into effect with the happiest results. On February 28th the vicar reports that on the previous evening, the church had been opened for the first time, and that it

188 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

was crowded. In the same letter he says one word about his state of health: “My health is pretty good. My sermon yesterday was the ninth. I can walk about, and I make calls on my parishioners, especially the sick, two or three times a week.” He adds: “I expect to hear every day something about the new churches.”

These last words introduce a new subject. It appears from them that some movement had already taken place for the erection of new churches in the parish. The first idea had been to build a single church; but it was suggested that this would be a most inadequate supply for a parish so extensive, and that three might probably be erected at once, without any great additional effort. It was determined, therefore, that the attempt should be made; and in the month of May, the matter was ripe for a decision. The parish was not opposed, but it was reluctant. The spirit of church-building had been checked in its birth by mismanagement. In 1812, the first stone of a new chapel-of-ease had been laid, for the erection of which the parish trustees had been empowered to raise and expend the sum of £15,000. In 1814, when the chapel-of-ease was completed, it was found that a sum of £32,000 had been expended; and the burden thus incurred was still pressing on the rate-payers in the shape of annuities, amounting to about £2000 per annum. But, worse than this, a feeling of dissatisfaction and distrust had been aroused, and it was not allayed when the vicar came forward with his new proposals. These proposals were embodied in a circular letter, which was widely distributed over the whole parish. It was dated May 7, 1825, and the main points on which it dwelt were the following: The parish contained thirty thousand people, and was rapidly increasing. Land was already let for buildings which, when completed, would raise the population to fifty thousand souls. The church and chapel-of-ease together had sittings for two thousand five hundred; so that, out of

every twelve parishioners, eleven were absolutely shut out of the house of God. The trustees of the parish, and His Majesty's Commissioners, alike concurred in the opinion that one church, in a parish spreading over so wide a surface, would be comparatively useless, and that three were absolutely required. This would involve an expense of £30,000, at the very least. But if the parishioners would find the sites, and advance £12,000, His Majesty's Commissioners would take all further responsibility upon themselves, and complete the whole work. This £12,000 might be first raised, and then eventually extinguished, by a rate of three pence per pound, which would only require from the great bulk of the parishioners, on an average, a payment

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 189

of three or four shillings per annum — and that not from each individual, but from each family inhabiting a dwelling-house. Under certain contingencies, even this might be lessened, but it could not possibly be exceeded. And thus at so small a sacrifice, and no subsequent risk, the whole parish might be provided with church accommodation for years to come. The letter ended as follows:

“To conclude, let me entreat the prayers of my parishioners to Almighty God, the author of all good, that such a soundness of judgment, and such a temper of peace and charity, may prevail throughout the consideration of this great question, that it may be crowned, if it should seem right and fit, with the desired success; but that, at all events, it may prove an occasion, not of heat and contention, but of good-will and kindness, and conciliation between all the remotest inhabitants of this vast and important parish.”

Such an appeal, so ably reasoned and so strongly urged, commended itself to all. It proved irresistible, and prepared the way for a full discussion in vestry, five days after it had been issued.

Upon one of the circulars, however, there are a few words written which may well be noted before the result is told. It is the “circular,” sent at the time by the vicar to his son, and still preserved. All round the margins of the printed page these words are written:

“The affair of our new churches is of such immense importance that I send you this letter. What the event may be, I do not know. The preliminary meeting at my house was unanimous. But a vestry of two thousand people is a totally different thing. I send you this paper (of which four thousand will be circulated in the parish), *first* to engage your prayers for us; *secondly*, as a memorial in future years of what was intended to be done, supposing the design should be defeated; *thirdly*, as a pledge of gratitude and praise to God, if success crowns our efforts; and *lastly*, that I may solemnly and affectionately charge it upon you, that if these chapels, or any of them, should be built, and the appointment of them should ever come into your hands, you may appoint men of decided evangelical piety, clear views of the unique doctrines of the gospel, meek tempers, and diligent, self-denying habits: men who understand, and feel, and act upon the doctrines of our thirty-nine articles and homilies, and preach them like Archbishop Leighton, or Joseph Milner.

“I am, your affectionate father,

“D. WILSON.”

It is not to be supposed that matters had been brought to the state described in the circular, without immense labor and anxious thought. Consultations and discussions of all kinds had abounded. The breakfast-room, the parlor, the study, the pulpit, each had been called to play its part. Preliminary interviews with the Church

190 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

Commissioners, long conferences with the trustees, friendly conversations with influential parishioners, animated exhortations to the congregation — all had been repeatedly and successfully tried. Above all, the help of God had been constantly and earnestly sought; prayer rose without ceasing; and the promise that if “two or three shall agree upon earth touching what

they shall ask, it shall be done for them by my Father in heaven,” was abundantly fulfilled. As an illustration of this, it may be mentioned, that while all was yet in doubt, the vicar went down to the vestry of St. John’s Chapel to meet his brethren of the Eclectic Society, and he addressed them in these words:

“Dear brethren, pray for me. I am going to build three churches in my parish, and there are many adversaries.”

This opening led to much discussion at the meeting, and to many differences of opinion. Some doubted whether he was acting wisely, and asked, “Might not the money be used in some better way? “Who could tell into whose hands these churches might one day fall? It was not cages that were wanted, so much as good singing-birds.” But nothing moved him. He said, that building houses for God in the land was in itself a right thing; that the issue of events must be left with God; that we must “trust and not be afraid;” that the means appointed must be used; and that if the machinery was defective, it must not be neglected, but improved.

Thus faith reproved fear; and in the result these churches have proved noble seed-plots of a noble harvest. Fifteen have already risen; and of Islington it may indeed be said, as of Zion in former days, “This and that man was born in her.”¹

The Bishop of London, Dr. Howley, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was deeply interested in the success of the proposal. Two days before the vestry meeting was held to consider it, he wrote as follows:

“LONDON HOUSE, MAY 10, 1825.

“You have acted with so much discretion, as well as zeal, that with the blessing of God, you can, I think, hardly fail to succeed; and should you carry your point, I shall exert all my power to induce the commissioner to see your claims in as strong a light as I do.”

The anticipations thus expressed, were borne out by the result. The parish assembled in vestry on May 12th, and no opposition was raised. The plan proposed was unanimously adopted. Another

1824-32 ISLINGTON. 191

vestry, however, was necessary to confirm the vote; and then difficulties were started, and a few expressed themselves aggrieved. Still, large majorities confirmed what had been done, and the first step was definitely gained.

There was now vantage-ground for an official application to the Church Commissioners; and after some delays had been experienced, and personal influence used in all directions, the consideration of the case came on before the Board, was fully discussed, and eventually conceded — the commissioners would build the churches forthwith.²

The vicar’s own account is curious, as well as interesting:

“ISLINGTON, MAY 25, 1825.

“Surely praise should follow prayer. Yesterday our great undertaking succeeded. The two archbishops, and twenty or more bishops and noblemen condescended to our petition, and three Churches, to contain five thousand souls, are to be immediately built. The intense curiosity with which my person was surveyed by the Episcopal Commissioners is more than I can describe; and my own nervousness in answering a thousand questions, and undergoing an hour’s examination before such a Board, almost deprived me of the presence of mind necessary for such a conjuncture.

¹ Psalm 87.4.

² Without delay.

“To God I ascribe the whole success. I am ‘like those that dream.’ A parish of thirty thousand people, in confusion and ill-will, and determined against any more new churches as long as they lived (we are paying £2354 annually for our chapel-of-ease), brought round to vote almost unanimously the sum of £12,000; and this pittance accepted by the commissioners, for chapels that will cost them £35,000, and would have cost the bungling managers of a parish, £70,000: this is ‘the Lord’s doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes.’ Let May 12th and May 24th be marked forever in my calendar as jubilee days.”

A thousand matters of detail immediately followed this great success: the selection of suitable sites, the investigation of titles, the choice of architects, and arrangements of all kinds with the commissioners. In these things he was greatly assisted by the kindness, skill, and business-like habits of some of his leading parishioners; but still the burden fell heavily on him, and IT is referred to in the following letter:

“JULY 25, 1825.

“I perceive you know but little about the detail of building churches, or you would not think my time of rest has yet arrived. Our great struggle was to introduce, not to finish, our series of labors. Every step of the progress demands the same vigilant spirit of prayer and holy fear, as the first did. One false movement might still ruin the whole. Thus God keeps His servants dependent upon Him, and so disposes of things that His own name may be

192 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

glorified. Through His goodness all is as yet going on most prosperously. I trust ‘Peace and Truth’ will be preserved among us.”

The autumn of 1825 afforded some respite, and was passed chiefly at Cheltenham and Worton; he returned with his family to Islington, with spirits refreshed and health renewed. On November 12th, he writes:

“I am wonderfully well for me. In fact, I have been better the last seven weeks than I have been for years. The calls upon me since I came home have been incessant; and yet I have been able to preach at church every Sunday. The attention at church is intense. I trust and believe good is doing. The seed must have time to lie in the ground before it springs up. Oh! may the heavenly Husbandman make ‘the ground’ into which it falls, ‘good’! I now begin to find what I thought I was prepared for: checks and obstacles in my great church affairs. It is astonishing how little one is practically prepared to meet disappointments. Theory and practice are not necessarily connected in our disordered hearts.”

At the close of the year he was happy in obtaining the services of an invaluable man for a second curate. The name of Mr. Marshall has already been mentioned as the senior curate. He suited the vicar well, and was his confidential friend and adviser to the end. What was lacking in Mr. Marshall, however, Mr. Hambleton now supplied; and nothing was left to be desired for the efficient working of the parish. All was at once set in motion. The parochial schools, as then existing, were to a great extent independent of the clergy. They were maintained by the parish, and managed by a committee, who were somewhat tenacious about their rights; so that, when the curates, almost as a matter of course, attended an early committee meeting, they were informed that when they were wanted, they would be sent for. The vicar was quiescent in the matter. Careful to maintain his own rights, he was equally careful not to infringe upon the ascertained rights of others. Whenever the attendance of the children, therefore, was required at church for any extra service, or when any alteration was proposed in the system of catechizing in the afternoon, he always corresponded upon the subject with the school authorities, and the matter was mutually arranged.

Many “local Sunday-schools” also, as they were called, were immediately set on foot. For this purpose, the poorest parts of the parish were selected, temporary rooms obtained, voluntary teachers enlisted, lending-libraries formed, and special funds raised, all on the system recommended by Dr. Chalmers. Nine were begun at once,

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 193

and they soon increased to fifteen, and were visited by the vicar, and examined in rotation. Good trees grew from these vigorous shoots, and still continue, in many cases, to bring forth much fruit.

The year 1826 was ushered in by a pastoral address, in which the vicar inculcated upon all, most affectionately, the duty of family prayer, and the due observance of the Lord's Day, and made some apposite¹ remarks upon the financial crisis then desolating the metropolis. The weather soon after became very severe, and the poor suffered greatly. A prompt appeal was made by the vicar, and the congregation at St. Mary's readily responded by a collection of £100, an amount unknown in Islington before that day, and approaching to what had been usual at St. John's. The amount then contributed formed the nucleus of a "benevolent fund," which was doubly blessed, in opening first the hands of the rich, and then the hearts of the poor. In after-years this expanded into "district visiting societies," operating over the whole parish.

Previously all had gone well, and "peace and truth," in accordance with the vicar's desire and prayer prevailed. But now clouds began to gather. The afternoon lectureship has been already mentioned, as something independent of the vicar; and it was around this that the storm broke forth. The lectureship was not, strictly speaking, endowed; but it was customary to send round a collector every year, and each parishioner subscribed what he pleased. The amount, of course, was variable, but it generally averaged £100 a year; and since no duty in the week was required, the appointment was deemed, in many respects, an eligible one. At this time it was held by the Rev. Mr. Denham; and on the rumor of his intended resignation, the whole question was opened.

It was not at first intended to interfere with the right of election claimed by the parishioners; and on January 30th, Mr. Marshall, the senior curate, issued a circular, in anticipation of the vacancy, soliciting their votes. This step was, perhaps, hastened by the announcement that the curate of the late Dr. Strahan intended to offer himself as a candidate. The circular, at all events, proved to be premature; for, before any further steps could be taken, the vicar deemed it right to interpose; and by a public letter, dated Feb. 4th, announced his purpose, in the event of a vacancy really taking place, to provide for the performance of the afternoon service himself. This purpose he confirmed on Feb. 13th, when called upon to reply to an address presented to him on the subject by some of his parishioners.

194 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

That he had the right on his side, now is without question. The claim of the parishioners had no legal foundation; it did not even rest on immemorial usage. The origin of the lectureship was, in fact, recorded in their own parish books. It appeared from them, that Dr. Cave, then an old man and the vicar of Islington, complained that the performance of divine services pressed heavily upon him. The vestry took the matter into consideration and resolved, in the first instance, to provide him with "a reader," and then with "such person or persons as he might think fit to assist him." A lectureship, thus originated, could not possibly invalidate the rights of the vicar; but the assertion of them, in the present instance, caused a wide-spread agitation, which lasted for five months.

At the first vestry which met to consider the subject, the vicar, having entered his protest against any encroachment upon rights pertaining to himself alone, agreed to be guided by the law of the question, and promised that if the appointment was legally vested in the parishioners, he would not withhold his pulpit from the man of their choice. The vestry agreed to this; but when the vacancy really occurred, many of them seemed to forget their agreement. Another vestry was

¹ Pertinent or appropriate to the occasion.

summoned, and a motion was made to exercise the right claimed, and proceed at once to the appointment of a lecturer. This was negated, however, by a majority of sixty or seventy; and it was determined to adjourn till the opinion of Dr. Lushington had been given.

The adjourned meeting was held on July 13th; and it was final. Dr. Lushington declared that, in the present case, the claims of the parishioners could not be sustained, and that the vicar had the right to perform, if he pleased, all required duties in his own church. It was therefore moved in vestry, that this opinion should be entered on the books, and all further action cease. Amid much confusion, and many amendments, and attempts at adjournment, the majority stood firm; and at midnight the resolution was carried, and the contest terminated.

This is but the outline of what took place. To be life-like, it would have to be filled up with angry countenances, stormy meetings, placarded walls, and all the usual concomitants¹ of a parish in an uproar. But why recall the “bitterness, and wrath, and clamor, and evil-speaking,” too prevalent on such occasions? Surely, after a lapse of years, when the combatants have for the most part passed away, it is better forgotten and buried with them in the grave.

The vicar had been well supported throughout the contest by his bishop, his friends, and a majority of his parishioners; and though his resolution had not failed, yet he had been greatly depressed.

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 195

The tone of his letters at the time proves this. On July 18th, he writes thus to a friend:

“Your affectionate and delightful letter found me in the lowest depression imaginable of spirits and feelings. The large blessings of success about my three churches (blessings which will extend, I trust, to ages yet unborn), required a counter-balancing event or two. I am in much perplexity. I know all is right. I endeavor to submit and abase my soul. I search, or try to search out my ways, and turn again to the Lord. And yet I feel. My mind sinks. I am depressed and feeble, and sore struck, and have cried out because of the disquietude of my heart. The charge of so many souls who are injured, prejudiced, estranged from the means of grace by these disturbances, weighs upon my mind. To preach calmly and simply, with an agitated frame of body and mind, is no easy matter. Then, these tumults are new to me. I have no skill as a chairman, a lawyer, or an orator; and all these qualifications are necessary to the vicar of such a parish.

“But I turn from the dark side of the picture, and view the brighter scene. Then I see God directing, permitting, and sanctifying; then I see sin, error, self-confidence, a secular spirit, and ambition chastened and reproved; then I see the gospel commended and honored by the spirit in which opposition is borne; then I see God’s mysterious ways of making the wrath of man to praise Him; and then I see that the ordinary concomitants of extensive good to souls, is the tumultuating² of Satan’s kingdom. But I must and will close my ‘book of lamentations.’ Write to me again, and tell me how I am to walk among my numerous people, so as most to please and honor God. Oh! what a consolation to think of a suffering Saviour leading us on through the *trials* of this life, to the *rest* of the next! His love demands and deserves every little sacrifice we can make. He has brought us to be his own. He calls us to follow Him to His kingdom. He leaves us His Spirit as the Comforter of the heart during His absence. He promises to come again, and receive us to Himself. He assures us that all things work together for our good. Farewell.”

These contests seem to have forced upon the vicar’s mind the great importance of drawing more of his respectable and influential parishioners to take part in parochial matters. They had naturally shrunk back from the stormy scenes referred to; and the result was that the management of affairs had fallen into the hands of a body that was fond of meeting at public

¹ An event or situation that happens at the same time as or in connection with another.

² *Tumultuating* – creation of a tumult, disruption, or disturbance.

houses,¹ and there learning each other's views, and discussing each other's plans, before they were brought forward.

To free the parish from this self-imposed bondage, and to call forth the energies of men of respectability, and above all of piety, was a most important object, and one to which the vicar's attention was now much turned. One instance will illustrate the course he pursued, and prove his persuasive influence over the minds of others. He desired to secure the services of a gentleman whose scientific

196 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

attainments, courteous bearing, calmness of temperament, and general ability, rendered his aid valuable. With this object in view, he called upon him one morning, and said:

"I am anxious to induce the gentry of the parish, and especially those who value true religion, to regularly take part in the management of its concerns. Will you consent to be nominated as a trustee and come forward and help us?"

"I cannot think of it," was the reply. "I am a man of peace. I have my pursuits, which are pleasant to myself, and I hope in some respects, profitable to others. I am always ready to take my part in educational matters and in religious associations, but I shrink from parish matters."

"But I wish," said the vicar, "to urge upon you the importance of exerting your influence on the side of order, and supporting the church and your vicar."

"And I should be glad indeed to do so. But parish business, in my view, would involve a loss of self-respect. I must decline all part in it."

"But, my dear friend, do you not believe that one day you will have to render an account to God of all the means of influence placed at your disposal, and of all the talents committed to your charge?"

"Certainly; but this is foreign to my habits, and distasteful to my feelings."

"Ah! but remember, my friend, that we are called upon to 'deny ourselves,' to 'take up our cross,' to 'run with patience the race set before us.'"

"True; very true."

"Are you, then — are any of us, the best judges of what is the path for us to walk in? It is not always the easy path which is the right one; it is not always when we please ourselves that we best please God. Better follow duty when it calls; and you will secure God's blessing."

The result may be anticipated. The cross was taken up, duty efficiently performed, good service rendered, a useful example set, and the great object gained.

But a reference to matters of a more personal and domestic character will relieve the reader, and change the scene. The summer and autumn of this year were spent in retirement with his family at Guildford; and his reminiscences of it were pleasant. That may be gathered from his own words, addressed to his daughter on an occasion which will soon require notice.

"I shall ever remember the family comforts which we enjoyed during a residence of six weeks in a house which we hired at Guildford for the benefit of our children's health. Your mamma was tolerably well; a pious clergyman in the parish church delighted and edified her by his discourses; the house was just out of the town, and situated most beautifully; a few excellent friends made the neighborhood agreeable; and the vicinity to London allowed my going backwards and forwards for my Sunday duties. Your dear mamma has frequently walked up and down the garden, expressing her thankfulness to God

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 197

¹ A public house, or "pub," was a bar where alcoholic beverages were served, and debates were common.

for His goodness, praising Him for the health of the children, and saying, 'No one can tell how I enjoy a walk thus quiet and retired, with my dearest husband in such a delightful spot.'

The family left Guildford in the month of October, and moved to Clifton for the winter; after spending a few weeks with them, the vicar returned alone to Islington for his Christmas duties. Long letters containing the proceedings of each successive day were regularly written, "to be read," he says, "as if I was talking with you after dinner." From these letters the following notes are taken. No words could convey more briefly, more vividly, or more accurately, the nature and extent of his work at Islington.

"JANUARY 7, 1827.

"We have had a delightful Sunday, and much, I trust, of the presence of our God. Our Epiphany sermon in the morning, was from Isaiah 57.19; thirty-seven minutes; a crowded church, and great attention. Communicants 238, being thirty-four more than last January; collection £11. It was like St. John's! In the afternoon I addressed my young people, from Psalm 119.9, forty-nine minutes; church filled with children and young persons, so that I could scarcely breathe; fixed attention. May God our Saviour give His blessing.

"MONDAY EVENING.

"Mr. Pownall and Mr. Bainbridge told me today that I was given out to preach at St. John's next Sunday morning. Mr. Baptist Noel began there yesterday; two very good sermons; much promise.

"TUESDAY EVENING.

"At 12 o'clock this morning I went to attend Doctor Mason Good's funeral. Mr. Jerram has agreed to preach the funeral sermon. The interment was at St. Pancras. The spacious vaults, illuminated with dull lamps, had a solemn effect. The coffin was thrust on a tier of others. Such is the end of man as to this mortal body. Thank God, all testimonies concur in the rapid growth of spiritual life and love in his soul.

"A gentleman has sent to me from Halifax to see if I can influence Lord Liverpool about the living. Mr. Knight, the vicar, died on Sunday. There are 90,000 souls, and thirteen or fourteen chapelries. The living, happily for this object, is a poor one. Mr. Knight was a very pious, laborious man.

"WEDNESDAY.

"Here I am, detained by a most thorough rainy morning, with twenty-three names on my list to call on.

"FRIDAY.

"Mr. Borrows, of Clapham, came to breakfast this morning. Mr. Blunt, of Chelsea, who declined Cheltenham new church, has received a present from his people of £250, with a request to preach Lent lectures this spring. Just the gracious compensation of a kind Providence for faithfulness to duty! Called on Mr. _____, and had a long conversation with him about his daughter.

198 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

His mind dark, prejudiced, and irritated. I said all I could to convince him, but only God can open the heart. There is a reality in spiritual religion which appears folly and enthusiasm to the world. 'Oh, righteous Father,' said our blessed Lord, 'the world knows You not.'

"SUNDAY NIGHT.

"I have got through a difficult and trying day. Two charity sermons, and each on particular topics. St. John's was excessively crowded. I preached from 1John 4.7-9, with vast delight, fifty minutes; very attentive. I commended their new minister to their love. John Bird Sumner was there, which would have made me nervous if I had known it. I think him one of the first men of his day. I trust God was with us. I have had a crowded church this afternoon for my sermon to parents and masters. Oh that I may practise what I preach, more and more!"

"MONDAY, JANUARY 15TH.

"I have to go to the Bible Society Committee at twelve o'clock, to Mr. C. Bridges at three, to the Eclectic at four, to Miss Cecil's at seven. Tomorrow, Church Missionary visiting committee at eleven o'clock; Mr. A. Wilkinson's, to dine at four. Wednesday, Mr. Grant's at four o'clock; Mr. Natt's, to dine at five. Friday, to Walthamstow in the morning, to a baptism in the evening. Saturday, the Duke of York's funeral sermon. Sunday, the chapel-of-ease in the morning and sermon to servants in the parish church in the afternoon. On Monday, I propose to start for dear Clifton, to where God may bring me in peace. I long to see you all again.

"ISLINGTON, SUNDAY EVENING.

"Another blessed Sabbath bids me record my thanksgivings to a gracious God. The church was so crowded this morning, that Farley says four hundred persons went away. Subject, The sin of our first parents. On Friday last, it was the first lecture on the Creed. Oh for more impression on my own heart! I heard Mr. Woolff twice, and travelled with him from Oxford to Reading. There was a great crowd to hear him at both places; I was both pleased and edified.

"MONDAY MORNING.

"My excursion by Reading was curious. I met Marsh, Hawtrey, and some other friends, at John Hill's, at Oxford, on Wednesday. They urged me so much to take the Reading Meeting on my return, that I consented. I left the Hills with Mr. Woolff" at seven o'clock, breakfasted with about twenty brethren at Basildon (19 miles), attended the Jews' Meeting at twelve o'clock, dined at five, set off for London with Marsh and Hawtrey at six, took tea at Salt Hill at eight, and was landed by them at my own door about twelve. The vice-chancellor has requested me to preach the assize sermon before the judges in July. This is important, as it removes the ban which I was under, since the refusal to allow my sermon on Regeneration to be printed at the university press.

"MONDAY.

"I have just returned from a six hours' parish walk. I have been breakfasting with Mr. Ayre, where I met Bickersteth and Irving — the last I liked amazingly. I then accompanied them to church to stand godfather to Mr. Ayre's son.

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 199

"TUESDAY MORNING.

"I drank tea last night with Mr. and Mrs. Jeaffreson and their twelve children, all of whom are well. They are almost the finest family I ever saw. My mother and sister went with me, and with the four servants at prayers, we made twenty. Afterwards I spent an hour with dear Bickersteth, to talk over the appointments to my new churches. At ten o'clock this morning I had our Missionary and Jews' Meeting. There were about sixty ladies present. I reported the state of the 'local schools' — nine schools and 256 children. I also mentioned the Visiting Society. We sang two psalms; all was most delightful. At six o'clock I went and made visits, and returned home about nine.

"WEDNESDAY.

"I went at 11 o'clock this morning to hear the Bishop of Chester (Dr. Blomfield). It was a most excellent and spiritual sermon, on the Martyrdom of St. Stephen — tender and energetic. I called afterwards on Mr. Scholl, and went on to Lord Galway's in Lower Brook Street — very kind — wants us all to go down to Serlby for a long visit this summer. I went on, and saw dear Miss Monckton for a few minutes, sat half an hour with the Misses Powys, and then went to my nephew, Henry Bateman, to consecrate his new house.

"THURSDAY MORNING.

"There is a most curious list in today's paper of those present at the Bishop of Chester's sermon. It is strange that I did not see one of the many persons so named. I am advised to build a library at the side of my house, but I must wait and think it over. I am so tired of houses and building, and I see the end of life so near, that I am quite easy and indifferent about a house in this world. May the 'house not made with hands' be ours. Tonight my sister comes in to prepare tea and coffee for fifty gentlemen.

Monday is the Eclectic; Tuesday I go to Hampstead; Wednesday is our Annual Clerical Education Society Meeting. Pray for me, for I need daily blessing and grace.

“WEDNESDAY, MARCH 29TH.

“We have had a most charming meeting of our Clerical Education Society; the best we ever had, though our number was small — about forty. The Bishop of Lichfield, Lord Teignmouth, Sir R. H. Inglis, Cunningham, the Noels, Sibthorpe, and others. The spirit was delightful. We had extraordinary comfort in the communion of saints. Really these little meetings are most cheering. One gentleman gave us one hundred guineas.

“MARCH 29TH.

“Sir C. S. Hunter was at the meeting yesterday, and most kindly undertook to be my conductor at Easter, when I preach before the Lord Mayor, and dine at the Mansion House. You may imagine what a relief this is to my mind. I dined at four o'clock with poor Mrs. G_____. At six o'clock, I left for Highbury where I called on Mrs. Holbers, and then drank tea with the Wormald's, who delighted and interested me extremely. I had a tremendous walk home, through a fierce storm of wind and rain. This morning at 11 o'clock I went to the consecration of Haggelstone Church, in the Parish of Shoreditch. Archdeacon Pott preached a pious, useful sermon. It was just four o'clock when I got home, very tired. I sat almost all day with Mr. Norris, of Hackney.

200 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X

He told me three things, which gave me vast pleasure — that the Confirmation begins April 30th, that Islington is one of the churches in which it will be held, and that the end of May or beginning of June is fixed for us. What delights me is that instead of going to Hackney, which was usual, the Bishop will come to our parish church. I look upon this as an immense blessing. We shall have, I do not doubt, three times the number of young people. May the Holy Spirit be poured out abundantly upon all classes of my dear parishioners, and upon ourselves!

“SUNDAY EVENING.

“A most fatiguing day, for the bishop's letter about the Confirmation came on Saturday, and I read the notice, and took the Communion Service myself. My curates and I spent two hours on Saturday in consultation and prayer on the means of making every use of this great occasion. I finished, this morning, my little course of sermons on the 'Fall of Man,' from Gen. 6.5-6. I hope it has been the most useful topic I have yet touched. The crowds and attention have been surprising. May God give the increase! There were two hundred and two communicants. God has carried me through the day. My mind is full of thought and prayer. Divine Saviour! Grant us your Holy Spirit more and more.

“MONDAY MORNING, 9 O'CLOCK.

“I have been breakfasting at 7-30, have had prayers, and settled all my accounts. And now before I enter on the hurries of the day, I write a few lines to you, my son Daniel. The account of your dear mamma much distresses me. I am quite anxious to have you all back as soon as possible after the first of May. My own visit is very uncertain, now that the Confirmation is fixed for May 21st. I mean to come down if possible, for a few days, but shall neither preach nor visit anywhere. I am determined to be quiet, and comfort my own dear family if I do come.

“MONDAY NIGHT, 11 O'CLOCK, P.M.

“I have just returned from Miss Monckton's, where at dinner I met Mr. Sandford, Captain Gambler, Mr. and Mrs. Dore, all pious persons. The conversation was really most delightful. We had prayers, and I expounded for twenty minutes, part of the Prophet Isaiah. But I had nothing save a hard biscuit from eight o'clock in the morning, and was quite famished. I meant to have had luncheon, but for three hours I was cooped up in the Bible Society Committee room, grieved, distressed, afflicted, with the spirit of a few men. The only good I got was the frank which enclosed this.

“FRIDAY MORNING.

“I have had a delightful night’s rest, enjoyed my Hebrew chapter, breakfasted, read my section of Shepherd’s incomparable work on “Private Devotion,” had family prayers, and am now setting to work on my Confirmation duties. Mr. Marshall and I have called on Mr. Oldershaw, the vestry clerk. Nothing could be more good-tempered. He expects a great contest in the parish on Easter Monday. Mr. Percival, junior, is to be in the chair. The church-wardens are not settled. Mr. John Cattley and Middleton have been thought of. I am satisfied it is better I should not be there. I have also been to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, where I met a good many

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 201

friends, and reported my opinion on a book which had been referred to me. I warmly approved of it. I saw Mr. Hodson, of Birmingham. He walked away with me, and we have had an hour’s friendly chat.”

In the midst of all these busy scenes, a heavy trial was approaching — the heaviest trial of his life. It was impossible to allude to it in the earlier chapters of this work, where his “Family Life” was briefly touched upon, for the impression would have been too deep, and it would have been in vain to ask the reader afterwards to realize him as a happy husband, and surrounded for many years with all the comforts of a cheerful home. This is the place to tell how God visited him, and took away the companion of his youth, and the affectionate counsellor of his riper years. The details now to be given are taken from an account drawn up by himself (to which reference has been already made), for the benefit of his only daughter, then too young to be able to appreciate her mother’s admirable qualities. It is in manuscript, and was written while his grief was yet fresh, and every impression of the closing scene most vivid.

For some years Mrs. Wilson had been an invalid, and most probably a great sufferer. But she never complained, and no particular apprehensions were excited till about the month of April 1827. Her husband’s engagements have just been described, and they occupied him so entirely that, as he says, he “was perhaps less quick in taking alarm than he should otherwise have been.” But immediately after his Lent lectures were delivered, and his Easter sermon preached, he hastened down to Clifton to judge for himself. He was received joyfully, and the excitement which followed went far to allay his apprehensions. But this was temporary. The vital powers were failing, and medical skill was unavailing for their restoration. A return home was the only remedy; and this was accomplished in easy stages by means of an invalid carriage. She thus arrived in Islington on the first of May, and was borne by her husband and the attendant to that couch from which she was to rise no more. Home inspires hope; but in her case, complicated maladies pressed heavily upon the springs of life, and the frail body was weighed down with languor and weariness. Her soul, however, sought refuge in God, and turned at once to the work of self-examination. That peculiar earnestness of purpose, that lowliness of mind and distrust of self, that reliance upon Christ and patient submission to the will of God which had characterized her through life, were manifested in the hour of death. In the stillness of that first night — her husband being the only watcher — she was heard communing with God and her own soul:

202 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

“Perhaps I am dying. Am I prepared? I know that I am a sinner; but I know that Christ is an Almighty Saviour. He can save the vilest, the vilest, the vilest. Lord! prepare me for all your will. I do desire to say. Not my will, but Yours be done. Lord! What are my sufferings compared with Yours! Oh, give me resignation, and prepare me for glory. Oh, take me to glory. Delightful! Receive me to glory. But your will be done.”

The progress of disease was gradual, and for three days she was able to express her wishes, and make such family arrangements as she desired; all having reference to her children. But on Sunday, May 6th, a change took place, and pressure on the brain seemed to threaten insensibility, and forebode death. The slightest noise gave pain; but prayer seemed ever rising from the heart, and murmuring on the lips. . The medical man entered her room; she started

and looked surprised. "I thought I was dying," she said; "but God's will be done; that is all my desire."

Early in the morning of May 7th, her husband entered the room, and, standing by the bedside, he bent over her in silent sympathy. She opened her eyes, and recognized him at once. All the tenderness of her early love seemed to gush forth. She lifted up her wasted hands, stroked gently and repeatedly each side of his face, and whispered, "Dearest creature!" adding, "do not excite me; say something to calm me." With tearful eye and quivering lip he named that name which is above every name: "Jesus Christ, the same yesterday, and today, and forever." It found a response in the heart. "That is beautiful," she said. To her sister-in-law, who was soon after at her side, she said, "Perhaps I may not be alive long." — "And if not," was the reply, "you will be in heaven." — "Ah, yes," she said, "that will be far better."

Her thoughts still clung to her children with the tenderest love. Their temporal and eternal welfare was very near her heart; and when all was silent in the room, her voice was often heard ascending up to Heaven in earnest supplications on their behalf.

"My dearest love," said her husband, on coming in, "you will soon be with Jesus." — "*To see Him!*" was her brief but weighty answer.

Soon the power of articulation began to fail, and the notice of external things to lessen. All stood around the bed — husband, children, sisters, servants. She noticed no external thing, but still held communion with her God.

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 203

"Lord have mercy on my soul! Succor me in Jesus Christ. In sickness and in dying, oh, succor and save! Lord, let me enjoy your presence for evermore. I have no merits in myself, but my reliance is on Christ. Lord, save me in Christ Jesus. I do love Him. Though I am a sinner, save me for His sake."

These were the last connected words. Only a few fragments of love and piety could be gathered afterwards. "Lord, teach submission: — "no more sin:" — "sing with joy:" — "dear John:" — "dear Dan:" — "resignation:" — "Saviour!"

Till the afternoon of Thursday, death lingered, and on that day, May 10th, at one o'clock, she ceased to breathe; and her spirit returned to that Father who gave it, and that Saviour who redeemed it. She slept in Jesus; while friends knelt round her bed, weeping, yet sorrowing "not as others who have no hope." She was interred in the family vault under the parish church of Islington. The funeral sermon was preached by the Dean of Salisbury: and then the bereaved husband set out once more on the journey of life, a solitary and widowed man. He had lost one who had been a helpmeet for him — his counsellor in difficulties, his comforter in sorrows, his nurse in sickness. He never ceased to think of her with true affection, nor to speak of her with tender regret:

"Indeed, it is all true," was the expression of his first letter after the event: "I have lost the companion of my youth, the partner of my joys and sorrows, the mother of my children, the guide of my Christian course. My sorrows flow deeply, and must flow, so long as I remain behind. But I hope I do not murmur. I hope I desire to say, 'Not my will, but yours be done.' I hope I am grateful for four-and-twenty years of peace, and union, and comfort. I hope I bless God for the delightful testimony to her Saviour which she bore in life and death."

But we must not linger at the grave. God's purposes in the affliction may not be clearly seen; but it looks like the loosening of a tie which might have held him in England, and prevented twenty-five years of service to the church in India. We are, however, sure that all things work together for good to those that love God; and that the "thorn in the flesh," brings the "grace sufficient."

Mr. Wilson was not prostrated by the stroke, as some men would have been. His heart was sad, but duty called, and he at once obeyed; and thus his mind recovered rapidly its accustomed tone.

The Confirmation had been going on in his parish, and more than seven hundred young persons had renewed the vows of their baptism

204 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

on that occasion; and it was now his anxious concern to prepare them for the full communion of the church in the Lord's Supper. He preached a sermon on the subject, and invited them to come to him for previous instruction. They responded to his invitation, and came in large numbers. Writing to a friend, on June 9th, he says:

“I have been very busy this week. The young people have come in quite as fast as I could expect, considering the solemnity of the engagement, and the difficulty young persons feel at coming to a minister. We have had about one hundred and eighty; which will soon be increased, no doubt, to about three hundred before the communion days. There is a great impression on all minds. Most of those who come to me are in tears, and a spirit of inquiry is diffused throughout the parish.”

After preaching before the judges at Oxford, on July 26th, he retired into the country for rest, and his house was given up into the hands of the workmen. Ever since his accession to the living, he had been endeavoring to arrange for the purchase or erection of a suitable vicarage, but without success. He now abandoned the idea, and contented himself with enlarging his present house, and adding to it a magnificent library, thirty-five feet long, twelve feet wide, and sixteen feet high. When finished, this library was his delight. Ten thousand volumes covered the walls in double rows, and he sat in the midst, presenting a striking contrast to the time when he shared one little room with a brother curate at Chobham, and had a few books scattered on the floor below and the bed above. The picture of him as seated in this library will be familiar to surviving friends. They will remember the few winding stairs leading downwards, and affording the first glance of him, seated at the fireside, immersed in papers, and “diligent in business.” They will recall the hand-writing till the very last moment, the uplifted face, the troubled look brightening into a smile, the hasty rise, the kindly greeting, the chair turned round, the fire stirred, and the pleasant conversation at once begun; or else, the face still retaining its impression of thought, the mind refusing to relax and throw off its occupation, the standing welcome, the pen retained, the excuse pleaded, the business hurried over and postponed, the not unwilling farewell, and the chair resumed before the baffled visitor had closed the door. Both these pictures will rise alternately in the minds of friends, and be associated with the room where so many of his hours were passed in study, where his family assembled for daily prayers, where his own morning and evening devotions were held, where friends joined in conference, where his annual clerical meeting gradually swelled in numbers and importance with every returning year,

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 205

where his district visitors and missionary collectors were received, where his farewell breakfast parties were given, and from where, through the opened windows, he typically sought a few minutes' air and exercise in the garden in the intervals of his work. Alas! The place that once knew him, will know him no more forever. His portrait still remains, as painted by Phillips,¹ and engraved for the frontispiece of this volume. But he lives in his son; and his name will be held in “everlasting remembrance.”

When these alterations were finished, and before the year 1827 had closed, he invited his mother and sister to make his house their home — thus lightening his cares, and cheering that solitude which, during the absence of his sons at college and his daughter at school, would soon have become oppressive. Here, sheltered by his roof, comforted by his presence, and refreshed by spiritual communication with him, his aged mother spent her last days in contentment and tranquility. Nor were they prolonged. On the 3d of June, 1829, she departed this life, without a

¹ 1832 painting by Thomas Phillips R.A. – the engraving from it may be found after the title page of this book.

care and without a fear, only desiring to be with Christ, as something "far better." Her intellect was clear, and her affection strong till the last illness, and then her "end was peace."

The year 1828 found the vicar thoroughly engaged in parochial duties. There were now three full services in the church on Sundays and great festival days, and one in the week; besides morning prayers on Wednesdays and Fridays, and Saints' days. An early sacrament at eight o'clock, in addition to the usual celebration, had been also commenced, and the occasional duties were very heavy. A large proportion of these were, of course, discharged by his curates; but the vicar at that time preached regularly three times a week, and in addition to many public calls, was occupied in various matters of local importance. In the early part of the year he was invited by a requisition, bearing the names of one hundred and twenty parishioners, to preside at a public meeting for the formation of a "Mutual Assurance Society." He willingly complied with the request, and a society was formed in the month of February, which, though it promised well, did not take root. In April, and for many months afterwards, he was much occupied in endeavoring to change the day on which Smithfield Market was held, and which interfered with the sanctity of the Lord's day in his parish; but his efforts were unsuccessful. In the month of May he established the Islington Association for the Church Missionary Society, which, at first a small stream, now pours into the reservoir of the parent society nearly one-fiftieth part of their whole supply. But the chief point

206 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

of importance which engaged and interested him during this and the following year, was the completion and consecration of his three new churches. Mr. Barry, now the distinguished Sir Charles Barry, had been appointed sole architect, and under his skilful management all had progressed satisfactorily. St. John's Church, Holloway, was the first completed. It had one thousand seven hundred and eighty-two sittings, of which seven hundred and fifty were free. The site had been given by the Corporation for the Relief of the Widows and Orphans of Clergymen, to whom it belonged. The total cost of the church was £11,890. The first stone was laid with much ceremony on May 4th, 1826. The Archbishop of Canterbury was present, with the Bishops of London and St. Asaph, the Lord Mayor, and a large body of clergy. A long procession wound its way from the parish church, where divine service had been celebrated, to Holloway, accompanied by a great display of banners and masonic emblems; and when the business of the day was ended, more than a hundred of the parishioners sat down at Canonbury Tavern to a dinner, over which the vicar presided. This church was consecrated by Dr. Howley, Bishop of London, on July 2d, 1828.

The church at Balls' Pond followed. It was dedicated to St. Paul, and constructed for one thousand seven hundred and ninety-three sittings, of which eight hundred and seventeen were free. The site was obtained from the Marquis of Northampton, at a nominal price, and the whole cost was £10,947. The first stone was laid September 5th, 1826, and the church was consecrated by Dr. Howley, on October 23d, 1828.

Trinity Church was the largest of the three, and was built on land belonging to the parish. It had two thousand and nine sittings, of which eight hundred and fifty-eight were free. The whole cost was £11,535. The first stone was laid July 15th, 1826, and the consecration took place March 19th, 1829.

And thus the great design was accomplished which the vicar had so much at heart, and which had cost him so much care and thought. For an expenditure of £12,000, the parish was enriched by three large and noble churches, which had in reality cost more than £35,000. So strictly was the original pledge kept, and so carefully were the funds husbanded, that, on the completion of the whole design, a balance of £100 was returned to the parish. A complete set of communion

plates, of the value of one hundred guineas, was presented by the vicar to each church in succession, on the day of

1834-32. ISLINGTON. 207

consecration. Most anxious were his efforts to appoint suitable and efficient ministers. His thoughts ran first among old friends, well known, and proved by the experience of many years, and to them the offers were made. But there was some delicacy in the position — necessarily subordinate at first; and there was a certainty of great labor being required, so that the call was not strongly pressed; first thoughts gave place to second, and the incumbents finally appointed were the Rev. W. Marshall, Rev. John Sandys (who happily retains his post), and the Rev. H. F. Pell. The income was derived from pew-rents, and like all Islington churches which form pleasing exceptions to a too common rule, proved remunerative. The churches were soon filled, and the spiritual wants of Islington were supplied for the time. How the precedent thus set has been followed, and men have felt their spirits stirred by the example; how the churches in the parish have increased and multiplied; how the machinery of schools, lecture-rooms, and associations of all kinds have gathered round them; how legal districts have been assigned; how the patronage has been most disinterestedly vested in trustees — all these points belong to the ecclesiastical history of Islington rather than to this biography. As for the vicar, his “three churches in Islington” were in his heart, and often on his lips, to his dying day; nor was he ever forgetful how much the successful result was due to the generous help of his parishioners, and the liberality of Her Majesty’s Commissioners.

Nothing now seemed lacking to complete the ecclesiastical machinery of the parish, but a school for the upper classes, offering a first-class education at a moderate charge, and combining, or attempting to combine, the discipline of school with the comforts of home. The preliminary steps were taken towards the close of this year (1829); but controversy on the general subject of education then being rife everywhere, it was not without frequent discussions and occasional collision of opinion, that the matter was satisfactorily arranged. What happened on one of these occasions will serve as an illustration of character. The vicar, who was presiding at the meeting, made use of some expression which gave pain to a sensitive mind, caused some confusion, and led to an adjournment. This was followed next day by a long and respectful letter from the party who considered himself aggrieved, and who naturally and reasonably expected a reply that might soothe his wounded feelings. But, instead of this, he received from the vicar a hastily written note saying, among other things, that he was “quite ready to forget and forgive.” This mode of accepting an apology instead

208 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

of making it, may excite a smile; but it will be well to remember that it is almost sure to alienate a friend. It is burying controversy alive. It is closing a wound without healing it.

Such things are perhaps common enough; but the conclusion of this incident now to be given, is not common. Many a man may get wrong, but few are found ready to get right again — to resist Nature and obey Grace.

A friend of both parties, anxious for the success of a plan which, for the moment, seemed in danger of shipwreck, called on the vicar, and gently introduced the subject. His purpose was at once perceived. “You think that I was wrong in what I said the other day?” Assent was signified. “Well then,” said the vicar, cordially shaking him by the hand, “let us sit down and talk it over. What is best to be done? Shall I make a public apology? I am quite ready.” This was not deemed necessary; a few explanatory and kind words at the next committee meeting was all that was required from him. The advice was frankly adopted and cheerfully carried out. All was soon in motion again. The plan was settled, the shares were taken, the buildings erected, able masters

appointed; and on the 29th of October, 1830, the Bishop of London opened a school which soon attained, and still maintains, a high reputation in the neighborhood, and at the universities.

This successful working of the parish did good beyond its own immediate limits. Clergy and laity of many different views were looking on, and saw the combination of evangelical doctrine with church order carried fully into practice. The same might have been seen, doubtless, in many other cases; but the individuals were less prominent and the parishes less populous. The effect was good. Points of agreement were increased; points of difference lessened. Instead of standing far apart, churchmen were drawn together; and when the threatening aspect of the times compelled them to join hands, they did it with less reluctance. Their words were more kindly, their union was more sincere, their feeling more hopeful. In producing this effect, the Vicar of Islington indirectly had his full share.

An acute observer who occupied a high post at this time (which he has since exchanged for one much higher), writing to a friend at the time, says:

“Many circumstances have occurred in these days to draw well-intentioned men together. They know one another better, and have seen how much sincerity and good feeling may often exist among those who espouse very opposite sentiments and measures. Daniel Wilson’s doings at Islington must have wrought much conviction. Simeon’s donation to India has brought him into favorable notice. And these

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 209

leaders in their own party must have seen much to admire among persons whom they used to look upon as enemies.”

The vicar’s parochial engagements did not prevent his continuing to take an active part in public matters affecting the church at large. The anniversaries of the great religious societies in May were regularly attended, and the discussions raised on the constitution of the Bible Society from time to time were viewed with much interest and anxiety. On each occasion he took part with the committee; and when, as in the case of the exclusion of the Apocrypha from the Society’s Bibles, the matter was decided against them, he cheerfully acquiesced. Upon the question of instituting a test which should exclude from membership all but believers in the doctrine of the Holy Trinity, his opinion was decided. He would have no such test. He attended the public meetings in the year 1831, and when Lord Bexley’s voice failed to reach the audience and quell the tumult, he was the spokesman on his behalf. He conveyed his lordship’s sentiments to the meeting, and added a few pithy words of his own. Writing briefly upon the matter afterwards, he says:

“In truth, making a test for the Bible Society is impracticable. Carry the rule tomorrow, and in effect you gain nothing; for you cannot guard against hypocrites and worldly men who believe nothing about our Lord’s divinity; and you break up the society — which stands firm on God’s Blessing, and on the certainty that no body of men will, in the long run, circulate the Bible, except those who love the Bible and the Divine Saviour.”

But the society which chiefly interested him at this time, because it was almost wholly dependent on his exertions, was called “The Newfoundland Society.” It had fallen into the lowest possible state of depression. A debt of £1700, weighed it down; all public appeals had failed; the committee was disheartened; the secretary had resigned; and the society was on the verge of extinction. Mr. Wilson came to the rescue; and his energy, activity, and influence was, as usual, crowned with success. Friends, public and private, were enlisted in the cause; churches were thrown open, and collections made at his request; public meetings in all parts were held; Mr. Marshall was associated with him, and eventually made secretary; the debt vanished, an adequate income was secured, and the whole scheme placed on a firm basis. How this was accomplished may be partly conceived from the following extract of a letter written, October 15th, 1831, from Cromer, in Norfolk:

210 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

“I have had a taste of THE FRIENDS,¹ in their sweetest and purest form. I see much to love, much to admire, much to imitate; but nothing to alter my long-fixed opinion that with a National Protestant Church established by the Divine Goodness in my country, and holding no fundamental errors, it is my duty to be in communion.

“The Friends, if spread over a fallen world, would extinguish Christianity — her doctrine — her sacraments — her ministry of the word. But the Friends, scattered in small bodies in the midst of a National Church, may do much service — may quicken spirituality, diffuse love, rebuke worldly habits, recall to primitive simplicity. There is no body of Christians from whom you may not learn something important, if the heart is teachable and humble.

“I left Lynn on Tuesday morning, Oct. 11th, dined at Massingham, and preached in the evening for the Newfoundland School Society. After six hours of gigs² and rain, I came on here to the Bible Meeting. John Joseph Gurney spoke admirably, and all was harmonious. We sat down to dinner at Earlham at six o'clock, sixty-four in number. Mrs. Amelia Opie was on my one hand, and Mrs. Upcher on my other. After dinner I was called on to address the company, and I read an important letter I had just received from (Dr. Turner) the Bishop of Calcutta. At the close, I mentioned my Newfoundland Schools, as standing between the heathen and our home population. Mr. Gurney instantly purposed a little collection from the company present. I went round with a water-glass. Another friend did the same. We gathered more than £15, besides four annual subscriptions of a guinea each. I go back to Norwich tomorrow for three sermons. Hard work.”

His motives may be gathered from another letter, written at Brighton:

“Here I am, an evangelist as usual. Three charity sermons preached by others at home gave me the Sunday for Brighton, and the Newfoundland Society.

“To preach the good old gospel in the good old way; to establish wavering souls; to win back by love wandering shepherds; to protest against errors and heresies; to hold up a crucified Saviour in the novelty-hunting spiritual church — these are the high duties which I seem to have been called to the last six months. The Newfoundland Society is a new peg on which all these things hang; and here Mr. Marshall and I go on like brothers, without neglecting anything at home; and as the whole little society rests on us, we are in a most advantageous position for preaching, expounding, and exhorting as opportunity occurs.

“Throughout life I have found the Lord leading me in ways I knew not; and after my serious illness, nine years since (which was to prepare me for Islington), I have never had such health as for the last year.

“What I most lament is the remaining corruption of an evil heart — unbelief, pride, vanity, selfishness, self-will — the masked batteries of Satan. A few things I have always found important: to be cautious in adopting new notions, however plausible; to be fearful of persisting in a course of temptation, if

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 211

entered upon; to be much on first principles as to the heart; to be quick in taking warning from my conscience, or a friend, or by the fall of others; and to keep close to the whole Bible in its simple, obvious meaning.”

The wisdom, of all this does not need to be pointed out. Nor is it to be wondered at, that under such advocacy, the society renewed its strength. After a sustained period of usefulness alone, a union was formed with the Colonial Church Society; and from this union arose the “Colonial

¹ That is, *Quakers*. The first Quakers, known as the *Valiant Sixty*, arose in mid-17th century England from the Legatine-Arians (“Seekers”) and other dissenting Protestant groups, breaking away from the established Church of England.

² *Gig*: Small two-wheeled horse-drawn carriage; with two seats and no hood.

Church and School Society” of our day, which has already taken a high position, and promises to be extensively useful.

But now the private journal becomes once more available, to which such frequent reference was made in the earlier part of this work, and which was discontinued in the year 1807. It will draw aside the veil and show the “chambers of imagery” in the heart. No one can read its words of deep abasement, its confession of indwelling sin, its devout aspirations and earnest supplications, without perceiving that it was written as in the very presence of the heart-searching God. The feeling of the writer seems ever to be that expressed by Job: “I have heard of You by the hearing of the ear; but now my eye sees You. Therefore I abhor myself, and repent in dust and ashes.” The entries are not exclusively given to self-examination and self-dedication, but occasional references will be found to parochial matters.

The first entry is as follows:

“*Jan. 12th, 1830.* Twenty-three years have passed since I wrote in this journal. I can scarcely say why. I believe that I ceased to write because pride gradually increased, and I could not even describe the state of my soul, without some inflation, which spoiled all.”

He then goes on to mention some of the family and personal incidents which had occurred during this long interval, and which have been, for the most part, embodied in this work.

“*June 21st, 1830.* I scarcely know how to describe the state of my soul, so grievous are my spiritual maladies. O my God! What can I say to You? You know all the secret recesses of my heart; nothing is hidden from You. Your eye penetrates through every disguise. This very day you have seen everything that has passed through the thoughts, the imagination, the lips, and the actions of your servant. I acknowledge, I confess all. I prostrate myself before You, O my God! I humble myself in dust and ashes. I pray You to make me sensible of my guilt, and to work in me that true and sincere repentance which needs not to be repented of, Forgive my sins, through the merits of the death of Jesus Christ my Saviour. Grant complete

212 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

reconciliation with You. Renew my heart by your Holy Spirit — that Spirit of grace and supplication promised by the prophet. I ardently desire to love You, to obey You, to seek my happiness in You — in You alone. Grant me grace to lay aside every weight, and to follow You faithfully.

“God’s blessing has been abundantly granted to me in my parish. Last Friday we formed an association for the better observance of the Lord’s Day. On Monday we formed another for visiting the poor. Both will prove of great importance.

“On Thursday, the Rev. Mr. Rose died; and I have given the chapel-of-ease to Mr. Hambleton, who has served it for the last year.

“*June 23d.* I have never felt more deeply the misery of my soul. My efforts to conquer evil passions seem in vain. I find myself the servant of sin and Satan, and the enemy of God. My imaginations, thoughts, desires, affections, conscience — all are corrupt and enfeebled. Alas, my God! I prostrate myself before You. I confess my wretchedness. I pray for help. I want a true change of heart, a true love to God in Christ Jesus. My heart condemns me. Ah, adorable Saviour! give me grace to turn from sin, and follow You as my Master, my Saviour, and my God.

“*June 27th.* I have preached this morning on the death of King George the Fourth, and in the afternoon on the separations and divisions which the gospel causes. I had some freedom of spirit, for which I bless my God. But my spiritual state is pitiable. I have grieved the Holy Spirit, my Divine Comforter. Oh, how sad I am! Let grace penetrate my soul. O God! Open, quicken, warm it; so that I may glorify You more and more.

“*July 1st.* Tomorrow, if it pleases God, I shall complete my fifty-second year, and enter my fifty-third. What should my resolutions be for the new year? Tell me, O my soul! What I ought to do, as it respects my private devotions, my ministerial work, my children, religious societies, and the Church of God.

“1. My private devotions ought to be more regular, fervent, and spiritual; above all, I ought to study the Bible more humbly and prayerfully.

“2. My ministry demands more simplicity, sweetness, tenderness of heart, spirituality, fidelity, boldness.

“3. My children require my prayers, my example, my instructions, and a steady, consistent walk.

“4. The societies need carefulness to avoid divisions, and to keep from needless interference; all must be open, straightforward, wise.

“5. The Church of God wants a heart full of charity, a single eye, and the simplicity of Jesus Christ in all things.

“I have, myself, to guard against (1) pride; (2) the lusts of the flesh; (3) vain and worldly reading. Give me, O God, the necessary grace.

“*Dec. 31st, 1830.* The year ends this day. What is the state of my soul? O you who know the hearts of all men! Make me know myself, to humble my soul before You, to seek your divine consolations, to pledge my

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 213

powers anew to your service. Alas! I find my corruptions stronger, and my graces feebler than ever. The defilement of the thoughts and imaginations of my heart; my pride when things go well; my jealousy of others; the insensibility of my spirit towards religion; the worldliness and secularity of my soul. — Ah! my God, you know the depth of my degradation and corruption!

“I bless You, notwithstanding, for the help granted me throughout the year. I think that I love my Saviour more than ever; that I value the Bible more; that I realize more the safety and happiness the gospel gives; that the world is less my resource, and religion more the ‘one thing needed.’

“In the coming year, may I pray more fervently, study the Bible more diligently, watch over my heart, repose more entirely on the operations of grace, read fewer idle and worldly books. God help me! God prepare me for death and eternity!

“*Feb. 10th, 1831.* I have been to Clifton and Bristol, where I have seen Mrs. Hannah More, who has entered on her eighty-seventh year; and also Robert Hall, who is about sixty-eight years old. His forehead is grand, his mouth coarse, his eyes sparkling — altogether, a most striking countenance.

“My parish is disturbed — very much disturbed by a judgment given against the trustees. But this is nothing in comparison with the state of my soul; for I find myself more than ever harassed with evil, with temptation, with spiritual corruption. Have pity on me, O my God! Deliver me. Pardon me. Give grace to guide, control, cleanse, sanctify.

“*Feb. 13th.* I am cast down, desolate, and afflicted by reason of my sins. What a deceitful heart is mine! How worldly my affections! How covetous and carnal affections do harass me! Three things frighten me: the lusts of the flesh, the pride of the heart, the love of the world. Break my hard heart, O God! soften it by your grace, open it by your Spirit. If my heart is but right with God, all other things are nothing.

“*March 9th.* I would never pass this day without thanksgivings to God. It was on this day that I first listened to the heavenly voice. The day then, to me, is precious. I call upon the name of the Lord. I magnify Him. To Him be glory!

“*July 3d.* Today I enter on my fifty-fourth year. I would now consider the way in which I have walked, and the duties to which I have been called.

“But the mercies of my God and Saviour must never be forgotten. Ah, that Divine mercy is infinite! It has kept me for many years, has preserved me in health, and has helped me in difficulties. I humbly acknowledge, O my God, that your grace has never failed. I acknowledge your goodness and loving-kindness. Oh that my heart was faithful — full of grace and full of gratitude. But I must confess my sins and the corruption of my heart. My Saviour, how odious must I appear before You! Pardon me. Cover me with your perfect righteousness. Surround me with your merits, your obedience, your death.

Let your Spirit, O Saviour dear, fill me, purify me, console me, strengthen me. I would begin this year with new resolutions, stricter rules of

214 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

life, more heavenly affection, simpler and purer objects. Give me, my Saviour, grace to walk before You in a plain path.

“July 10th. How can I begin my meditation! How can I enter Your presence, my God! My thoughts oppress me. The instability of my character, the weakness of my will, my frequent relapses, shut my mouth, and make me miserable. I have preached this morning on the fall of David, from the words, “You are the man.”¹ But I have more need of self-application than any of my hearers.

“I am the man!” — the man unfaithful, the man ungrateful, the man proud, the man living to himself, the man full of covetousness, weakness, and corruption. O my God! Have pity on me. Visit me with your grace. Give me your Spirit. Destroy in me the dominion of sin, and set up the kingdom of purity and virtue.”

We have thus been enabled to look within the veil, and to contrast the outer and the inner life of the believer. The first is like the tabernacle of old in which the daily sacrifice was offered, and all things necessary for accomplishing the service of God were performed; but the second is like the holy place, in which the mercy-seat is, and the sweet incense, and the silent adoration, and the solitary worshipper with his hands upon the horns of the altar, confessing his own sins and the sins of his people.

At the time when these entries were inserted in the vicar’s journal, all Islington was in an uproar. Some unintentional error had been made in the election of the parish trustees under the local Act, and the occasion was taken by the discontented party to attempt to regain dominion. Their rallying cry was “Opposition to the Vicar;” — and the party spirit which seemed to be laid, rose up again and strived. The vicar had nothing to do with the error which had been committed, and the whole matter could affect him only indirectly. His friends, therefore, anxious to spare him, kept him out of the thick of the contest. Several vestry meetings had to be held, over which Mr. Woodward, in his official capacity as senior church-warden, presided in the absence of the vicar. He was well-supported. The reluctance of the vicar’s friends had been thoroughly overcome, and they were ready to exert the influence which properly belonged to them and which, when exerted, was irresistible. Their nominees were all chosen, and appointed trustees for the next two years. The result was favorable, but it had to be confirmed; and the final meeting at length drew near. The churchwarden, harassed and weary, called upon the vicar on his way, and told him all that was

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 215

proposed, and all that was apprehended. Cheered by words of kindness and encouragement, the vicar went to duty and presided over a most stormy meeting. The minority harassed him by motions, amendments, and points of order without end. But every effort failed; and the last agitated waves subsided and sunk into quietness as the morning dawned.

The first act of the chairman, when he rose, was to report proceedings to the vicar, and congratulate him on the favorable result. He found a ready audience and a grateful auditor.

“My dear sir,” said the vicar, “I thought it would be even as you have said, because I know that God hears and answers prayer. The moment you left me last night, I sent for my curates, that ‘two or three ‘ might agree in what they should ask; and when you were taking the chair, we fell upon our knees, and sought the Lord to give you a mouth and wisdom that no adversary might be able to challenge or resist. Thus while you were striving in the plain, we were praying on the mount. And this is the result. May God be praised!”

¹ 2Samuel 12.7.

“Ah, sir,” said the church-warden when giving this account of his vicar, with tearful eye and quivering lip — “Ah, sir, he was indeed a man of prayer.”

But the time was at hand when the agitations of this large parish were no more to affect the vicar. His work at Islington was nearly done, and he was to be called away. During his incumbency of eight years, a great and permanent effect had been produced. The energy of one man had roused up thirty thousand. The fallow ground had been broken up; good seed had been sown; and the first fruits gathered. It was for others to reap the full harvest, and enlarge the field. And, through God’s mercy, this has been done to a great extent. What Islington may eventually become, no one can tell. But however swelling her population, however prosperous her trade, however numerous her churches, however pious her clergy, however conspicuous her zeal, however liberal her hand, however large her heart, she must still know that the days of Daniel Wilson were her days of “visitation,” and ever speak of him in terms of love and gratitude.

It is somewhat curious, and certainly interesting, to observe how the mind of Mr. Wilson seemed about this time to be turning to the East. He had always felt and expressed great interest in the appointment of the successive Bishops of Calcutta; and in the year 1829 he invited Dr. Turner, the fourth bishop, to visit Islington

216 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

before sailing, and attend a meeting of the Church Missionary Association. He was himself in the chair as vicar, and in his address he promised the bishop that if at any time Islington could give or do anything to benefit India, they were ready. The bishop took up the pledge, and said that he should undoubtedly call for its redemption at some future time. And so it came to pass; for his lamented death in 1831 was the call, and in 1832 Islington yielded up her vicar. But more passed than this. Bishop Turner, at a private interview, begged for Mr. Wilson’s impressions of the duty attaching to the Indian Episcopate; and though this request was not complied with at the time, yet, when repeated in an urgent letter from Calcutta, it met with a full response, and many suggestions were sent out, and thankfully acknowledged. The acknowledgment thus made contained matter of much public interest; and it was read, as occasion served, all over the country, and finally sent to the “Christian Observer” for publication. Moreover, at the suggestion of friends, he submitted it to the consideration of Charles Grant, who was at that time president of the Board of Control under Lord Grey’s government. This led incidentally to a renewal of that friendly communication with the family, which rising honors and public life had interrupted; and thus, under God’s wise providence, prepared for all that followed.

Bishop Turner’s death was not then anticipated; but when it occurred, Mr. Wilson’s mind was full of India. Anxious to use the influence he possessed in order to secure a fit successor to the vacant see, he wrote to Mr. Grant, pleading for the appointment of a man (1) of thorough and decided piety, (2) of good talents, (3) of amiable temper, (4) of some station in the church. He soon heard that it had been offered to several clergymen of eminence: to Dr. Dealtry, Rector of Clapham; to Chancellor Raikes, of Chester; to Archdeacon Hoare; and for various reasons declined by all; and this made him fear lest the appointment should fall into inferior hands. He communicated these apprehensions to Mr. Grant through Dr. Dealtry; and he named, at their request, many persons whom he deemed highly eligible. Having done this, the thought, he says, came into his mind as expressed in the prophet’s words, “Here am I, send me;” and he wrote again to state, that if a real emergency arose, and no one else could be found, he was ready to go. The account of all that followed when that step was taken, is found in a short-hand manuscript, written from day to day by himself; and what follows is extracted from it. It shows at once the course of events, and the workings of his own mind. And if there

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 217

appears anything of eagerness or anxiety respecting the appointment, let it be remembered and strongly borne in mind that he was desiring what many others would not have, and that it was not a prize he sought, but a sacrifice he contemplated. His words are, "I was compelled by conscience, and by an indescribable desire, to sacrifice myself if God should accept the offering, and the emergency arise." India was still considered at that time as a place of banishment from home and friends. No overland route, no Suez railway, no electric telegraph abridged the intervening space, or alleviated the pain of separation. And as to the Bishopric, a peculiar fatality seemed to have settled on it. Four bishops, prostrated by their overwhelming duties, or the ungenial climate, had sunk and died within nine years; and he who followed them must go, "baptized for the dead." And what was the appointment, speaking after the manner of men, to one in the position of Mr. Wilson? He was fifty-four years old; he had a full competency; he was happily situated; he filled a high post; he discharged important duties; he was surrounded by loving friends; he exercised a wide influence; — what could the East hold out as a compensation to the man who resigned all these? Mr. Crouch, his old tutor, who still survived, wrote to him from the quiet parsonage of Narborough, when the appointment was complete, and expressed what everyone who reflected must have felt:

"From the intelligence communicated by the newspapers, I had been led to concur with the united wish of the religious public, that your health might be found equal to your very important duties. The sacrifice you are making of comfort and enjoyment in your native country is disinterested and magnanimous; and to use language which has been applied on a similar occasion, I bow myself before such heroic virtue; or rather, I adore the grace of God in Christ Jesus which is able to raise up such instances of it in our degenerate days."

But we turn to the short-hand notes, and the first extract will suffice to put the reader in possession of facts which will make all that follows clear.

"*Jan. 1st, 1832.* I have now entered the fifty-fourth year of my age, the thirty-first of my ministry, and the eighth of my incumbency of this parish. Here I would raise my memorial of gratitude and thanksgiving to the Lord for all his bounty and grace to me, the greatest of sinners. A very important inquiry now presses upon me in connection with the Indian Bishopric. It is about a fortnight since my name was first mentioned to Mr. Grant. It was on Tuesday, Dec. 20th, that the case was opened, and it was finally developed completely, so far as Dr. Dealtry thought right, on Friday Dec. 23d. May the Lord do what seems good to Him!

218 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

"The thought first entered my mind on Dec. 11th; I cannot tell how or why. I felt in my heart a great desire to dedicate myself to this Missionary Bishopric, if the Lord would accept me. This desire was kindled in my mind on the Sunday evening in prayer, and has continued since. I trust it was suggested by the Holy Spirit. Since that time the pain, the waiting, the longing of spirit which I have felt is indescribable. God, you know my heart and my desire. Accept the wish to serve You, and be glorified in me whether by life or by death."

Will the reader recall to memory the little chapel at Homerton, and read the aspirations kindled in the soul of Daniel Wilson as he kneels there at his first communion; and he will then perceive the perfect identity of his character. The interval of twenty-four years might almost be obliterated, and the feelings of 1797 be linked to those of 1832. Upon the same sacred day, the same desire for missionary work springs up. It is followed by restlessness, anxiety, and longing in both cases. He is powerless himself, and hindered by others. Delay chastens his mind, and subdues his will; and then at once obstacles of all kinds give way, and his course is made plain. Surely this is of the Lord, who is "wonderful in counsel and excellent in working."

The extracts will now follow in their order of dates:

"*Jan. 10th, 1832.* Another day of uncertainty has passed. On conversing with Mr. Marshall this evening, we agreed in thinking that I had done nothing to regret; that every step I had taken was the

result of duty towards God. We have been praying together again for light and guidance; and I feel a comfortable persuasion that God will not withhold that guidance and that light.

“Jan. 12th. I have heard nothing. I have been particularly agitated and stricken in spirit through the night and through this day. I cannot account for this anxiety. It is neither reasonable nor Christian, but weak and disqualifying. I fear it is the effect of pride, vanity, and self-consideration. O Lord, undertake for me. May I have no will but Yours. May I wait the declaration of your win with patience. May I be willing to know nothing till you declare your pleasure.

“Jan. 13th. Another day of uncertainty has passed; but my mind has been more calm and composed: perhaps the result of active duty and the lapse of time; perhaps by increase of faith and submission to God. I am inclined to think that the prejudice against me personally in the minds of the cabinet or church, may be the cause of this delay and difficulty. I trust I may say that every day of delay, my mind becomes more weaned and quieted, and the composure of my judgment is restored.

“Jan. 18th. Dr. Dealtry advised me to consult my medical friends on the subject of my health. I went to Dr. Wilson Philip, and he told me there was

1834-32. ISLINGTON. 219

little risk, and that I might live in India for years; but that all would depend on prudence and caution. I also went to Dr. Babington. His opinion was throughout favorable. He thought the climate and place would equally agree with me. So that no excuse can be drawn from my health.

“Jan. 22d. Breakfasted, by invitation, with Mr. Grant on Thursday. The result of the conversation was that he would move in proposing me, but have another name in reserve. Here then I stand, waiting for the declaration of the Lord’s will in His providence. As to my motives, I hope and believe they are, and have been in the main, pure. Lord, it is your glory I have desired to seek; it is the salvation of souls; it is the good of your church; it is the honor of the gospel in India. I retrace the steps I have taken, and I hope I am warranted in saying, on review, that I took them from the fear of God, and an impression that they were imperative on me. And now, Lord, I would solemnly resign myself to You, and implore your gracious guidance in the circumstances as they arise. Lord, if it is not your will, do not carry me up from here. If these exercises of mind are only to humble and empty me of self, and to prepare me for more faithful labor in my present station — then, Lord, send out someone else, and qualify him for the undertaking, and dispose all events for his going out. I would engage myself here to unreserved submission; indeed, to thankfulness if I am hindered by any obstacle from going forth contrary to your will. But notwithstanding, if it should be your will to accept my sacrifice, and to qualify me for the work. Your will be done. Oh! Give me humility, contrition of soul, a sense of responsibility, and watchfulness over constitutional infirmities.

“Feb. 5th. I have arrived at home after an absence of twelve days. Nothing is settled. Mr. Grant is moving on, and using those means he judges most likely to succeed. Mr. Zachary Macaulay informs me that he has written to Mr. Grant, strongly urging my appointment to Calcutta, and that he has since received a note inquiring if he knew anything of my pamphlet about ‘Bellingham.’ Mr. Macaulay had found a copy and sent it with such remarks as had occurred to him. It is evident that Mr. Grant has met with objections from some of his colleagues.

“Feb. 17th, Rectory, Clapham. Dr. Dealtry said to me this morning, ‘What shall we do if, after all, we fail as it regards you?’ We then began to converse about different names. I said; ‘It appears, then, that you are reduced to the emergency which I conceived might possibly arise. You have no one on whom you can rely in case I am not appointed.’ — ‘No, no one;’ was the answer. ‘Mr. Grant said to me the other day, “If we cannot carry Mr. Wilson, what are we to do?” — ‘This, then,’ I replied, ‘is very consoling to my mind. It places me exactly where I should wish to be — as filling a gap in an extremity.’”

It may naturally be supposed that his parish caused him many anxious thoughts; and his mind seems to have passed through four different phases on the subject. He hesitated about accepting the

220 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

Bishopric at all, when it appeared, as it did at first, that his vicarage would lapse to the Crown. When informed that this would not be the case, but that the next presentation would rest with himself, he feared lest wrong motives should be imputed to him, and resolved to have nothing to do with the presentation. Then as a third alternative, he resolved to yield the choice entirely to Mr. Grant, with only this condition: that it should not be given to his own son. And finally, he came to the common-sense view of the subject, and determined to exercise, in any case, the powers which properly and legally pertained to him, and to appoint his son in whom he had perfect confidence, and who, he was assured, would carry out all his plans. When his mind was thus made up, all anxiety about what he calls his "dear, dear parish," ceased.

To continue his notes:

"March 2d. Lord, you appoint me still to patience and silence. I have seen Dr. Dealtry. He assures me that the affair is going on quite smoothly, that Mr. Grant is only waiting to see one or two of his colleagues, and that nothing of difficulty has arisen except about 'Bellingham.'

"March 4th, Islington Church, Sunday. Blessed Lord, I am now about to partake of your body as broken, and to drink your blood, as shed for me. Oh! enable me to resign myself to You! At your altar may I renew my dedication. May I present my body and soul as a living sacrifice. Lord, if you call me to remain here, I would serve you with all humility of mind, and all joy of heart in the gospel of your Son. But, Lord, if you choose me to go, I would here at your altar say, 'Here I am, send me.' Lord, accept the sacrifice of my will. Lord receive me as your servant. Lord, be with me, and bless my ministry.

"March 13th. Received the following letter from Dr. Dealtry: — "The delay has been occasioned by matters altogether foreign to yourself. The probability is that in three or four days it will be settled."

"March 24th. Received the following letter from Mr. Grant: — "I am sorry for the long delay of settlement, and am obliged to have still further delay; but I wish very much, if possible, to see you today before seven o'clock."

This letter led to a most important interview and conversation, highly honorable to both the parties concerned. On the one side was manifested a sense of the deep responsibility incurred in making the appointment, an earnest desire to choose one whose faithfulness to the truth was unquestionable, a very kind recollection of early scenes and other days, mingled with some apprehensions lest the prompt and impulsive action so characteristic of the man of his choice

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 221

should lead to difficulties among a fastidious Christian community and a sensitive native population. While, on the other side, there appeared an entire disinterestedness, a readiness to withdraw in a moment all pretensions if it was deemed expedient, a determination to watch against natural tendencies, to act cautiously, to take time, and to use in a new position the experience gained by many years, and amidst many difficulties; combined with an independence of tone, an assertion of the supremacy of conscience, and a resolution to go unpledged as to all vital matters.

The conversation ended with one remark on either side, as follows:

C. GRANT. — "We shall now settle the matter almost immediately."

D. WILSON. — "May God Almighty direct the conclusion of it to his own glory, and the welfare of India."

Fifteen weeks, from the first opening of the subject, had elapsed, when the following letter was received:

"GEORGE STREET, MARCH 27, 1832.

“My dear friend: I beg to offer for your acceptance, if you are so disposed, the succession to the Bishopric of Calcutta. I make this proposal with the concurrence of Lord Grey and the sanction of the King.

“I shall be very glad if you can give me your company tomorrow to breakfast at half-past nine; and you can then tell me your decision.

“Yours ever,
“C. GRANT.”

REV. D. WILSON.”

This letter has been carefully preserved, and around it and across it are the following brief references:

“Re-perused, April 8, 1834, two years and twelve days after the offer. May it never turn to my condemnation.” D. C.”

“Re-perused at Tittaghur, near Calcutta, March 26, 1835, at the completion of third year from appointment.

“Re-read, May 3, 1845, thirteen years, one month, and six days, after it was written. *Deo gratias!* I am now on the steamer Precursor, going home for my health.”

The acceptance of the offer was signified to Mr. Grant in due course, and was followed by an interview with Lord Grey, which is thus described:

“I said that I waited upon him to make my acknowledgments for the honor he had done me in the appointment, and to assure him that I would endeavor to justify his confidence, and that of Mr. Grant.

“He said I was more indebted to Mr. Grant than to himself.

222 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

“I said I was not aware of the immense responsibility and difficulty of the administration of such a diocese, and that I trusted he would interpret favorably my motives and my conduct; that my object would be, by all discreet and conciliatory methods, to diffuse the pure doctrines and precepts of the gospel among the population of that great empire.

“Lord Grey said that it would be his wish and desire, that the gospel should be diffused by all safe and proper methods; but that irritating conduct would only increase the difficulty of obtaining my object.

“I said I hoped I should be aware of the difference between the duties and circumstances of a private clergyman, and those of a bishop in so vast and distant an empire: that during thirty years I had, as a private clergyman, been battling many things, and engaged in some controversy; but that in my new and responsible station I should endeavor to act with discretion and mildness.

“Lord Grey said he was assured of this; and the interview ended by my saying, ‘I hope, my lord, you will hear nothing of me but tidings of good.’”

What had been the real cause of the long delay, does not appear. Most probably it arose from circumstances entirely independent of Mr. Wilson. The only objections avowed were to some observations in his pamphlet on Bellingham, which were supposed to suggest the idea of reprobation (but surely without a cause), and some reflections on the clergy, deemed harsh and uncalled-for, in an anti-slavery sermon.

When the appointment became public, the greatest interest was excited in all quarters. The bishops gave him a courteous and cordial welcome. The archbishop “could not but admire the sacrifice he was making, and lament the loss Islington must sustain.” All who wished well to India and the cause of Missions were delighted. His old friends rejoiced with trembling, for they felt how uncertain was his tenure of health and life. One hundred and eight letters were received from them, full of congratulations, cautions, prayers, and affectionate counsels. As soon as the

leisure of a voyage allowed, short, pithy sentences were extracted from these letters, written in the blank leaves of his pocket Bible, and so arranged that a certain portion might be read each day, and the whole gone over every month. This was done that he might keep vividly in remembrance the kindly feeling which dictated them, and the wise advice which they contained: and there they are to this day.

But no time was to be lost. More than nine months had elapsed since the vacancy of the See; the proper period for sailing was close at hand, and there was much, to be done.

The notes are continued:

1834-32. ISLINGTON. 223

“April 7th. A very busy day. I have seen Captain Cole, recommended to me by Mr. Blanshard, and have engaged my passage in the *James Sibbald*, East Indiaman, to sail June 10th from Gravesend.

“I have resolved to take my daughter with me, with a native servant.

“I have received a Bengal chaplaincy from Mr. Melville, and have offered it to my nephew, the Rev. Josiah Bateman.

“I have had a delightful meeting with the clergy of the parish, which has much refreshed and strengthened my soul. Lord have mercy upon me. Lord sanctify me. Lord bless and keep me. Lord give me humility. May I know the difference between your judgment and that of men.

“April 14th. I wrote to Archdeacon Corrie, of Calcutta, to prepare for me by the end of October.

“April 15th. Visited the Archbishop and Bishop of London. Considered a scheme for creating additional Indian bishops. Last night dined with Mr. Buxton. I have visited my ship at Blackwall. I find myself too hurried and confused by a succession of engagements, which produce distraction.

“April 23d. Dined with the Lord Mayor at the Mansion House.

“April 27th. Yesterday I drove into London, and resigned my vicarage of Islington.”

And now the day of his consecration was at hand. It was fixed for Sunday, the 20th of April. He called it “the day of his espousals” to Christ his Saviour. He rose early, and made the following entry in his journal:

“Sunday, April 29th, 1839, 7-30 A.M. I am now come to the beginning of this awful, solemn, delightful day — the day of my espousals to Christ my Saviour — the day of my renewal of my vows as Deacon and Priest, and of the additional vows of superintendent, overseer, and Bishop of the Church at Calcutta. O Lord! Assist me in the preparation for this office. Aid me during the solemnities of the day. Grant me grace after it to fulfill my engagements and promises.”

At prayers with his family that morning, he expounded St. Paul’s address to the Elders of the Church at Ephesus,¹ and with deep feeling and faltering voice, applied some of the verses to his own case:

“I also go to India under somewhat similar circumstances with the apostle: in that ‘I know that the things that shall befall me there.’ But his God will be my God, and his Father my Father, and therefore ‘none of these things move me.’”

224 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

Accompanied by his children, his chaplain, and his early friends the Dean of Salisbury and Mrs. Pearson, he drove to Lambeth where the ceremony was to take place. On his arrival, a procession was at once formed, and proceeded to the private chapel of the palace. Only a few chosen friends, along with Mr. Charles Grant, the officials, and the household, were present. An admirable and affecting sermon was preached by Dr. Dealtry. The Archbishop was assisted in

¹ Acts 20.

the consecration by Dr. Blomfield, Bishop of London; Dr. Monk, Bishop of Gloucester; and Dr. Grey, Bishop of Bristol. All was conducted with the utmost simplicity, the most perfect quiet, the deepest reverence; and the “anointing Spirit,” as invoked, seemed to be present.

On his return home about five o’clock, the Bishop of Calcutta retired to his study, and appeared no more that day. The following were his evening meditations:

“Lord, I would now adore You for your great grace given to me: that I should be called to the office of Chief Pastor and Bishop of your Church. Oh! guard me from the spiritual dangers to which I am most exposed — pride, self-consequence, worldliness of spirit, false dignity, human applause, abuse of authority, reliance on past knowledge or experience. Lord, give me simplicity of heart, boldness, steadiness, decision of character, deadness of affection to the world. Let me remember that the great vital points of religion are the main things to be kept constantly and steadily on my heart — then compassion, tender, deep compassion for souls — then simplicity of object, and abstraction from every other interfering claim — then a spirit of prayer and supplication — then the lessons to be learned from affliction when God sends it.”

And now began a series of engagements almost overwhelming. His mornings were given to friends, and his days to business. He almost kept open house. At each breakfast-hour large parties met for social converse, mutual edification, and kindly farewells. Near relatives, old friends, his late parishioners, distinguished and honored individuals, were then assembled; and it was reckoned that during the last three months of his stay in England, more than five hundred guests were thus entertained. He especially refers to one of these parties as follows:

“*June 1st.* I have had a most pleasing party to breakfast. Joseph John Gurney, Mrs. Fry, Mr. and Mrs. Buxton, Mr. and Mrs. Hoare, Joseph Wilson of Clapham, etc. — about twenty altogether. After reading the forty-fifth Psalm and praying, Mrs. Fry made a prayer; and before breakfast, during the pause, Mr. Gurney made a prayer, and again after breakfast. There was a most pleasing spirit of love and kindness. Mr. Gurney prayed for me that I might be kept humble, contrite, self-abased, lowly in heart.”

1824-32. ISLINGTON. 225

Every Saturday afternoon there was a Clerical Meeting in his library, for exposition of Scripture and prayer; at which now at the last, ladies were admissible.

His Sunday ministrations continued, and vast crowds assembled to hear the Word from his lips, and to receive his blessing.

Just before his departure, the Eclectic Society (which has been already referred to) called a special meeting on his behalf, and the account of what took place, as given by himself in a letter to the Rev. J. G. Garrard, an old pupil of St. Edmund’s Hall, is very interesting:

“Just before my leaving England in 1832, I was blessed by a special meeting, where all the brethren offered me such good counsel as occurred to them:

“1. Mr. Simeon was present, and was especially earnest to guard me against attempting too much at once. He had spent a previous night in prayer.

“2. Mr. J. Clayton said he had been a member for forty-nine years. He read St John 21.15-16, ‘Simon, son of Jonas, do you love me,’ etc., and prayed for the vitality of my religion, for health and usefulness.

“3. Mr. Ed. Bickersteth read Isaiah 62., and prayed for discernment of spirit, knowledge of character, and judgment of suitableness.

“4 Gerard Noel read Ephesians 1st, and dwelt on the danger of losing our spirituality when elevated; on God’s being the only author of what is good; on the nearness of eternity, and the particular malignity of Satan.

“5. James Haldane Stewart proposed the hymn — ‘Come let us join our cheerful songs,’ etc., which was sung; and he then read Exodus 30.

“6. John William Cunningham read Psalm 121 and dwelt on the importance of prayer; on the danger of worldly and secular business and society; and on the duty of not attempting impossibilities.”

Twenty were present, but these were the only notes forwarded and preserved.

The first week in May, all the Ministers of State resigned. A little earlier, and the Bishopric of Calcutta would, in all human probability, have been bestowed elsewhere.

On May 11th, arrangements were made by the Archbishop and the Bishop of London for issuing a commission to enable him to discharge all such episcopal functions as might be required at the Cape of Good Hope, which was out of his own jurisdiction; and he wrote to give notice of his intention to call there on his voyage to India.

226 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

On May 12th, his son was inducted into the living of Islington.

On May 16th, he had to attend the usual banquet given by the East India Company at the London Tavern. The guests were distinguished, and the entertainment superb. The bishop spoke calmly and excellently, and what he said was highly approved. In truth, ever since his elevation, his addresses had been marked by self-possession, fluency, point, and dignity; proving that one ingredient necessary for making a good speaker and a good speech, is the certainty of being listened to with interest and attention.

His prayer before this dinner (always an important one) was, “Lord, I cast myself upon You for discretion, support, guidance, and merciful help. I am a child. I cannot speak. Be to me a mouth and wisdom.” His reflection afterwards was, “Lord, to You be all the praise.”

On May 18th, he attended a meeting of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and on the 23d, a meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, at which he made an address.

On May 19th he dined again at the Mansion House, and responded on his health being proposed.

For the last time he also addressed his old congregation at St. John’s Chapel. He preached from Ephesians 3.20-21, and made a collection, amounting to £74, for the Church Missionary Society.

He accompanied the bishops to court on the king’s (William IV.) birthday, to present the usual congratulatory address, and was graciously recognized, and personally addressed.

He also accompanied the directors of the East India Company to Hayleybury, and had much interesting conversation with the chairman. He was delighted to find him favorable to the plan for the extension of the Indian Episcopate, by making the Archdeacons Suffragan Bishops.

June 7th found him at Parnham, on a visit to Dr. Sumner, Bishop of Winchester. With great interest he went over the castle and chapel, and walked through the town and to the parish church where, on taking priest’s orders, he had preached. His account is as follows:

“CHAPEL IN FARNHAM CASTLE, JUNE 7.

“Here I enter the chapel where I was ordained deacon in 1801, and priest in 1802. Here I would, as Bishop of Calcutta, renew my vows, pray for grace, and devote myself again to my God and Saviour.”

But the parishioners of Islington, meanwhile, had not been unconcerned spectators of what was going on. The very day on which

their vicar had received the notification of his appointment, he had written to Mr. Woodward, his church-warden, and informed him of it; and Mr. Woodward, by expressing in reply his own mingled feelings of sadness and submission, had conveyed a true impression of the feeling generally prevalent throughout the parish. This elicited a second communication.

“MARCH 29, 1832.

“I am not surprised at your affectionate language of regret. But you will soon see that ‘He that holds the stars in His right hand, and walks in the midst of the golden candlesticks,’ has grace and power enough both for Islington and Calcutta. His eyes run to and fro through the earth to show Himself strong on behalf of those whose heart is perfect towards Him.”

And now the wish spontaneously arose, that some memorial should be presented of the regard and affection of the parishioners towards him. A subscription was immediately commenced, and one hundred and eighty guineas having been put down, a public meeting was called, and the cooperation of all classes invited. When plans were settled, the bishop was invited to a public breakfast at Canonbury, on June 13th. The admission was by ticket, and Mr. Woodward presided. After a courteous and able speech, recapitulating what had been done for Islington during the last eight years, he begged to present, as an acknowledgment from a grateful parish, a gold clock and silver inkstand, with suitable inscriptions upon each. It was an interesting occasion, and one calculated to make a deep impression upon all parties concerned.

The bishop accepted the offered gift, and expressed his grateful sense of the kindness which had suggested it; and after bidding all an affectionate farewell, he took his departure, and the meeting broke up. A day or two afterwards, he reiterated his thanks in a short letter, and enclosed one hundred guineas, to be expended in coals for the poor during the next winter.

On the afternoon of the same day he went to the queen’s drawing-room to take leave; and the following entry appears in his notes:

“June 13th. At two o’clock today I went to Court with my nephew. The king said to me, ‘My lord, when do you sail?’ I replied, ‘Monday.’ His majesty said, ‘Then you must kiss hands.’ He immediately tendered his hand for that purpose, and added, ‘I wish you a safe return.’”

On June 16th, he dined at Mr. Grant’s, and met Lord Grey, Lord Brougham, the Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of London, Lord Hill, Sir. F. Adam, and other celebrities. Lord Grey delighted him by saying that Mr. Grant had been circulating a proposition to the

228 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. X.

cabinet about Suffragan Bishops in India, which he (Lord Grey) thought very reasonable.

June 17th was his last Sunday. He preached in the parish church in the morning, from Jude 20-21; and, as might be expected, the church was crowded to excess. The sermon lasted one hour and forty minutes. In the afternoon he preached at Chelsea from Colossians 3.11; and thus ended, for the time, his ministry in England.

The following morning, Monday, June 18th, was fixed for his departure. He rose “a great while before day,” and the following affecting words close and complete his journal:

“MONDAY MORNING, 4 O’CLOCK, JUNE 18.

“I have now come to the departing moment, when I am to leave my country, my family, my parish, my friends.

“Lord, be a country, a family, a parish, a friend to me, and that will make up for all. Lord, I resign myself to You, humbly trusting in your infinite power, goodness, and grace.”

CHAPTER 11. THE VOYAGE TO INDIA. 1832.

PORTSMOUTH — THE “JAMES SIBBALD” — OCCURENCES ON THE VOYAGE — RELIGIOUS SERVICES — FOUR GERMAN MISSIONARIES — THE SINGING SAILOR-BOY — STUDIES — CORRESPONDENCE — CAPE TOWN — HOSPITALITIES — VISITATION OF THE SCHOOLS — INFANT SCHOOL — SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE — ORDINATION — DEPARTURE FROM CAPE TOWN — CORRESPONDENCE — SICKNESS — THE HOOGLY — WELCOME TO INDIA.

The bishop reached Portsmouth before his ship; so that the purpose he had formed of embarking instantly was frustrated. He was not alone, however; nor had he been allowed to leave Islington unsaluted. Early as the hour of his departure was, a large assembly of parishioners had collected around the house to bid him “God-speed,” and to receive his last “farewell.” Many near relations were his companions on the journey. Some old friends entertained him on the way; others greeted him at the end. The Portsmouth bells rang out a cheerful welcome, the clergy waited on him to pay their respects, and the port-admiral was prompt with courteous offers of service. The bishop himself thoroughly appreciated these marks of sympathy and readily responded to them; but his state of mind was quiet and subdued. He was not depressed, but silent; and seemed sensible of those mingled emotions of joy and sadness expressed by the apostle when he said: “If I am offered on the sacrifice and service of your faith, I joy and rejoice with you all.”¹

Late in the evening, the ship *James Sibbald* appeared in sight, and it was arranged that all should be ready to receive the bishop on the following afternoon. On June 19th, 1832 therefore, precisely at five o'clock, he embarked in the Admiral's yacht, and left his native shores. His valued friend, the Rev. C. Simeon and others were on deck awaiting him; and the whole party retired at once to the cabin, for “comfort of the Scriptures,” and commendatory

230 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XI.

prayer. The call of Abraham to leave his country, his kindred, and his father's house was read; and then all knelt and were commended to the most gracious protection of Him, “who alone spreads out the heavens and rules the raging of the sea.” The last kindly greetings followed, and the voyage to India began.

It will be unnecessary to enter into the daily occurrences of that voyage, with its early discomforts and subsequent alleviations; but a few particulars may be interesting as presenting an entirely new phase of the bishop's life. Among his fellow-passengers were representatives of almost every branch of Indian society — the civilian, the military officer, the barrister, the chaplain, the missionary. Ladies also added the charm of their presence; and the social communication of the ship was most agreeable.

Morning and evening prayers were at once commenced; the morning prayers in the cuddy,² immediately before breakfast when the captain and officers were present; and the evening prayers on deck (weather permitting), when the sailors not on duty and the ship's servants were welcomed.

On Sundays, the whole ship's company assembled together for divine service on the quarter-deck, which was enclosed with awnings, decorated with flags, and furnished with benches. The sound of the church bell, the gathering of the congregation, and the fixed attention on these occasions, served to recall memories of home with all their dear and hallowed associations. The bishop never preached more admirable sermons. He seemed to long to impart some spiritual

¹ Phil. 2.17.

² [The galley or pantry of a small ship.](#)

gift; and his own heart being tender, tenderness characterized his words. Everyone seemed impressed, and the last discourse was always deemed the best. The singing was excellent. Four German missionaries with grand voices (alas! only two are still in the fields of labor, two rest with God) not only habitually delighted all with their hymns and ancient chants, before the evening sun had set and the moon risen on the waters, but they also led the singing on Sunday with great effect. To their number was subsequently added a little ship's boy, who had an exquisite voice. A little favorite among the sailors, his sweet, clear notes, when singing their sea-songs on the fore-castle or between decks, attracted attention. The bishop was charmed and had him taught to "sing psalms;" and then he joined the choir. The holy sacrament was also celebrated each month, and found twenty devout communicants.

If the religious services as thus described seem more numerous than usual, it will be remembered that they only carry out the idea attaching to a large family, with its daily prayers, Sunday services,

1832. THE VOYAGE TO INDIA. 231

and holy communion; and it so occurred, in the good providence of God, that all the passengers on board, both ladies and gentlemen, were prepared to appreciate and enjoy the performance of those religious duties without which the bishop would not have been happy. He was very popular among the sailors, and nothing occurred throughout the voyage to give him pain. Once when walking the deck in bad weather, a man in the hurry of duty forgot himself and swore. "Hold your tongue," said the men about him, "don't you see the bishop? He won't like it." At the beginning of the voyage, when the weather was bad, the wind baffling, and the progress slow, some of the grumblers "never knew any good come of having so many parsons on board." But when a change took place, and the ship sped on rapidly — "it was all the bishop's prayers."

He himself could hardly be said to enjoy the voyage. He looked upon it merely as an episode in life, and its length and discomforts troubled him. His mind was in India, and he wanted to be there himself. Moreover, the usual occupations on board a ship scarcely interested him as they do others. He would watch the flying-fish, and listen to experiments made on the phosphoric light, and occasionally vary his reading by a game at chess; he was amused at the Saturnalia¹ on crossing the line;² and when a boat was lowered in a calm, he would delight in an hour's escape from what he called a prison; but a fair wind, and a good day's progress interested him most. To learn the latitude and longitude at noon each day — to know the number of miles traversed — to have the ship's course marked down in his little chart — these were his daily objects of anticipation, and his most frequent subjects for conversation. "How fast are we going, captain?" — "Is the wind in our favor?" — "What do you say, now, about the day of our arrival?" These were questions incessantly proposed, and answered with a smiling face while all went well. But the repetition of them when sails were flapping or splitting, and when the ship's head stood far from the proper course, often brought a cloud upon the captain's brow, and drove him quickly to some less absorbed passenger. The confinement of the ship also, to a certain extent, affected his health; and it was to be expected that the excitement of the past three months should be followed by a corresponding depression. Everything was done to make him happy. Conversation, reading, and walking wiled away each day; while English reminiscences, Indian anticipations, communion with God, and preparation for future usefulness, occupied and refreshed his mind.

The first real duty undertaken was the preparation of his farewell

232 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XI.

¹ A wild gathering involving excessive drinking.

² That is, the line of the equator.

sermon for the press, with the addition of an address to his late parishioners. His reading was given chiefly to Indian subjects — the “Life and the Researches of Claudius Buchanan,” Le Bas’ “Life of Bishop Middleton,” Heber’s “Journal,” Grant’s “Minute,” and many original documents entrusted to him for perusal before he left home. When these were ended, he took up divinity, ecclesiastical matters, and history. He re-read Hooker’s *Works*, and then took up Robert Hall, Sir James Mackintosh, Sir J. Middleton. He also began Hindustani, but weariness of mind and nausea prevented much progress. The Hebrew Bible, as of old, and the Greek Testament were always on his table; and the repetition of favorite hymns and long pieces of poetry were a constant recreation. How and when these were acquired in the course of a busy life may excite surprise. But no man is fully known. Page after page of Cowper, Young, Goldsmith, and other authors, appeared to rise spontaneously in his memory, and were repeated with admirable effect as he took his constitutional or evening walk upon the quarter-deck.

The bishop made no notes of the voyage; but he wrote many letters. In one to his children, he describes the routine of his daily life as follows:

“JULY 26, 1832.

“We live very regularly. My day is this: I rise at six o’clock, and spend till nearly eight in my cabin; then walk for a quarter of an hour before prayers in the cuddy, when I read and comment on the prophet Isaiah; reading and writing, with occasional walks of five minutes interposed, occupy the morning till two o’clock; we dine at three; repose in cabin follows till five; at half-past five we have evening prayers on deck, when I read and comment on the Acts of the Apostles; tea at six; then comes exercise and reading; at nine o’clock, private prayer in cabin with my daughter and chaplain; at ten o’clock I am in my cot with light put out. Our provision is abundant. There were shipped, I understand, thirty-six dozen of poultry, forty sheep, forty pigs, one hundred barrels of beer, one hundred and fifty Yorkshire hams, and a cow to give milk all the voyage; besides dried fruits, preserved meats, and wines, including champagne and claret.”

Of many other letters, some more desponding, some more cheerful, the following to the Dean of Salisbury may be taken as a specimen:

“SATURDAY, JULY 28, 1832, N. Lat. 4’10, W. Long. 14-12,
about 4300 miles from England by the log, and 400
miles from Cape Palmas.

“Did you ever see such a date, with so many guides to the reader? But such is the best method of giving you a correct notion of our present spot. We are hoping to meet some homeward-bound vessel as we pass the line, and I write in order to avail myself of the opportunity. We have had a most favorable

1832. THE VOYAGE TO INDIA. 233

passage thus far — not very quick, but most agreeable; no storms, no heat, no calms, no rain. We are now entering the trade-winds which will not leave us, as we hope, till we reach the Cape. The sea-sickness was a mere trifle; in one week we had overcome it. But the real pressure upon the mind and body is separation, the severing of all bonds of nature and habit, desolation of heart, the feeling of being alone and imprisoned on the wild, barren, boundless ocean without the possibility of escape; no change, no external world, no news, no communication. Then the difference of diet, bad water, bad butter, bad tea, a rolling cot by night, and an uneasy ship by day — the head confined, the heart withered, the capacity of thought and prayer lost! These constitute the privations of a five- or six-months’ voyage undertaken for the first time in the fifty-fourth year of a minister’s age, and after all his habits and associations have been buttressed and propped up by parish committees, public duties, a circle of brethren, and the endearments of a family.

“This is the dark side of the picture. Reverse it, and all is brightness, joy, confidence in God, peace, anticipation, gratitude for being permitted to enter on such a design, and preparation for future duty. And all the previous chaos of feeling has its lesson. It constitutes a ‘dispensation,’ and draws one inward upon conscience, faith, prayer. These allure the heart out of itself, and from the

sensible objects of discouragement, to God and to His sovereignty, omnipresence, and all-sufficiency; and then it arrives at peace — its true felicity and end.

“I have been reflecting much on the mysterious course of events which have led me to this cabin as a Bishop of India, compared with my education as a boy destined for commerce in December 1792. Then began that communication with my father-in-law, which led to my marrying his eldest daughter in 1803, to the parish of Islington, to the new churches, and from these to Calcutta. When I trace back this order of events, I am struck with adoration at the mercy and compassion of the Lord. If a single link had been lacking in the chain, the whole would have fallen to pieces. Yes, my beloved friend, I look back like Jacob, to the time when I passed Jordan with only my staff, and now I have become two bands. To the Lord only be all the praise ascribed. My heart overflows with love and adoration to my God and Saviour for all His mercies. And yet other feelings perhaps surpass these — a sense of humiliation for my returns for all these benefits. I cannot enter upon this topic; it would defeat its object. But God knows my heart. What a sinner before my practical knowledge of the gospel, and what a feeble, wandering soul since! One more thought, however, equals or ought to equal this — the desire to glorify God and fulfill my duties in the superintendence and bishopric, now so unexpectedly entrusted to me. All my past history should make me more anxious to amend, to rise a little higher, to acquire more wisdom, to act with more decision, promptitude, disinterestedness, and consistency; to believe, love, and obey with more elevated and aspiring motives than ever. Nothing more easy than to mar the last scene of life. But to fill it up with dignity, meekness, discretion, holiness, simplicity of aim — this is the difficulty. Lord help me!”

Another extract, from a letter to Lord Glenelg, will convey his first impressions of the Cape of Good Hope.

234 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XI.

“SIX O’CLOCK FRIDAY MORNING, August 31, 1832.

“We are now in full view of the magnificent Table Mountain overhanging Cape Town. No vessel bound homeward has passed us since we left England. We discovered the faint outline of the African shores yesterday morning; but the breeze failed us as we drew nearer, and it was judged prudent to lay-to for the night. With this morning’s dawn, however, the sails were again set, and by six o’clock the whole range of mountains rose before us in gloomy majesty. Three or four series receding behind each other, and tolerably well defined by the varied shades, present the grandest prospect I have yet beheld. Even Switzerland fades in comparison, except that the snow-capped glories of that country are lacking here. Table Mountain shrouds her top in the clouds, but the fine flat shelf for which she is celebrated is conspicuous. The sun’s rays are piercing between the ravines, and gilding the superjacent clouds, thus adding the glories of contrast to the other sublimities of the scene. All is heightened by the immense mass. It is not one or two solitary rocks, but piles upon piles, till the eye is wearied in attempting to pursue them. I have torn open my letter in the hurry of joy which fills every heart, to add this before I give it to the messenger for the post. We hope to land in the course of the day. We are about ten miles distant. By the log, we have been 9033 miles from England in ten weeks, having left the shores of Cornwall on the 22d of June.”

The ten miles mentioned in this extract were soon overpassed, and the vessel glided with a fair, light wind round Green Point, and entered Table Bay. Cape Town at once appeared in sight, and a boat put off from shore. The signals agreed on previously in England to announce the bishop’s arrival, were met with no response; suspicions were aroused that the dispatches forwarded a month before the *James Sibbald* sailed had not been received. This suspicion was confirmed when the port-captain came on board; — no intelligence had been received and the bishop was not expected. It only remained to make the best of this untoward circumstance, and to communicate personally with Sir Lowry Cole, the governor. This was done quickly, and the result was an invitation to abide at the Government House. The bishop, therefore, with his party, landed at once, and was received with the utmost courtesy.

Nothing could exceed his delight at feeling free once more. He was soon walking up and down the extensive gardens attached to Government House with an inexpressible buoyancy and

pleasure. After ten weeks of tossing and instability, it was exhilarating in itself to tread upon the ground and feel it firm. It was now springtime at the Cape Roses and geraniums were bursting into flower, strawberries and peas were showing their early promise, while the bamboo, the aloe, and banana offered shade, flowers, and fruit. Strange birds of various plumage flitted by. The crane and secretary-bird

1832. THE VOYAGE TO INDIA. 235

came to feed out of the hand. Children of all shades of color stood about, while gardeners black as jet weeded the soil or, as one said, "I smooths the floor." All this produced for the moment a kind of ecstasy, as contrasted with the monotony and weariness of ten long weeks at sea.

But the realities of life soon returned in the shape of a sumptuous dinner, and an introduction to the clergy and chief gentry in the town.

The next day was passed in preparation for the episcopal duties which were required, and in mapping out the ten days of the bishop's contemplated stay.

On Sunday morning, the schools were visited and divine service performed in the Dutch Church, then also used by the English. The bishop preached a new and noble sermon from the words: "Where there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free, but Christ is all, and in all."¹ Afterwards he took part in the administration of the holy Sacrament to nearly two hundred communicants. He was wearied by the duty and spent the rest of the day in quiet social communication and family prayer.

On Monday morning, all the schools in Cape Town were examined, among them Lady Frances Cole's admirable Schools of Industry. Eight or nine children were called out and exhibited as having been rescued from slavery by the Philanthropic Society, formed for that purpose. The price of the slave at an early age varied from £12 to £30, and females generally were selected for manumission because the children of a freed woman were free; whereas the children of a freed man, marrying perhaps a slave, were slaves. Instruction followed freedom, and then apprenticeship or marriage. The Infant School system was in full operation; and with many a hearty laugh, the bishop saw a little creature with skin black as a coal, eyes rolling in its head, mouth stretching from ear to ear, selected from the group and placed upon a stool to recite some English infant hymn, to which fifty voices screamed a chorus.

The whole town vied with the governor and his family in courtesy, and the rest of the morning was occupied in receiving visitors.

Tuesday was wet, and given to business, and the settlement of some matters in the colony which were by no means free from embarrassment.

236 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XI.

Colonel Wade entertained the bishop and a large party in the evening.

On Wednesday two pieces of ground were consecrated on which it was proposed to build churches — one at Wynberg, a distance of seven miles, and one at Rondebosch, a distance of four miles. At the former of these places, the bishop preached. The building then standing was little better than a small barn; but all the celebrities of Cape Town crowded into it and listened to a sermon which, at their reiterated request, was subsequently written out and left behind for publication. In the evening, the judges and authorities were entertained at Government House.

On Thursday the bishop attended a meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and responded to an address presented to him. He also subscribed largely to the erection of

¹ Colossians 3.2.

some National Schools, and to the Philanthropic Society. In the afternoon he enjoyed his only holiday. Lady Frances Cole had planned a drive to Constantia, and four prancing Cape horses soon bore the party to the land of vineyards and luscious wines. The vines as yet had made no sign, but the cellars were filled with the produce of former years, and a small quantity was bought for India. Novel scenes, beautiful scenery, and cool, bracing air characterized a day closed pleasantly in social communication at Colonel Bell's, the Military Secretary to the colony.

Meanwhile, however, the examination of certain candidates for holy orders had been progressing from day to day; and on Friday the results were submitted to the bishop. The *viva voce* examination¹ followed, and all being deemed satisfactory, Sunday was fixed for the ordination.

In the interval, duty called to Simon's Bay, and six horses were found necessary to draw the carriage over quicksands by the seaside, and rocks slightly hidden by sand, which in parts constituted the carriage-road of that time. The driver was a Malay, with a huge conical hat, a wooden leg, and a terrific whip. Pelicans stood fishing on the road-side. Penguins and diverse studded the rocks. "Whales' ribs supplied the place of hedge-rows. Everything combined to give novelty and interest to a drive which in due time terminated at the house of Admiral Warren, in Simon's Town. Everything there was in holiday trim — the shops shut up, the ships and public buildings decorated with flags. And in a little meeting-house rented by the government for £50 per annum, the bishop performed his first real episcopal act. The whole community assembled, the admiral was present, the governor had ridden over in the morning, while the bishop

1832. THE VOYAGE TO INDIA. 237

confirmed sixty-six young persons. Afterwards he preached from Romans 12.1: "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God; which is your reasonable service." Many were affected to tears, and the governor begged for a copy of the sermon for his private use. After the service, preparatory steps were taken for the erection of a church at Simon's Town; a letter was addressed to the Admiralty, and subscriptions commenced, which found the bishop a ready contributor. All being thus put into a good train, he departed, amidst every possible demonstration of kindness and good-will.

Sunday was assigned for the ordination, and the Church of England now for the first time obeyed the call to send forth laborers into this part of the vineyard. May she ever remain faithful to her trust! Some necessary alterations were required in the only building available, and these were willingly allowed. At the appointed time, every part of it was crowded to excess; and after preaching from the address of St. Paul to the elders of the Church at Ephesus, the ordination of the candidates was performed by the bishop with the usual impressive services.

Monday was the last day; and though much pressed to prolong his stay, the wind was too fair and fickle to render it expedient to stay. A communication from the captain decided the doubt in the negative. The morning, therefore, was given to the confirmation of two hundred and forty catechumens from Cape Town, many of them old and gray-headed. An affecting farewell address followed, closing the religious services of the visitation. And then, with many tears, they bid the bishop God-speed, and accompanied him to the ship.

More true kindness to a stranger was never shown, and some blessing seemed to return to every bosom. The bishop's way had been made plain before him. The word he preached came with "demonstration of the Spirit and of power." He won all hearts in social intercourse by cheerfulness and simplicity. The "secret of the Lord" in truth was with him in this beginning of his great work. The clue to all the success of his public efforts was easily traced by those who

¹ That is, oral as opposed to written examination.

knew what passed in private communion and communication with God. In the closed chamber, and by earnest prayer, he renewed his strength. No sacred service was ever undertaken, no drawing-room ever entered, without "two or three" being called to kneel and seek prevenient grace and divine guidance. Hence words of wisdom, hence peace with God, hence a cheerful countenance,

238 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XI.

hence, above all, the blessing of God, which makes rich and adds no sorrow. The good savor of his visit long remained, and it served as a useful preparation for the more onerous duties of Calcutta. Three hundred persons had been confirmed, two sites for churches and churchyards consecrated, four sermons preached, holy communion twice celebrated, an ordination held, a public meeting addressed, schools examined, pastoral letters to distant stations written, many valuable friends made, some charity dispensed, and a whole box of books left behind for gratuitous presentation. The ten days thus passed were, he says, among the most happy of his life, from "the relief, the contrast, the unexpectedness, the wide scenes of usefulness presented, and the spiritual blessings granted."

At four o'clock that afternoon the ship was again underway for India.

It is unnecessary to dwell on the remainder of the voyage. Several fresh passengers had been received at the Cape; and this, with the sight of native servants and the sound of native languages, rather broke in upon the family feeling which had prevailed before. Increased numbers also brought increased formality and a change of habits. Cards were introduced, and for a time the bishop fretted at it; but learning, on inquiry, that he was in no sense responsible, or called upon to express an opinion, he held his peace. With the sense of responsibility, the sense of uneasiness disappeared. His objections were to the waste of time, the loss of temper, the worldly spirit, and the insidious tendency toward gambling, which the habit produced; but he admitted that, if allowable anywhere, it might be allowed on board a ship. He continued his studies, and drew closer to the missionaries and catechists of both societies, entering with them on a course of lectures in his private cabin, preparatory to the Calcutta ordination. Sixty letters were also written to old friends at home. A few extracts may be given from these:

TO THE REV. JOHN HENSMAN, CLIFTON.

"OCTOBER 2, 1832, S. LAT. 33°, E. LONG. 75°.

"Lest Calcutta should deprive me, as I fully expect it will, of all power of private correspondence, I seize a moment, amidst the rolling and roaring of the desert sea, to write to my beloved friend at Clifton, whose faithful, affectionate kindness will never be effaced from my recollection, nor forgotten in my poor feeble prayers. Here I am, cooped up in a cabin, twelve feet by ten — having traversed twelve thousand miles of barren ocean, out of fifteen thousand — cut off from friends, country, the church, mankind! Yet joyful still in faith and hope, sustained by a divine arm, comforted by the gracious Spirit of God, studying my future duties as far as I can foresee what they may be, cheered by the

1832. THE VOYAGE TO INDIA. 239

best of daughters, and anticipating with composure the scene of trial which is about to open upon me.

"The peculiar office of a chief pastor, overseer, superintendent, messenger, and servant of the church (which are the scriptural definitions of a bishop), occupies my daily thoughts, assisted by Hooker, Nelson, Hey, and other writers upon the subject. May God give me grace to make 1Peter 5.1-4 my model now, as I endeavored to do when a simple presbyter entering on Islington eight years ago.

"We have had a delightful passage so far. We reached the Cape in seventy days, on August 31st. And after staying there ten days, we have now done three thousand miles of the remaining six thousand which lie between the Cape and Calcutta. O my dear, dear friends! What will await me there? How can I exhibit the pattern, exercise the jurisdiction, administer the doctrine and discipline,

watch over the general interests of the Oriental Church stretching over half a hemisphere, and numbering one hundred and thirty-four million souls! But, but ...Farewell. The Lord be with us, and work in us all His good pleasure, whether at Clifton or Calcutta.”

TO THE REV. WILLIAM JOWETT.

“INDIAN OCEAN, OCTOBER 12, 1832.

“It is a sensible pleasure to me to think I am writing to an old friend and colleague. Well do I remember the tour to Dublin in 1814 with dearest Mr. Pratt (to whom I have written) and yourself — the friendly discussions — the meetings and sermons — the more striking thoughts which fell from you! Ah! Since that period you have had sixteen years at Malta, and I as many and more at St. John’s and Islington; and I humbly trust we have both been training for the stations we are filling now in the decline of life and strength. If you are permitted to guide the missionary helm of our beloved society at home (a most important office indeed, and increasingly difficult), and if I am permitted to assist in the oversight and superintendence of the Church of India, including your missions in its general and almost boundless embrace, we shall find all our former experience little enough for our circumstances as they arise.

“Of course it will be but little that I can do for any particular cause; but what I can, I shall do with all my heart; and with the greater pleasure, because I can open my mind to you as to a brother in the Lord.

“I am happy to give you a good account of your four students. My chaplain has assisted them with advice in their studies. They have, of course, attended our morning and evening prayers, and the two full services on Sunday. As we are now approaching Calcutta, I have them twice a week in my cabin, to a series of lectures on the first Epistle to Timothy. We had the fourth this morning. Knorpp and Leupolt seem men of fine, consistent, well-wrought piety.”

TO THE REV. CHARLES JERRAM, CHOBHAM.

“OCTOBER 1, 1832.

“What a distance I am from all I love! On what a wide waste ocean am I tossed! How desolate to the heart! How monotonous! How wearisome! What a void! No friend, no news, no committees, no calls, no magazines, no clerical

240 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XI.

meetings! Bad bread, bad tea, bad milk, worse butter, worst water; head aching, stomach half sick, bones sore; ship tossing, pitching, lurching; days wearisome, nights disturbed. Sabbaths stormy, means of grace full of distraction; the whole body and soul unnerved; — and yet, always rejoicing in the calling of God, delighting in the Bible, hovering from promise to promise like a bird from spray to spray (as Cecil — dear name! — would say); looking off from the waves to Him who rules them; enjoying sometimes nearness of access to the great High Priest through the Eternal Spirit; more and more cheerful and thankful in the grace given me to be chosen to carry Christ’s name before the Gentiles and kings; studying preparatory books and treatises; conferring with the East Indians among the passengers; comforted in daily prayer and reading, morning and evening; raised and strengthened by public services twice on Sunday, and the Sacrament each month; anticipating Calcutta with joy and filial trust in Christ my Lord; resigned to His will, and following Him like Abraham, though I do not know where I go. Such are the opposite reports — one on the side of nature and external things, and most miserable; the other on the side of grace, and the inward life of God, so far as it flourishes — which is little indeed.

“Still, having obtained the help of God, I continue to this day; and after reading over your letter of April 7th, feel more and more desirous to grow into the primitive and genuine character of a New Testament bishop. May God grant me grace in some measure to do so! Write to me often. You know me “intus et in cute.”¹ Farewell! I am in excellent health and spirits. We are twenty-six at the table. Captain and officers obliging. All among us is right — but sin.”

¹ Inside and out.

TO THE REV. JOSIAH PRATT.

“SHIP ‘JAMES SIBBALD,’ OCTOBER 1832.

“The discipline of these four or five months is, I feel, more beneficial to me, because it was totally unexpected. I never dreamed, till experience taught me the fact, that the worst part of India was the voyage. Even now, after fifteen weeks, I can scarcely manage to hold my pen steadily enough to write a letter to a friend. However ‘by these things we live,’ as Mr. Cecil so often said. Whatever most thoroughly empties and abases man, and tears him off from external things, and drives him in and on his principles, is best for him. Alas! The real movements of grace are feeble in the midst of outward prosperity, and all other springs must be dried up in order that this divine one may flow with any fulness. I shall often meditate on your letter, and the advice it affords. My earnest desire is to act upon every part of it. Indeed, my dear friend, scenes long passed by, in which you were my tutor and early guide, now recur to my recollection. I trace back the wonderful links of the chain which now binds me to my Redeemer’s Church in the East, to your and Mr. Cecil’s first care of me; and I gratefully reflect on the tone of religion which you concurred in then setting before me, and which I have endeavored to aim at ever since. Father Scott’s comment is my companion — wholesome, arousing, nourishing to my inmost soul. Buchanan’s six volumes are also doubly interesting to me; now I re-peruse them in my new and awful situation. Judicious Hooker I have also read over, after an interval of thirty years, with fresh ardor. But

1832. THE VOYAGE TO INDIA. 241

the Bible eclipses, surpasses, comprises all. Never was its divine mystery of grace so much unfolded to my soul as now that I have nothing else to lean upon. I beg your prayers and your letters, and I particularly beg that nothing may be said about me or my doings. I dread talk, rumor, and misrepresentations.”

But meanwhile sickness had appeared on board the ship, and death stood at the door of more than one cabin. The bishop’s daughter, at first the comforter of a friend, became before long the sufferer. Every feeling of elation at the termination of the voyage, was checked by deep anxiety; and the reception of the pilot on board, on October 31st, was hailed rather as a relief to the sick, than as an introduction to the City of Palaces. Thus God mingled judgment with mercy, and the “bright vision” was brought down by the “overshadowing cloud.”

The ship lay tossing in the yellow waters of Saugor for many hours before the pilot dared to lift her anchor. But at length the wind, which had been raging fiercely for some days past, abated, and a steamer, coming up, took her in tow. The low mud banks of the Hooghly then came into view — the native villages — the Eastern foliage. Half-naked boatmen pushed off with fruit and fish — both strange; and at length everyone on board began to feel that India was enclosing them in her warm embrace.

The first welcome came from a small steamer, anchored off Kedgerree. It had brought Daniel Corrie and Dr. Mill. The bishop had long known the former; and when his tall, portly figure, and handsome, benevolent countenance appeared on deck, he hastened forward, embraced, and kissed him on either cheek. Dr. Mill also was heartily greeted. To hasten to Calcutta was now the pressing object. Both steamers assisted, and about eleven o’clock on Sunday morning, November 4th, the chain cable ran out, and the ship swung round off Chandpaul Ghat. The bishop was unwilling to land on Sunday, and therefore remained quiet; but, under medical advice, the sick were removed at sunset, and sheltered in the palace, where skilful treatment soon proved effectual for their recovery, under God’s blessing.

On Monday morning, November 5th, 1832, the bishop landed, under a salute from the fort, and drove at once to Government House. The Governor-general was absent, but the Vice-president, Sir Charles T. Metcalfe, attended by his officials and *aides-de-camp*, received him at the entrance. After a kind welcome to India, and a short conversation, the bishop drove to the cathedral, and was at once installed by Archdeacon Corrie, with the customary forms. All this was in accordance with usage. About twenty clergy and

missionaries were present, and were invited afterwards to meet the bishop at dinner. He took that opportunity to make a short address, affectionate in tone, and descriptive of the course he proposed to adopt in the administration of his diocese. He had been before the church to a certain extent, he said, for thirty years; and the principles he had always professed, he should still adhere to, only endeavoring to fulfill the new duties to which he was called with the strictest impartiality. He begged their prayers, and assured them that he wished to be regarded as a brother to the elder clergy, and a father to the younger.

And now the stores were gathered from the ship, the horses landed, the books arranged, the sea voyage ended, and the Indian life began.

CHAPTER 12. INDIA. 1832-1834.

JURISDICTION OF THE INDIAN EPISCOPATE — ITS STATE ON HIS ARRIVAL — FIRST DIFFICULTY — HOW SETTLED — FIRST SERMONS IN THE CATHEDRAL — CORRESPONDENCE WITH THE ARCHDEACONS AND OTHERS — MARRIAGE OF HIS DAUGHTER — HIS DOMESTIC LIFE AND PERSONAL HABITS — RESIDENCE AT TITTAGHUR — BISHOPS HEBER AND TURNER — LORD W. BENTINCK, GOVERNOR-GENEAL — ECCLESIASTICAL QUESTIONS — FREE SCHOOL — LENT LECTURES — CLERICAL MEETINGS — BISHOP'S COLLEGE — ORDINATIONS — CONFIRMATIONS — NATIVE BAPTISMS — INFANT SCHOOLS — STEAM COMMUNICATION — BEGUM SUMROO'S FUND — THE NEW CHAPTER — CHURCH-BUILDING FUND FOR INDIA — MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE AMONG NATIVE CHRISTIANS — RELATION OF THE CHAPLAIN TO THE GOVERNMENT AND THE BISHOP — THE INDIAN CLIMATE — CORRESPONDENCE.

The jurisdiction of the Bishop of Calcutta, in 1832, extended over territories which now constitute sixteen large and important dioceses, and was manifestly a burden too heavy to be borne.¹ It must not be supposed that he found abundant records, well-defined duties, and established precedents, as in England. On the contrary, everything was to be learned. The palace was a blank, the correspondence of his predecessors with the government and clergy had disappeared, and the registry contained little but a list of licensed chaplains. There was nothing for him, therefore, but to fall back on traditional knowledge, to use great caution, to take advice, to act on first principles, and to meet events as they arose. The arrears of business, happily, were small; but the confusion of the first few weeks was indescribable. The visits of the whole society of Calcutta had to be received, its courtesy reciprocated, and its usages adopted. Unnatural hours, rendered necessary by the climate, had to be naturalized. Contradictory opinions and advice, on every conceivable topic, had to be sifted. Sixty or seventy servants turned loose into the house, and speaking an unknown tongue, had to be recognized and mastered. Guests were to be entertained,

244 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

and sick friends watched over, nursed, and cheered. It will easily be imagined that some time elapsed before light shone upon this darkness, and order issued from this chaos.

Meanwhile, duties pressed, and an incident occurred fraught with embarrassment. Immediately on his arrival, the bishop had informed the Presidency chaplains of his intention to preach in the cathedral on the following Sunday, and intimated a wish that his domestic chaplain should take part in reading the communion service on that occasion. He did this with all simplicity of heart, and in accordance with home usages, and never for a moment supposed that any objection would be raised. But in this he was mistaken. "When the intimation was conveyed to the Senior Presidency Chaplain in the most friendly manner, it was met by an immediate refusal, a denial of the bishop's authority, and an expressed determination to take the part of the service alluded to, himself. This account, arriving on the Saturday evening, the question was waived for a time, and the service proceeded without change. But on the following morning, it necessarily came under serious consideration. The bishop was very averse to making his first episcopal act savor of severity. It appeared unwise to call for the interference of government in a matter of spiritual jurisdiction. And above all, it was desirable to avoid an outbreak at a time when the enemies of the church were bold and her friends timid; when prime ministers were bidding bishops set their houses in order, and when every outcry in India found a loud echo in England. At the same time, it was impossible to overlook what had occurred, unless all discipline was to be relaxed, and episcopal authority defied.

¹ Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Colombo, Sydney, Melbourne, Newcastle, Adelaide, Perth, Tasmania, New Zealand, Whaiapu (New Zealand), Wellington, Nelson, Christ Church, Brisbane.

Apart from these serious considerations, the case did not seem to be involved in much difficulty. It was not an English question. Chaplains were not in any sense incumbents. Whatever uncertainty, therefore, might have attended the discussion at home, where the rights of beneficed clergy were recognized and fenced by law, there could be none in India, where there were no such benefices and no such fences; but all was like an open field, and each chaplain acted under authority of government and by the bishop's license, and was removable from place to place at a moment's notice.

The bishop having therefore taken counsel with the archdeacon and others competent to advise, called for the attendance of the Presidency chaplains and, with much courtesy and forbearance, explained their position and the limits of their authority. But finding that his explanation did not produce (at least in one case) the desired effect, he called for the licenses under which they were

1832-34. INDIA. 245

acting, and perceiving that they were of old date, and pertained to other stations, he cancelled them at once, and directed others to be prepared. In these, a clause was introduced, drawn by the highest legal authority in India, clearly defining the chaplains' rights while officiating in the cathedral. This ended the controversy. Before the next Sunday, they were summoned to take the customary oaths, and to be licensed. At the time appointed, they attended, and having been again informed, in precisely the same terms as before, of the bishop's wish respecting his chaplain, they acquiesced, and received their licenses. Thus all was overruled for good; and in the most effectual manner, the clergy of the diocese found they had a bishop. It was a lesson they needed to learn; for in earlier days each one had been accustomed to act very independently, and look to government for guidance or indulgence; while the frequent vacancies of the see, and the doubtful authority exercised by the commissary¹ at such times, had prevented the establishment of the Bishopric from having its full effect.

The bishop's first sermon had been preached in the cathedral, on November 11th, from the words, "The unsearchable riches of Christ." ² "The second was now preached from the words, "You are not your own; for you were bought with a price: therefore glorify God in your body and in your spirit, which are God's." ³ On both occasions, the congregations were very large, and all the authorities were in attendance. Having thus delivered his message in the cathedral, he went round preaching in all the other churches in Calcutta and the immediate neighborhood. He also visited Bishop's College, the Church Missionary premises at Mirzapore, Mrs. Wilson's Native Schools, the Free School, and all the other religious and charitable institutions of the Presidency. He presided over meetings of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He received a deputation from the British and Foreign Bible Society, and the Church Missionary Society, and accepted in both cases the office of president. The clergy were all entertained at the palace, and the missionaries and catechists assured of his unabated attachment and deep interest in their work. And having thus looked round upon all things near at hand, he cast his eyes on the distant parts of the diocese abroad. He wrote letters to Madras, Bombay, Ceylon, Australia, and even to China, conveying, so to speak, the watchword of the diocese. Extracts from these may be fitly given here.

246 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

TO THE VEN. ARCHDEACON GLENNIE, COLOMBO.

"JANUARY 1883.

¹ A commissary is someone delegated by a superior to execute a duty or an office of another.

² Ephesians 3.8.

³ 1Cor. 6.20.

“The applications to me for ordination seem increasing on all hands. The whole efficiency of the Church in India will depend on the piety, zeal, and talent of the clergy. Those sent out from home we must make the best of; but those ordained in India are our own men, and must be men of God — men enlightened, sober, holy, evangelical (in the right sense of that much-abused term), and capable of propagating a primitive Christianity.

“I am beginning to feel my way in the labyrinth in which the deaths of my revered predecessors have left the Indian Church. What a scene opens before us! If Christianity should begin to spread throughout our native population — Christianity, sound, pure, efficacious, built upon the foundation laid in Zion, which is Jesus Christ, and animated with the life-giving Spirit of our God — what a blessing! What an incredible honor to us, who shall be the instruments in aiding the work! I am particularly anxious that conversion should flow in our own channel; that the church of our beloved country may be exalted in the East, as she has been for three centuries in the West.

“I hope to hear perpetually from the archdeacons, that my ‘eyes,’ and ears, and heart may be informed and guided. Write fully and confidentially. Let us see what can be done for the glory of our Saviour, and the salvation of souls.”

TO THE REV. THOMAS CARR, BOMBAY.

“FEBRUARY 1833,

“Dispatches from home concur with the information you have conveyed; and as the Archdeaconry is now vacant, I beg to offer you the succession to it, for which I have directed the necessary documents to be prepared and forwarded. In doing this, I am influenced by nothing but the persuasion that you are the individual in the diocese most adapted for the due discharge of its difficult and important functions. The archdeaconries are the only ecclesiastical offices which do not go by seniority; and I am most anxious to guard against the supposition, when a vacancy occurs, that the senior chaplain in the list is the most deserving and suitable in the bishop’s judgment.

“I have written to Lord Clare, to announce your appointment. I also enclose a copy of a letter which I have addressed to his lordship, in a way of protest against the table of fees having been published without the bishop’s sanction. Sad, sad has been the unsettling of the diocese since Bishop Middleton! My anxious wish is to be permitted to ‘set in order the things that are lacking,’ and to leave my diocese somewhat more ready for the hand of my successor than it was possible for me to find it.

“Real, spiritual religion — sound, holy, scriptural, full of the Saviour, abounding in the fruits of the Spirit, elevated above all petty quarrelsome points — this is what we must preach and exhibit. And when a firm attachment to our Protestant Established Church is added to this, all is done that we can effect for the discharge of the responsible duties committed to us. I pray God to bless you, and make you a blessing.”

1832-34. INDIA. 247

TO THE ACTING ARCHDEACON OF MADRAS.

“MARCH 1833.

“Allow me to urge upon you a mild and wise forbearance. God will set all things right. You have been hardly dealt with, but there is no present remedy. I would venture to recommend to you, also, not to let small things tease and distress you too much. Keep on broad, strong, essential topics — the vital truths of the gospel, and the primary precepts of morals. We are too feeble to dwell on small matters; time is too precious to be devoted to small matters; and the mind of man is too contracted to embrace at once small matters and great.”

TO THE REV. ARCHDEACON BROUGHTON, NEW SOUTH WALES.

“MARCH 1833.

“I have long been intending to open a correspondence with you, well knowing the impossibility of your hearing soon of my arrival, and anxious to do the only part of my sacred office which it is in my power to execute — the part of friendly advice and consolation.

“I am rather inclined to write at this time, because I have some copies of a sermon which I have just published, which I would beg of you to accept for yourself, and send, with my best compliments, to the clergy and persons of authority in your Archdeaconry.¹

“I need not state to you, dear sir, who are so well versed in all matters of divine knowledge, that the charge and episcopal care imposed upon me exceeds all human power to sustain. A visit to New South Wales or Van Dieman’s Land may, indeed, arise as a refuge prescribed to infirmity or sickness, but can scarcely be contemplated if health is continued.

“But I can wish you ‘good speed in the name of the Lord.’ I can daily pray for you, and the clergy, and flocks committed to your care. I can write occasionally, as I now do, to exhort, and admonish, and animate you to ‘make full proof of your ministry.’

“Let us begin, dear sir, with ourselves, by preaching the apostolical doctrine of salvation by grace, through faith in the sacrifice of the eternal Son of God.

“Let us sustain our doctrines by the gracious temper and carriage of our public and private conduct.

“Let us close the whole by watching over our brethren the clergy in a friendly but faithful spirit.

“From us the tone of Christianity will very much be taken — the standard

248 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

of the gospel fall or rise — the Christian walk and behavior be regulated. What a responsibility! If we mistake the genius of the gospel, if we err by omission or excess, what evils we unconsciously propagate!

“I know of nothing which can preserve us, but —

“1st. Constant vigilance over the life and progress of religion in our own hearts.

“2d. Constant superiority to the fashion and current opinions of the day in which we live.

“3d. Constant and close imitation of the manner of preaching proposed in the Acts of the Apostles for the unconverted, and in the holy Epistles for the pious and devout.

“4th. Constant reference to the lives and spirit of the first Fathers of the Church — Cyprian, Ambrose, Austin, etc.; of the early reformers — Cranmer, Luther, Calvin, etc.; of the leading and most successful missionaries — Swartz, Gericke, Brainerd, H. Martyn, etc.

“5th. Constant prayer to God for the influences of His holy Spirit, which are as essential to life as the air we breathe, and to the refreshment of our souls as the dew which penetrates and fertilizes the ground.

“But I forbear. Allow me your forgiveness for the freedom of my first — and it may well be my last — letter to my archdeacon of New South Wales, whom I ‘do not know after the flesh,’ but whom I ‘long after in the compassion of Jesus Christ.’

“I beg you to remember me to my dear old friend Mr. Marsden, if he is still well.”

¹ It is interesting to trace the effect of the sermon thus presented. The archdeacon says: “The sermon excited a lively sensation here; not only as setting forth a copious and most impressive summary of doctrine, but also as affording (what was exceedingly wanted here) a comprehensive statement of the argument on behalf of the Episcopal form of government, and in support of a national Established Church.” The mode adopted for giving publicity and general circulation to the sermon was as follows: The archdeacon himself was in temporary charge of St. James’, Sydney, and he read from the pulpit the bishop’s sermon instead of his own, dividing it into two portions. The same course was pursued by all the other clergy, “Thus,” the archdeacon says, “the labor bestowed for the edification of those who came within actual hearing of their spiritual father and guide, was made effectual for the instruction and comfort of many who, in a bodily sense, were placed altogether beyond his reach.”

TO THE REV. ELIJAH C. BRIDGMAN, AMERICAN MISSIONARY, CHINA.

“MARCH 1833.

“I should have replied to your kind letter much sooner, had I not been anxious, if possible, to read over the interesting pamphlets accompanying it. I will no longer defer, assuring you of my sincere thanks. Your post of labor is, indeed, most extensive and difficult. But I cannot doubt that the power of our Lord will at length be displayed, and the ‘Celestial Empire,’ as it is impiously called, be penetrated with the light and truth of Christ.

“The labors of Mr. Gutzlaff appear especially promising, as they are bold and daring. Your own country, dear sir, seems also likely to take a large share in the glorious work of illuminating mankind. America is dear to every Englishman; and never will she shine out more splendidly than when from her populous and revived churches she pours the stream of missionaries along the arid deserts of China and Hindustan.

“My object here is the superintendence and oversight of our Episcopal Church, scattered over all the territory subject to the East India Company, according to the primitive platform of discipline. But my heart is, I trust, with all of every church, who in peace and holiness pursue the same great cause. Tell me how in any manner I can best serve you, and you may command me. In the meantime, mutual intercession and prayer to the throne of our divine Redeemer will bring down, assuredly, abundant blessings; and before

1832-34. INDIA. 249

we are aware, perhaps, ‘showers of blessings,’ as the prophet speaks, may fall around the Hill of Zion, and ‘nations be born in a day.’ “

As the mind follows these letters to their several destinations, it is easy to imagine the effect produced by their faithful and animating appeals. But the attention must now be drawn to home scenes, domestic arrangements, and first impressions, as preceding those matters of business which will soon pass before the eye in long procession.

The first impressions made upon the bishop’s own mind are recorded in letters to his children at home.

“NOVEMBER 1832.

“Three weeks have passed since the pilot came on board. I have been perfectly well. The opening sphere is immense and overwhelming. I shall anxiously await the progress of the new India Bill, and take no steps with regard to the other Presidencies till I know the final plans.

“My time till now has been distracted and absorbed beyond conception. All ecclesiastical matters have been falling to pieces from the repeated vacancies of the see, and the novelty of the Bishopric itself. I rise about five every morning, ride on horseback for an hour, then bathe and dress, and have an hour to myself. We breakfast at eight o’clock, have prayers at half-past, tiffin or luncheon at one, dinner at seven, evening prayers at half-past eight, and at nine I am retiring to bed.

“DECEMBER 1832.

“My view of the prospect before me widens every day, if only God grants me grace and strength to occupy the station as it stretches out before me on every hand, and to sustain me under the accompanying trials of every kind, which must arise — or I would lack the testimony of the Cross. I am waiting the next arrivals to receive the Islington presents, and to hear the result about the Suffragan Bishops.¹ Say nothing about me to anyone, except in the way of prayer.

¹ A suffragan bishop is subordinate to a metropolitan or diocesan bishop. His commission expires at the end of the term of the diocesan bishop; he is reappointed or not by the diocesan successor. In 1829, a canon prohibiting suffragan bishops was enacted; in 1832 its repeal was being proposed and debated, which is what Mr. Wilson is referring to.

“JANUARY 1333.

“Never have I had such health for these ten years as I have had since the pilot came on board the *James Sibbald*. We have had a mournful account of the shipwreck of that vessel off Coringa, in the Bay of Bengal, with Mrs. Corrie and her family on board, and an immensely rich cargo. Oh! What additional cause of gratitude to that good Providence which favored us with a beautiful and safe passage!

“The suitableness of the post to my habits, disposition, and practice of business; the delight I have in it; the importance of the opening prospects and apparent blessings, overwhelm my mind.

“Many of our duties are not obvious, prominent, obtrusive, or ostentatious; but they are only the more momentous, because to a great extent, they are secret, interior, matters of influence, requiring wisdom, zeal, and promptitude; that is, they are the mighty range of duties to which the mind of a bishop ought to aspire, and will

250 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

aspire to fill, as the circle opens before him, and his own influence can command the means.

“FEBRUARY 1833.

“With regard to spiritual, moral, ecclesiastical, domestic, and personal matters, all is well. Health excellent, duties delightful; useful openings on all hands; difficulties lessening, love kindling, clergy drawing round. To God our Saviour be all the praise. The ‘hour of temptation’ is not yet come — God sparing our weakness for the present. Come it will, and in various forms. May it not seem a ‘strange thing’ to us! Why should it? But may we rather stoop our necks to the stroke, and our shoulders with meek silence to the Cross.

“MARCH 1833.

“Business thickens upon me immensely and inconceivably. But I delight in it. I am in excellent health and spirits, but must be ever ready, ‘with loins girded and lamp trimmed,’ for at such an hour as I think not, the Son of Man Comes. The hot weather is creeping on, and the temperature rising from 76° to 85°. Believe nothing that you hear about me. A thousand exaggerations on the unfavorable or favorable side will be sent over. Everyone judges according to the face of the pentagonal building which he happens to select. God is the only judge.

“MARCH 1833.

“The impression on my mind, from the glance I have taken of things, is that a most interesting moment is dawning upon India. The native mind is at work. No impediments to instruction are offered by the people themselves. A beginning of things is already made. But all lacks inspection, caution, permanency. The Church of England is peculiarly adapted to be the nurse of the infant churches, as soon as she is firmly seated in India.”

Before the close of the year 1832, the bishop was deeply interested by the marriage of his daughter to his chaplain. He performed the ceremony himself, in the cathedral — Sir Charles Metcalfe, the Vice-President, giving away the bride. A large bridal party was entertained at the palace; and after a short interval, he joined his children at Barrackpore, and took his first peep at the luxuriant vegetation and magnificent scenery of that country which he afterwards traversed far and wide.

The bishop had long resolved that he would not be in India as a “wayfaring man that turns aside to tarry for a night.” It was to be his home from now on; and he determined to surround himself, as far as possible, with home comforts; and to use all the means suggested by experience for preserving life and prolonging usefulness. He had been advised to remain for two years in Calcutta in order to become acclimated, and he acted on this advice. The house in which he lived was provided by the government, but was entirely unfurnished. On each vacancy of the see, the internal fittings fell,

1832-34. INDIA. 251

of course, to the executors, and disappeared. It will be seen later how the recurrence of this serious inconvenience was prevented; but when the bishop arrived in 1832, he found just so many chairs and tables ordered in from the bazaar, as sufficed to make the noble rooms look miserable.

“Why is this?” he asked of Archdeacon Corrie, to whom he had written from England, requesting him to provide such things as were needed, without limit.

“I thought, my lord, that there was enough to last for six months,” was the reply of the archdeacon. He had acted with all simplicity, on the impression produced by past sad experience, and had not allowed the idea that life would be prolonged more than six months. The bishop smiled, but immediately gave the necessary orders, and in due time the palace was completely and handsomely furnished. Nothing was gorgeous, but all was good.

It was the same with his equipages. A large double-bodied close carriage, with Venetians all round the sides to admit the air, and a double roof to exclude the sun, was built for him. This was for Government House, the cathedral, official visits, and all occasions which required exposure during the heat of the day. For the short journey, or the evening drive, a light barouche¹ was found more convenient. The servants were all designated by a simple and appropriate livery common in the East. The “silver sticks,” pertaining to his rank, and left by his predecessors, were put into the hands of his hurkaru² and chobdar,³ and generally used. All the means were provided for entering into society, and reciprocating its courtesies. He accepted invitations, and gave parties. He always reserved to himself the privilege of retiring very early; but while in company, he was cheerful and friendly, and his hearty laugh often ran like electricity around the table. In common conversation he could not be said to excel. He did not have much of the “small coin” which passes as social currency,⁴ and hence the measures, more or less important, with which his mind was full, became the topics of his discourse. The names of the helpers or the hinderers almost necessarily followed; and things were often said which had better have been left unsaid. In all this he was like a man without guile. Out of the fulness of the heart the mouth spoke; and he found, as many do, that repentance was easier than amendment.

A few months after his arrival he rented a most pleasant country house called “The Hive,” at Tittaghur. To this beautiful spot, on the banks of the Hooghly, about thirteen miles from Calcutta, he generally retired for two or three days each week. He was enabled to carry on his correspondence there, and to transact important business,

252 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

free from the incessant interruptions of the city; while the change of air, the flowing river, the perfect quiet, and the lovely scenery, tended to calm his mind and renew his strength.

All these things necessarily involved great expense, and in the first six months of his episcopacy he had expended £4500. This was more than a year’s income; for although fixed by Act of Parliament at £5000, it had been reduced, by some quibble in the rate of exchange, to 42,000 rupees, or about £4200. This expenditure, however, was foreseen and cheerfully borne. To fill with dignity the station to which he had been called; to obtain every alleviation which the climate allowed; to be able to encounter the sun when necessary, without danger; to provide

¹ A horse-drawn carriage having four wheels; has an outside seat for the driver and facing inside seats for two couples and a folding top.

² A running footman; a messenger.

³ A chobdar is an usher; they are a Hindu caste found in the state of Rajasthan in India.

⁴ That is, he was not good at small talk.

means of recreation when duties pressed — all these were as means to an end: they subserved his great object, and were done with forethought and deliberation.

Still, it was soon perceived that Calcutta was like Jerusalem in olden times. There were children sitting in the market-place, and calling one to another, and saying, “We have piped for you, and you have not danced; we have mourned for you, and you have not wept.” Bishop Heber had been blamed for neglecting etiquette; Bishop Wilson was blamed for observing it. Bishop Turner had been censured for keeping no establishment, seeing little society, being little known, and failing, consequently, in acquiring that influence which he often needed in carrying out his wise and practical measures. Bishop Wilson was accused of ostentation, for keeping open house, for using hospitality, and for acquiring in this way valuable friends and extensive influence.

But wisdom is justified of all her children.

His personal habits at this time were very simple and regular. He rose early, and rode on a small black horse brought from the Cape which, for a time, was able to take care both of itself and its master, and by an easy amble gave air without effort. Private devotions were succeeded by family prayers in the chapel which he had fitted up himself. His chaplain, from the reading-desk, read the appointed lesson, and he, from his seat, expounded and prayed. A hearty breakfast of rice, fish, and soojee (a kind of porridge), followed. The morning was then given to business. At mid-day he rested, and generally slept for two hours; and though business went on, he was never disturbed. Refreshed by sleep, he was ready for the afternoon dāk,¹ and for any matters that pressed for decision. The evening ride or drive, and the late dinner followed; family prayers and evening devotions closed the day. Good appetite and sound

1832-34. INDIA. 253

sleep, the two pillars of good health, sustained him during the many years of his Indian course.

He was indefatigable in acquiring information. Every chaplain as he visited the Presidency, each missionary when he called on business, travellers like Dr. Woolff from far countries, all civil and military servants with whom he came in contact, were put under contribution. No pains were spared, no opinion despised, no advice rejected. A visit to Dr. Carey at Serampore elicited many interesting reminiscences of the early Christianity of India. A visit to Russipugla gave reality to the missionary work now carrying on. A friendly conversation with Dr. Duff furnished important information on the subject of native education. All was written down at the time in a MS. book, and preserved for future perusal, enlargement, or correction. He was, in truth, thoroughly a man of business. His heart was in his work. It engrossed even his morning ride and evening drive. When others, weary with a sleepless night or breathless day, sought the early bracing air or cool evening breeze, and felt totally unfit for business, he seemed fit for nothing else, and to like nothing half so well. Join him — and the business of yesterday, the plans of today, the projects for tomorrow, were instantly brought upon the tapis;² and matters discussed already many times, were discussed at full length once more. It was thus he developed his ideas and fixed his purposes. His mind was cleared and made up not so much by thought as by conversation. The repetition caused him no weariness. Business was his recreation and delight.

In this he soon found one like-minded. Immediately after his arrival in India, a courteous greeting was received from Lord William C. Bentinck, the Governor-General, then absent on a tour of the Upper Provinces. It was as follows:

“CAMP ALLYGHUR, NOVEMBER 13, 1833.

¹ That is, the afternoon run, or leg of the journey; the India post system used relays of horses stationed at intervals along a route or network, carrying mail and passengers; each portion of the route between stations was called a dāk.

² *Tapis*: the tapestry cover of a council table.

“Permit me, in a very few words, to express the very great satisfaction that I feel from your safe arrival. I do not congratulate you on your appointment, because I know by my own experience how much of various annoyances you have to endure. But to this great population your coming affords the promise of very great benefit. There is much wanting to be done, and nobody so likely to contribute largely to its accomplishment as yourself. I beg that you will look at me as a sincere friend and zealous coadjutor.

“I shall be in Calcutta, if health permits, the first week in February; and shall be most happy at that time to give you every information which an anxious desire to investigate every part of the working of this great machine has enabled me to acquire.

“Lady William and I very much regret that we were not in Calcutta to receive you.

“May I beg you not to forget (indeed you have too many sad examples to keep

254 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

alive the recollection) that you have come to a most treacherous climate, and that no relaxation of the most constant care can be safely allowed. But with a rigid adherence to caution, I do not believe there is a more livable climate in India, and particularly for persons who are delicate; because, although there is dampness and humidity in the atmosphere of Calcutta that produces constant languor, yet you are saved from those extremes of heat and cold which, in these Upper Provinces, are so injurious to the constitution.

“With my best wishes for your health, happiness, and success, I have, etc.”

On the morning of February 2d, the booming of the guns at Fort William announced the arrival of the Governor-General; on the same evening, without ceremony or any intimation of his purpose, he called upon the bishop. Nothing could be more friendly than his first address. “I was never more pleased in my life,” he said, “than when I heard of your appointment.” “God grant,” observes the bishop, commenting upon these words, “that his lordship may have no cause for regret later.”

The visit was returned on the following morning; a friendly and confidential communication commenced at once. Each morning, when the bishop cantered to the course, he found Lord William on horseback, ready for him. After a short conversation, out would come a little strip of paper which the bishop always carried with him, covered with ten or twenty topics for discussion. Easy matters would soon be settled, difficult ones reserved, doubtful ones dropped. Much business was thus transacted; and, though there were some attendant disadvantages, yet the result, upon the whole, was good; for friction was prevented, matters which appeared distasteful were not pressed, and many things were yielded as a personal favor which would have been refused to an official application.

On ecclesiastical questions there were serious differences of opinion. Both the Supreme Court of Judicature and the Ecclesiastical establishment were stumbling-blocks to Lord William. He considered that “a great mistake had been made in introducing them into India; that the Home Judicial establishment had decidedly done a great deal of harm, and the Home Ecclesiastical establishment had done little good.”

“Lord William called on me,” says the bishop, a month after his arrival, “and we talked for half an hour. I asked for his support for the Church of England. He said that ‘Christianity’ was his object. I said that Christianity must be propagated under some form or other, or all experience proved that it would flicker and go out. I told him that it seemed evident to me that, with a feeble people like the Hindus, there must be creeds, a liturgy, and an established ministry, in order to give Christianity permanency and strength.”

1832-34. INDIA. 255

Again, writing to Mr. Charles Grant, he says:

“Lord and Lady William are a blessing to India. We differ widely about establishments, etc.; but what is that compared to a difference, which might easily occur, about the good of India, the interests of the natives, and the diffusion of Christianity, on which we are strongly agreed.”

And again, later:

“Lord William is rather more of a Whig, and less of a Churchman, than I could desire, but incomparably better than the highest Churchman without piety, vigor, and activity. Lord William reverences religion and its sincere professors and ministers; but he has prejudices against bishops, ecclesiastical establishments, and national churches.”

But the various matters of business which occupied the bishop during these two years of his residence in Calcutta, now demand our attention. They may be advantageously arranged under different heads; and each topic, once touched upon, will be sufficiently discussed, and not resumed again.

The FREE SCHOOL comes first in order. It was a noble institution, where three or four hundred children of both sexes were taught, clothed, fed, and trained for future life. It was founded in the year 1789 by the liberality of the civil and military servants of the Company for the benefit of the East Indian and Portuguese inhabitants of Calcutta. Nearly sixty thousand rupees were raised, and entrusted to a body called the Select Vestry (which will hereafter come prominently into notice), and six elective governors. By the addition of the funds of an old Calcutta charity which had a similar object in view, this amount was largely increased; and in the year 1790, the sum available for the purposes of the Free School exceeded three lacs of rupees, or £30,000. To the income derived from this source, a large amount was added by annual subscriptions and church collections. A grant was also made by government, which gave it a potential voice in all matters connected with the charity.

For a long time, previous to the bishop's arrival, dissension had been brooding among the governing body; but it now broke out into open strife and aroused all Calcutta. It was asserted by a body of reformers (and as stoutly denied by a body of conservatives) that abuses had crept in, and that the children were the sufferers. Issue was taken on this point, and party spirit rose so high, and raged so fiercely, that all nearly came near to a deadlock. Meeting after meeting of the most violent character was held; and soon after

256 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

the bishop's arrival, he was called upon in his official capacity as patron, to interfere and see if any way of escape could be found.

Having obtained that general information which was desirable, he resolved, as a preliminary and healing step, to invite all the governors to a handsome entertainment; and then, when hearts were opened somewhat, he spoke of the scandal which had been caused, and invited free discussion. At the word, all the elements of accusation and recrimination broke loose; and after three hours, the one single point of agreement was only this — that the bishop should be requested to arbitrate in the matter, calling such assessors as he might please to help him.

Having learned that the acceptance of the trust thus committed to him would be very agreeable to the government, he consented to accept it. All the documents and minutes of proceedings for many years past were handed over to him, and carefully perused. In ten days his mind was made up, and his award prepared. It involved a total oblivion of the past, and the framing of a new constitution for the future. In order to facilitate the adoption of this new constitution, the bishop laid down his own office, and recommended all others to do the same. The assessors agreed to his proposal; the Governor-General approved of it; and on March 6th, 1833, the governors were again convened. The reading of the award in their presence excited a great “sensation.” Some praised loudly, some listened silently; but any decision on its merits was reserved to a future day and another meeting. In the interval, discontent continued smouldering; in order to prevent its

breaking out into a flame at the public meeting, the bishop again invited all parties concerned to a private conference. Forty gentlemen of weight and influence, all connected with the institution, responded to his invitation, and assembled at the breakfast-table of the palace. The *coup d'oeil* was not promising. They at once divided into little groups, as the attractive or repulsive influence prevailed. After breakfast there was an outbreak of ill-humor which the bishop himself found it difficult to restrain. The whole labor seemed to have been in vain, and the strength spent for nothing. The party separated, and the public meeting, fixed for the next day, was looked to with considerable apprehension. Happily, it proved to be unfounded. The preliminary discussion had acted like a safety-valve; ill-humor had found vent, and evaporated. All was harmony. Certain persons resigned office; the award was unanimously accepted; the patronage was settled; new governors were elected; and the bishop was cordially thanked "for his kind and conciliating conduct, and successful endeavors to promote peace."

1832-34. INDIA. 257

All this was a subject of grateful praise to the bishop, as every former step had been a subject of fervent prayer. It was a rare if not a singular instance of successful mediation in India, and of peace made without the intervention of government.

The following entry appears in the bishop's private notes, already referred to:

"MARCH 17, 1833.

"Major Benson, Military Secretary to the Governor-General, called yesterday, and told me that my award had given great satisfaction, and would tend to increase the influence of my office. To You, O Lord! be ascribed all the praise that is due for all that you are pleased to work; and set before your servant an open door in India, and may no man shut it."

LENT LECTURES. — Two courses of Lent Lectures had meanwhile been going on at the cathedral, and were continued year by year when the bishop was in Calcutta. One course was preached on Sunday mornings when the subject was the Fall, Corruption, and promised Restoration of Man, as recorded in the book of Genesis; and the other on Friday evenings, when the subject was the Creed. This last was rendered necessary by the overflowings of infidelity at the time. The evil had spread so far that, on the bishop's arrival, a copy of "Paine's Age of Reason" was put into his hands — one of a large edition, printed by some who "professed and called themselves Christians," for the perversion of the educated and inquiring natives. The archdeacon and clergy had been compelled to print "Watson's Apology" as an antidote.² But the bishop's former familiarity with the *Evidences of Christianity* enabled him to meet the evil full front, and the plague was stayed. The congregations on these occasions increased rapidly; and for Calcutta, where everyone is seated in an arm-chair, they became very large. The ancient custom of counting each one present during divine service, was still continued; and thus the increase on Friday evenings from four hundred and thirty-eight to eight hundred and sixty-four during this Lent, becomes a matter of record.

The bishop's private reflections at this time are as follows:

"Humbly would I desire to praise God for His goodness, and to leave this as my testimony to the divine mercy in Christ Jesus. I have never repented for a moment of coming out. I have, on the contrary, found everything to rejoice my heart in my Lord's work. India is my delight and joy.

"Lord, pardon what is of man; accept and bless what is from yourself; direct and strengthen for the time to come.

¹ A quick look, or "at first glance."

² Richard Watson was bishop of Llandaff 1782-1816. In 1796 he refuted Thomas Paine's 'The Age of Reason' in his book 'An Apology for the Bible.'

“O Lord, let me not miss the points which I, in my actual situation, ought to keep in view for your glory, the welfare of the church here, and the salvation

258 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

of India. But prepare me for future usefulness, whenever and under whatever circumstances that usefulness may be granted.

“Sustain your servant, Lord, under the trials, oppositions, disappointments, and various chastisements which must and will arise. ‘Be glorified, O Lord Jesus, in my body, whether it be by life or death.’”

CLERICAL MEETINGS. — One of the earliest acts of the bishop was to establish a series of clerical meetings, which he was accustomed for a time to call “semi-official synods.” He had found the elements of disunion working among the clergy of Calcutta and the neighborhood. He thought that these meetings, held monthly at the palace under his own eye, might have a healthy influence in promoting unity; “not, however,” as he says himself, “unity of opinion in the bond of ignorance, nor unity of profession in the bond of hypocrisy, but the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.”

Hence the following circular letter:

“I request the favor of your company to dinner, on Monday, Jan. 7, 1833, at six o’clock, and on each succeeding first Monday in the month at the same hour. It is my design in the evenings of those days to attempt something of those conferences which the primitive church so much valued, and which give an opportunity, without creating expectation or imposing restraint, for the consideration of incidental matters of doctrine, discipline, or conduct affecting our mutual duties. Such meetings may contribute to the relief of our minds when anxious and depressed, and to the promotion of that heartfelt unity on which the prosperity of our apostolical infant church in India so much depends.

“I propose to begin the synod (if by a misuse of the word it may be so termed) at 7-30, and to close at 9-30. The details will be a matter of further arrangement.”

The monthly meetings, thus commenced, were continued till the bishop’s death. Toward the end, when compelled to abstain from evening engagements, they were held in the morning, and dinner was exchanged for breakfast. The invitation was always prepared by the bishop himself; sometimes he inserted a little reminder or remonstrance when attendance flagged. Some embarrassment occasionally arose from the conflict of opinions; and the matter became somewhat delicate when, in the exercise of jurisdiction, any of the clergy had fallen under the bishop’s censure. But, on the whole, the advantages preponderated over the disadvantages. Personal friendships were strengthened, and asperities¹ softened. The clergy knew each other better, and the movements of the diocese were more clearly understood. Prayer was heard and answered, and the influences of God’s Holy Spirit often abundantly granted. The average attendance was twenty or twenty-five, and the range of subjects for discussion

1832-34. INDIA. 259

were very wide and varied. “Intercessory prayer,” “Early piety,” “Confirmation,” “The public press,” “The marks of God’s presence with a church,” “The missionary spirit,” “The use and abuse of affliction,” — such are specimens of the first topics.

The bishop always opened the discussion himself, preceding it by a statement of measures in progress, or completed, for the welfare of the diocese. When he ceased, each clergyman present was called upon in turn to express his opinion, and thus the question went round till the hour came for adjourning to the chapel. Copious notes of all that passed were taken in shorthand by the bishop; and these still remain, an interesting record of clerical opinions.

¹ Harshness; things hard to endure.

BISHOP'S COLLEGE. — This noble institution attracts the eye of every visitor to Bengal. It stands upon the banks of the Hooghly, at the entrance of Garden Reach, and forcibly recalls home scenes and happy recollections of university life. In 1832, the external buildings were complete, and the internal machinery in motion; but as yet the pupils were few, and the results poor. It was presided over by Dr. Mill, whose high reputation, wonderful memory, and stores of Oriental learning, proved admirable qualifications for the post. Of the two professors, one was soon withdrawn, and the other, after many intervals of failing health, succeeded to the office of Principal, and held it for some years with credit and good success.

The introduction of the college into the ecclesiastical system of India was not unattended with embarrassment. The statutes had appointed the Bishop of Calcutta an ex-officio visitor. All pecuniary matters were supposed to pass under his cognizance, and all bills on the Society at home were drawn by him. A certain responsibility was laid thus upon the bishop, while a certain measure of independence was naturally sought by the college authorities. Difficulties almost necessarily arose. Bishop Turner had been disposed to withdraw from all interference. Archdeacon Corrie, as commissary during the vacancies of the see, had withdrawn. On Bishop Wilson's appointment, the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel had earnestly commended the college to his care; and he had willingly responded, and left England with a firm determination to forget the past, and do all he could to promote the prosperity of the institution for the future. On his arrival, he drew near to the college authorities, and his advances were met with all courtesy. Where firmness was necessary, he was firm, as many a long letter remains to testify; but all was mingled with much personal kindness and respect. On his first visit, he found in one of the turrets, two rooms set apart for the "Visitor," and called by his name, but

260 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

unfurnished and unused. The word was spoken, the proper person sent over, and every convenience at once provided. He did not now need to be a guest of the Principal or professors. His rooms were always ready to receive him. He could go over when he pleased, do business with the bursar, summon the students, occupy his seat at chapel, observe what passed, and express his wishes as they arose. Thus was much vantage-ground simply and easily obtained, while facilities were afforded for frequent and kindly communication. Further details are not now necessary, for Bishop's College will often require mention in the further progress of this narrative.

ORDINATION. — The first ordination was held on the Epiphany after the bishop's arrival, when two deacons were ordained, and seven admitted to priest's orders. Among these were five of the companions of his voyage. All subsequent ordinations were framed on the same model. The whole week was occupied; and during it the candidates were entertained at the palace. Lectures were given each day, at morning prayers, from one of the epistles of Timothy or Titus. These were taken down, and subsequently given in by the candidates. The usual questions and exercises in divinity, and sermon-writing were added. The *viva voce* examination was on Saturday; and the clergy who were to take part in the "laying on of hands," were called to this. The papers were also submitted to them; and when all were satisfied, the candidates were addressed, and welcomed to the respective offices about to be conferred the next day.

On this first occasion, the bishop preached himself, and his sermon was subsequently printed at the request of the clergy. His text was from the words, "To open their eyes, and to turn them from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God."¹ The cathedral was crowded; the congregation seemed deeply impressed; and about a hundred and twenty received the holy Communion. This was the sermon, extracts from which now form a valuable tract on the list of

¹ Acts 26.17.

the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, entitled, "Bishop Wilson's Apostolical Commission considered."

CONFIRMATIONS. — On Tuesday, April 2d, 1832, the bishop held his first confirmation in India. Four hundred and seventy persons appeared in the cathedral, and participated in the sacred rite. Of these, more than one hundred were native Christians. Their numbers excited great astonishment at the time, and no small apprehension

1832-34. INDIA. 261

as to its effect on those that were "without." They clustered round the communion rails, while the Europeans filled the body of the cathedral. The services were read, and the rite administered separately. The many confirmations following this first, seemed always to be attended with a blessing. The bishop's manner was most impressive, and his words were most earnest and affecting. He usually gave two addresses; one was hortatory before the administration, and one was practical after it. He almost always required the full assent of the catechumens to be repeated twice, and sometimes thrice, till the church resounded with the words, "I do." And in the second address he was accustomed to deliver seven rules, which were to be repeated after him at the time, and written in the Bible or the prayer-book afterwards. Subsequently they were expanded and printed; but originally they were short and sententious,¹ as follows:

- "1. Pray every day of your life for more and more of God's Holy Spirit.
- "2. Prepare at once to rightly receive the Holy Sacrament of the body and blood of Christ.
- "3. Read every day some portion of God's Holy Word.
- "4. Reverence and observe the Holy Sabbath.
- "5. Keep in the unity of the Church.
- "6. Avoid bad company, and seek the company of the good.
- "7. When you have wrong [sin], confess it, and get right as soon as you can."

In many a Bible and prayer-book throughout India, these words will be found written; by many a civilian, soldier, East Indian, and native Christian; they have been repeated and treasured up. "Please, sir, will you give us our seven duties," was the constant request to the bishop's chaplain after service. A copy of them was always made, and left behind at every station, for the use of those who had been confirmed. Many interesting, and some curious incidents occurred in connection with them, of which the following are specimens:

On one occasion, when the confirmation was concluded in a large military station, and the bishop was resting for a few minutes in the vestry, a young and noble-looking English soldier hastily entered, and made his military salute. On being questioned, it appeared that he had been a candidate for confirmation, and was duly prepared; but having been on guard, he was too late for the ceremony, and came now to express his sorrow, and see if his case allowed for a remedy. For awhile the bishop doubted; but his interest was roused by hearing the soldier plead previous knowledge, and say that he had been a boy in the Islington parochial schools; that he

262 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

had often been catechized in that church, and that he had heard the bishop's last sermon.

"Kneel down," said the bishop. He knelt, and was confirmed, and admitted to the full communion of the Church Militant on earth.

On another occasion, in the Straits, when the bishop was enumerating these seven duties, and requiring the assent and pledge of the catechumens to observe them, a voice was heard from the midst refusing compliance. An aged man of eccentric character had been confirmed. "No," he said, "he would observe what the rubric required, but would pledge himself to nothing more."

¹ Concise and full of meaning.

No difficulty, of course, was made; and with the surprise, the matter passed away. It was not the time or place to dwell upon “all those things which your godfathers and godmothers then undertook for you.”

NATIVE BAPTISMS. — It will easily be imagined that the bishop felt the deepest interest in the progress of missions and the conversion of the natives; so that whenever it was intimated to him that any of the missionaries had candidates deemed qualified for holy baptism, he was always ready to give the sanction of his presence.

The first native he himself baptized was named Kali Coomar Ghose. He had been first a slave to sin and Satan; then a free-thinking Hindu, believing nothing; then an inquirer after truth; then a close student of the *Evidences of Christianity*; then a regular attendant upon the services at the Old Church, Calcutta; and finally a true convert to the faith of Jesus Christ. On Whitsunday¹ in the year 1833, he was baptized by the bishop in the face of the congregation.

Another case, attended for a time with a different result, occurred a short time after. A young native, named Brijonauth Ghose, had been educated first in the Hindu College, and next in the Church Missionary premises at Mirzapore. He was an intelligent lad, about fifteen years of age. His inquiry into the truth of Christianity was perfectly spontaneous, and led to a full conviction of its truth, and a desire for baptism. His parents and friends had property and influence; and being rigid Hindus, they left no stone unturned to thwart his purpose and avert the consummation which they dreaded. The boy communicated with the well-known Krishna Mohun Banerjea, who was his friend; and on the plea that his life was endangered, he was aided to escape. He fled, and was sheltered for a time in the Church Missionary premises. Every movement, however, was

1832-34. INDIA. 263

watched. He was waylaid and seized; a struggle ensued; and all the parties were taken before the magistrate, who dismissed the case, and freed the lad who now earnestly sought baptism. But, on being applied to, the bishop wished that no shadow of suspicion should remain upon him, and recommended a short delay. In the interim, the father applied to the Supreme Court; and the judges directed his son to be restored. In full court, the father advanced and laid hands upon his son. The lad cried bitterly, appealed to the judges, clung to the barristers' table, and was dragged away by force amidst the shouts of the heathen, and the tears and remonstrances of Christians. The court sat silent, without a word of sympathy for the son or caution to the father. When the case was reported, it raised grave doubts about the propriety, if not the legality, of the decision which had been pronounced. The bishop thus records the circumstance: “A case has occurred in the Supreme Court, which causes me ongoing grief. A young native convert was given back by the judges to his Hindu father, on the ground of his having been unlawfully drawn away, and not being of age.” And again, on Aug. 14th, 1833: “The case of the boy Brijonauth weighs much upon my mind., I really believe that the boy was a free agent; and the *law of deliverance* has been an imprisonment to him, and still is. More of this when we meet.”

It is pleasant to know that after an interval of three years — that is, in July 1836 — this convert, and three others of his own age and standing, were baptized in the Old Church, Calcutta. His principles had never faltered, but the treatment he had received had injured his health, and his powers of body and mind never realized their early promise.

Twelve candidates were soon after presented by the Rev. J. Sandys, the excellent Church Missionary at Mirzapore. The principal convert, a man of some consideration and mature age, was brought to the bishop for examination, and it was an interesting sight to see him sitting at

¹ Seventh Sunday after Easter; it commemorates the emanation of the Holy Spirit to the Apostles at Pentecost.

the feet of his spiritual father, fixing upon him the earnest gaze of his dark, glancing eyes, and answering with seriousness and composure the questions put to him through the missionary:

“He was about thirty years old. He had been a long while thinking about Christianity, because he wanted to get salvation. He knew that Jesus Christ had died, and done everything to get salvation for him. He thought himself a great sinner; and was sure that unless he believed in Jesus Christ, and belonged to Him, he must perish forever. Hell was the place where God’s wrath was endured. Heaven was a very

264 THE LIFE OF DANIEL -WILSON. CHAP. XII.

beautiful, divine, happy place. By becoming a Christian, he wished to testify his faith in Jesus Christ. By believing in Christ, he hoped he should obtain the Holy Spirit, and thus be enabled to serve and please God. He considered baptism to be an open profession of his faith in Christ; and by it he hoped to obtain grace from God. He wished to become a true Christian with all his heart. He placed all his dependence upon the merits of Jesus Christ. He wished to obey every command of God. It was very difficult to oppose his evil inclinations and resist temptation; but he would do it by the help of God. He would give up caste, and everything forbidden in the second commandment. He forsook all idolatry from the bottom of his heart. He would do all he could to win over his relations and friends. Knowing that Christianity required diligence and honesty, chastity and purity, he would endeavor to be honest and industrious; and if he married, would marry a Christian wife.”

Such was his confession. The bishop blessed him, and wished him God-speed; and he, with the other candidates, were baptized in the Church Missionary Chapel.

A visit to the missions of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel followed. These were chiefly in the lowlands to the south of Calcutta, and were then under the charge of the Rev. D. Jones, and his catechist, Mr. Driberg. The whole country was one huge paddy-field, intersected by numberless streams; and upon each spot of rising ground stood a little village. The only approach was by water. Flat-bottomed boats, hollowed from a single tree, and covered with a slight awning, conveyed the bishop and his chaplain, with the authorities of Bishop’s College and the missionaries, to Jangera, the chief station, where a church had been erected. The whole scene was of the most primitive character. As the boats were pushed along the winding nullahs or streams, signs of Christianity, or signs of heathenism, either cheered or depressed the mind.

The little bell of Jangera Church at length struck upon the ear, calling the Christians to assemble; while the beating of the tom-tom in an adjacent temple sounded in harsh contrast, and seemed to breathe defiance. The party alighted, and stood before the little church. The pillars were the unwrought trunks of the palm-tree; the walls were of matting; a verandah ran all round. In this, large numbers of the heathen stood, while a congregation of one hundred and fifty native Christians were assembled within. The candidates for baptism sat apart during divine service which, with the singing also, was in Bengali; and when it was concluded, they were brought forward for examination.

1832-34: INDIA. 265

The bishop asked, through a missionary, and they replied, as follows:

“Who made you?” God.

“Who will judge you at the last day?” Jesus Christ.

“When?” After this life is ended.

“What becomes of souls after death?” They go to God who gave them.

“Will all souls be happy after death?” Not all.

“Who will be happy?” Those who believe in Christ — they will be happy.

“What of the rest?” They will suffer in hell.

The bishop then directed that these things should be repeated to those that were “without;” that they were all true; and formed the first part of what he had to ask.

He then resumed the examination, and questioned the candidates about idolatry, about their state as sinners, about the way of pardon through Jesus Christ, about the Holy Spirit, and about the commandments.

Everything having been answered satisfactorily, they were brought to the font — seven in number — and the bishop baptized them, repeating the words in Bengali, and afterwards in English. The names given were Lucy, Mary, Dorcas, John, Peter, James, and Philip. While the ceremony was being performed, the entire congregation flocked around, and the heathen pressed into the church, several Brahmins being manifested by their “thread.” When quiet was restored, the bishop at once addressed them all from the words of Christ, “I am the light of the world” — each sentence being translated and repeated by the missionary. All listened with the most intense interest; ever and briefly a low murmur was heard of “good, good;” “true, true;” “yes, yes.” All were then dismissed, and the little missionary excursion ended.

These, however, were but the first fruits. Far greater results followed. During these two years of the bishop’s residence in Calcutta, he witnessed the baptism of one hundred and seventy-eight natives; and this number was afterwards largely increased.

PROSELYTISM. — It may easily be imagined that as the number of converts increased in the missions, a spirit of proselytism would arise and prove troublesome, especially in places like Calcutta and the neighborhood, where different religious bodies were mingled together and came into daily contact. Each missionary would naturally seek an increase to his own flock. Converts would be prone to wander from fold to fold. Church questions would arise.

266 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

Discipline would excite discontent. A native disgraced in one place would seek refuge in another. The whole truth would not be told. The missionary would be deceived. Practical difficulties would arise concerning the baptizing and re-baptizing. Misunderstandings would lead to accusations, and accusations to recrimination. As might be imagined, all these things came to pass. The missionaries of both Church Societies complained of interference; and were accused both privately and publicly of interfering themselves. Cases again and again came before the bishop on his first arrival in India, and it gave him great concern. It was difficult to act, because his authority was limited to his own clergy; but he did the best he could to promote peace and check the evil. When it continued to increase, he issued a public document on the subject. This was in the month of December 1841. In this document he stated his difficulties, and suggested certain remedies. The difficulties need not be inserted here; but it may be important to give a degree of permanency to the remedies. They were arranged under seven heads, and are as follows:

“On the -whole, the bishop recommends to the reverend missionaries of our church the following simple rules:

“1. That they should continue to abstain, as they have always done, from encouraging anything like proselytizing native Christians from other Protestant bodies as wrong in itself, sure to encourage hypocrisy and create disturbances, and with no probable benefit. In fact, the missionaries of our church have no right to interfere with the missions of other Protestant Christian bodies, peaceably established in other places in their vicinity, any more — and, indeed, much less — than an incumbent of a parish at home would have a right to go into another parish, in order to ‘banish and drive away’ what he might consider ‘erroneous and strange doctrines;’ instead of confining himself in that, and all other respects, to his appointed and authorized province of duty.

“2. That in the case of native Christians voluntarily and determinately applying to be received into our communion, the missionaries should continue to keep them for so long a time under probation as may suffice for ascertaining their character and motives; and they should make a communication to their former minister or teacher concerning them, before they are finally admitted.

“3. That such converts, if ultimately approved and admitted into our church, should not be put into employment with salaries, at least for many years.

“4. That if any of these converts, however, should in any exempt cases be employed, they should be moved, if possible, to some convenient spot in our own missions, and not be allowed to hold their employments while remaining in the villages of the missions they have left.

“5. That conditional baptism should only be administered where the missionary has reasonable grounds for doubting whether the essential parts of the sacrament have been performed.

1832-34. INDIA. 267

“6. That, in the application of these several rules, the missionaries should act with great prudence and discretion; and if anything likely to disturb the peace of a mission should threaten, they should consult the bishop before any step is taken.

“7. The bishop, lastly, would recommend, as all his Right Reverend predecessors have done, that a spirit of heart-felt charity and peace should govern all our measures in the prosecution of our evangelical labors in this vast heathen country, where there is ample scope for ten times the number of missionaries now in the fields of service, without interfering in the least with one another.”

INFANT SCHOOLS. — Soon after his arrival, the bishop resolved to introduce infant schools into India, thinking them admirably adapted for the development of the native mind and character. The attempt had been made once before, but on a small scale, and with very imperfect implementation. It was now determined to enlist public feeling, and to give the experiment a full and fair trial.

About fifty influential gentlemen were accordingly assembled in the bishop's palace, in the month of June, when they resolved to form a “Calcutta Infant School Society.” An active committee was nominated. The Governor-General consented to become patron. The bishop was appointed president. The judges, members of council, archdeacon, and principal of Bishop's College were vice-presidents; and the bishop's chaplain, secretary. A subscription was immediately commenced, and soon reached five thousand rupees. The bishop was authorized to send for a competent master and mistress from England. Pending their arrival, funds were to accumulate, and premises were to be looked for; but no other steps taken.

The bishop threw himself into the scheme with his accustomed energy, and wrote at once to the Rev. William Wilson, Vicar of Walthamstow, his brother-in-law, and one of the earliest patrons of infant schools, as follows:

“JUNE 18, 1833.

“India is opened to the Infant system. The most magnificent empire ever attached to a European sceptre has become a field for the operations of the moral steam-engine of infant schools. This morning I have held our meeting.

“We look to you and my brother Joseph for the master and mistress — to be chosen with extraordinary care from the best schools — mild, gentle, with a genius for infant teaching; well experienced already; tempers tried, and known not to fail; good sense, humility, sound heart-felt piety; mild adherence to the Church of England; — in a word, missionaries. For we have no worldly offers to make. We want missionaries for teaching native teachers, and propagating the system throughout India.

“The precocity of the native mind, the depth of idolatry and vice in which

268 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

it is sunk; the early habits of lying, cheating, and stealing which are universal, make India the particular scene where the marvels of infant instruction may best be displayed. All agree that no country on earth needs it so much, and that none will welcome it (God helping us) so eagerly as this noble but prostrate land, where Satan revels in his lusts and cruelties, his darkness and his

degradation. Never was such a prospect presented for good; for the character of childhood in England is nothing compared to the gayety, love of noise, quickness, docility, imitative faculties of the natives of this beautiful country.

“But I am done. We give you almost *carte blanche* as to particulars.”

The idea was, that a commencement should be made with the nominally Christian children of the Portuguese and East Indians, and then the result would be exhibited to the natives. If they approved, branch schools might be scattered over Calcutta, under masters trained at the central school. Thus, in process of time, and by the aid of Government, the system might, it was hoped, penetrate the length and breadth of India.

At first, everything fell out as was anticipated. In the year 1834, an admirable master and mistress came out from England, and the first school was opened. Children flocked to it. It answered perfectly; and the time soon came for the exhibition of the system to the native gentry, as applicable to their own children.

A public examination was accordingly announced in the Town Hall, in June 1835. The bishop presided, and many influential natives were present. All were delighted with what they saw, and it was at once resolved to open a second school for native children, in connection, but not fused, with the first, under the management of the same master and mistress. A temporary building was erected, and this second school was commenced in 1836. The success was so rapid and complete, that in four months the children of ages varying from two to seven, were ready for examination. It was held as before, in the Town Hall, and a large audience assembled. No sight could be more interesting. One hundred native infants, clad in the splendid dresses of the East, and decked with the ornaments of the Harem, crowded the platform, and went through all the exercises usually displayed at home. They spoke English fluently, they sang hymns, marched, clapped hands, examined one another, showed wonderful intelligence, and elicited universal admiration. No infant school in England could have surpassed these little bright-eyed, dark-skinned Indians. The experiment was completely sufficient. The European gentry were charmed; and the feeling among the natives, generally, may be judged by an extract from a Bengali newspaper published at the time. Thus spoke the editor of the *Gyananeshun*:

1832-34. INDIA. 269

“On Thursday morning a meeting of the Infant School Society was held in the Town Hall. The Lord Bishop, Sir Edward Ryan, Sir Benjamin Malkin, Sir J. Grant, Lady Ryan, and numerous other friends of education, of both sexes, were present. After the business of the Society had been transacted, the boys of the native Infant School were ushered in. They were about a hundred in number. The postures they put themselves into, at the command of their master, were pretty and amusing. They sang several English songs, and kept clapping the time in good order. They astonished the audience by the expertness with which they answered questions put to them in numeration, addition, the tables of currency in this country, etc. All this was done in English by the Hindu children. The audience seemed to be much gratified at their progress. The Lord Bishop took particular notice of the correctness of their pronunciation, which he highly eulogized.”

It was proved, therefore, beyond all controversy, that the system was adapted to the natives, and likely to be popular with them. But to extend it over India was manifestly beyond the power of a small voluntary society. The expenses already incurred had been very great, and could not be continued. Application, therefore, was made to the “Education Committee” of the government. What had already been done was laid before them, and they were requested to adopt and foster a system so full of promise. The Education Committee received the memorial thus submitted to them; acknowledged, approved, and *forgot it*. Nothing was done for three years.

Meanwhile the native school continued in operation in Calcutta. There was no falling off. The bishop records the facts as follows:

“JANUARY 22, 1839.

“We had an Infant School anniversary this morning — a greater crowd than ever. There were four or five hundred natives to witness one of the most perfect exhibitions ever made. The impression on the audience was enthusiastic. One hundred infants were present. Mr. Pratt (who had very recently arrived) says, the children pronounce English better, and reply more intelligently, than a like school in England would. We are struggling for funds. But I hope we shall get on.”

At the close of this year, 1839, an infant school was formed and connected with the Government College at Hooghly. “This step,” says the bishop, “revives the hope of India being filled before long with this fine moral machinery.” This hope, however, was not realized. The English master, on whom so much depended, was called to a higher office, and eventually employed in missionary work; while his trained successor, Mr. Gomez, moved to Hooghly. As an almost necessary consequence, the Calcutta school dwindled away. No encouragement was given by the government, and no

270 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

grant made. Funds failed. “The bishop was often absent on visitation, and there was no one to replace him. Early friends also retired or died. And thus the spark which had been lit with so much care, and which seemed about to kindle into so bright a flame, went out.

Experience, however, has been gained. The system has been tried, and the successful result recorded. The next age may derive the benefit. If government ever desires to raise all India one step, without friction; if they would wean her from idolatry, without the charge of proselytism; if they would teach English, without trouble; if they would introduce a system of education, without rousing party spirit — they have but to adopt and to apply the Infant School System. The second step would doubtless, in due time, follow; but this might be the first.

STEAM COMMUNICATION. — The contrast presented by the rapid and regular communication now established between England and India, and that which existed in 1832-1834, is very striking. Then, a delay of one hundred and fifty days in the delivery of letters was quite common, and it often extended to one hundred and seventy, eighty, or ninety days. This caused no uneasiness to those whose traditional policy would have kept India and England far apart, or whose home affections had been weakened by long absence. But it was very unfavorable to the development of India’s resources, very injurious to such mercantile operations as required quick returns, and very painful to those whose family ties and home affections were still strong. Among these last the bishop must be classed. Few men felt the separation from home and friends, and the lengthened period required for correspondence, more than he did. It became the constant topic of his conversation, and the burden of every letter. He even fretted under it, though he knew better; for the following entry appears in his notes:

“Three points of abstinence would promote calmness of mind in India: (1) never to look at a thermometer; (2) never to talk about the arrival or non-arrival of ships; (3) never to minutely reckon the weeks and months of residence.”

These are good rules, but never so badly kept as in his case; for never was a letter written without the height of the thermometer being registered; never did a ship arrive without her length of voyage being noted; and on almost every page of this very notebook, the year, month, and day of his lengthening residence are recorded.

1832-34. INDIA. 271

To shorten, then, the long intervals of correspondence, and thus virtually lessen the distance between England and India by the introduction of steam communication, soon became a favorite subject with him; and not from personal motive only, but from a deep conviction that nothing would tend more to the advancement of India, and the prosperity of the church. There

were many like-minded; and they hailed a coadjutor so enthusiastic and influential. The matter had been agitated for some time, and the feasibility of the project loudly asserted; but no permanent steps had been taken, and nothing practically done to prove that India was indeed in earnest. This is what was lacking, and this was what the bishop did. He had signed, with many others, a requisition to the chief magistrate of Calcutta, which resulted in a public meeting on June 14th, 1833; but he was not present. It was presided over by Sir Edward Ryan, the Chief Justice of Bengal. And though resolutions were passed favorable to the scheme, yet no subscription was proposed, and no really practical result followed. Those were troubled times in Calcutta. All the great agency houses were failing one after the other, ruining many, and dashing to the ground the hopes of many more. Confidence was shaken, and any attempt to raise funds being deemed hopeless, the meeting had contented itself with notifying the government.

The bishop was greatly disappointed at this lame conclusion. The next morning, while riding round the course and expressing his regret, Lord William joined him and expressed similar sentiments (though, as Governor-General, with some reserve). Mr. Trevelyan (now Sir Charles) came riding by at this moment. Being stopped, he joined in the conversation. Turning to the bishop, he said, "I wish, my lord — I cannot say how earnestly — that you would come forward, and do something to direct the stream into the right channel again." Lord William silently signified assent. The bishop hesitated for a moment; but then rode home, and wrote the following letter to the chief magistrate.

TO DAVID MACFARLANE, ESQ.

"JUNE 15, 1833.

"When I signed the requisition at your house for the meeting which assembled yesterday on the subject of Steam Navigation, I devoted in my own mind a certain sum in aid of so great a project. It is the greatest of its kind ever presented, as I conceive, to a society separated fourteen thousand miles from their native shores, and which promised, by the application of one of the noblest inventions of modern science, to diminish nearly one-half the time now consumed in the communication between Great Britain and India.

"I promise not to interfere with the resolution of the meeting, which discourages

272 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

any general subscriptions at the present moment. I admire the delicacy of feeling from which that resolution proceeded. I should even yield an implicit obedience to the resolution itself, if I thought that the professedly voluntary contributions of individuals would lead to the expectation of large and burdensome efforts to which the public depression of affairs in this Presidency would be unequal. But I have no such apprehensions. I send you, therefore, my name and those of my family, and of the friends who happen to be my guests. I can only feel, for myself, that subscriptions, however small and inadequate to the full accomplishment of our design, will yet stamp a greater sincerity upon our signatures to the petitions; and they may possibly concur in inducing the government, both here and at home, to take up the project, when we are found incapable of pushing it further, and to incorporate it with the national institutions."

This letter, when made public, produced an instantaneous revulsion, and roused all India. The arguments prevailed; the example set was followed; and in one week thirty-three thousand rupees were subscribed by one hundred and seventy European and native gentry.

A public meeting was held in the Town Hall, over which the bishop was called to preside. In his opening address, energy and decision were tempered by prudence and common sense. He confessed himself an enthusiast in the cause, and said that if a man of that description was not wanted, he would leave the chair; but he was old enough, he added, to know that it was essential to go to work in an orderly way, and to check too much warmth of feeling, for the difficulties to be encountered were as great as the end was glorious.

His remarks were received with unbounded applause; and when the meeting proceeded to business, all was regularity and harmony. An efficient committee was nominated; funds from all parts of India, and from all sorts and conditions of men, continued to flow in; and in a short time the subscribers numbered two thousand five hundred and forty; the subscriptions amounted to one hundred and sixty-seven thousand rupees. Such success sometimes attends the timely and energetic action of one man.

Referring to this meeting, the bishop says:

“On Saturday last, the meeting of the subscribers to the Steam Navigation met at the Town Hall, when being called to the chair, I was able to preserve order, and aid in forming a most efficient committee. I hope I am not wrong as bishop, in thus taking the lead in a scheme of benevolence and charity of so immense an extent, and of which the bearing on religion will be so considerable; but I am aware great caution is required. I look on it as an imitation of

1832-34. INDIA. 273

those benevolent acts which our Lord mingled with his doctrine, as a source of legitimate influence upon his audiences, and as preparatory to his divine instructions.”

It is not necessary here to trace in detail the steps which followed this meeting, and led, after years of struggle and frequent disappointments, to the desired result. There were many helpers — men of energy, skill, patience, prudence, and judgment; and many hinderers — men of theory, fancy, temper, impulse, indecision. All had to be kept in harmony and working order; and this fell mainly to the bishop. He watched over everything; he kept the peace, he furnished the breakfasts, he communicated with the government, he corresponded incessantly with Lord Clare, at Bombay, and Sir Frederic Adam, at Madras; he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, and every influential leader of the church at home, and no less than thirteen long letters on this subject alone were addressed to Charles Grant, the President of the Board of Control.

An extract from one of these must be here inserted, or it will be impossible to understand how much his heart was interested and his tongue unloosed:

“JULY 22, 1833.

“To have a certain post starting on a given day, arriving at a given day, returning at a given day, and that day one-half earlier than the average arrivals now, would be as life from the dead. Positively it would make India almost a suburb of London; it would draw the whole human family together. Extending my reflections to the arts, sciences, commerce, legislation, international policy, humanity, religion, it seems to me to open a new world, and to throw up a highway across the mighty deep for man to pass to man. It may be considered further that inventions in the arts have been subservient to the purposes of Providence in every age. What an invention the mariner’s compass! What an invention the art of printing! By these two discoveries the world became accessible to knowledge and improvement. The Reformation sprang from their bosom.

“And is steam a less wonderful discovery? I should conceive that when this invention is fully developed and applied to the art of navigation, its effects will be more beneficial than any preceding discovery. Your knowledge, my dear friend, as a statesman, a political economist, a philanthropist, a legislator, will supply, though no imagination can fully reach, the amplitude and accumulation of benefits which would pour in, if this opening once were made.

“The time for beginning this scheme is now favorable, because subscriptions have begun at the three Presidencies which amount already to one hundred and twenty thousand rupees, and which will increase to almost any sum if encouraged by a prospect of the aid of government. By all these efforts however, of a private nature, nothing permanent can be effected. The difficulties and pecuniary sufferings here, from the failure of all the great agency houses, have impoverished everyone. If we raise two lacs (£20,000); it is probably the outside

274 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

of what we shall effect; and what is this for the purchase of steam vessels, for their working, and the permanent establishment of the design? Many here, accordingly, struck with despair, proposed merely to petition government, and not to attempt a private subscription. Lord William disapproved of this heartless conduct. I came forward for the interests of humanity, put down my subscription, and led the way to the efforts which have been made here. If we can obtain one vessel to go between Bombay and Suez, and maintain her for one year, it is as much, and indeed more than our means are likely to compass. But this will be the starting of the plan. Four voyages in a year, known beforehand, so that friends may write by them, would give a taste of the communication.

“What we want you to do, my dear friend, is to obtain from the Admiralty the extension of the Mediterranean steam-post from Malta to Alexandria, during our first year; and then afterwards to establish the vessels from Bombay to Suez, four, six, or eight times a year, as you may judge best.

“Now is the time for action. The impulse given to all improvements in agriculture, in commerce, in knowledge of the arts, in freedom, by the admirable government of Lord William Bentinck, requires as a correspondent means of progress, the Steam Communication. The name of that statesman will be immortalized of whom future ages shall say — ‘He first seized the prodigious idea of allying England and India. He saw through the miserable objections of a parsimonious selfishness. He ventured everything to give India the means of rapid and certain communication with the sources of literature, humanity, and religion in Europe, he annihilated distance. He made England the metropolis of the world.’”

It is impossible to say what effect such appeals, constantly reiterated, may have produced upon the mind of the Minister for India. It suffices to know that he introduced the whole question of steam communication into the House of Commons on June 3d, 1834, in an admirable speech, and that the committee appointed under his auspices to consider the question, passed a capital series of resolutions for carrying out the project. This delighted the bishop; and it was an addition to his gratification to find that many of the topics he had suggested were handled in Charles Grant’s masterly way, and many of the expressions he had made use of, quoted.

When he was on board the Hattrass pilot vessel in October 1835, bound for Bombay, the Forbes steamer which had been lent by the Government to the Steam Committee, passed him at the Sandheads, on her first experimental voyage. As she steamed by, rolling heavily with the burden of her coals, she saluted the bishop, and received his hearty greeting and earnest good wishes. Those good wishes were scarcely realized on this occasion; but she proved indeed the precursor of those splendid Oriental steamers which now bridge the way between England and India, softening the necessary

1832-34. INDIA. 275

pains of absence, and ensuring, if necessary, earnest sympathy and powerful succor.

In accomplishing these great results, the bishop did his part. His touch went far to remove the *vis-inertiae*¹ which then prevailed, and to set all this noble machinery at work.

THE BEGUM SUMROO’S FUND. — On Nov. 15th, 1833, when the bishop opened his letters, he found one, containing enclosures which seemed to give him the greatest joy. He waved two long, thin strips of paper above his head, and challenged inquiry as to their significance. They proved to be bank-bills — one for a lac of rupees,² and the other for half a lac, sent down from the Begum Sumroo³ as a gift for the church and the poor.

¹ The force of inertia (Newton’s Law) — here, it means the tendency of a body at rest to remain at rest.

² A lac of rupees was roughly £10,000 at the time.

³ Begum Joanna Nobilis Sombre (ca 1753-1836), popularly known as Begum Samru. She started her career as a dancing girl and eventually became ruler of Sardhana, a small principality near Meerut. She played a key role in the political power struggle in 18th and 19th century India. She was head of a mercenary army, inherited from her

The Begum Sumroo held an independent jaghire,¹ near Meerut, in the Upper Provinces. Celebrated alike for her beauty and talents, she had risen from a simple nautch girl,² to be a native princess. In early life her character had been bad; in maturity it was tinged with harshness and cruelty; in extreme age it was benevolent and quiet, though capricious. She was a Roman Catholic. Her revenue exceeded £120,000 per annum, half of which she saved. Her court and palace were at Sirdhana; she maintained three thousand troops; kept an establishment of seven hundred female attendants; frequented the Roman Catholic church every Sunday; wore a turban; smoked a hookah;³ was small of stature, fond of show, imperious in manner, and ranked among the notables of India. At her death in 1836, when she was eighty-seven years of age, her estates lapsed to the East India Company; but her immense savings were bequeathed to Mr. Dyce Sombre, the son of her adoption, who was afterwards too well known in England.

Her motive in making the bishop the almoner⁴ of her charity did not very clearly appear. She had intimated her intention soon after his arrival, and some correspondence followed on the subject, through the medium of a Colonel Dyce.

The bishop's opinion on the subject having been asked, he wrote to her as follows:

“CALCUTTA, AUG. 7, 1833.

*“To Her Highness the Begum Sumroo,
the Lord Bishop of Calcutta wishes all peace and benediction.*

“May it please your Highness:

“I have received from Colonel Dyce the information that your Highness intended to bestow the noble gift of one hundred thousand rupees on the Protestant Church in Calcutta, and fifty thousand rupees on the poor — especially deserving debtors. Colonel Dyce was good enough to say that as soon as your

276 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

Highness could be assured that your intentions would be faithfully fulfilled, and proper deeds sent down to you, you would order the money to be paid.

“First, permit me to applaud and admire the benevolent and Christian intention of your Highness, and thank you from the bottom of my heart, and in the name of Christ my Lord.

“Next, permit me to assure your Highness in the most solemn manner, that the Venerable Archdeacon Corrie and myself, and our successors in our sacred office, will labor to our utmost to fulfill your designs in doing good to the church and to the poor.

“In the next place, I beg to inform you that I have been consulting with my lawyer in what manner the deeds could best be drawn, and the particular terms selected, so as to prevent the money being wasted later in litigation and dispute. After much consultation I conceive your Highness' intention of benefiting the church under my governance in India, would be best promoted if I employed the interest of the one hundred thousand rupees for providing fit persons to be set apart as ministers and teachers, and to be maintained and supported in their pious labors of reading prayers to the people, explaining the gospel, teaching children, visiting and comforting the sick and dying, and being the friends and advisers of those in affliction.

European husband, Walter Sombre. She was considered the only Catholic Ruler in India. Her estate was valued at 18 billion Deutsch marks in 1953. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Begum_Samru

¹ The assignment of the revenues of an Indian district to a person or body of people, or the district itself.

² That is, a dancing girl.

³ Hookah: an oriental tobacco pipe with a long flexible tube connected to a container where the smoke is cooled by passing through water.

⁴ *Almoner*: someone who distributes alms (charitable contributions); i.e. a trustee of those charitable funds.

“If your Highness should approve of this, it is recommended to be inserted in the deeds, so that no doubt may arise later from general terms being used.

“With regard to the fifty thousand rupees for the poor and the debtors, it is thought that those words are specific and definite in themselves.

“I am sorry to give you the trouble of reading this long letter, but my reverence for your charitable designs, and my desire to do everything that is agreeable to you in fulfilling them, lead me to do so.

“May the blessing of Almighty God rest upon your Highness in return for your kindness to His Church and to His poor. May you have all the grace and consolations of that religion of Christ which you assist me in diffusing. May you have long health, and every comfort upon earth, and then receive the crown of glory which does not fade away.”

The Begum was very old — the business lingered — there were many fears in the way. Hence the bishop’s joy at the safe arrival of the money — a joy which no mere personal advantage could have roused.

In due time it was invested so as to yield an income of £380 to the church, and £190 to the poor.

This gift was followed by a second, from the same source, for His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. It amounted to fifty thousand rupees, and was transmitted to England through the bishop. His Grace directed the money to be invested, and the annual proceeds to be applied to Indian objects through the instrumentality of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

THE NEW CHARTER. — In the month of October 1833, intelligence

1832-34. INDIA. 277

reached India of the introduction into Parliament of the bill for the renewal of the East India Company’s charter.

“After hearing and reading twice over every word of your speech,” says the bishop in a letter to Mr. Charles Grant, dated Oct. 8th, “I hurried down to Government House to enjoy the treat of a thorough chat with Lord William Bentinck. He was good enough to go over with me all the heads of your speech, point by point. His lordship most highly approves of it, and thinks a platform of future improvement is laid, of which succeeding generations will avail themselves. Both he and Sir Charles Metcalfe speak with less certainty about the framework of the East India Company being retained than of the rest.”

This bill empowered his majesty to divide the diocese, to erect Calcutta into a metropolitan see, and to appoint two suffragan bishops for Madras and Bombay.

As it respected his own individual share in this measure, the following remarks appear in his private notes:

“I have conversed with the Governor-General, and assured him how anxiously I would endeavor to discharge the awful duties to be imposed upon me. He was pleased to say that it was a great blessing to India that I had such powers assigned me. Oh that it may prove so! I would desire to feel overwhelmed with the divine goodness, mercy, and grace; with the responsibilities which may fall upon me; with the perfect conviction of my feebleness, unfitness, and impotency; with a recollection of the uncertainty of life and health; with a sense of the difficulty of uniting many minds and judgments in common measures of good; and yet with faith in that ‘excellency of the power’ of God, which can work his wondrous purposes by the most feeble instruments.”

But, on the general measure itself, his tone was very different. This may be gathered from a very interesting and important letter to an old friend:

“OCTOBER 22, 1833.

“How can I tell you my joy at the prospect of the suffragan bishops! How I worked that plan before I left England in June 1832! The president, the chairman, the archbishop, the Bishop of

London, the Secretary of the Board — all were assailed and urged by me in turns. The two Mr. Grants at first thought the whole plan impracticable, but ended (after three months' incessant drives, and comparisons of plans, and references, and delays) in the arrangement of a bill, drawn by Mr. Groom, the solicitor of the board. Well do I remember Mr. Simeon saying, that if I had been made Bishop of Calcutta merely to carry that measure, and was never to reach India, I should have done a great work. My disappointment, of course, was more keen when Dr. Dealtry sent me word last August that it had been found impracticable to bring in the bill that session; for on Saturday, June 16th, when I dined at Mr. C. Grant's, the first thing Earl Grey had said upon my being introduced to him,

278 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

was, that he highly approved of the measure as circulated by Mr. Grant, and thought it very reasonable. I then went up to the Bishop of London, and with joy brought him to the Prime Minister, when he confirmed what he had said before. This took me to Mr. Grant and to the chairman to express my gratitude and delight. I conceived, in fact, that the thing was carried, and so it was; for now it is inserted in the charter speech — not as a matter of debate, but as previously arranged; and probably the very bill drawn and ready in June 1832 will be passed now. And how greatly is my joy and gratitude to Providence enhanced by the very delay and disappointment! Mr. Grant's speech came upon me as a thunder-stroke. I wrote off instantly a long letter under the first impulse of joy. I have now heard from Dr. Dealtry (June 23), to know my wishes as to the men. I have proposed Archdeacon Corrie for Madras, Archdeacon Robinson for Bombay, and Archdeacon Carr, now of Bombay, to be, by my appointment, Archdeacon of Calcutta instead of Corrie.

“I am advising Corrie to proceed to England instantly for consecration; and I propose to meet him on his return at Madras, and consecrate Robinson (if we are permitted).

“My soul swells with thanksgivings and praise to God for this vast mercy, not as it respects my episcopate, but the permanent good of India. But I fear even to write to you of these feelings, lest I should grieve the Holy Comforter. For Satan's grand assault upon my mind since March 27th, 1832, is elation, joy, *natural* spirits, eager pursuit of a great *object*, a soul panting to stretch *itself* to the length and breadth of my vast diocese.”

The bill passed Parliament August 21st, 1833, and reached India at the close of the year. Considerable delay occurred in carrying out its provisions; for the expenditure sanctioned for the whole ecclesiastical establishment was limited, and the Archdeaconry of Bombay being filled up, as we have seen, the funds did not at once allow the appointment of both bishops. Eventually, however, all came round. Archdeacon Corrie — one of those men whose praise is in all the churches, and whom the bishop deemed, for his meekness and gentleness of spirit, more like his Divine Master than anyone he had ever known — was recalled from the visitation on which he had been engaged. The proper allowances had now been obtained for the first time; and so he was sent to England. He returned in 1835, Bishop of Madras. The Archdeacon of Madras retired on his pension. Archdeacon Carr was summoned home in 1837, and returned as Bishop of Bombay.

All the dioceses were then filled, and the new machinery began to work. It formed a precedent of vast importance for a spreading church, and that precedent has been followed both in Australia and in Africa. They also now have their metropolitans and suffragans; and if ever, in the providence of God, these great dependencies are separated from the parent stock, their church will still retain within itself the

1832-34. INDIA. 279

power of reproduction and indefinite expansion — it will still be enabled to put forth great branches, and bear fruit for the healing of the nations.

CHURCH-BUILDING FUND FOR INDIA. — The origin of this fund was singular, and serves to show that the day of small things should never be despised.

In March 1820, a periodical, entitled *Missionary Intelligence*, was commenced in Calcutta, for the purpose expressed in its title. In June 1829, the plan was enlarged; and now it was called *The Christian Intelligencer*. Daniel Corrie was the editor, and continued to be so for many years. When in July 1833, he left Calcutta on his visitation to the Upper Provinces as archdeacon, he transferred the sole charge of this periodical to the bishop's chaplain, the author of the present work;¹ and it was carried on by him till September in the following year.

During this period, it was enriched by many contributions from the bishop. Interesting extracts from his English letters were readily furnished, and ecclesiastical information, from all parts of India, was of course available. As death struck down one and another who had been his valued friends at home, the bishop took pleasure in recalling their excellences, and recording his recollections of them; these were inserted in *The Christian Intelligencer*. Thus, in January 1834, appeared "Recollections of William Wilberforce;" in March 1834, "Recollections of Hannah More;" in May 1835, "Recollections of the Rev. John Scott, of Hull;" in August 1836, "Recollections of Dr. Ryder, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry;" in September 1836, "Recollections of the Rev. Isaac Crouch;" in June 1837, "Recollections of the Rev. Charles Simeon." All these were very graphic and interesting papers, and most of them have been referred to in the memoirs of those eminent persons.

These details have a bearing upon the subject; for, early in the year 1834, among other anonymous letters addressed to the editor of *The Christian Intelligencer*, one appeared that was signed "Delta" (who it subsequently appeared, was Mr. Wale Byrn, a young East Indian of piety and respectability). It lamented the lack of churches in India, and suggested a remedy. That remedy was very simple. It involved (1) A fund for the erection of churches, voluntarily, throughout all India. (2) A monthly subscription of neither more nor less than one rupee. (3) This subscription to be collected by the chaplain at each station, or by friends under his guidance. (4) The management of the whole to be vested in the bishop, archdeacon, and Presidency chaplains. The statistics of the letter were

280 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

wrong, but that did not affect the principle. The idea was new in India, and it might be successful; but there were grave doubts on the other side. A momentary hesitation followed; should the letter appear, or should it be dropped into the receptacle for rejected addresses? The balance hung for a time, and then inclined to the favorable side. The attempt should be made; and if made, it should be earnestly. The matter was accordingly submitted to the bishop; and the plan, meeting with his approval, was inserted in the *Intelligencer* with a strong recommendation, and a small list of names obtained at the palace, representing every class in India. At the head of the list appeared the anonymous proposer; then followed the nameless editor, then the bishop, the archdeacon, the married and the single lady, the civil, military, medical, and uncovenanted servant; — each gave his name and one rupee as his monthly subscription. The plan was thus fairly launched, and the names gave such official sanction to it as was desirable. Nothing was necessary but for each branch of the service to follow the example set. The response was immediate, and far surpassed all expectations. Before the next number of the *Intelligencer* for June appeared, there were three hundred and fifty subscribers. In July, these were increased to seven hundred and thirty-seven; in August, to nine hundred and forty-nine. Many suggestions, of course, were made; but the only one listened to was that which, under certain circumstances, allowed donations. Thus, the bishop wrote as follows to Sir Charles Metcalfe: "I enclose a scheme for building churches by the accumulation of subscriptions of one rupee only *per mensem*."² And when Sir Charles, in answer, sent a donation of one thousand

¹ That is, Josiah Bateman, Bishop Wilson's nephew.

² That is, per month.

rupees, it was not considered necessary to decline it. The same result, in a smaller way, followed in other cases; for Lady William Bentinck sent one hundred rupees, and the Hon. Mr. Blunt another hundred. These were all accepted, and placed in a separate fund, as aiding, and not interfering with the subscription of one rupee.

At the end of about four months, there being nearly two thousand rupees in hand, and a list of nearly one thousand subscribers, success was sufficiently certain to authorize calling together the official persons nominated as trustees. It was done accordingly. The bishop, archdeacon, and two Presidency chaplains, met at the palace and accepted the trust; and the editor of the *Intelligencer*, resigning all further responsibility, was appointed first secretary. Certain fundamental rules were then agreed upon, which have required but little alteration since. The fund has been extensively useful, and continues to this day. A short extract from the published

1832-34. INDIA. 281

report of the year 1857, will be satisfactory on this point. It is as follows:

“There are now one hundred and twenty churches in this diocese (Calcutta), including those in the course of erection; and to sixty-six of these, this ‘One-Rupee-Subscription Fund’ has contributed (since its commencement in 1834) sums amounting to eighty-one thousand seven hundred and thirty-eight rupees.”

But, more than this; the same report gives an extract from the proceedings of the Governor-General in Council in the financial department, dated May 26th, 1854, from which it appears that a Mr. Mackenzie had died and bequeathed £8000 for the erection, repair, or endowment of churches in India. One half of this, or £4000, was invested, and placed at the disposal of the church-building trustees, being the whole amount allotted to the Bengal Presidency. The precedent thus set may be largely followed, and untold blessings may result to India. In no part of the world are houses of God more necessary; for in no part of the world is there more danger of forgetting and dishonoring Him. The barrack,¹ the cutcherry,² or the ball-room, are not fit places to worship God; and yet, in times past, there was often no alternative for those who would not “forsake the assembling of themselves together.” The injurious effect on the mind is so well described by one of India’s heroes, who “being dead, yet speaks,” that a few of his words may well be quoted in this place. Major Hodson, who fell at Lucknow, writes thus in 1850:

“Our Gothic buildings, our religious-looking churches, have I am sure, a more restraining and pacifying influence than is generally believed by those who are habituated to them, and have never felt the lack of them. A few cathedrals and venerable looking edifices would do wonders in our colonies. Here (in the Punjaub) we have nothing physical to remind us of any creed but Islamism and Hinduism. The comparative purity of the Moslem’s creed is shown admirably in the superiority of taste and form of their places of prayer. Christianity alone is thrust out of sight. A barrack-room, a ball-room, perhaps a court of justice, serve the purpose for which the ‘wisdom and piety of our ancestors’ constructed such noble and stately temples, feeling justly that the human mind, in its weakness, required to be called to the exercise of devotion by the senses, as well as by the reason and will; that separation from the ordinary scenes of every-day life — its cares, its toils, its amusements — is necessary to train the feelings and thoughts to that state in which religious impressions are conveyed. I have not seen a church for three years and more, nor heard the service of the church read, except at intervals, in a room in which perhaps, the night before, I had been crushed by a great dinner-party, or worn out by the bustle and turmoil of suitors. The building in

282 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

¹ Military housing.

² *Cutcherry*: in India, a public administrative or judicial office.

which one toils becomes intimately associated with the toil itself. That in which one prays should at least have some attribute to remind one of prayer.”¹

The church-building fund for India has done its part to wipe away this reproach; and one great advantage it possesses is this — that if at any time the public interest flags, and the “fund” sinks down, it is capable of instant revival by an earnest bishop and active secretary. He who, in the providence of God, has taken up the pastoral staff which dropped from his aged predecessor’s hands, and now presides worthily over the Indian Church, has already spoken an earnest word on this behalf, and has doubtless met with a ready response.

MARRIAGE AND DIVORCE AMONG NATIVE CHRISTIANS. — The whole law of marriage in India was in a very vague and unsatisfactory state in the bishop’s time, and encroachments were ventured on which involved serious risk and responsibility. Again and again the bishop brought the matter before the government, and again and again was he requested to suggest a remedy and prepare a Marriage Act, which might be sent home and passed through Parliament. The bishop worked accordingly, the government doubted; he altered, they approved. It cost him infinite trouble, and after all that, it led to no result. It is needless to enter on the question now, as respects British subjects at least, because it has been set at rest by the 13th and 14th Vict. c. 40.² But as respects native Christians, both marriage and divorce are open questions, full of embarrassment, and complicated by polygamy and heathen courts. This will be evident to the reader, if he ponders the following cases of conscience: they are a few among many.

1. A Hindu becomes a Christian and is baptized. He has several wives. Shall he retain all, or put away all but one?
2. If he retains but one, according to the Christian rule, which shall it be? — the one he loves the most, or the one he married first?
3. If the first married has an equitable and natural right, but is unwilling to remain, may he choose either of the others, who *are* willing?
4. If the one first married has no children, and the one last married has several, must he cleave to his childless wife, and dismiss the mother of his children?
5. In such a case, to whom do the children belong, if both parents claim them?
They are heathen by birth; are they to remain so, or be brought up Christians?

1832-34. INDIA. 283

6. If, the first one married remains a heathen, and the one last married is baptized with her husband, must he retain the heathen and dismiss the Christian?
7. A Hindu boy and girl are betrothed. The one becomes a Christian before marriage; the other remains a heathen. Are they bound to each other, or free to choose?
8. If both the betrothed become Christians before marriage, are they also bound, or free?
9. A Hindu becomes a Christian and is baptized. All his heathen wives leave him at once and forever. Is he at liberty to marry again?
10. His wives who have left him live in open and avowed adultery with other men. May he apply to the heathen courts to be divorced, and then marry again?

¹ “Twelve Tears of a Soldier’s Life in India,” p. 202.

² *The Marriages, India Act of 1851*. It was the 40th Act passed during the session of Parliament started in the 13th year of Queen Victoria’s reign, and which finished in the 14th year of her reign.

Such questions were arising continually, and they caused great perplexity — not only in themselves, but because a decision given on Christian grounds might be set aside or reversed on legal grounds. Great differences of opinion also prevailed. A number of missionaries of different religious denominations, having come together to consider the matter, resolved among other things that if a Hindu having many wives became a Christian, it was proper that he should retain them all. A copy of this resolution was sent to the bishop through the medium of a committee which, in making its report, said that the bishop “pronounced no decided opinion, but promised to give the matter his best consideration.” The meaning of this was clear enough. The bishop did not approve of the course which they had pursued, nor of the conclusion which they had arrived at; but he did not choose to speak authoritatively where he had no authority. His purpose and plan, generally speaking, was to rule each case on its own merits, and by Christian principles, thus gradually forming precedents for uniform action. The episcopal sanction required for adult baptism enabled him to do this in the case of all the church missionaries.

A few cases occurred which he did decide. He decided that the Christian man must be the husband of one wife only, and that wife the first married. Thus he wrote to the native Christians in the south of India, in 1834:

“In nothing does true religion more directly benefit society than in the institution of Christian marriage. One man united in holy matrimony with one wife, the bond being indissoluble except for the cause of fornication, is our

284 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WU.SON. CHAP. XII.

Saviour’s blessed rule for domestic purity. The cases of adult married persons, where only one of the parties is converted, are most difficult. A man with two wives, if he becomes a Christian, must put one — the last whom he espoused — away, and live chastely with the first wife who is, in truth, his only one in the eye of God. Even if the second wife is willing to become a Christian, the above rule of natural equity is not therefore altered. If the heathen partner, as the apostle says, decides to go, let her go; but let the Christian live without desiring a second marriage during the life of the absent partner. No case, I think, can be found in the New Testament of two wives being allowed unless the absent party has been duly separated and divorced by reason of unfaithfulness, before a competent tribunal.”

He also decided that if two natives had been cohabiting, and now sought instruction in Christianity, they must be married before they could be received.

And also that if a child betrothed in infancy became a Christian, and the party to whom she had been betrothed was willing to give a legal bill of divorcement before they came together, she was at liberty to marry any other man.

THE RELATION OF THE CHAPLAINS TO THE GOVERNMENT AND BISHOP. — This question concludes the long series of duties which occupied the bishop during the two years of his residence at Calcutta. The agitation of it caused him more anxiety than all the rest, and brought him almost into collision with the government.

The somewhat anomalous position of the East-Indian chaplain has been already touched on. It is best described by negatives. They are not incumbents, curates, or military chaplains.

Bishop Middleton’s words were:

“The chaplaincies in this country are not benefices in the strictest sense; hut neither are they curacies in which the curate is responsible to the incumbent; nor are they military chaplaincies, I conceive, otherwise than as military persons, in many instances, constitute the chief part of the congregation.”¹

This view has been confirmed frequently by the Court of Directors; as when in 1844 they say:

¹ That is, if the majority of a congregation consists of military personnel, it does not make it a “military congregation.”

“We have repeatedly stated that our chaplains are not incumbents of parishes or districts like those in England, and that consequently they do not possess the peculiar rights and privileges of that class. They resemble military and naval chaplains who are unbeneficed clergymen, liable to be moved from place to place at the discretion of the government.”

Adding, in a dispatch of 1846:

1832-34. INDIA. 285

“In order to avoid any misunderstanding for the future, we think it right to declare that our chaplains are not military chaplains.”

On their first appointment, before the erection of the see, they were required to enter into covenant, “to discharge the duties of their office,” and to submit to such regulations of the local governments “as now or hereafter may be in force, and which shall be applicable;” and which ought to be “obeyed, observed, and conformed to.”

This covenant agreement was not altered when, by Act of Parliament, Calcutta was erected into a see, and full power was given to the bishop to exercise “all manner of jurisdiction, spiritual and ecclesiastical,” throughout his diocese; to visit “all ministers and chaplains, all priests and deacons in holy orders, with all and all manner of jurisdiction, power, and coercion ecclesiastical;” and to establish an ecclesiastical court, etc.

The chaplain came out, therefore, not only to fill an anomalous position, but also to obey authorities which might very easily prove contradictory and conflicting.

All this afforded matter for serious thought, and it was often discussed by the governor-general and bishop during their morning rides. At length, on March 29th, 1833, the bishop received an official letter from the government, asking him to define the duties of chaplains at military stations, and to give his opinion as to the degree of authority proper to be exercised by commanding officers at Kuch stations. This involved the whole question; and he replied on April 11th in a letter of great importance, but too long for insertion here. He showed that, since the erection of the see, and the transfer of all jurisdiction over the clergy to the bishop, the authority of commanding officers over them had entirely ceased. He referred to several cases in which this had been already clearly recognized by government; and he intimated his intention of speedily issuing a series of “directions” to the clergy, bearing upon the performance of their official and spiritual duties. Acting under these directions, the reverend chaplains would fix the periods for performing divine service when change was necessary; they would attend the hospitals, inspect the regimental schools, and make periodical reports to the Diocesan; and they would visit their out-stations at certain times appointed by him. Of all these matters, however, commanding officers were to be kept informed; and nothing was to be done affecting the health of the troops, the exigencies of military duty, or the convenience of the station, without their cognizance. If they disapproved of any arrangement that was proposed, their remedy was not

286 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

to exercise any direct authority, but to seek representation through the commander-in-chief to the supreme government, who would refer the matter to the bishop. Thus, order would be preserved and collision prevented.

On April 19th, the government replied as follows:

“His Lordship in Council concurs entirely with the view which your Lordship takes of the power and jurisdiction conferred by the letters-patent of His Majesty on the Bishop of Calcutta, in respect to the control and discipline of the Indian clergy; but to enable the Governor-General in Council to judge the instructions which should be issued for the guidance of commanding officers, as proposed in the eighth paragraph of your Lordship’s letter, his Lordship in Council requests to have a copy of the

‘rules and directions’ which your Lordship proposes on your part, to promulgate to the chaplains at the different military stations.”

The bishop hastened to do what was thus required, and sent a copy of the directions he proposed to issue, “in order,” as he says, “that your lordship may be enabled, as you are pleased to express it, to judge the instructions which should be issued for the guidance of commanding officers on this subject.”

Delay ensued. The health of the Governor-General began to fail, and he was sent to sea. On his return it was found that, owing to some oversight or misunderstanding, the “Rules and Directions” which should have been submitted to the commander-in-chief, had been forgotten. The commander-in-chief, Sir Edward Barnes, was at Simlah. The transmission of the papers to him caused further delay; and before his opinion could be obtained, he was recalled, and Lord William appointed in his stead.

On September 19th, Lord William Bentinck, thus combining in himself the offices of governor-general and commander-in-chief, wrote to the bishop to say that nothing now would interpose to prevent the accomplishment of his wishes, and the promulgation of the directions.

All seemed, therefore, to be in a fair train for the conclusion of the business; and yet week passed after week, without any thing being done. Lord William continued unwell, and at length, in the middle of February 1834, he was compelled again to go to sea. The bishop parted from him on the most friendly terms, and a few days after his embarkation wrote to him, among other matters, as follows:

“We lack a plan of education for India. Your lordship need not fear me. I am digging for truth; and when many are thus engaged, they are sure to meet in the same mine, or very nearly so. *If your directions also to the military officers could be issued*, peace and harmony would be promoted.”

1832-34. INDIA. 287

The bishop little thought that they were already issued. It will scarcely be believed that the Governor-General had left for insertion in the *Gazette*, after his departure, “directions” — not in accordance with those so often discussed, and so thoroughly agreed upon, but diametrically opposed to them in every particular! Yet so it was. They bore the date February 18th, and appeared in the *Gazette* on Wednesday, February 26th.

The bishop had retired to Tittaghur for rest; and when he first saw them, he could not believe his eyes. He thought it was a mistake. He sent them in to his chaplain, underscored, and with these words written: — “Did you ever see anything so absurd?” and then sitting down at once, he thus addressed the Secretary to Government:

“TITTAGHUR, THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 27TH, 1834.

“I am petrified at the notice concerning the clergy in the *Gazette* of last evening. Surely it must have been a mistake. It is in direct contradiction to the Governor-General in Council’s letter to me, declaring his entire concurrence in my view of the new relations of the clergy, now that there is a bishop. That view proceeded on the temporal appointment and regulation resting, of course, with the government, but the spiritual directions being transferred to the bishop. On this footing, the Governor-General requested to see my proposed “directions,” that he might judge what corresponding orders to issue to military officers; and now orders appear to the chaplains with regard to their spiritual functions, without any reference whatever to the bishop’s approval or authority.

“Have the kindness to favor me with a call tomorrow morning in Calcutta.

“You will perhaps remember that you promised me that nothing should appear without my first seeing it. I had gone over with you the whole of the directions, and also with the Governor-General, and altered everything suggested to me; there must be some mistake, I therefore conclude, in this notification in the *Gazette*.”

But there was no mistake. An elaborate official letter to government followed this private letter to the secretary, elicited an equally elaborate official reply, in which it was asserted that “all manner of authority and control possessed up to now over chaplains by the government, remained untouched by the issue of letters-patent to the Lord Bishop; and that it would not be expedient or proper to issue any public orders in modification, or for the suspension of those issued on February 17th.” It was added, also, that it was the impression of his Honor in Council that the course adopted was “specifically that which the Right Hon. the Governor-General determined upon and laid down, prior to his lordship’s embarkation for the Madras Presidency.”

To the governor-general the bishop at once appealed in several letters.

288 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

An extract from one of them will serve to place the ground of the complaint in the strongest light:

“JUNE 9, 1834.

“The position of things was this:

“1. The Governor-General was pleased to apply to me in the first instance.

“2. I reply honestly and candidly.

“3. The government assures me it agrees with me entirely in my views.

“4. The government further requests me to let them see my proposed “directions” to the clergy in order that the Governor-General may judge what instructions to issue to the military officers.

“5. I, in an evil hour, send my directions — relying most implicitly on the assurance that they were requested for -the specific purpose before stated, and would be used for that, and none other.

“6. A correspondence ensues, in order that my spiritual directions may not entrench upon civil or military rights and usages.

“7. Everything is settled.

“8. I. am waiting the moment when the government issues its instructions to the military officers, that I may immediately send round a circular in my own private way, and by my own channels, to the clergy, containing my spiritual directions.

“Such is my impression of the position of things — in which honor, truth, public duty, respect for your lordship, gratitude, everything led me to repose.

“Imagine, then, my consternation at seeing orders issued —

“1. Not to the military, but to the clergy.

“2. Not by the bishop, but by the Vice-President in Council.

“3. Not agreeable to the rules agreed upon, but every one of them materially different.

“4. Not in a private circular, but in the *Gazette*.

“5. Not after notification given to the bishop of the change, but without his cognizance.

“6. Not when the Governor-General was in Calcutta, where a remedy might be quickly applied, but during his lordship’s absence at Madras.

“7. Not upon a slight matter, but on a question involving the whole force and effect of the bishop’s letters-patent, and his authority with the clergy.

“Such are my views.”

Two days afterwards — that is, on June 11th — he wrote a final and official letter to the government, recapitulating the whole matter, and adding these weighty words:

“With the episcopal functions weakened, and the danger of fresh orders being issued by the Civil Government after the precedent of Feb. 17th, a conflict of duties must necessarily be produced in the minds of the clergy. They are quite aware of the ecclesiastical law; they look up to the bishop as judge and administrator of that law; and they consider him as the originator of all improvements and alterations in their spiritual duties according to it. When,

1832-34. INDIA. 289

therefore, cross powers appear, and the bishop and ecclesiastical canons say one thing, and the Civil Government another, a conflict of duties arises. Their ordination vows are on one side, their earnest desire to obey their civil governors on the other. I speak this advisedly. From all parts of the diocese, reclamations are coming in to me. In some cases, military authorities are complained of, as going beyond even the language of the orders in their widest interpretation. In other cases, the clergy are blamed for not conforming to orders, which it is impossible for me as bishop to enforce or approve. I already have more than one clergyman who informs me that he has been conscientiously compelled, at whatever risk, to disobey one order (concerning the visitation of the sick) as proceeding from the wrong authority, and contradicting the obligations of his previous oaths and engagements.”

These words touched government to the quick; and in their reply, amidst many strong arguments and courteous expressions, this sentiment was put forth prominently and distinctly — that they claimed all power over all persons, whether lay or clerical, and in case of disobedience, were prepared to exercise it.

One step more, and there would have been direct collision. But the bishop drew back. His appeals had been in vain, his reasoning had proved useless, and now he felt that resistance would be folly. It was not that the “directions” themselves were of such great importance; it was the principle involved, viz., the recognition of the bishop’s authority, and the consequent freedom of the chaplains from military control. Even as it respects this principle itself, it is not to be inferred, necessarily, that the government was wrong, and the bishop right. That may be left uncertain. But there can be no uncertainty about the course pursued. If the government had not wanted the bishop’s counsel, they need not have sought it. If they had differed with him in opinion, they might have stated it. If they had, on consideration, changed their minds, they should have acknowledged it. But their action was in violation of all pledges, and involved what in common language, and between man and man, would be considered a betrayal of confidence, and a breach of honor. There was, after all, little mystery about the matter. The promulgation of the “directions” in the form and manner originally agreed upon, would have formed a precedent for future action, and would have transferred a certain amount of authority from the government to the bishop. This was not, perhaps, at first perceived; but when perceived, could not, it is presumed, be tolerated. Hence the delay and the alteration.

The long arguments subsequently urged both by the Governor-General and Vice-President in Council, in justification of the course

290 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

pursued, have not been much dwelt upon or quoted because, even if valid, they were out of place and self-contradictory. Contradicting the bishop’s views, they contradicted their own official letter of April 19th, concurring in those views. They should have been written before the full and entire approval of government had been expressed, or they should not have been written at all.

The bishop, however, as already mentioned, submitted; and he submitted so cheerfully and frankly, that no one could have suspected how much his feelings had been wounded, and his confidence in public men shaken.

In conference, his words were these:

“We must now fall back upon our proper position, and high objects — the work of God, and the good of souls. I have lost a year and a half; but I have preached one hundred and fifty times. That is

not lost. This matter must be pushed no further. The point is now to submit 'to the powers that be,' as a Christian bishop should do — willingly, instantly, cheerfully. It is a trial, sent from God, to bid us cease from man. We have done all we could; to do more would be a step too far. Let us pray."

He then knelt down, and, with his chaplain, prayed for unfeigned submission, for grace to take up and bear the cross, and for the fulfillment of the promise, that all things should be made to work together for good.

In his private notes he wrote thus:

"If, after consulting a bishop as to the relative position of military officers and chaplains, and agreeing solemnly with the explanations given, the government can then publish orders in contradiction to that explanation, and their own avowed pledge of concurrence; if they do this without informing the bishop; if they do it after having communicated other points of difference, but concealed this — what can a bishop do or hope for? Where is faith and trustworthiness to be found?"

"But, hush, my soul! Silence your human reasonings and carnal complaints! This is your hand, O my God! And You, Lord, have done it. Is it not by your permission, and for the spiritual humiliation of the Christian, that the events of this world take place? I desire to bow before your righteousness, trusting that you can reverse these evils, if it is for our real and highest good, and believing that you are calling on us to cease from man and creature props, and to roll ourselves entirely and unreservedly on YOUR ALMIGHTY ARM."

To the government he wrote as follows:

"I beg leave to assure the Vice-President in Council that I shall entirely submit to his decision, and do all in my power to promote a cheerful compliance throughout the diocese, with the wishes of government.

1832-34. INDIA. 291

"I trust I shall not be thought presumptuous in saying that I have been unfortunately misunderstood in the main point supposed to be at issue. I have never wished nor thought of an independent control over the ecclesiastical establishment of India.

"I submit cheerfully to the decision of the supreme government. I have nothing more to say. I trust my letters will be allowed to bear the character of a protest, whenever the Governor-General or the authorities at home may be disposed to rearrange the state of the relations between the Indian Bishop, and the Reverend the Clergy of this diocese."

Here the matter ended, and was not revived. It looked larger when it occurred than it does now, for time has its perspective. But the narrative is still important; and it is inserted here, not so much to prejudge or to decide upon the point at issue, as to show the kind of trials to which an Indian bishop is exposed, and the spirit in which such trials should be borne.

The Indian climate and the pressure of the varied business thus narrated were evidently producing their effect on the bishop. Though his health stood firm, much of the early buoyancy was gone. It was evident that a change of air and scene, however much to be deprecated at first, had now become desirable. And it was well that the two years assigned for his residence in Calcutta were drawing to a close, and that his primary visitation was at hand. His movements also were hastened by the serious illness of his daughter, which rendered a sea voyage indispensable.

Accordingly, he intimated to the government his intention of visiting the eastern settlements of Penang, Moulmein, Malacca, and Singapore, and from there stretching across the Bay of Bengal to Madras and Ceylon; and he requested that a vessel might be provided for himself and his

suite about the 15th of August. His application having been duly acknowledged, he turned his undivided attention to the preparation of his charge.¹

However, with the primary visitation which this charge inaugurated, another chapter commences, and the present one may fitly be concluded with extracts from the voluminous correspondence carried on during the two years which it embraces. To have introduced the letters, each in their proper place, would have interrupted the narrative too much.

It may be mentioned incidentally that letters were written every half year to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the President of the Board of Control, and the two venerable Societies for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Propagation of the Gospel, containing, for the most part, the narrative of his proceedings,

292 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

and the method he adopted for infusing life and vigor into all missionary operations. These letters met with a most prompt and courteous response; and the suggestions they contained were thankfully received and readily acted on. But they are far too long for insertion here, and their contents will have been anticipated in most cases. The attention of the reader, therefore, will be required only to such letters as allow extracts, and contain matter that is either new or interesting. Such will conclude each chapter in succession.

LETTERS TO HIS FAMILY.

“CALCUTTA, MARCH 1833.

“I have been perfectly well more than twenty weeks, with the mere slight variations to which the term ‘well’ is always subject. The hot season has now begun. How it will suit me I do not know. It is with God. I use all prudence, and am then without solicitude² as to results. I have had much communication with the Governor-General since his coming to the Presidency on February 5th. He is friendly to Christianity, a whig and liberal, no great churchman, but favorably inclined to the church in proportion to its efficiency. Prayer is all I plead for, from you and my dear friends, that the divine Saviour, who has the key of David may say, ‘I have set before you an open door, and no man can shut it.’ I am daily more and more delighted with my work, and find it of course³ multiplying on my hands.

“EASTER MONDAY, APRIL 8, 1833.

“Yesterday, Easter Day, the heat, on coming out of church at one o’clock, was like a blazing furnace; but we were in the carriage, closely shut up, in a moment. We have nothing but mercy, goodness, and truth to record — kind friends, immense prospects of usefulness, attentive congregations, a peaceful, happy family, the presence of our Saviour, and we trust His approval and blessing, which is better than life itself. The collection yesterday at the cathedral was above three thousand two hundred rupees, or about £320. The communicants were one hundred and eighty-six. The attendants at church five hundred and sixty. At the Old Church, the attendants were seven hundred, and the communicants about three hundred. At the Free Church, attendants two hundred, communicants seventy. All this is an improvement.

“APRIL 9TH.

“Yesterday we had the Governor-General and suite, and the principal persons of the settlement, to dinner. We sat down sixty-two, at eight o’clock, which at this time of the year is the universal dinner-hour. By having all the doors and windows open, and punkahs,⁴ fifty feet long, going all the time, we

¹ This may be found in Daniel Wilson’s “Two Charges Delivered to Calcutta,” pub. 1835.

² “Without solicitude:” not concerned.

³ “Of course” here does not mean “expectedly,” or “how could it be any other way?” It means in the course of his labors.

⁴ *Punkah*: ceiling fan.

were very comfortable. It was a mere ordinary occurrence in this country. All were gone by half-past ten o'clock, and I was on horseback again at five this morning.

1832-34. INDIA. 293

“TITTAGHUR, MAY 1833.

“Here I am sitting after breakfast in my open verandah, facing this noble river, which is bursting upon my sight, with its boats and native craft, on three sides, west, south, and north. On the opposite bank is Aldeen House, where David Brown lived,¹ and the very pagoda which Henry Martyn² made his study. A larger heathen temple is near. Serampore is further up the river on the north, with the Government House at Barrackpore on this bank. On the south, other private houses are scattered here and there. The Thames is nothing in comparison to this vast river. The foliage on each bank and in our garden, is of oriental luxuriance — the betel, the palm, the banian, the bamboo. The only deduction is a constant heat, which unnerves, depresses, annihilates the European mind and energies.

“CALCUTTA, MAY 1833.

“I do not conceive that the future period of peace will be accompanied by conformity of opinion on all secondary matters, any more than all heights, all faces, all bodily powers, all mental faculties, all education, all habits, will be the same. Indeed, conformity of opinion on lesser matters would extinguish the elements of that charity, which would lose its fairest occasion of exercise when there was nothing to bear with. My notion is that such men as Dr. Steinkoff, Haldane Stewart, Joseph John Guerne, George Clayton, Dr. Chalmers, Joseph Hughes, and John Howard, thoroughly ‘walk in love;’ not domineering, not interposing one with another, but working each his own machinery, and encouraging others to do the same to the very utmost. May we never be occasions of stumbling! May we never mistake charity for indifference on the one hand, nor let it be substituted for party spirit on the other. Some men praise their party and call it *charity*; and some men are utterly careless about religion, and they also call it *charity*.

“CALCUTTA, MAY 1833.

“I am put to the full stretch, for here everything is called into question openly and arrogantly. The experience of nearly forty years in the affairs of different societies, and errors of the spiritual church, is of unspeakable moment to me. My mild, and yet I hope, firm churchmanship, which has been maintained all my life at home, in the face of High-Church principles, and no-church principles, is again of infinite importance. Even the mechanical advantage of a loud voice, and habit of preaching from notes, are a great benefit now. I preach more freely, boldly, and, as far as I can judge, simply, than ever I did in my life. The work opening before me is immensely important. I fear to enter upon particulars, lest I should grieve the blessed Comforter; and in fact, I cannot give particulars. The day shall declare it.

“CALCUTTA, MAY 1834.

“I write to rejoice your hearts with the tidings of the safe arrival, on May 1st, of the *Hugh Lindsay* steamer, with your dear letters of February 6th. A heap of three months’ intelligence was inexpressibly charming. All is going on delightfully as to spiritual things, but most agitatingly as to temporal. I don’t wonder if Mr. Grant has received the impression of my high churchmanship, for Lord William has no notion of ecclesiastical matters. Never regard one word you hear. I rejoice in loving all that love our Lord Jesus Christ, but

¹ “Two years after the establishment of the mission at Serampore, David Brown, the senior chaplain and provost of Fort William College, took possession of Aldeen House, which he occupied till the year of his death in 1812.” *Life of William Carey*, by Geo. Smith, London 1909, 1913, 1922; chap. 8.

² Henry Martyn (1781-1812) Anglican priest and missionary. A chance encounter with Charles Simeon led him to become a missionary. He became a chaplain for the British East India Company. Martyn arrived in India in April 1806, where he preached and occupied himself in the study of linguistics. He translated the whole of the New Testament into Urdu, Persian and Judaeo-Persic. He also translated the Psalms into Persian and the Book of Common Prayer into Urdu. The pagoda was the “habitation” assigned to him by David Brown on the grounds of Aldeen House near the river: Henry Martyn’s Pagoda. From *Henry Martyn*, by Geo. Smith, London 1892, p. 159.

I have taken oaths! The Caste question is absorbing my attention. Persecution and reproaches are rising on all hands. I rejoice to meet them. I hail them as marks of coming blessings. My health is perfect. I am just as well now as when I landed except, of course, deterioration of mind and body. But at any moment I may fall, like others. There will be no interval, no time for consideration; there is but a step here between health and the grave. So, do not be surprised at anything. I rejoice and praise God for allowing me to come, and I would set out again tomorrow if I had to do so again.

“TITTAGHUR, MAY 1834

“The weather is perfectly suffocating. None can pity us but those who know our sufferings. The mind, body, functions, tempers, words, and feelings are all morbidly affected; and nothing remains but deep-seated principles of religion on which to fall back. There is the rock. The new scene of trials quickens its pace, and towers as it approaches. But it is good for us. Distinction, publicity, noise, communication with mankind, station, novel circumstances, authority, are all poison to the soul, and have been distilling their venom secretly ever since we arrived. Now come the compensating and humbling dispensations. It is impossible to describe the difficult cases which arise in ‘ruling in the fear of God’ in a vast diocese like this, with everybody around you as sensitive, and as morbidly peevish as you are yourself. Then to distinguish the path of duty — where cowardice begins, and forbearance ends — how to keep down the ‘old man’ in one’s self, while public order is not neglected in the execution of official duty. All this is difficult. But it is nothing compared with the Heart, which is to be kept ‘with all diligence,’ as out of it are ‘the issues of life.’ All other things would be as nothing if they did not corrupt the heart, weaken the hold on Christ, enfeeble love, and damp holy joy and communion. There seems a universal decay in this dissolving scene, extending to everything. We need your prayers for sufficient Grace.

“I have given a list of some hundreds of volumes from my Islington library. I long for my miscellaneous literature, my theology, my Fathers, my French divines, my parliamentary records. I find I cannot go on without my books for continual reference. Add to my list all you know that I may occasionally use, especially the Oriental. I want no German, nor Spanish, nor Italian, as I have lost those languages.”

TO A SCRUPULOUS CHAPLAIN.

“NOVEMBER 1832.

“I reserve my judgment on this particular affair till I have the whole of the case before me; but you will allow me to say that, unless in the case of excommunication, I doubt whether we can refuse the rights of burial. Nor do I know that it would be expedient or desirable — as any allowed cases of exemption would go to making each individual clergyman a judge of the spiritual state of the departed, and thus introduce endless confusion. The very fact of the service being used in all but excommunicated instances, renders the danger you anticipate less than it would otherwise be. Whereas, if certain cases could be excepted, the fearful confirmation given to all others would be a prominent evil following on the change. I conceive it a safer and more prudent course to let all the occasional offices stand on their obvious ground, supplying

1832-34. INDIA. 295

by the ordinary doctrines In the pulpit and in private, the cautions necessary. No more importance would then be attached to them by the survivors and bystanders, than there ought to be in a national church, where general rules must necessarily be adhered to. But I will give you my more matured judgment on a fit opportunity. In the meantime, let me comfort you under the painful feelings and many sorrows which the ministry of the gospel in a foreign land, and at a distance from the bishop, must occasion. Preach humbly and faithfully my dear sir, the great redemption by the Son of God. Discriminate clearly and affectionately between the outward privileges of the church, and the real obedience and love of the sincere Christian. Apply closely and discreetly to the hearts and consciences of men the calls and invitations of the gospel. Pray much yourself, and exhort your hearers to pray for the blessed influences of the Holy Spirit; and you will find that the general administration of the sacraments and the rites of the church will not be fatally misunderstood.”

TO A CARELESS CHAPLAIN.

“APRIL 1833.

“My mind will remain open to all the statements and explanations you may offer. I came here as a father of the younger, and friend of the senior chaplains. If there have been negligences, or remissness, a candid avowal and determined resolution to enter on a new and better course of duty will be your wisdom, and will gradually establish a fairer reputation for you; for probably you are the last person to know how widely unfavorable impressions have spread. To save the souls of our flocks; to preach to them the spiritual doctrines of the divine Revelation entrusted to us; to set forth a crucified Saviour as the awakened sinner’s hope; to exhibit the sacred operations of the Holy Ghost as the author and giver of life; to enforce holiness, the love of God, a heavenly temper, and a spirit of prayer; to urge the various duties of social life, and all the ten commandments as the fruits of faith, and following after justification — these are the main topics of our apostolical ministry of the church, and of the Scriptures on which that church is founded. And then follows the minister’s life and example, which must sustain his doctrine and enforce his exhortation; or else all that he preaches will be worse than nothing, as our ordination service strongly teaches.”

TO A CHAPLAIN OF A QUIET SPIRIT.

“JANUARY 11, 1834.

“I have received such pleasing accounts of your character and spirit, of your diligent and conscientious search after truth, that I feel much at liberty in writing to you. My heart is enlarged in exhorting you to walk worthy of the high and difficult vocation to which you are called. Preach ‘Christ’ to the people, as St. Paul did. Be determined, as St. Paul was, to know nothing but ‘Jesus Christ, and Him crucified.’ Glory in nothing, after St. Paul’s example, but in ‘the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ’ Ascribe everything good in man, as St. Paul did, to God, who ‘works in us both to will and to do his good pleasure.’ In a word, abase and humble the sinner, set forth the Saviour, promote and inculcate holiness.

“Take, dear sir, for your models of divinity, not the current theology of the

296 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. Chap. XII.

day, but the Epistles of St. Paul, the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England, the Book of Homilies, the Augsburg Confession; or of modern names, take J. B. Sumner, Bishop of Chester; Archbishop Leighton; Bishop Hopkins; Bishop Davenant; Bishop Pearson; Bishop Porteus, etc. As to sermons: Cooper’s sermons, Joseph Milner’s sermons, Bradley’s sermons, are good as patterns. But I pray you to compose one sermon from your own head and heart each week, with prayer, when sickness does not forbid.”

TO AN OFFENDING CHAPLAIN.

“MAY 1833.

“I am aware, of course, that it is not in my power to do much to enforce an efficient discharge of the ministerial functions. Prayer, earnest and mild representations, are my chief instruments. But at the same time, occasions are not lacking when the faithful, laborious, and truly pious clergyman can be promoted, and those of a contrary description removed to less prominent stations by application to the Governor-General in Council; while, for offences against discipline, immediate remedies are provided, of which you are doubtless quite aware.

“But I turn from this painful part of the subject, which is rendered necessary by the style of your letter, to the far more agreeable and hopeful prospect which I trust will open before me in my future communication with you. Anyone, for a time, may be comparatively torpid in his spiritual duties; and from the new and strange scenes of an East Indian life, he may be thrown off his guard. The relaxing influence of the climate also demands great consideration. Little, petty, and unkind feelings, also, are apt to be generated in a small society. The recollections of England at times oppress the heart and paralyze exertion. The idea of being an exile, looking for a return to our home, is apt to make us less earnest about our own immediate duties. These and similar impediments arise, for which large allowance is to be made. I beg you, my reverend brother, to spare me any further pain, by making

yourself, frankly and nobly, a trial of what you can do to satisfy the reasonable wishes of the inhabitants of your station. I shall truly be rejoiced to hear of your success in making such an attempt. The moment you take the first step cheerfully and kindly, others will fall in with your wishes. You will be happier, because you will be a more useful and respected man. You will soon recover any ground you may have seemed to lose, and God will bless you.”

TO A YOUNG CATECHIST.

“APRIL 1833.

“I address you myself, that I may show the tenderness of the good shepherd towards the wandering sheep. Your confession and submission are too cold, general, and unsatisfactory. I cannot favor you with re-admission to the privileges you have forfeited till I see a contrite heart and a mind touched with a sense of sin. My young friend, God requires a broken spirit. You cannot teach others till you have learned yourself to bow in heart before the Lord. Come, then, return to the Lord. Take words with you and turn to Him. When I receive one line from you, not of flattery or servility, but of genuine penitence and grief for sin as committed against God, I shall know

1832-34. INDIA. 297

what to do about you. The Lord, even the Lord Jesus, have mercy on you and bless you.”

TO A YOUNG CHAPLAIN.

“MAY 1834.

“Allow me to suggest, as to a younger brother, the importance of your writing new sermons gathered from the holy Scriptures, from the observations you make of the people around you, and from the feelings and reflections excited in prayer and meditation. Devotional, simple, evangelical addresses, rather than sermons, pointed to the heart and conscience, are most likely to be really useful in a new sphere.

“The *first* thing is to bring the civilians and soldiers to be real Christians — penitents, believers in the merits and death of our blessed Saviour, separated from their sins, awakened to a real sense of the nature and importance of Christianity.

“The *second* thing is to train them to the moral duties and habits which are the fruits of faith, and follow after justification.

“The *third* is to attach them firmly, but charitably, to the discipline and order of our Apostolical Church.

“For all these ends, the grace of the Holy Spirit is essential, (1) to teach us, that we may rightly teach others; (2) to guide us into all truth; (3) to bless our study of the Scriptures; (4) to give us success generally In our labors.”

TO A MISSIONARY, ON TEMPER.

“JULY 1834.

“Let me, as I am writing, repeat what I said to you on the extreme importance of watching over the temper in this irritating climate, so that the ‘adversary may be ashamed, having no evil thing to say of us.’ Strong minds like yours, and weak ones like _____, commonly fail from opposite causes in this respect. The most decided conquest of grace in the heart of man is the conquest over natural temperament. Nor is contempt a whit better than open hostility; because it is more the fruit of pride in ourselves, and is more galling to an opponent.”

TO A CHAPLAIN, ON THE BURIAL OF ROMAN CATHOLICS.

“JUNE 11, 1833.

“The case you mention requires extraordinary discretion. I should be inclined to inform the Roman Catholic priest —

“(1) That you had written to me.

“(2) That I was anxious to preserve peace and harmony among all classes of persons so far as the laws and canons and usages of the Protestant Church of England would allow.

“(3) That our Protestant churches and churchyards were undoubtedly designed for our own communion.

“(4) That if others were presented for interment, our office ought to be complied with and used, in point of right, by our own clergy.

“(5) But that for the sake of peace and good-will, the permission might be granted for the Roman Catholic ministers to perform the service.

298 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XII.

“(6) In which ease it must be done in the Roman Catholic chapel, or at the house of the deceased.

“(7) That the laws and canons will allow of no other course.

“(8) But that if any grievance is complained of, I will represent it at home, and learn the more exact mind of the archbishop.

“(9) That I was unwilling to take up the matter officially at present, hoping that upon the case being explained, no practical difficulty would remain.

“Such is the demi-official course which I should be inclined to recommend, so as not to compromise our rights as Protestants, and yet not to light up a flame that might not be quickly subdued, more particularly in military bodies. I shall be glad to hear that no explosion has taken place. A great part of wisdom consists in knowing how to manage in such delicate junctures. In the meantime, your general ministry, my dear sir, your doctrine, your spirit, your life, will testify for you, and gain more and more the confidence of the whole station where you are placed. The gospel of our meek and lowly Saviour, when fully set forth in all its glory and grace, and when supported by a consistent, liberal, kind-hearted, holy, dignified conduct, attracts esteem and engages love. I commend you and your ministry to the blessed Saviour.”

TO THE ARCHDEACON OF MADRAS.

“AUGUST 1833.

“What hard work it is to walk with God, to live by faith, and to maintain an elevated tone of godliness, when the climate unnerves, the habits of the country debilitate, and the natural dejection of the spirits disqualify! I conceive that, to be a Christian in India, is an effort of grace indeed.

“I begin to feel, what I might have expected before now, the evil of propagating rumors. Every public man is exposed to this. Please believe nothing you hear about me, and pray be as silent as you can; for mouths, and ears, and eyes, are all on the alert to catch me tripping; and trip I do and must, or else lie torpid and useless with my talent hidden in a napkin. I anticipate storms when the first novelty is over, and the realities of the gospel begin to operate on the Indian public. But so our Master suffered, and so must all His faithful servants.”

TO THE ARCHDEACON OF NEW SOUTH WALES,
ON CONFIRMATION, AND CONSECRATION OF CHURCHES.

“SEPTEMBER 1833.

“The important topics of consecration of churches, and confirmation to which you refer, I dare hardly approach. Personally considered, I feel little difficulty. Whoever else may hope to visit New South Wales from Calcutta, at my age of fifty-six, I can never expect such a happiness. So that as far as I am concerned, any resource would appear desirable to me that was proposed and approved by yourself. I pause, however, before I venture to act. I do not exactly understand what species of authority the late Archbishop of Canterbury can have given, or whether the commission could extend beyond the particular case or cases for which it was designed. I have heard of such a commission sent to India in former times, but it was specific, and terminated

in a single act. I also question whether it ever extended to what, technically speaking, may be called consecrations. It must have been merely a kind of more solemn license, leaving the peculiar episcopal benediction and power of consecration inviolate.

The other question of confirmation is involved in less difficulty. The permission for the young to approach the Lord's table, when desirous of confirmation, is allowed by the rubric. The examination of them privately, and the decision upon their qualifications, all fall within the office and duty of a presbyter. Of course you do not read the confirmation service, nor proceed to impose hands, nor to pronounce that apostolical benediction which has ever been accounted (with ordination, jurisdiction, correction of doctrine and discipline, and superintendence) the peculiar spiritual province vested in the office termed *Episcopal*. Any solemnity which can be given to your examination and admission to the holy Communion, short of these things, would of course be most desirable at your distance from your diocesan."

ON A COMPLAINT MADE BY A HIGH CIVILIAN
AGAINST A CHAPLAIN'S PREACHING.

"AUGUST 1834.

Allow me to remind you how very delicate my position is. If I proceed officially, then false doctrine, heresy, suspension, deprivation, are the terms which must be employed. If I proceed upon rumor, I throw suspicion and distress, without possibly the least advantage, into the mind of the chaplain, and those he might suppose to have originated it. The case is difficult. I will do what I properly can. On that, dear sir, I pray you to rely.

"No article of religion would, moreover, be more difficult to treat legally, and by strict canons, than that respecting our 'regeneration.' General expressions, lack of distinctions for the body of the audience; deficiencies in expounding the nature and importance of the spiritual life; mistakes or apparent mistakes in confounding baptismal regeneration, which is *true*, with the new creation of the moral and intellectual powers issuing in repentance and faith, which is *not* true — all this is not easily substantiated before a bishop in the seat of judgment.

"1. Heresy is tangible; the denial, for instance, of the Trinity, the fall of man, the Incarnation, the Divinity of Christ, etc.

"2. Neglect of duty is tangible.

"3. Vice is tangible.

"4. Profaneness is tangible.

"You perceive, dear sir, my meaning. I repeat, that I shall do what I can. You are to remember two things: *first*, that no chaplain is immovable; and *secondly*, that conversion and improvement may visit, by divine goodness, any heart, at any time, by unexpected means.

"For the rest, I shall be happy, most happy, to hear from you. Kindness is of amazing virtue. Try what you can do by heaping coals of fire upon his head."

CHAPTER 13. PRIMARY VISITATION. 1834-1835.

BISHOP'S CHARGE — VOYAGE TO PENANG — SCENERY — PRODUCTIONS — POPULATION — EPISCOPAL REVIEW — PENANG HILL — SINGAPORE — CHURCH BUILDING — SCHOOLS — LANDING AT MALACCA — JOSS HOUSE — DUTCH HOUSE — MOULMEIN — CONSECRATION OF THE CHURCH — CEYLON — ITS TROUBLED STATE — MARRIAGE LICENSES — BIBLE TRANSLATIONS — DUTCH PROPONENTS — COTTA — SPLENDID SCENERY — KANDY — ANCIENT TEMPLE — KING'S PALACE — BHUD'S TOOTH — INTERVIEW WITH ADIGARS AND PRIESTS — BADDEGAME — SEVERE STORM — LANDING AT MADRAS — SOUTHERN MISSIONS — CASTE QUESTION — TANJORE — CONFERENCE WITH THE NATIVES — SWARTZ — TRICHINOPOLY — CORRESPONDENCE.

The primary visitation was held in the cathedral on August 13th, 1834, when twenty-one clergy answered to their names. The sermon was preached by Dr. Mill, the Principal of Bishop's College, and the charge occupied an hour and a half in its delivery. It had engaged the bishop's earnest attention for some months, and had been written and re-written several times. Some excitement almost necessarily followed; so that when the clergy gathered around him, and he commenced his opening address, by saying — "That in the short space of twelve or thirteen years a fifth Bishop of Calcutta should be addressing his reverend brethren from this chair, is a most affecting memorial of the uncertainty of life, and of the mysteries of the divine judgments. As to man, all is weakness and change. The pastoral staff drops from the hand before it is grasped. Measures are broken off in the midst; and we must look to the mercy of God alone for the settlement and future safety of our apostolical branch of Christ's holy Catholic Church in India;" — his feelings were overpowered; all the circumstances connecting together the past and the present seemed to rush upon his mind; his voice faltered; he paused in deep emotion, and was a considerable time before he could resume his self-command. Then, continuing his address, he riveted the attention of all his hearers, and sympathy gave place to a feeling of deep solemnity.

It will not be necessary to discuss here the many important topics

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 301

of a charge which was widely circulated in India, and several times reprinted in England. But a few statistics may be mentioned as illustrating the subsequent progress of things in India, and a few quotations made on subjects as fresh and interesting now as when they were delivered.

The statistics show that at that time the number of chaplaincies allotted to Bengal were thirty-seven; and the number filled up, thirty-two. This told of a considerable increase; for in Bishop Heber's time, the number allotted to Bengal was but twenty-six, and of these not more than half were in the field of labor; while in Bishop Middleton's time the chaplaincies were fifteen, and the clergy at work numbered only ten or twelve.

If the whole of India, including the Presidencies of Madras and Bombay, was taken into account, then the number of chaplaincies in 1834 was seventy-five, and the number of chaplains present in the field about sixty.

If the professors of Bishop's College and the missionaries were added, this number would approach one hundred and twenty; while the number of stations served, or occasionally visited, would be about one hundred and eighty. This was for all India. While in Bengal, the aggregate number of clergy was fifty-eight, and the stations visited, whether large or small, about ninety.

From the topics of general and enduring interest dwelt upon in the charge, the following extracts may be made, as worthy of remark.

Note his summary of the Gospel:

“Repentance for sin, faith in the obedience unto death of the Son of God, holiness the fruit of both by the grace of the blessed Spirit, the ten commandments the rule of life — this is Christianity. The church, her ministry, her sacraments, and her liturgies, are only channels for these mighty blessings. You are the heralds, expounders, preachers, not of the forms of the church, but of THE GOSPEL. Everything depends on your understanding and acting on this distinction.”

Note his ideas of the Church:

“It is highly important for us ever to remember what a church can do, and what it cannot do. What a church can do, and what our own does, is to give a sound confession of doctrine, an evangelical liturgy and offices, legitimate authority, the unbroken succession and right ordination of ministers, wise constitutions, canons, and formularies, together with books of sermons or homilies, embodying the preaching she would wish to encourage. These are no slight advantages. And where the state supports such a church, expands it with the increase of Christian population, and protects with mild laws the decencies of

302 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

religion and the sanctity of the Sabbath, the benefits are immense. These are the means of salvation for souls, a rallying point for the primitive faith, a preservative against weakness, heresy, and love of change, a principle of recovery and resuscitation from declines, a banner because of the truth. All this a church *can do*. But what a church *cannot do*, is, to accomplish of herself, much less perpetuate, any one of the spiritual ends of her appointment. She cannot give her priesthood the illumination of grace, she cannot inspire them with the love of Christ, she cannot infuse compassion for souls, she cannot penetrate with her own doctrines their sermons and instructions, she cannot preserve and hand down to succeeding ages the presence and blessing of Christ.”

Note his remarks on Preaching:

“Do not be afraid of distinguishing in your own mind — though you should be extremely tender in speaking of others — between what is preaching the gospel and what is not. There is one way to heaven, and only one. He that points out that way, preaches the gospel; and he that does not, does not preach the gospel, whatever else he may preach.”

Note what he says on Native Education:

“Whatever gives knowledge, and does not exclude, though it may not professedly include Christianity; whatever is not retrograde from, but a step in advance towards Christianity, will meet our favorable regard. We never fear knowledge. All we dread is the poisoned stream mingling with its flow, and weakening, instead of refreshing, the fainting traveller. If you exclude Christianity *ex-professo*,¹ you deprive the Hindu of many of the highest benefits he might otherwise derive from it; you block up the main entrance to the Temple of Truth; you deny him, without asking him the question, and by supposing prejudices which do not exist, the knowledge of the prevailing religion of the civilized world. You leave India to an education which makes fallen man proud, discontented, difficult to govern, and liable to be tossed about for half a century on the sea of turbulence and doubts; instead of giving it one which is meek, peaceable, contented, and allied to English government, laws, literature, and morals.”

Note his reflections about Caste:

“The heathenish usages connected with caste are unknown in the Presidency of Bengal, and must become unknown in every other — and that [must be done] at once, so far as religion and the service of God is concerned. An isthmus cast up between Christ and Belial, a bridge left standing for retreat to Paganism, a citadel kept erect within the Christian enclosure for the great adversary’s occupation, is what the gospel cannot tolerate. The Jesuits’ proceedings in China are warning enough for us.”

But time would fail to touch upon all the important topics introduced into this charge, and dwell upon with moderation, calmness,

¹ *Ex-professo*: out of being professed or admitted to.

and wisdom. Only his loud call for missionaries can be added — for a response is as necessary now as when it was first uttered:

“What can exceed the inviting prospects which India presents! — the fields white for the harvest, and awaiting the hand of the reaper; nations bursting the intellectual sleep of thirty centuries; superstitions no longer in the giant strength of youth, but doting to their fall! Oh! Where are the first propagators and professors of Christianity? Where are our martyrs and reformers? Where are the ingenuous, pious sons of our universities? Where are our younger devoted clergy? Are they studying their ease? Are they resolved on a ministry, tame, ordinary, agreeable to the flesh? Are they driveling after minute literature, poetry, fame? Do they shrink from that toil and labor, which, as Augustine says, OUR COMMANDER, *Noster Imperator*,¹ accounts most blessed?”

After the delivery of the charge, the clergy, missionaries, schoolmasters, catechists, and students assembled at dinner at the Bishop’s Palace. The usual forms were gone through, and the printing of both charge and sermon promised; and then the bishop threw out two important topics for discussion: first, the shortening of the church services in adaptation to the Indian climate; and next, the possible establishment of a body of missionary chaplains, to come out for a specified time, to be under the bishop’s control, to act as curates to the chaplain as well as missionaries to the heathen, and to derive their income partly from home and partly from the station where they labored.

The discussion was animated, and favorable to both propositions; and, though no practical result followed, the evening thus passed pleasantly and profitably.

A farewell dinner at Government House, and a farewell sermon at the cathedral, followed; and then, early on Monday morning, August 24th, the bishop embarked, under the usual salute, and dropped down the river on his first visitation.

He had applied for the *Enterprise* steamer, but she was not ready; and government, therefore, engaged cabins in the *Asia*, a large East-Indiaman, which had brought out Mr. Macaulay, the new legislative councillor, and his sister, now Lady Trevelyan.

The passage to Penang was rendered anxious by the illness of the bishop’s daughter, and prolonged by baffling currents, contrary winds, and frequent calms. But it opposed “a dyke to the influx of new business, and gave time for reflection upon the old;” and the result, upon the whole, was invigorating and beneficial. On September 18th, land was in sight; and on the 19th the vessel glided into the roadstead formed by the island of Penang on the one side, and the Queda country on the other. Boats darted out

304 THE LIFE OF DANIEL “SVILSON. CHAP. XIII.

from every nook, laden with fruit and fish, and rowed by Chinamen and Malays. Those admitted on board were stout men, dressed in gandy shawls, with flat faces, cunning² eyes, dark complexions, English names, and doubtful characters. The view from the vessel was very striking. The whole island was rich with foliage, and upon the summit of each rising ground stood out the white bungalow surrounded by its cultivated plantation of nutmeg or coffee. The eye, accustomed to the low, flat land of Bengal, was charmed; and the town soon opened, on a spit of land jutting into the sea, and defended by a small fort. The ship *Asia*, having no business in these parts, was in haste to proceed; so that the bishop landed at once, and before the evening closed, he and his whole party were hospitably received, and sheltered in the house of Sir Benjamin Malkin, the Judge and Recorder of the Straits. Nothing could exceed the kindness

¹ Our emperor.

² Attractive or beautiful.

manifested by himself and his excellent lady during the whole of the bishop's stay; after he left, his daughter, having derived no benefit from the sea voyage, and being unable to continue it, found a home there for many months, and remained until increasing illness compelled a permanent return to England.

Prince of Wales' Island, or Penang (from the betel-nut it bears), came into the possession of the East India Company by purchase; and being on the high road to China, was deemed at one time a place of considerable importance. Handsome buildings, good roads, an excellent church and parsonage, had been the pleasing results. But when the China trade was taken away from the hands of the company, the glory of Penang passed away with it, and all was now economy, neglect, and decay. Still, nature retained her exceeding loveliness, and a mixed population of about forty thousand remained. Almost every nation of the East found there its representative and its religion; so that countenances, languages, dresses, habits, food, were all diverse, and mingled in most picturesque confusion. The authorities and chief mercantile persons in the island were Protestants; but there was also a large body of Roman Catholics: the rest were votaries of Mohammed, Confucius, Brahma, and Bhud.¹ The temperature, never so high or so low as in India, is equable and oppressive. But that which produces a languor almost indescribable in man, produces a vigor and luxuriance almost inconceivable in vegetation. All Nature's strange sights are to be met with in different parts of the island: trees of gigantic growth; creepers of wondrous beauty; ferns of most curious and grotesque device; the monkey-plant, with its cup and cover opening to receive a supply of water, and shutting when supplied; the stick-insect lying on the path to be picked up and broken in an idle moment, like a withered

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 305

twig but for six legs, thin as a hair, undoubling and projecting at the moment of danger, and hurrying it off; the trumpeter, hidden in the grass, and sending forth its notes as from the lips of an English child; humming-birds, darting like flashes of green and gold, or half-burying themselves within the petals of a flower; the snake gliding from beneath the feet of the startled traveller; — all these are common sights and sounds in that strange island. Pepper, cloves, indigo, coffee — all flourish; but nutmeg was, at the time of the bishop's visit, the most choice and valuable product. Each tree stood separate in its own plantation, a model of vigor and beauty, laden with fruit, and yielding to its owner, after seven years' care and patience, a rich and unceasing return. The process is always going on — for the fruit is always ripening and the owner always gathering — while changing seasons and varying prices added the excitement of speculation to the reality of profit.

All these things produced the effect of enchantment. A few days since the bishop had been immersed in all the anxieties and cares of office; and now he was free to expatiate in all these wonders of nature.

But the real business of the visitation soon began; and all that could be done, he did. The chaplain was first visited in his parsonage, and the bishop looked grave when he found attached to it a flourishing nutmeg plantation. Only words of caution were spoken now; but the pursuit was afterwards forbidden. The church was close at hand, and was looked at with much interest. A portico, spire, and Grecian building spoke for Christianity in this heathen land; and steps were at once taken to check the dilapidations which began everywhere to be manifest. In the interior were three noble monuments. One was a marble group, by Flaxman, the size of life, and represented Britannia directing the attention of a most exquisite Hindu child to the medallion of Lord Cornwallis; while India, figured by a Hindu mother, sat apart weeping under the palm-tree.

¹ Buddhism — “Bhud” has been changed to “Buddha” throughout this biography.

Another group, by Behnes, represented a Malay, with folded hands and one knee slightly bent, reading an inscription commemorative of Colonel Malacaster. The countenance of the Malay, his creeze,¹ his slight drapery, his attitude — all were perfect.

The third was by Westmacott, and represented in a compartment above the inscription slab, a group of children, bearing the emblems of justice and the weapons of war. It commemorated a former governor named Bannerman.

The school was visited next, and presented a striking illustration of the confusion of tongues. Representatives of almost all the different

306 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

nations inhabiting the island were present. The building was large and handsome, and capable of boarding fifty children and instructing five hundred. About seventy were present at the examination. In one class, the names of the boys, as taken down on the spot, were Affat, Williams, Lloyd, Stewart, Sooquay, Affoo, Ayhang, Ethalgee Fooklong, Ram, Abdulrahman. Here, then, were assembled Malays, Welch, English, Scotch, Chinese, Siamese, Bengalis, Hindus, and Mussulmen²; and yet, the master was an old soldier, and could only speak English. The effect may be imagined. For some years, till the children picked up a little English, they learned nothing; and it was not easy to suggest a remedy. The mechanical part was better. Many of the children wrote well; for they found the advantage of it, by obtaining speedy employment as clerks. The Chinese were minute models of their race — with narrow eyes, twisted [hair]-tails, and shrewd expression. They wrote upon a board thinly covered with fine sand. The copy finished and inspected — the monitor gently shook the board, the writing disappeared, and a fresh task began.

On the following day, a meeting of the subscribers was held, over which the bishop presided. He offered valuable suggestions, and recommended the addition of a female school, and a committee of ladies.

To make the short visit more effectual, a meeting of the candidates for confirmation was called, to which all parents and friends were invited. This allowed much friendly and religious converse, and strengthened the impression made by the church services on Sunday.

An Episcopal review followed. The colonel in command had no other way of showing respect, and no better way of varying the monotony of the station. In accordance with his invitation, therefore, and attended by an aide-de-camp in black, the bishop rode up and down the ranks; and then taking his place by the flag-staff, was saluted by the marching troops. All was kindly meant and kindly taken. A visit to the hospital and an affectionate address to the sick men followed.

With two missionaries of the London Missionary Society, particularly with the Rev. Mr. Dyer, a learned and excellent man, the bishop had much pleasant communication. Mr. Dyer was a good Chinese scholar, and was now diligently employed in carrying out an idea he had long entertained, that it was possible to cast metal movable types for printing the Chinese characters, and to substitute them for the cut wooden blocks in use up to that time; that is, he would change stereotyping into printing. The attempt promised good success;

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 309

but before long, the whole establishment was removed from Penang to China.

¹ Or “creeze” - A Malayan dagger with a wavy blade.

² That is, Muslims.

The bishop took one holiday, and it was devoted to an ascent of what is emphatically called "The Hill" of Penang. It rises abruptly from the plain, and the first footfall upon its base is steep. The ascent is by a zig-zag wooden road, through thick jungle and under lofty trees. All is shade and close, suffocating heat, until the summit is reached. Then a puff of cool air refreshes the body, and an enchanting view over both sea and land delights the eye. Bungalows are scattered here and there upon elevated or romantic spots; and one erected by the government, and capable of accommodating several families, is let out at monthly rental. Here the bishop rested, and here he was entertained by many stories of the island, and many incidents illustrative of the character of the people. "If you see a man," said Sir Benjamin, "ploughing by the roadside, or rather scratching the ground by the assistance of a single buffalo, moving when the animal is pleased to move, and stopping when it stops, that man is a Malay. They are sensual and sluggish until roused by something to rage and fury. Then the creeze and murder surely follow. A man was brought before the court recently for trial. He was commonly a quiet, inoffensive man, and had been steering a boat in which seven men were rowing. All day he had kept silence, with his countenance like a thundercloud. Suddenly he broke out into fury, started up, and rushed down the boat, stabbing right and left. The first three men fell dead at his feet; the others, wounded and bleeding, plunged into the sea and escaped. When secured and brought to trial, the murderer was calm and self-possessed. His defence was, that a 'dark cloud had passed over his eyes,' and that 'he neither knew nor saw what he did.'"

Another case was mentioned: — The wife of a Malay had been delivered of a child during his absence. The child was fairer than usual, and suspecting the wife's infidelity, he stabbed her and attempted to kill the child. When called upon for his defence, he said, "I was walking out, and felt something creeping up my leg and shoulder. A voice at length whispered in my ear, that I was disgraced, that the child was not mine, and that it was unworthy of a Malay to allow it to live. I went home at once, and did as they have said."

The Malays have high notions of their dignity. "I am a Malay," is a word of pride with them.

A Malay had killed two Chinamen. When he stood before the judge, his words were these: "They struck me on the mouth. I am a Malay. My creeze was by my side. What could I do?"

310 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

The Chinese were very different in character, though equally reckless about human life. Active, intelligent, industrious, good husbandmen and craftsmen, they leave their families at home, and visit these and other colonies in quest of fortune, returning when their object is accomplished. They are bound in a species of freemasonry, which attracts those that are within, and repels those that are without. Various fearful ceremonies accompany the initiation into these communities. One was divulged in court: "In the darkness of the night, the heads of the fraternity into which I was to be introduced stood round a table. With a sharp dagger, blood was drawn from each man's arm and from my own, and mingled with arrack.¹ All drank of it in turns, saying, 'My blood is your blood, and your blood is my blood.'" Woe to the man who breaks the bond, or divulges what he is sworn to conceal! A man not long ago divulged some plot to the government, and the next night he was found murdered, with his heart torn out.

All these stories and many more, the bishop listened to on the summit of that hill, illustrative of character, until the lengthening shadows and the chill wind drove them once more down to the plain. The evening was devoted to the examination of the opium houses, the demoralizing effects of which are now too well known to require comment.

On the following day the confirmation was held in the manner already described, and forty-eight young persons were admitted to the fellowship of the church.

¹ Any of various strong liquors distilled from the fermented sap of toddy palms or from fermented molasses.

On the Sunday after, the bishop preached his farewell sermon and administered the Lord's Supper. He took leave of the congregation, and thanked them for their courteous reception and ready compliance with his wishes. He recommended (1) personal piety; (2) education; (3) churchmanship; (4) Sunday observance; (5) cultivation of pastoral communication; (6) horror of idolatry and pity for idolaters; (7) example to the heathen world; (8) peace.

On Wednesday the steamer arrived from Calcutta; and on Thursday the bishop wished farewell to his kind hosts and embarked, recording his reflections on what had passed as follows:

“We arrived on Friday, September 19th, after a passage of twelve days from the Sand-heads. I have been diligently at work examining the state of religion, schools, and benevolent designs. I have preached three times; held a confirmation, with two addresses; spent a day in examining the Free School; presided at a public meeting for adding a girls' school, and attempted to arrange for a district visiting society. I have conversed with all the persons I could on the state of things. Never did I feel more the usefulness of the Episcopal order of

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 311

things in our church than in this place, where there is only one clergy-man, nearly forty thousand Heathen, fifteen hundred Roman Catholics, and two hundred and fifty Protestants. All wanted examination, impulse, animation, GRACE. Oh that I were more capable of filling up the outline which our church contemplates, and infusing the spirit of the Bible into its members! The light of Christ alone can illuminate the darkness.”

The steamer was now pressing on to Singapore, and fifty hours sufficed for a run of four hundred miles. Land was never out of sight; and the power of self-command enabled the vessel to thread its way among the innumerable islands, some desolate, and some clothed in verdure¹ which stud the Straits. It was a fairy scene, heightened in beauty when, on approaching Singapore, the native boats — hung round with rich, ripe fruits, and filled with parrots, lowries,² and love-birds, some caged, some free — gave life, interest, and color to the foreground of the picture.

Singapore is a free port, and merchants of all nations have their representatives and agents located there. Great changes may have taken place since the bishop's first visit, and it is to be hoped that great improvements have been made. It was not then famed either for morality or honesty. Whole ranges of houses, communicating by private passages, were given up to gambling; and to *buy* a thing was not always to get what was *wanted*.

No church had ever existed; and the attempt to build one, in times past, had given rise to sad dissensions, and caused wounds still open and rankling. Rent was paid by government for the partial use of a chapel belonging to the London Missionary Society. But this was ill-adapted for the purpose, even when there was a chaplain to officiate. A Madras chaplain was in residence at this time; but the arrangement was temporary, and included the adjacent settlement of Malacca also. To erect a church, and to provide a permanent chaplain, were therefore matters of the first importance. And prompt action was necessary, for the bishop's stay was limited to a few days. He landed on Saturday night, and was entertained by Mr. Wingrove, a member of the council. Immediate notice was sent round the station of divine service and the holy Communion for the following day, and of a public meeting for the Monday morning. The congregation was large, but the communion small. The bishop's text was, “You have not so learned Christ;” and he was earnestly requested to print the sermon, but declined.

¹ The lush appearance of flourishing vegetation.

² Or *lories*, a species of parrot, brightly colored.

On Monday morning, all the influential people in the settlement came together to consider of the erection of the church; and the bishop, having been requested to preside, submitted a plan to them which he had well considered. His presence hushed some doubtful

312 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

questions; and after a full consideration it was agreed that a church should be erected, that a public subscription should be opened, that grants should be applied for from the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and from the Church-building Fund for India, and that the government should be requested to redeem their present payment of twenty dollars per *mensem*, for a fixed sum in aid of the building. If from these sources the amount fell short of the ten thousand dollars required, money was to be borrowed on the security of the pew-rents. All this was agreed to, and about three thousand dollars subscribed in the room. This was afterwards increased to four thousand dollars. A committee was appointed, a site selected, an architect found, a plan approved, and the proper applications made. Everything was thus in good train, and the bishop was well pleased.

He then proceeded to examine the school. It differed from the one previously examined at Penang, in that four different rooms were assigned to four different languages — English, Tamil, Chinese, and Malay. In three of these rooms, the masters being natives, no sort of religious instruction was introduced; and in the fourth it was very poor and unsatisfactory.

As at Penang, the young people desiring confirmation were previously assembled; and since a large proportion of the people were Presbyterians, the question was raised as to the adaptation of the church service to their case. They wished to be confirmed, but doubted about the allusion to godfathers and godmothers. The bishop decided that in all such cases, the natural parents stood to their children in God's stead; and that this being previously understood and allowed on both sides, the young people might answer conscientiously, and he would confirm willingly.

He then addressed them earnestly upon the point of dedication to God; and on the appointed day, he administered the rite.

An American Missionary applied to him for advice on several points, and among others, as to his dealings with the Roman Catholics. He himself was engaged in distributing Bibles, and the priest had threatened to burn every copy he could lay his hands on. The advice given was that every copy should be tendered as a loan. If, then, any third person seized or destroyed it, he would be liable to punishment.

The churchyard having been consecrated, and the church committee once more assembled and addressed, the first episcopal visit ever paid to the settlement concluded.

“Blessed be your name, O Lord!” — such are the bishop's notes while receding

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 313

from it — “for having carried me through two branches of my visitation — Penang and Singapore. May I approach the third with humble trust in your Holy name, and the seven-fold influences of your Holy Spirit.”

When the steamer left Calcutta, it brought Dr. Mill, the Principal of Bishop's College, in search of health, with his amiable and excellent lady; and they had since formed part of the bishop's company, and now proceeded with him to Malacca.

The night of October 10th was closing in before the anchor was dropped some miles from shore. A single boat approached, sent by the Resident — he did not mention the arrangements made for the bishop, but to ask when he would land, where he would go, and what he would do. All this indecision involved delay; and when hour after hour had passed away, it was determined to wait no longer, but to land. The ship's boat was accordingly lowered, and after some search, the

mouth of the river which runs up the town was entered, and the landing-place reached. Sleep brooded over Malacca, and all was silence as the party stepped ashore. There was no one to receive, to welcome, to guide, or to entertain. The old white Stadt-house was near at hand. The door yielded to a push; five Sepoys¹ sleeping on the threshold were routed, a bar was removed, the broad stone staircase ascended, a lock turned, and then all stood in a large upper room, unfurnished and unwholesome. To open all the windows, and trim the ships lanterns, were the first steps taken; and then each gazed upon his neighbor, and burst into a laugh. "From the sublime to the ridiculous there is but a step," said the bishop, as he sat down upon an empty box.

Before long, the Resident came hurrying in with manifold suggestions and offers of service. But some arrangements having been made for the night, the bishop declined all and retired to rest.

The morning light set all things right; and by six o'clock he was climbing up the hill to gaze upon the lovely prospect, and examine the ruins of a fine old church which crowns the summit. It was either built by St. Francis Xavier, who visited Malacca about the year 1545, or dedicated to him by the Portuguese after his death in 1552. Many tombs remain, and many inscriptions are legible, bearing the dates of 1656, 1698, and 1712; one commemorates Peter, a Jesuit, the second Bishop of Japan. Subterranean paths run in various directions, and traditional stories still linger; one states that on the occasion of the signature of St. Francis being required to give validity to an important deed, a hand came from the chapel where he lies buried at Goa, and signed his name.

A programme of all things to be done at the visitation having

314 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

been at once issued, the bishop went round to see what was worthy of note in this ancient and curious settlement. He called on Mrs. Gutzlaff, the wife of the famous Chinese scholar and traveller, and smiled to hear of her husband's recent escape from sudden peril. He had been passing in the interior for a native Chinaman — and neither speech nor dress betrayed him. But one day he fell into the water; and a woman seizing his long tail to rescue him from drowning, felt it come off in her hand. The cheat was perceived, and he was obliged to escape for his life.

The Anglo-Chinese College was also visited, and all the process of instruction and printing minutely examined.

A candidate for holy orders appeared in the shape of a missionary of the London Society. He had joined the church from conscientious conviction. His application, however, could not be received till he had freed himself from all present engagements, and obtained the consent and "God-speed" of his society.

A large Chinese joss-house² was inspected. It was full of images standing in small niches; lights were burning before them; the house was filled with incense; while huge diabolical figures sat on the floor and by the door. The bishop was horrified. "We are in one of the devil's houses," he whispered, while hurrying out, "and there he sits!"

The business of the visitation followed, as previously arranged. Divine service was performed in the old Dutch Church. It had been offered to the bishop by the trustees, if he would consecrate it for the service of the Church of England, and obtain the appointment of a chaplain. It was to consider this proposal that a public meeting had been called, as at other places. About thirty English residents were present. Their offer being repeated, the bishop thanked them and

¹ A native soldier of the East Indies, employed in the service of a European colonial power, notably the British India army (first under the British-chartered East India Company, later in the crown colony).

² Joss: a Chinese god worshipped in the form of an idol.

accepted it. He promised to do his best to obtain a resident chaplain; but till he had succeeded, he would delay the actual consecration of the building, since it would be selfish of him to perform an act which would preclude all services but those of the Church of England. He would take charge of the building, and appoint his candidate for orders to conduct service on Sundays; and, before long, this temporary arrangement might become permanent. The residents were pleased with the proposal — the best possible under the circumstances — and they engaged to make such alterations in the interior fittings of the building as were desirable and practicable.

A congregation of seventy assembled on Sunday for divine service; twenty-nine were confirmed, thirty-one communicated.

1834-33. PRIMARY VISITATION. 315

All was affection and solemnity; and at the close of the day, the bishop wished them farewell, being ready to depart the next day.

“God grant,” he says, writing home, “that the spices and fragrance of grace and holiness may equal the exquisite odors of this place. But one feels horrified to think that we are in the midst of pirates, murderers, and opium eaters — men of fierce and barbarous usages beyond conception. Oh, what would Christianity not do for these poor creatures! It is a comfort to think that the rule of England is merciful and beneficial, compared with that of the Malays, Mohammedans, Portuguese, or even the Dutch, imperfect as even our government is. May the spirit of real piety and zeal fill our rulers more and more! I am sure the bishop has enough to do, as well as the clergy, in beginning everything right.”

The steamer now steered for Moulmein, calling and stopping a few days at Penang to obtain tidings of the invalid; and in due course the bishop found himself kindly received and hospitably entertained in the house of Mr. Blundell, then acting for the Chief Commissioner. He was now on the confines of Burma. Moulmein was part of the territory ceded to us in the last war, and was scarcely cleared from jungle. All was new and strange. The white, loose dress of India was changed for an interior tunic of some gay color or stripe, with graceful external drapery, while a smart handkerchief superseded the turban. Priests, with flowing yellow dresses and shaven heads, were very numerous. The temples were full of idols in the sitting or the reclining attitude peculiar to Buddhism, and of gigantic size. In one pagoda, rising high above the town, there were three hundred figures, some of them forty feet long.

The cantonments¹ were large, and occupied by English troops. The 62d regiment had just arrived, and many distinguished Peninsular and Indian officers were present.

The business of the visitation was arranged with Mr. Hamilton, the chaplain, and promptly carried out.

The regimental hospitals and schools were first visited. Alas! Fever extensively prevailed; there were more men sick than well; and all the children had died but twelve. The government school was next examined, and the confusion of tongues, referred to before, was observable. But the master was a shrewd American, and he had called pictures to his aid; so that when a young child had learned that c — a — t spelt “cat,” he was not left for weeks or months in doubt what the word meant — the picture of a cat was shown him, and the lesson was complete. As each class was called for, the master, in his fashion, expressed surprise. He stood upon the principle

316 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

of equality, and thought the bishop ought to go to the class, and not the class to the bishop. He had been one of the band associated with Dr. Judson, who was laboring here among the Karens²

¹ *Cantonments*: (military) temporary living quarters specially built by the army for soldiers.

² The Tibetan-Burmese people in the borderlands between Thailand and Burma.

with great success. The bishop sent the doctor a kind message, expressing a deep interest in the work, and inviting communication; but for some unknown cause or from misapprehension, it met with no response. Afterwards, however, they became great friends.

The church was then examined, and admired as a proof of what great things may be done by well-timed energy and skill. In March 1833, Mr. Maingy, the commissioner, had called on the bishop in Calcutta, and detailed the state of the settlement — the buildings that were rising, and the expenditure going on. He was earnestly requested to ask, among other items, for a grant in aid of a building for divine service. He complied with the request; put down in the estimate for government the sum of five thousand rupees; the amount, trifling compared with other charges, was sanctioned without a word. That five thousand rupees (£500), well managed, had built a handsome Gothic church ninety feet by fifty, with a small gallery at the end. The walls were of thick teak slabs; each pillar was a teak tree handsomely wrought and fluted; the roof was thatch; verandahs ran all round; the foundations of a tower were laid; communion rails, pulpit, desk, vestry, were complete; the floor was left unpewed — each worshipper providing his own chair. All was now ready for consecration, and the ceremony was performed on October 25th, 1834 — the deeds connected with it being deposited in an iron chest. The church was called St. Matthew. On the following day, being Sunday, the bishop preached, and the whole settlement assembled. Three clergy were assisting. The officers and troops were present. The missionary chapels were all closed. An immense crowd listened to the words, “The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God to the pulling down of strongholds.”¹ ‘It was like unfurling the standard of the Cross in a heathen land. The service concluded with the administration of the holy Communion.

On Monday the confirmation followed, and the usual addresses were delivered.

Social and kindly communication filled up all the intervals between these public services. The bishop was entertained at the Mess, and by all the authorities in turn; and he found it singular indeed to enter drawing-rooms adorned with richly-bound albums and court guides, and to sit down at tables furnished with all the elegancies and luxuries of civilized life, while huge rats ran along the

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 317

floors, motionless lizards clung to the rafters, and the walls of the rooms consisted of unhewn slabs. Such was the settlement when visited in its early days.

On Tuesday morning, October 28th, a large sailing-boat was placed at the bishop’s disposal, and carried him down the river to the steamer anchored at its mouth.

“I have been finishing,” he says, “the last Sunday of my second year’s residence in India by preaching my hundred and fifty-second sermon, before five or six hundred persons of all ranks, in the newly consecrated church of Moulmein. It is a beautiful structure, just such as Augustine² built in England at the conversion of the larger cities towards the end of the sixth century. We have been proclaiming the gospel in the Burman empire, with China on one side and India on the other; Buddha, and his monstrous fables, deceiving four hundred million on our right; and Brahma, with his metaphysical atheism chaining down one hundred million on our left; while the base impostor Mohammed rages against the deity and sacrifice of the blessed Saviour in the midst of both, with ten or twenty million followers. But our Divine Lord shall reign before long; and Buddhist, and Brahminist, and Mohammedan — indeed, the infidels, papists, and nominal Christians throughout Asia, shall unite in adoring his cross.”

¹ 2Cor. 10.4.

² Augustine of Canterbury was a Benedictine monk who became the first Archbishop of Canterbury in the year 597. He is considered the “Apostle to the English” and a founder of the English Church.

These words were written while the *Enterprise* was crossing the Bay of Bengal, with her head toward Ceylon. On November 5th, land was seen; and on the 7th, the light-house of Colombo served to guide the vessel slowly to her anchorage.

The sun rose majestically behind Adam's Peak which overshadowed the town, though many miles distant. From it spurs ran out in all directions. The shore was fringed with cocoa-nut trees. The rich foliage was varied by patches of cultivation. The sweet smell of cinnamon groves perfumed the air. Nothing could surpass the beauty of Ceylon when first unveiled. The bishop was impatient to land, and grudged official persons their morning sleep. He paced the deck till signs of life appeared. Groups at length gathered on the shore; a carriage was seen to drive up, a boat put off, a salute was fired; and as he stepped on shore, he was received by an honor guard, and the cheerful notes of the national anthem. The governor, Sir Wilmot Horton, was ill; but his lady welcomed the bishop. After calling at Government House, and breakfasting with the archdeacon, he drove to the house which had been engaged for him.

Up till then it had been the custom to provide the bishop with a house, to bear his expenses, and to place a certain sum at his disposal for the visitation. But economy was now the order of the day.

318 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

A certain sum (£300) was still allowed; but expenses were to be borne and a house provided at his own proper charge.

Many urgent matters pressed for settlement; some previously foreseen, some unexpected, but all fraught with embarrassment and difficulty. These may be enumerated and explained to give the reader some idea of the bishop's labor, care, and thought during the time allotted to this visitation of this part of the island.

First, there were misunderstandings between the highest civil and ecclesiastical authorities — misunderstandings made chronic by lapse of time, bitter by personalities, and complicated by interference. The reference to the bishop caused him infinite trouble and anxiety. His first wish was to bring about reconciliation by mutual explanations, concessions, and apology. He failed in this, and in the end was compelled to pass judgment on the case. It was impossible for this judgment to prove satisfactory to both parties; but though it did not heal the wound, it stopped the inflammatory action, and time did the rest.

There was also disunion among the clergy. In time past, an official complaint had been sent to the bishop against a clergyman, very worthy, but rather sensitive. An opinion upon the case, as thus sent in, had been pronounced. The clergyman fretted under it, and asserted, in the first instance, that the complaint against him had not been fairly put. His assertion became known to the congregation among whom he ministered; they rose as one man on his behalf, and petitioned the bishop. Here was complication of all kinds, which nothing could remove so well as personal intercourse. The consideration of it, therefore, was reserved for the visitation, and the result was very happy; for when the bishop's last service in the island was finished, and he was resting in the vestry for a little while, both parties voluntarily came forward and, without a word, shook hands before him; while he silently bent his head in token of approval, and gave God thanks.

A third matter was of a more personal character, but not less irritating. A young man, highly connected in the colony, and provided with an appointment of some value, sought priest's orders to enable him to hold it. A charge, however, hung over him, of having written anonymous letters in a newspaper, both personal and libelous. The charge, and the denial, were alike unqualified; and the proof was manifestly difficult. The whole was a matter of public discussion and notoriety; and the bishop's decision on the young man's application was looked to on both

sides with great anxiety. He waited; and while waiting, events occurred which tested the young man's spirit, temper, and prudence. He was found lacking;

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 319

and the bishop founded his decision, not on what was past and was, perhaps, incapable of absolute proof, but on what his own eyes had seen, and his own ears heard. Ordination was postponed.

The next question arose from the improper action of the government. They had assumed authority to issue marriage licenses indiscriminately to all applicants, without any reference whatever to ecclesiastical usages. The necessity of the case was the plea and the excuse. But however valid this might be deemed before the establishment of the bishopric, it was not valid now. Whatever doubt remained on other points, there was no doubt of the dispensing power inherent in all bishops; and the power to dispense with banns involved the power to grant licenses. It was, therefore, arranged by mutual consent, that all marriage licenses from then on should issue from the Archdeacon's Court, in the bishop's name, while the proceeds of a stamp affixed to each would go to increase the revenue, and convey the governor's sanction. Thus the issue of the license would be legitimate, the authority of the government would be recognized, and the revenue remain uninjured. A few words thus suffice to narrate what required many long discussions and letters to arrange.

Widely diverging from this arose another matter of controversy. There were two different versions of the Bible into Cingalese, and each had many heated and earnest advocates, who desired the mediation and award of the bishop. Not being conversant with the language, he could only receive evidence on either side. No nation in the world seems to have separated the high and the low, the rich and the poor, by broader lines of demarcation than the Cingalese. The separation extends even to the language. There is one phraseology for the rich, and another for the poor; one for the high, and another for the low; one full of fulsome compliments, the other full of rude familiarity. The question had no reference to caste or any religious distinctions, but pertained to social life and communication. Men of rank addressed each other in one set of phrases, common persons in another. Into which should the Bible be translated? To speak of our blessed Lord, as "His high Excellency," in almost every verse of the gospels, would seem to militate against the simplicity of the original; but to drop the phrase altogether would, to the Cingalese ear, be significant of vulgar familiarity, or even contempt. The complimentary translation had been used up till then; but now a new one had emanated from the Church Missionary Seminary at Cotta, and urged its claims. The difficulty of the question will at once be discovered. If the complimentary phraseology was to be tolerated when addressed to patriarchs, prophets,

320 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

apostles, or "The Lord," could it be tolerated when addressed to Cain, Ahithophel, Demas, and Judas Iscariot? On the other hand, was it possible to speak of high and holy characters in Scripture in terms which a well-bred Cingalese would shrink from using to a friend? Neither was there any middle course, or the translator would make himself "a ruler and a judge," to decide who was evil, and who was good — what character was high enough for the language of compliment, and what was low enough for the language of contempt. This was called the Oba-Wahansey controversy; and thus it came before the bishop. He knew that he had no authority to decide; nor did he wish to do so; but both parties having applied to him, he recommended that the two versions should be made equally accessible, and that time should be the final arbiter. It was, of course, a native and not an English question; and experience would show the leaning of the native mind, and gradually bring about any change that was really desirable in the native churches. Thus the controversy was stilled for the time.

Another question demanded decision, and did not allow either for compromise or delay. During the time that the Dutch had held the island, the profession of heathenism was made a civil disqualification. No un-baptized person could be legally married, buried, hold office, or inherit property. The necessary consequence was that multitudes indiscriminately flocked to the font; and facilities were required for thus filling the island with baptized heathens. In order to this, certain men — some Dutch, some native — were appointed to reside at different stations, and perform the ceremony (for it was no more) for all applicants. These men were selected by the government, paid stipends varying from £60 to £100 per annum, and called “proponents.”

When the island was transferred to England, this system, strange to say, was transferred with it; and though the civil disqualification was removed, yet the proponents and their system remained. So that when the bishop arrived, there were still nine such men in the pay of government, performing their unauthorized religious services. What was to be done? The government was not willing to do away with the pre-existing system it had found and had engaged to maintain; but it was ready to listen to any proposal the bishop might make to remove the scandal. Why not, then, give regularity to that which was confessedly irregular? The salary was there, and the men were there; why not bestow upon them deacon’s orders, and thus send them forth to teach and to baptize? This seemed the obvious course to be pursued; but one insurmountable obstacle was found to its general application: *the men*

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 321

were unfit. A careful examination proved that only two of these men possessed the necessary qualifications. The decision turned on this, then. These two were to be admitted as candidates for holy orders, and their admission was to be held up as an incentive and encouragement to the others. None were injured. In any case, the proponents would hold their offices for life, even though they were finally disqualified for holy orders; and after death, their places would be supplied by a different order and class of men. Thus the matter was arranged for the time.

It may easily be imagined that the consideration of these anxious matters filled up every interval of time left by the performance of the bishop’s public duties. Those public duties were announced for general information, in a “Supplement to the Government Gazette,” and were at once entered on. Two days, from November 7th to November 9th, were assigned for the reception of visitors; and on Sunday morning a sermon was preached in the Fort Church, to an overflowing congregation, from the words, “To me, who am less than the least of all saints, this grace is given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ.”¹ This was followed on Tuesday by the confirmation of one hundred and eight young persons — the words and the final blessing being repeated in four different languages — English, Cingalese, Portuguese, and Tamil.

On Thursday the visitation was held, and the clergy was entertained at the bishop’s house. The charge was the same as that delivered in Calcutta, with adaptations to Ceylon.

These duties were varied by a visit to the Church Missionary Institution at Cotta, presided over by the Rev. Mr. Lambrick, the senior missionary, whose venerable appearance, long experience, sound learning, and deep piety, admirably qualified him to conduct what might be called a “school of the prophets.” The buildings were situated on the banks of an extensive lake, and included a college, a chapel, a printing-press, and missionaries’ houses. A whole district, and a wide circle of schools were also attached to the Mission. The bishop himself describes the effect produced upon his mind by the visit:

“I must tell you of the exquisite drive we have had through the cinnamon gardens for five miles. Nothing since the garden of Eden, was so beautiful — a vast field of green fragrant bush, with every

¹ Ephesians 3.8.

fibre and branch bursting with cinnamon. But even this extraordinary scene yields to the moral fragrance of this dear missionary station of Cotta, now numbering twelve out-stations,

322 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

four clergymen, twenty-one native teachers, six hundred average attendants on public worship, twenty-one communicants, nineteen seminarists, sixteen schools, and four hundred and thirty scholars. Our honored Mr. Lambrick, after eighteen years of steady and holy labor, presides over the whole. Will you believe that I have been examining native youth in the English Scriptures, geography, history, astronomy, mathematics, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew? “

They stood before the bishop, as he describes, fine young men, clad in white dresses, and with the hair gathered by a high comb at the back of the head, in a manner peculiar to both men and women in Ceylon. Their countenances were intelligent, and their answers very satisfactory. When their examination was ended, they gave place to four hundred younger children gathered in from all the schools, who were addressed in a body. The candidates for confirmation were then separated for a preparatory exhortation; but it being suggested that the administration of the service on the spot would prevent the necessity of a long walk to Colombo, the bishop at once assented, and in the evening, at divine service, fifty-five young natives were confirmed, with a great and solemn effect.

The day of ordination having been fixed, a start was now made for Kandy, the ancient capital of the island, about seventy-two miles distant. The journey was performed in a vehicle called the “Kandy Mail,” upon a road which was a triumph of engineering skill, and through the most varied and lovely scenery. What was then temporary and picturesque, may since have become permanent and commonplace. A line of boats then spanned the Mahagunza; a rope suspension-bridge swung across the valley; every river had its ford; every mountain peak its peculiar shape and name. The ebony tree, and satin-wood, mingled with the palm in its countless varieties, and with the talipot, distinguished by its immense leaf and plume-like flower. All this was seen with the flickering of light and shade caused by cloud, sunshine, and rain, as the mail wound its way slowly for many miles along the mountain sides, and gradually rose to the summit of the pass, where a tall column commemorates the governor who directed, and the engineer who accomplished the work. This was in the days of forced labor, when if government contemplated any important undertaking, the Adigar, or head man of the district, received the order; through him it passed to others equally responsible for its performance; and by them laborers were collected and set to work. The same system ran through all the details of common life. All labor was compulsory, though not unremunerated. If a person in authority wanted bearers for his palanquin,¹ an official was sent out, and the first men met were pressed into the service. Thus also the triumphal arches,

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 325

so peculiar to Ceylon, rose like magic, on all occasions of joy or ceremony. By the new charter granted to the island, however, all this forced labor was abolished. The temporary inconvenience was greatly felt; and this, with similar changes, caused great dissatisfaction to all who deemed that their rightful privileges had been destroyed. Hence loud and constant complaints arose, ripening frequently into conspiracy and insurrection.

When the bishop arrived at Kandy, he took up his quarters at “The King’s House,” erected by Sir Edward Barnes. Sir John Wilson, the commander-in-chief, Mr. Tumour, the resident commissioner, and others, gladly received him and honored him with many honors. He was poorly and in pain all the time he stayed; but he was still able to move about in a carriage, accomplish his great objects, and enjoy the magnificent lake and mountain scenery. Dr. Mill still

¹ A closed litter carried on the shoulders of four bearers.

accompanied the party, and his knowledge of Sanscrit served him well. The delight of the native priests on hearing him converse in it was indescribable. Many ancient temples were visited. On the outside of one stood a huge, upright mass of stone, which being scarped and smoothed on one side, served as a matrix, or ground, for an inscription in raised letters. It was thus, at once, “the pillar and ground” of the truth it professed to promulgate, and afforded a striking illustration of the expression used by St. Paul, when writing to Timothy, about the Church of the living God.¹

The palace of the former kings of Kandy still remained. The woodwork was curiously carved with hideous griffins, and a species of bird like a cock, the exclusive sign and seal of Ceylon royalty. Adjoining it was the temple where the relic, called the tooth of Buddha, is preserved. Great preparations were made to give all ceremony to the bishop’s visit, and to do him honor. The relic itself is rarely exposed. It is hidden in six cases, one within the other, of precious metals. The exterior case is in the shape of a bell, and stands upon a table in a small dark room, covered with gold chains and strings of pearls, diamonds, rubies, and emeralds. All these have been offerings in times past, and are now valued at £30,000 by admiring natives, but at much less by sober-minded Europeans. Those who have seen the tooth, declare that it is but a small tusk, of two or three inches long, and no human tooth at all. Tradition attaches to its possessor the government of the island; and hence the care that is taken to preserve what has been obtained. The first object of every conspiracy has been the seizure of the relic as a pledge of success.

326 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

When the present visit was paid, long rows of elephants were drawn up, forming a gigantic and living avenue; martial music was sounded, crowds of natives assembled, priests swarmed; but no indications of respect were required; no shoe was taken off, no hat removed; it was simply a visit as to a curiosity, and was thus regarded on one side, and understood on the other.

It was followed by a visit of ceremony from a body of ‘Adigars,’ or men of high rank and ancient lineage, the princes of the island, and of Buddhist priests. The priests arrived first, silently and unobserved. Fifty of them stood grouped in the verandah, with yellow robes and shaven heads, waiting the approach of the Adigars. Then they joined in the procession, and entered the room, clustering together on one side. The bishop, previously instructed, held out both hands to the two men of highest rank, merely bowing to the rest. They shook each hand in both their own, bowed, and assumed the place befitting their rank. Their dresses were most strange, and almost grotesque — the girdle being swelled by fold on fold to an enormous size. Runners preceded them, cracking a whip, which had a very short handle, and a thong many feet in length, made of a species of flax, and producing a sound like the report of a pistol. Javelin men, and retainers of all sorts, followed them in a confused crowd; while, as a mark of distinction, and a partial screen from sun or rain, talipot leaves in the shape of fans, six feet long, were held aloft by their attendants.

The bishop at once addressed them. He expressed his pleasure at seeing them, and hoped that their communication with the Europeans would prove advantageous in many important ways. He praised their country, and hoped that one day its moral beauties would surpass the natural. They replied in courteous phrase, and with a most polished mode of address. His lordship was not the first bishop they had seen, and they felt the interview both an honor and a pleasure.

The priests were next saluted. But they took no notice of the bow made to them. They never bend the head to mortal man. They stood with fans half hiding their faces, and with their hands, for the most part, on their mouths.

¹ 1Timothy 3.15.

“The great point for all,” said the bishop, addressing them, “is the discovery of truth. Nothing can stand, but what is based on truth. The perusal of our literature, and converse with our people, will aid you, I trust, in its discovery, and when discovered, in its reception.”

“Buddha has said,” was the reply, “that there are ninety-five religions upon earth. None of them could hope to succeed unless from a conviction that it

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 327

was based on truth. We rejoiced at being allowed to pay our respects. It is an honor in itself, and the desire you have expressed for the interview is an addition to it. Discussion and conversation with a man of liberal mind is like a refreshing shower on parched ground.”

“Like as there is one sun in the heavens,” said the bishop, “so there is one and only one Truth to enlighten mankind.”

They heard and understood, but with much tact, they avoided the discussion to which an answer would have led. The chief priest, turning to Mr. Tumour, the resident, who was an admirable Pali scholar and acted as interpreter, said that they would gladly, as a mark of respect, have chanted one of their sacred hymns as was customary; but understanding that it would not be acceptable, he hoped there would be no harm in wishing the bishop the protection and favor of the God he worshipped.

The formal interview then ended, and the bishop retired, and with him the Adigars. But the priests remained, and the conversation was continued. They had complaints to make. They spoke of intruders into their fold. They said they had no objection to discussion — none. On the contrary, they invited it. But they could not tolerate missionaries telling the common people, that in worshipping Buddha they worshipped the devil. It hurt their feelings. On inquiry it was found that they did not complain of Mr. Browning, the Church Missionary at Kandy (who was present), but of some Wesleyans, and of some tracts circulated by them calculated rather to irritate than to convince. They said they had read some of the Bible and admired it. They would read more; they would read it through, and thus be prepared for discussion. Discussion was like the irrigation of the land — it brought forth fruit. But knowledge of Cingalese alone would not do. Pali was the only perfect language. The profundity of Buddhism could be fathomed by nothing else.

They then withdrew, and the conversation ended.

The main object of the visitation, meanwhile, had not been forgotten. There was no church at Kandy; and when the bishop preached, on his first arrival, the magistrate was obliged to vacate his seat and break up the court in order to make room for the congregation. On Sunday the weather was very stormy, and the congregation small. A confirmation was held, and the mission examined with much interest. The missionary was a chastened, humble, pious man, cheered in his work by a help-meet for him. The schools were admirable, but the converts, as yet, but few.

328 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

The bishop used every effort to rouse a spirit of church building. He offered to give at once the £300 assigned to him by government. But the society was almost exclusively military, and consequently movable; and the response was not encouraging. Having done what he could, he returned to Colombo on Tuesday, November 18th, and then the examination of candidates for holy orders commenced. It quietly continued day by day, while the several matters of discussion already referred to were being brought to a conclusion. It was finally held in the Fort church on the 21st, and among the ordained were Mr. Dias and Mr. Ondatzye, the two proponents. The Rev. Mr. Bailey, senior chaplain, preached, and a large company joined in the holy Communion.

This was the last sacred act at Colombo, and the bishop at once embarked and proceeded to Point de Galle. At the house of the Rev. Mr. Wenham, the chaplain, he found one quiet day, which he greatly needed. On the following morning he preached a noble sermon in the old Dutch Church which was, like all the old churches in Ceylon, roomy and convenient, but with no architectural pretensions. A second service was equally well attended, and the day closed with pleasant converse and sacred music. Then followed a confirmation, a meeting of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, an examination of the government schools, and a visit to a kind of industrial institution for the natives carried on by Mrs. Gibson.

An expedition to the Church Missionary Station of Baddegama occupied the next day, and shall be described by the bishop himself:

“As we landed from our boat, which had been dragged by twenty-five Coolies¹ against the current, we were received on the shore by the missionaries and the archdeacon (who had gone on the preceding day), under a triumphal arch of cocoa-nut trees, beautifully adorned with the leaves and bark in the native manner. After reposing a little at the first abode, we pushed on to the second missionaries’ house and there beheld, on an adjacent height, a noble primitive Christian church, with its handsome tower, and a verandah thrown around it, built by the piety of the missionaries, and consecrated by Bishop Heber, in 1825. I intended to hold a divine service, and had appointed Mr. Wenham to preach, and meant afterwards to repeat my charge to the four or five clergy who had not heard it. But lo! I found the whole church filled from end to end with five hundred dear native children, waiting for the bishop with their teachers, monitors, parents, and friends. I never witnessed such a sight. I immediately changed my plan; desired one of the missionaries to begin the Litany in Cingalese, and then delivered an *extempore* address, or sermon, with the interpreter on the pulpit steps rendering clause by clause. Such an affecting scene almost overcame me. The loud, clear responses of the children to the suffrages of the Litany, which Mr. Faught read out admirably

1834-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 331

with the recitative cadence which the natives always use, was very striking. And when I ascended and looked round, and asked the interpreter to turn to Luke 15th and read the parable of ‘the lost sheep,’ I could scarcely proceed with my discourse. My first clause was, ‘These are the words of Jesus Christ;’ my second, ‘Jesus Christ is the good Shepherd;’ my third, ‘The lost sheep are sinners, all the sinners in Ceylon, all the Buddhists, all you;’ and so on. Thus I proceeded in half sentences for half an hour. We afterwards visited the schools, and then at luncheon I addressed the missionaries, and encouraged them concerning their faith — especially urging holy temper, tenderness, patience, watchfulness, and extraordinary discretion in receiving candidates to baptism.”

At five o’clock the following morning all were on board the steamer, bound for Matura and Trincomalee. The weather was too boisterous to allow stopping at the former place, and all speed was made to take shelter in Trincomalee. It was just accomplished, and the finest harbor in the world had just been entered, when a violent storm broke upon land and sea, and raged furiously for some days. Those days were spent in quiet. Within the harbor, which is six miles in circuit, and deep to the very edge, all was calm; and the bishop was lodged in the admiral’s house on one of the hills which stand round about the harbor, and make it a scene of surpassing beauty.

Part of a regiment, and a considerable population, were stationed here, but there was no chaplain. Everything, therefore, had to be done: notices given, candidates instructed, hospitals visited, schools examined, sermons preached, and confirmation administered. This left no idle moment; and when all was done, the bishop would gladly have left and resumed his voyage to Madras. But the storm forbade this; and not only the storm, but the captain of the steamer also, who reported that the boiler was damaged for the third time.

¹ This is now an offensive name (a slur) for an unskilled Asian laborer; but at this time it simply meant a native workman, a “hired laborer” or “slave”; in Bengali and Tamil *kuli*, “daily hire.” Their hats are still called *coolie* hats.

This forced delay enabled the bishop to wind up all the remaining business, and to distribute through the medium of the archdeacon, in various channels, the sum allotted to him by government for his expenses — bearing those expenses cheerfully himself.

And thus the visitation of Ceylon ended. It had occupied more than three weeks of incessant labor; and if the measure of spiritual blessings granted seemed less than in other places, it was because the “preparation of the heart” was lacking. The Holy Spirit does not love scenes of strife and contention, and here they abounded. Still it was something to have met the evil, and put things in “the way of peace;” and with this hope, the bishop thanked God and took courage.

He was .still, however, a prisoner; and he fretted in the prison-house. No immediate duty occupied him in the station; the

332 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

weather confined him to the house; the time fixed for his arrival at Madras had passed; his habits of punctuality were disturbed; and it was hard, while looking at the quiet sea within the harbor, to realize what was going on without. He eagerly availed himself, therefore, of a half-consenting note from the master attendant, and fixed December 2d for the day of his departure.

No sooner had the steamer put her head outside the harbor, than she was caught by the wind and current, driven far south, and forbidden all possible return. She was an old, worn-out vessel, her fabric shaken, her engines weak, her boilers patched, and with no strength left to bear up under what now pressed upon her. Night came on, the wind increased, the sea rose high, and danger soon became apparent. On the second and third day matters grew worse. A gleam of sunshine permitted an observation to be taken. It was found that, in spite of the straining of the engine on her northwestern course, the vessel had been driven ten miles south, and three hundred miles east. She began to leak seriously; the tops of her high paddle-boxes were often buried in the sea; sails were blown away, spars split; and at length the boiler burst and let sixty tons of water, in a moment, into the hold. The fires were now extinguished; the engine deck was a foot deep in water; the vessel became nearly unmanageable. All hands were ordered to the pumps. Two of these were found choked with coal-dust; and while the other two were working, relays of men baled water out with buckets. “I can do no more,” said the captain; “tell the bishop he had better go to prayers.” He was almost disqualified; for he and all the passengers were exhausted with fatigue, lack of rest, and extreme sickness. But thus warned, he roused himself and with “two or three” he cried to the Lord “out of the depths,” and his “prayer came to Him, into His Holy Temple.” As he read St. Paul’s narrative of his shipwreck recorded in Acts 27.13-36, the roaring of the sea, the groaning of the vessel, and the shouts of the seamen, drowned his voice; but God heard, and gave him all those that sailed with him. Before long, the wind abated, and the sun shone forth; the water in the vessel was gotten under control, and the boiler repaired; the fires were lit, and once more the vessel’s head was pointed in the right course. The sea still wrought and was tempestuous, but the immediate peril had passed away. That it had been most imminent, allowed no doubt. The ship’s log was copied afterwards, and it confessed the fact. One leak, at the critical moment, and the vessel must inevitably have foundered, and every soul been lost; for no boat could have lived in such a sea, so many

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 333

hundred miles from land. But God listened to the cry of his servants, and brought them out of their distresses: He “made the storm calm, so that its waves were still.”

While the result was still uncertain, the bishop seems to have retired to his cabin, and opening his desk for the first time since leaving Trincomalee, he made the following entry:

“FRIDAY, DECEMBER 4, 1834.

“God’s will be done. The Lord sits above the floodwaters; indeed, the Lord ‘abides a King forever.’ When Jesus had compelled his disciples to go into the ship, the storm nevertheless arose, and they were near to perishing. But Jesus was on the mountain praying for them. Jesus saw them when in jeopardy. Jesus came to them at the critical moment, saying, ‘It is I, be not afraid.’

“I would desire to trust in the same Jesus, present everywhere, and working by His never-failing providence. I would humble myself before Him; I would implore His mercy; confessing my grievous sins, relying on His precious death, and resigning myself into His almighty hands. Lord, save! We perish!

“Afflictions are the portion of the militant church. They humble, lay low, show us our weakness, bring our sins to remembrance, awaken our conscience, and place eternity at the door. At this moment any increase of storm might expose us to the most direct and imminent danger; while, at any instant, Jesus may arise, saying, ‘Peace, be still!’ and there would be a great calm. This is the moment then, to glorify Jesus by faith in his power and love; to lie in his hands as clay in the hands of the potter; to be assured that ‘all is well;’ to look with more scrutiny into the heart, and to put away every sin. Heaven is a state of holiness; Christ is the most holy Saviour; God is a holy God. Am I then holy? Fit for heaven? Really sanctified by the truth? Separated from every sin? Devoted to the whole will of God? Lord! Make me so more and more. Give me the scriptural evidences of a true faith. Shine upon your work in my heart.

“But it is on your mercy alone that I rely. I renounce every other refuge [in order] to fly to your death and passion. Save me as the chief of sinners. Save my diocese. Save my brethren the clergy. Save my children and grandchildren. Save my friends. Save your Church. Save the whole world.”

The wind had lulled, and hour by hour the sea grew calm, and the vessel held on her way. On December 9th land was sighted; and at three o’clock on the morning of the 10th, the light-house at Madras cast its bright beams upon the waters, filling the heart with gratitude, and the lips with praise. The whole distance from Trincomalee was but two hundred and eighty miles, and it had taken nine days to accomplish it.

At dawn of day the bishop hastened to leave the ship; and since no preparation could be expected at such an early hour, he resolved

334 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

to avail himself of a common Masullah boat,¹ which was plying at the ship’s side. But landing at Madras is not an easy thing. The coast is open, the whole line of surf runs very high, and the least carelessness, or lack of skill, leads to a catastrophe more or less serious.

Thus it happened in the present case. On board the ship the bishop was careless about his clothing. Whatever was most comfortable was worn — the loose black crape coat, no cravat, and a hat retaining nothing of episcopacy except the form. But when about to land, all this was changed; and something of stiffness may naturally be supposed to accompany the glossy cassock, and starched cravat, the new hat, and the best coat. Thus arrayed, with his pocket Bible and little atlas as inseparable companions, the bishop stepped into the boat, attended by his suite. All Masullah boats are large, high out of the water, rowed by many men, and guided by a steersman who stands on the same raised deck on which the passengers, with feet suspended far above the bottom, are seated. Silently the shore was neared, on which some red and black coats in waiting were now revealed. The swell preceding the breakers was felt; the rowers raised their usual cry — now nearing the beach, and now retiring — now pulling, and now backing their oars — waiting for a favorable moment and an encouraging word. The word at last was spoken, but at a wrong crisis. The first wave excited some astonishment; but the second made a clear breach over the boat, and in an instant the bishop, chaplain, and doctor, were swept from their seats,

¹ Or *Masoola* boat; A boat used on the coast of Madras, India. The planks are sewed together with strands of coconut rope which cross over a wadding of the same material, so the shock on taking the beach through the surf is greatly reduced.

and with hats and books, were floating in the water which half filled it. A third wave, and all were safe on shore, aided by sympathizing and yet half-smiling friends. Dignity does not agree with drenched clothes; and while guns were firing, bands playing, and troops presenting arms, the bishop was hurrying away to find shelter and dry clothes in Government House. "A floundering surf," as he afterwards described it, "finished our calamities with its own petty annoyance."

After all this, a rest of some days was manifestly essential. In the interval thus afforded, it may be well to narrate what brought the bishop to Madras, and what anxious matters awaited him. This will involve the whole of what is called "The Caste question," the consideration of which has been reserved until now, in order to obtain a continuous narrative. It will later prove an epoch of great importance in the history of the native church of India.

The first Protestant Mission was established at Tranquebar, on the eastern coast of Southern India, under the auspices of Frederic IV, King of Denmark, in the year 1705-6.

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 335

Ziegenbalg and Plutschow were the first missionaries, and they baptized their first converts on May 12th, 1707. Soon after, the mission became known to the church in England, and enlisted its warmest sympathies. In the year 1710, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge made grants in aid, both of money and books; and soon after took a more direct part in its proceedings. The mission spread, and put out great branches which reached to Vepery, Cuddalore, Tanjore Trichinopoly, and Tinnevely. In the year 1824, the whole charge of the mission was transferred to the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel; and at a later period, the Church Missionary Society entered the same wide field. By this instrumentality, many thousands of Christians had been gathered into the fold of Christ. It is the insidious working of caste among them which is now under consideration. It had gradually insinuated itself till, like leaven, it had leavened the whole lump. In other parts of India it was unknown. In Bengal and elsewhere, when a native embraces Christianity, all connection with idolatry and idolatrous usages ceases at once. Caste is at an end; and the Brahmin, Soodra, and Pariah are "one in Christ." Even Mohammedanism does not allow its retention by a proselyte.

And thus it was originally in the southern churches. Caste was unknown to the first converts, and was not tolerated by the first missionaries. There are "ancient reports" of the mission still extant, of dates varying from 1712 to 1739, which show that a firm stand was made against the retention and recognition of caste. The following may be read in proof:

"Extract from the Ancient and Modern Missionary Reports on the subject of Distinction of Castes. Translated from the German.

"Remarks of the Rev. Messrs. Ziegenbalg and Gründler, 1712.

"When a heathen embraces Christianity, he must renounce all superstitions connected with caste; namely, that no one should intermarry or eat with those of another caste: that every caste should have a distinguishing title, peculiar ceremonies and customs, and a different way of living: that those who acted contrary should lose their caste, and be accounted most despicable wretches... For we allow no such distinctions, but teach them that in Christ they are all one, none having a preference before the other. We allow them, therefore, to intermarry, not in regard to caste, but according to their own pleasure; if they are so, they may be united in a Christian manner. On account of the above superstitions, the heathens are very much surprised to see that those who have embraced Christianity sit together in one church, marry without regard to caste, live, eat and drink together, and renounce all former

336 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

distinctions. We do not object to rank, derived from official station, but we take care that good order is observed among our people.”¹

Plutscho soon retired to Europe in shattered health. Ziegenbalg died in 1719; Gründler, in 1720. Able men succeeded them; but they had less power, or less foresight. Concessions were made to native prejudices. Caste came creeping in. In 1726, we read from the authority already quoted, of separate schools being allowed, because the parents of Soodra children objected to their sitting with Pariah children. In 1727, we read of different places in church being allotted to Christians of different castes. In 1730, we hear of difficulties connected with funeral ceremonies. A catechist called Rayanaicken, a Pariah, but a man of great piety and respectability, attended to read the funeral service over a Christian female of higher caste. Her relatives objected, alleging that pollution would follow the performance of a ceremony by a Pariah; and, to prevent it, they burned the body. To avoid this scandal for the future, Soodra catechists were appointed to minister to the Soodras, and Pariah to the Pariahs. In 1738, objections were made by men of the higher caste to the reception of the holy Sacrament at the hands of men of the lower caste; and these objections were tolerated.

Now Swartz comes upon the scene. In July 1750, he landed at Cuddalore, and commenced these admirable labors which lasted nearly half a century. The evil had taken root before he arrived; and he seems to have endeavored to extirpate it by moral suasion rather than by direct authority. Extracts from his letters go to prove this:

“The Catechists are well. I mentioned in my last that Saruvaian had returned. He now appears to intend well. I have again received him as a Catechist. But I never allow him to go forth alone, always sending two together. Two of the Catechists are Soodras, and two Pariahs; but the Pariahs keep themselves so clean, that they find no difficulty in going about with the Soodras.”

In 1787, he writes to the Christian Knowledge Society as follows:

I have carefully avoided all coercive measures, and thus have met with fewer difficulties. Even at the administration of the Sacrament, sometimes one or other of the lower caste has first approached to receive it without producing any unpleasant sensation. Should you visit our church on Sunday, you would observe with surprise the clean appearance of the lower caste, so that one might often take them for the higher.”

One or two anecdotes of Swartz confirm this. He was at Timpalaturg,
1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 337

in the house of a heathen, when one of his catechists, who was a Pariah, came to speak to him. “Stop,” he cried out, “I will come to you; the Suttirer (people of the higher caste) have not yet learned to be humble; they are proud sinners yet; we must bear with them.” The effect was to call forth both kindness and respect to the catechist.

At another time he was waiting in the antechamber of the palace at Tanjore, when a Brahmin accosted him:

“Mr. Swartz, do you not think it a very bad thing to touch a Pariah?”

“Oh, yes,” replied the venerable man; “a very bad thing.”

The Brahmin, perceiving that more was meant than was expressed, asked again,

“But, Mr. Swartz, what do you mean by a Pariah?”

“I mean,” he replied, “a thief, a liar, a slanderer, a drunkard, an adulterer, a proud man.”

“Oh, then,” said the Brahmin, “we are all Pariahs!”¹

¹ “Ancient Reports,” vol. 1. pp. 342-3.

Thus he endeavored to discountenance what, perhaps, he could not all at once eradicate. He died in 1798, and no one caught his mantle as it fell. There were still holy men in the mission, but none had his single eye and courageous heart, his prudent forethought and extensive influence. Changes were rapid, and in India the past is soon forgotten. In 1809, the missionaries then in Southern India write to the Parent Society from Tanjore, and say:

“From the commencement of the Mission on this coast, it has been the uniform practice of the Missionaries to instruct the converts in the truths of Christianity; to insist upon their living a holy life, and showing that they are Christians by loving God above all things, by considering all men, of whatever denomination, as their neighbors; to entertain a hearty good-will towards them, and to do them all the good in their power; but they never insisted on any person who wished to embrace Christianity renouncing his caste.”

This was said, doubtless, to justify a practice generally adopted. They had tolerated the retention of caste, and now defended it. The Parent Society, meanwhile, stood in doubt. The question was difficult. India was little known in those days. They were unwilling to check the progress of the mission, but still anxious to maintain the purity of Christianity. In reply to the communication from which the above extract is taken, they say:

338 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

“The Society, of course, does not countenance the adherence of the Christian converts to any former religious restrictions which are not consistent with their Christian liberty, yet it cannot be in the power or wish of the Society to abolish all distinctions of ranks and degrees in India; nor do they feel themselves entitled to do more than to remind the Christian converts, that with respect to spiritual privileges, in Christ Jesus there is neither bond nor free, neither high nor low; yet that such privileges are no way incompatible with the various distinctions of rank and degrees in society which are recognized in the gospel itself; where persons of several ranks and conditions receive, respectively, admonitions and counsel adapted to their state.”

From there, the progress of this evil was rapid, and it grew too strong to be held in check by the few missionaries in the field of labor, even if that had been their desire. Whole districts were left under native catechists; the reins of discipline were loosely held; there was no one to raise the warning voice, or apply the required remedy. The result was certain. The barriers which caste had set up among the heathen, separating man from man, and family from family, became incorporated into Christianity. Idolatrous usages were retained. Soodras and Pariahs refused to mingle in the house of God. At the holy Communion, the higher caste first drew near, and would not touch the cup if a low caste man preceded them. A Soodra priest or catechist, while not refusing to minister in a Pariah village, would not live in it. And, on the other hand, a Soodra would not allow a Pariah priest or catechist to preach the gospel to him, or baptize his child. Even the missionaries were considered unclean, and a native priest of the higher caste has been known to refuse food and shelter to two European missionaries on their journey, lest food and vessels should be defiled. Christians attended the heathen feasts; they bore the heathen marks on their foreheads; they prohibited the marriage of widows; they would allow no marriages except in their own caste, and in no less than fifty ways they were assimilated into the heathen.

Had these been matters touching only civil ranks or distinctions, no interference would have been necessary, for Christianity allows all social distinctions, and is not the author of confusion in the churches. But caste is religious in its very origin. Its rules are defined and enjoined in the Hindu Shaster — the Law — the *Νομος*; — a supposed divine revelation sanctioned by their gods themselves. Its contents are partly religious or ceremonial, and partly civil or political; it was to the former only that the Soodras clung, and for which they strove. And yet their pretensions, when rightly understood, were almost ridiculous. It was not a question of high race, or gentle

¹ Schwartz, *Life by Pearson*, vol. ii. p. 155.

lineage. These Soodras were of the lowest caste themselves, and were only formed to be the servants of all. The Brahmin

1834-35. PEIMAKT VISITATION. 339

sprang from the head of Brahma to rule; the Chattriar from his arms, to fight; the Vasyars from his thighs, to work; and the Sattirer or Soodra from his feet, to serve. Beneath these came the Pariahs, as having sprung from a mingling of castes, and entitled to none. And yet the servile Soodra looked upon the Pariah with as much contempt as he was himself looked upon by the lordly Brahmin.

Nor was there anything in the system analogous to the civil distinctions among ourselves. It was not that a Soodra refused to drink water out of the vessel, or draw water out of the well of one who, though a Christian, might be a man of low and dirty habits; it was not that he refused to sit, eat, or receive the holy Sacrament with such a person; but that he, the Soodra, a beggar perhaps himself, or a man of low, dirty habits, refused on religious grounds to draw water, or to eat, drink, receive the holy Sacrament, and intermarry with a respectable, educated, wealthy man, because he was a Pariah. Civil distinctions, in fact, were overpowered by idolatrous caste; and the Soodra, however low in position or in reputation, stood apart, saying to the Pariah, "Stand by yourself, for I am holier than you."

The whole matter, as thus explained, was brought before Bishop Heber when he was about to visit these southern churches. He wrote a letter of inquiry to the REV. D. SCHREIVOGEL, one of the missionaries, which is on record; and containing, as it does, all the suggestions that can be made on the other side of the question, it is too important to be omitted. It is as follows:

"CHILLUMBRUM, MARCH 21, 1826.

"I wrote yesterday to Dr. Coemmerer to express my regret at not being able to visit you at Tranquebar. Since that time, having again looked over your letter to me, as well as that which you sent on the subject of the distinctions of caste, and of other customs still remaining among the native Christians, which you reprobate as heathenish and improper, I have been led to wish for some explanations of those customs, and of your reasons for objecting to them; of which the latter, as expressed in those papers (to deal freely with you), do not seem to me satisfactory. With regard to the distinctions of caste as yet maintained by professing Christians, it appears that they are manifested in desiring separate seats at church, in going up at different times to receive the holy Communion, in insisting on their children having different sides of the school, in refusing to eat, drink, or associate with those of a different caste.

"Now, it is desirable to know whether these are insisted upon as *religious*, or as merely *civil* distinctions; whether arising from a greater supposed purity and blessedness in the Soodras over the Pariahs; or whether they are not badges of nobility and ancient pedigree, such as those which in Spain, even among the poorer

340 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

classes, divide the Spaniards and Castilians from persons of mixed blood; and in the United States of North America, entirely exclude Negroes and Mulattoes, however free and wealthy, from familiar communication with the whites. Also, whether the Christians of higher caste adhere to these distinctions, as supposing that there is any real value in them, or merely out of fear to lose the society and respect of their neighbors and relatives.

"If these questions are answered in the affirmative (as they have been, very solemnly, by the Rev. Christian David, in answer to my repeated inquiries), I confess I do not think the evil so great as to be insufferable, or to justify the ministers of Christ in repelling from the communion those who adhere to them, though it may be that the spirit of pride (from which they flow) should, by gentle means, be corrected as far as possible."

He then proceeds, in the same calm tone, but with the same perceptible bias, to inquire with respect to their private meals and social communication, their marriage ceremonies, and their presence at heathen festivals; and then concludes as follows:

“My reasons for asking information on these subjects will be plain when I mention that the question of caste, and of such practices as these, has been referred to my consideration, both by the Christians and missionaries of Vepery; and that, in order to gain more light on the subject, a select committee of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge has been appointed at my desire.

“In the meantime, I am most anxious to learn from every quarter, especially from a Christian minister of your experience and high character, the real truth of the case. God forbid that we should encourage or allow any of our converts to go on in practices either antichristian or immoral; but (I will speak plainly with you, as one brother in Christ should with another) I have also some fears that recent missionaries have been more scrupulous in these matters than need requires, and than was thought fit by Swartz and his companions. God forbid that we should wink at sin! But God forbid, also, that we should make the narrow gate of life narrower than Christ has made it; or deal less favorably with the prejudices of this people, than St. Paul and the Primitive Church dealt with the almost similar prejudices of the Jewish converts.

“It has occurred to me, that if either you or Dr. Coemmerer (to whom pray offer my best wishes and respects) could find time on Easter Monday to come over to meet me at Tanjore, my doubts might be the better cleared one way or the other, and other matters might be discussed in a few words, of much advantage to the cause of Missions in this country.”¹

This letter by some means obtained publicity, and was deemed a great triumph by the Soodra Christians. Yet it bears its character on its face. It was a letter of inquiry. The bishop was “in doubt.” He dwelt on first impressions, but gave no decision. Alas! That

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 341

decision was never given. The letter was written March 21st; and on April 3d the bishop was no more.

The steps consequent to this letter have never obtained publicity. It is of great importance to the question, that they should now be known.

It was observed that Bishop Heber sought an interview with the Rev. D. Schreivogel, and that he had appointed a committee of inquiry. The result of both was as follows:

The interview took place; and what passed is described by Mr. Schreivogel himself, in a letter to Archdeacon Robinson, of Madras, in the year 1828:

“Your letter of October 29th, with the articles of inquiry on the question of Caste, and I have duly received a printed copy of the letter addressed to me by Bishop Heber, and have now the honor of forwarding to you my answers to the former. But as the native Christians (I think those of Vepery) have been very industrious in communicating that letter of Bishop Heber’s, as well as that sent to all our congregations by the Honorable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in which the missionaries were directed not to interfere with caste, and getting them translated into Tamil² for more general information; and as they are in no small degree rejoiced at the idea that they have triumphed over the missionaries, and that Bishop Heber did, and the Society does, approve of the observance of Caste among them; it will therefore be necessary to mention how far I satisfied his Lordship on the various points of his inquiry.

“When, in an interview with his Lordship at Tanjore, I explained to him for what causes, and in what manner, the former missionaries excommunicated some members of their congregation, he declared the proceeding was quite Apostolical, and fully assented to my opinion that those who had been partakers of heathenish feasts and sacrifices would, in the Primitive Christian Church, have been

¹ Heber’s *Life*, vol. ii. p. 399.

² Or *Tamul* (as in the original text). They are known today as *Tamil*, and so it has been changed throughout this book.

considered apostates. And when I told him that the dancing girls were prostitutes and servants of the heathen temples, and that the plays which the Christians had acted were so obscene, that the Catechist could not prevail on himself to read them to me, he condemned those practices without hesitation. Regarding my proposal that their marriages should be celebrated with more Christian simplicity, he said he did not wish that the missionaries should interfere with it. But when I told him that even for economical reasons it would be desirable to prohibit their mode, by which they not only spend more than they can afford, but even contract debts, which they are distressed for years afterwards to discharge; and that the more reasonable part would be happy for the sanction of a law to dispense with these useless expenses which they could not conveniently do without such a law; he remained silent. In regard to the distinction of Caste, his Lordship was not able as yet to form a decided opinion, though after I had communicated to him what I had to say on the subject, he did not think it so innocent. And he told me he wished to come to the bottom of this disputed question, and would therefore send inquiries to the missionaries of all societies, without distinction;

342 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

and that even then, he would not be guided by the number of votes for or against, but by the strength of the arguments brought forward.”

Such was the result of the interview. The result of the committee of inquiry now has to be considered. The death of the bishop prevented the preparation of any formal report; but articles of inquiry were carefully drawn up and sent out, and the answers were preserved and bound up in a manuscript volume. In that form, they were submitted to the writer of these lines while at Madras with the bishop; and he made a correct analysis of the contents. From that analysis it appears that sixteen questions were addressed to each missionary, arranged under four heads, having reference to — 1. The general bearing of caste. 2. The native churches. 3. The native schools. 4. Social communication.

Very full answers to these questions were received from twenty-seven missionaries then laboring in the south. The names of those belonging to the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were the Rev. Mr. Haubroe, Mr. Kohlhoff, Dr. Rottler, D. Schreivogel, D. Rosen, P.M. D. Wissing.

The names of those belonging to the Church Missionary Society were Rev. C. Rhenius, G. T. Barenbruck, J. Kindlinger, S. Ridsdale, T. Norton, B. Schmidt, J. C. T. Winker.

The name of the one belonging to the Royal Danish Mission was the Rev. A. Coemmerer.

The names of those belonging to the Wesleyan Missionary Society were the Rev. D. Carver, and J. Mowat.

The names of those belonging to the London Missionary Society were Rev. J. Hands, W. Miller, J. Smith, W. Taylor, J. C. Thompson.

The names of those belonging to some society not mentioned were J. Dawson, Taylor, and Baynon.

But, in addition to these, it should be mentioned that the Rev. C. Rhenius, who was then in full connection with the Church Missionary Society, had of his own accord, communicated with his fellow-missionaries in India, and had obtained the opinions of thirty-five of different denominations laboring in Bengal, Bombay, and Ceylon. In his communication to the committee he states the fact, and adds that the unanimous opinion of these thirty-five, on the general question, was in accordance with his own.

So that we have in one view the accumulated opinions of the whole missionary body of India, at that time, on the subject of caste among native Christians.

Some of the younger missionaries speak with reserve, as having recently arrived; and profess to give their opinion only so far as

their observation has extended. Slight differences of opinion also appear as to the degree in which caste partakes of a civil or religious character, and as to the extent of mischief it has wrought in the missions. One thinks — and one only — that it has done no harm, and that it should still be allowed.

But with this exception (in the case of the Danish Mission), and with these modifications in degree, all are unanimously of the opinion that if caste is retained, Christianity will be destroyed. Not only do the arguments preponderate, as Bishop Heber required, but the votes also — and the conclusion is inevitable.

Amidst the mass of evidence, a few facts came out, corroborative of what has gone before. Some may be given here.

Very recently, a Tamil Christian, having travelled from Madras to Tanjore, was summoned before a caste tribunal still existing there among the Christians, to answer an accusation brought against him of having eaten defiled food on his journey; that is, food prepared by a low caste man. He only escaped by taking an oath on the Bible that he was guiltless. But it was too generally understood that in doing this he had perjured himself.

The fact is recorded of a Soodra priest refusing to live in a village with his own congregation who were Christian Pariahs, and going to live in another village where all were heathen Soodras.

It was stated that the rules of caste among the Christians were quite variable; and that what was held to be unlawful in some places, was held to be quite lawful in others.

The question of ceremonial defilement was illustrated by the circumstance, that when the floor of the church was uncovered, men of different castes did not object to sitting on different sides of it at public worship; but when, as at Tranquebar, the floor was covered with a mat, Christians of the higher caste would not attend church till it was cut in half and some space left between the two parts.

It was stated that in some places it was customary not only to administer the sacred elements to the Soodras before the Pariahs were permitted to approach, but that the concluding prayers were required to be read and the Soodras dismissed, before the Pariahs communicated. In some places, also, a separate cup was tolerated — the Soodras using one, the missionaries and Pariahs the other!

Mr. Rhenius stated that a Tanjore Christian had avowed to him solemnly, that he would rather give up his Christianity than his caste.

Such was the complicated state of things when the bishop entered on the duties of his diocese; but it must not be supposed for a moment that he was cognizant of it. The subject had slept

344 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

for some years. The mass of evidence had been bound up and forgotten. The evil worked silently. He knew that the missions in the south were in a low state; but he was by no means prepared for the startling announcement made to him by the official secretary a few months after his arrival, that no less than one hundred and sixty-eight Christians had apostatized to heathenism during the past year. No harsh treatment, no exercise of discipline had done this. The retention of caste was the only cause. As it facilitated the reception of Christianity, so it likewise facilitated the return to heathenism. The bridge between the two had been left standing; and the only conclusion to be drawn was that it must now be broken down. Compromise had been tried in vain; decided measures must now be taken.

The bishop accepted the responsibility imposed upon him by his office, rejected timid counsels, and disregarded future consequences. He looked at the question simply as a matter of right or wrong; and formed his judgment according to the tenor and commands of holy Scripture. His mind was soon made up; and he retired to Tittaghur to take prompt action. On July 3^d, 1833, he brought into his chaplain's room sheets of closely-written paper. "Read this," he said; "it is on the Caste question; and when you have read, tell me whether you think it will do."

No other eye saw, no other ear heard it. The letter was committed to God in earnest prayer, copied, and sent off. The following were its contents:

"To the Brethren, the Missionaries, in the Diocese of Calcutta, and the flocks gathered by their labors or entrusted to their care.

"PALACE, CALCUTTA, JULY 5, 1833.

"REV. AND DEAR BRETHREN:

"Having heard that some usages of an unfavorable nature prevail in certain of the native churches, and more particularly in the southern parts of the Peninsular, I am led by the obligation of my sacred office to deliver to you this my paternal opinion and advice. My honored and revered predecessors in this See, now with God, labored to abate the inconveniences to which I allude. And I am much relieved in discharging my own share of this duty by the memorials of their previous admonitions, which I have had the opportunity of consulting. Their abstinence from any official interference ought to have commended their advice to your cheerful acquiescence, and to have superseded the necessity of my now entering upon the subject. But as their forbearance and kindness have failed to produce the desired effect, you will not be surprised if I feel compelled, as the pastor and bishop of souls under Christ our Lord in this diocese, to prescribe to you what seems to me essential to the preservation of the purity of the Christian faith among you.

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 345

"The unfavorable usages to which I refer, arise, as I understand, from the distinction of castes. These castes are still retained — customs in the public worship of Almighty God, and even in the approach to the altar of the Lord, are derived from them — the refusal of acts of common humanity often follow; processions at marriages, and other relics of heathenism, are at times preserved; marks are sometimes borne on the countenance; envy, hatred, pride, alienation of heart, are too much engendered; the discipline and subjection of the flock to its shepherd are frequently violated; combinations to oppose the lawful and devout directions of the missionaries are formed. In short, under the name of Christianity, half the evils of Paganism are retained.

"These various instances of the effects of the one false system, the retention of caste, might be multiplied. They differ, no doubt, in different places. In some stations they are slight and few; in others, numerous and dangerous. Many, many native congregations are, as I trust, free from them altogether. Many have nearly accomplished their removal. I speak, therefore, generally, as the reports have reached me. I throw no blame on individuals, whether ministers or people. It is to the system that my present remarks apply; and it is in love that I proceed to give my decision.

"The distinction of castes, then, must be abandoned, decidedly, immediately, finally; and those who profess to belong to Christ must give this proof of their having really 'put off, concerning their former conduct, the old man,' and having 'put on the new man' in Christ Jesus. The gospel recognizes no distinctions such as those of castes, imposed by a heathen usage, bearing in some respects, a supposed religious obligation; condemning those in the lower ranks to perpetual abasement; placing an immovable barrier against all general advance and improvement in society; cutting asunder the bonds of human fellowship on the one hand, and preventing those of Christian love on the other. The gospel does not recognize such distinctions, I say. On the contrary, it teaches us that God 'has made of one blood all the nations of men;' it teaches us that while the 'princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise authority upon them,' it must not be so among the followers of Christ; but that 'whoever will be great among them, is to be their minister; and whoever will be chief among them, is to be their servant, even as the Son of Man came not to be ministered to, but to minister, and to give his life a ransom for many.'

“The decision of the apostle is, accordingly, most express: ‘There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female; for you are all one in Christ Jesus.’ For if the strong separation between the holy nation and the Gentiles which was imposed by God himself, and had subsisted from the first legation of Moses, was abolished, and the wall of division torn down, and all the world placed on one common footing under the gospel; how much more are heathen subdivisions, arising from the darkness of an unconverted and idolatrous state, and connected in so many ways with the memorials of polytheism, to be abolished?

“Yet more conclusive, if possible, is the holy apostle’s language in another epistle: ‘Seeing you have put off the old man with his deeds; and have put on the new man which is renewed in knowledge after the image of him that created him; where (in which transition, when this mighty change has taken place)

346 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

‘there is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision or uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all, and in all.’ So overwhelming is the flood by which all petty distinctions of nations, caste, privilege, rank, climate, position in civilization are effaced, and one grand distinction is substituted — between those who are renewed after the image of God, and those who remain in the state of fallen nature.

“Only imagine the blessed apostle visiting your churches. Suppose he were to follow you in your distinctions of caste; to go with you to the table of the Lord; to observe your domestic and social alienations; to see your funeral and marriage ceremonies; to notice these and other remains of heathenism hanging upon you, and infecting even what you hold of Christianity; to hear your contemptuous language towards those of inferior caste to yourselves; to witness your insubordination to your pastors, and your divisions, and disorders. Imagine the holy apostle, or the blessed and divine Saviour himself, being personally present, and marking all this commixture of Gentile abominations with the doctrine of the gospel — what would they say? Would not the apostle repeat his language to the Corinthians, ‘Therefore come out from among them, and be separate, and do not touch the unclean thing; and I will receive you and be a father to you, and you shall be my sons and daughters, says the Lord Almighty’? And would not the adorable Redeemer say again, what he pronounced when on earth, ‘He that loves father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that loves son or daughter more than me, is not worthy of me; and he that does not take up his cross and follow after me, is not worthy of me’?

“There are two objections, dearly beloved, which may be raised against this statement. The one, that St. Paul ‘became all things to all men, that by all means he might save some.’ The other, that civil distinctions are recognized in the New Testament, and prevail in all Christian nations.

“To the first, I answer, that the apostle did, indeed, for a time, tolerate the Jewish prejudices in favor of the Mosaic law, which had itself been of divine institution, and was not wholly abolished till the destruction of Jerusalem and the dissolution of the Jewish polity; but that this lends no support to a distinction that is heathenish in its origin, and inconsistent with the equal privileges which all are allowed under the gospel. A divine law introductory to Christianity, though at length superseded by it, and a cruel institution which sprang at first from idolatry, and is opposed to the whole spirit of Christianity, are totally different things. Nor are we to forget that, even during the brief period that the Jewish law was permitted to retain any force, the apostle denounced it in the strongest manner, and directed the whole Epistle to the Galatians against the fatal error of trusting to it before God. All the mildness and gentleness of the apostle, therefore, we desire to imitate in the wise and gradual instruction of the new convert; but we must carefully eradicate an inveterate evil, spread through large bodies of professed Christians, and going on to evaporate the whole force of the gospel.

“The other objection is answered in a word. The civil distinctions of rank among Christians form no hindrance to the communication and offices of charity. There is no impassable barrier. The first noble in the land will enter the abode, and administer to the wants of the poorest cottager. There is nothing

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 347

to hinder any one from rising by industry and good conduct, to the loftiest elevations of society. The shades and gradations of rank are shifting perpetually. Birth condemns no class of men from

generation to generation, to inevitable contempt, debasement, and servitude. The grace of Christ, charity, the church, the public worship of God, the holy Communion, various circumstances of life, and occasions of emergency, unite all, as in one common fold, under one common Shepherd. ‘The rich and the poor,’ under the gospel, ‘meet together; the Lord is the maker of them all.’ The gospel acknowledges distinctions in civil society and retains them only when they are the natural result of differences of talents, industry, piety, station, and success.

“The decision, therefore, remains untouched by these objections; and in the necessity of making it, I am confirmed by two circumstances: the one, that in Bengal no distinction of castes is known among the converts — it is renounced in the very first instance; the other, that apostasies to heathenism¹ have been too frequent lately in the congregations where the distinction is permitted to remain.

“In the practical execution, however, of the present award, dear brethren, much wisdom and charity, united with firmness, will be requisite.

“1. The catechumens preparing for baptism must be informed by you of the bishop’s decision, and must be gently and tenderly advised to submit to it. Of course, the minister informs the bishop or archdeacon a week previously to the intended baptism of each convert, agreeably to the directions given by my honored predecessor, in his charge delivered at Madras, in November 1830; and this will afford opportunity for each particular case being well considered.

“2. The children of native Christians will, in the next place, not be admitted to the holy Communion without this renunciation of castes — their previous education being duly directed to this among other duties of the Christian religion; no material difficulties will, as I trust, arise here.

“3. With respect to the adult Christians already admitted to the holy Communion, I should recommend that their prejudices and habits be so far consulted as not to insist on an open, direct renunciation of caste. The execution of the award in the case of all new converts and communicants, will speedily wear out the practice.

“4. In the meantime, it may suffice that overt acts which spring from the distinction of castes, are at once and finally discontinued in the church; whether places in the church are concerned, or the manner of approach to the Lord’s table, or processions in marriages, or marks on the forehead made with paint or mixtures, or differences of food and dress — whatever the overt acts are, they must be abandoned at once in the church, so far as the influence of ministers goes.”

He then goes on to describe the essential characteristics of the gospel, and their adaptation to the restoration of decayed churches, and concludes as follows:

“The heart which dictates these lines is full of love to you all. I long to be able to visit you myself, and see the effects of this my pastoral letter upon you. Do not think me too harsh, severe, or rigid. God knows the tenderness with

348 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

which I would cherish you, as a nurse cherishes her children. It is that very tenderness which induces me to grieve you for a moment, that you may attain everlasting consolations. Faithless is the shepherd who sees the wolf coming, and flees, and leaves the sheep. So the bishop would be who hearing of the enemy of souls ravaging among you, shunned, from a false delicacy, to warn you of the danger. Rather, brethren, both ministers and people, I trust that my God will give an entrance to His word into your hearts by however weak and unworthy an instrument. Rather I trust you will ‘suffer the word of exhortation.’ Rather I hope you will be ready, before you read these lines, ‘to put away from you’ these practices, which weaken your strength, and dishonor the ‘holy name by which you are called.’ — ‘Yes,’ let me hear you say, ‘it is the voice of the Good Shepherd that we hear; we will follow the call — we will rejoice to renounce our dearest objects of affection for Christ’s sake — we will offer our Isaac upon the altar — we will give up ourselves without reserve, not only in these instances but in every other, to Him who has “lived, and died, and revived, that he might be Lord both of the dead and living.”’

¹ That is, heathen practices continue in Christian churches where caste is allowed to continue; such apostasies must cease.

“To the grace of this adorable Saviour I commend you, and am,

“Your faithful brother,

(Signed) “DANIEL CALCUTTA.”

This letter came upon a people dwelling at their ease, and it found the missionaries few in number, and scarcely equal to the crisis. It was not at first made public. The explanation of certain passages was required, and a careful translation had to be made. This led to further correspondence; and the bishop wrote short letters on November 19th and December 2d, and at greater length on January 17th, 1834.

The last of these was addressed to the Rev. D. Schreivogel and his congregation at Trichinopoly, and went into much detail. It stated, also, that after due notice and entreaties, and the lapse of convenient time, all employments, aids of money, and other missionary encouragements would be withdrawn from all who continued to “walk disorderly.” The following are the most important extracts:

‘I continue in the same mind as when I first wrote, that caste must be renounced, decidedly, promptly, finally.

But I need scarcely say that in the manner of doing this, your ministers will strive to unite, with firmness and decision, all that love, and forbearance, and consideration of circumstances, and extreme tenderness, which the nursing mother exercises towards her infant babe. Yes, beloved brethren in the ministry, if ever the ‘meekness and gentleness of Christ’ were necessary for you, it is on this occasion, when the evil habits of a century have so infixed themselves as to be removed only with pain and difficulty. All harshness of tone, all severity, all warmth in return for ill behavior, all selfish, petty feelings of conceit or importance, must be watched against, especially in those of you who are young, in order that the firmness and the mildness of Christ may equally

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 349

appear in you. Then the flocks, seeing the wisdom and fortitude of the shepherds, will follow their holy guidance with steady and obedient steps.

“One uniform method should be, as much as possible, followed in all the churches. The following are among the particulars which should be insisted on by degrees:

“1. The converts sit altogether in church.

“2. They come without distinction to the Lord’s table.

“3. The country priest and catechist receives into his house anyone that comes to him on a religious errand or business, of whatever caste.

“4. The congregation admit into their houses the catechists who are duly appointed to instruct them, and read with them.

“5. The country priest does not refuse to remain in the village where he is appointed, because there are none but those who were formerly of inferior castes.

“6. Godfathers and godmothers are taken indiscriminately from whatever caste; and if one is of a different caste from the rest, no objection is taken.

“7. When the congregation is called together about any matter, all that can come are welcome, if only they are baptized.

“8. In the churchyard no separate place is allotted for the interment of those of the higher castes, as they were called.

“Many similar topics will probably occur to your own minds; but these suggested themselves to me, and appear material.”

When it was found from these letters that the bishop's mind was firm and unalterable, the missionaries took immediate steps to make his decision known to their flocks. The smaller stations of Cuddalore, Combaconum, and the Coleroon River, seemed inclined to follow the lead of others. As soon as all misunderstandings were cleared away, they acquiesced. But far more difficulty was experienced in the larger stations of Trichinopoly, Vepery, and Tanjore. At Trichinopoly, the bishop's first letter was not read publicly in the church; but Mr. Schreivogel assembled the Soodras in his house. Having there explained the matter to them, he afterwards circulated the letter. When the second letter arrived, it was translated, and read publicly in the church. Only five Soodra families were present at the time. Of these, three conformed; while the general body not only refused, but withdrew altogether from public worship, and from any communication with the missionary. All was done quietly, however. No disturbance of any kind took place, nor were any complaints heard of insolence on the part of the Pariahs, or threatenings on the part of the Soodras. After the lapse of a considerable time, the Christian servants of the mission were warned of the consequences if they persisted in disobedience. Another month was allowed them for consideration. They were then assembled at the Mission House, and on their refusal to conform, were dismissed.

350 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

Of the whole congregation, only seven Soodra families remained; but divine service and the usual duties of the station continued as before, till the bishop arrived.

At Vepery, near Madras, the first letter having been carefully translated by Mr. Dent, who was an admirable Tamil scholar, was publicly read in church in the month of January 1834. Its contents had previously transpired. Great crowds were assembled. The missionary was somewhat nervous, and his sermon being ended, he commenced the reading in a low, indistinct voice. The tenor of the letter was, however, well understood, and after two or three pages had been turned, the main body of the Soodras — men, women, and children — rose without remark, and retired from the church. A few who were attached to the Mission remained seated, until a message came to them from outside, when they obeyed the call and joined the others. The catechist Adikalam alone remained in church, but he also subsequently declined to conform. It looked like a concerted plan, in order to manifest their disapproval of the letter; but this was afterwards denied. The reason assigned was, that while the reading was going on, a Pariah man had risen up, left his side of the church, and mingled with the Soodras. This affront they could not brook, and left the church accordingly.

But they did not return. The usual services went on, while only Pariahs attended. The Soodras drew up a paper, declaring that they would not yield to the missionary, nor attend church, nor send their children to school. They signed their names to this "Caste-bond," and posted a *peon*, or watchman, at the door both of the church and school, to see that none transgressed it. Moreover, they made preparations for a separate service, and commenced it on Whit-Sunday. It soon fell through, and then they applied to a missionary of the London Missionary Society for the use of his chapel. Strange to say, it was at once granted them, though all the circumstances of the case were perfectly well known, and the missionary himself had been one to strongly deprecate the retention of caste. They did not join his congregation, nor did he take part in their service; but he sat in a chair at the gate of the chapel, watching their entry and exit, and observing their proceedings.

It is but justice to add, that this conduct, when brought to the notice of the Madras Committee of the London Society, was decidedly condemned. A select committee was appointed to investigate the whole matter, and the following was their report:

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 351

“We respect the alleged motives of Mr. Taylor in the admission of these persons to worship in his chapel, but we entirely disapprove of the step. We consider that although he might have tendered advice to the Tepery Christians on their application to him, yet to permit them to worship at a distinct time and as a separate congregation in his own chapel, and to administer to them the ordinance of Baptism, was an interference of one Society with the discipline of another, which we altogether condemn; and the more so, because this step was taken by Mr. Taylor without the slightest reference to Mr. Irion their pastor, the first person with whom he was imperatively bound to confer in such a matter. Whatever the opinion of Mr. Taylor as to the countenance given to caste by this mode of procedure, we consider that the admission of a body of men, acting in direct opposition to their spiritual guides, to exclusive worship in the very manner which their own pastor condemned, is a real, though unacknowledged approval of caste. We condemn Mr. Taylor’s conduct in this matter the more, because the attempt made by the Society with which these persons are connected, to destroy the distinction of caste, has been made to the best of their judgment, after they have been censured for years by other societies for the countenance they have given to it.

(Signed) “ W. H. DREW, SECRETARY.”

The result was that a separate service in that chapel was no longer allowed, but permission was given to join the general congregation. The Soodras refused this, withdrew altogether, and attended no service of any kind. Meanwhile, those who had been employed by the society, after receiving due notice, and being allowed an interval of many weeks for consideration, were dismissed. Five months passed; and then symptoms of wavering began to appear. Some catechists and schoolmasters came forward, acknowledged their error, and promised to conform. They were received into communion with the church; but their places having been filled up in the Mission, they were compelled to wait for vacancies. The children also dropped into the schools. The congregation began to increase again. Five trees in the churchyard, which had marked the distinctive burial-places of Soodras and Pariahs, were cut down without offence. And though considerable shyness and a feeling of alienation remained, yet all was ready for submission and restoration when the bishop arrived.

Tanjore was the more important place. In that mission there were four native priests, one hundred and seven catechists, schoolmasters, and servants, and seven thousand native Christians. The bishop’s first letter was carefully translated, and read from the pulpit after a short sermon¹ by the venerable Mr. Kohlhoff, on Sunday, November 10th, 1833. The moment he finished reading it, and before the service was concluded, all the Soodra

352 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

men rose up, and one began to speak. One of the other missionaries who was in the church came forward and reminded him that he was in the house of God, and that the service was not finished. There was, in consequence, a momentary pause; but a crowd of Soodras soon gathered round him, and some clamor was raised. They were told that they would be heard on the next day, but that all interruption of divine service was wrong, and would render them liable to punishment. A paper was then presented to the younger missionary which he was desired to read. This showed premeditation, and it was refused. The following is the account given by the missionary, when relating what had passed:

“Not today,’ I said, ‘not today, but tomorrow. Come to the Mission House tomorrow, and we will read it and hear all you have to say.’ ‘Today, today, today!’ they all cried out, forcing the paper into my hands. I intentionally let it fall. They picked it up, and again forced it upon me, clamoring vociferously as before. I again said, ‘Tomorrow, tomorrow,’ but when they would not hear, I tore the paper before them, and cast it from me.”

¹ Matthew 7.21.

Then a scene of great confusion and loud tumult arose. Mr. Kohlhoff was assisted from the pulpit; and while this was being done, they gathered round his frightened wife, and grossly insulted her. The missionaries warned them and then left the church, followed by a storm of groans and hisses. A man outside remonstrated [the crowd]: “You ought to be ashamed. You act worse than the heathen.” They fell upon him, and severely beat him.

Now, many of these persons were catechists, schoolmasters, and pensioners, employed and supported by the funds of the Mission. Their conduct could not be tolerated; and two, who had made themselves particularly prominent, were at once suspended. This rather daunted the others, and for some days nothing was done save the writing of a letter asking that the Pariahs not be lifted up, but continue willingly to be governed by the “excellent distinction “ of caste.

After some delay, and a communication with the bishop as to whether a verbal or a written assent should be required, all the servants of the Mission, of every class, received the following notice, signed by the four missionaries then present at the station:

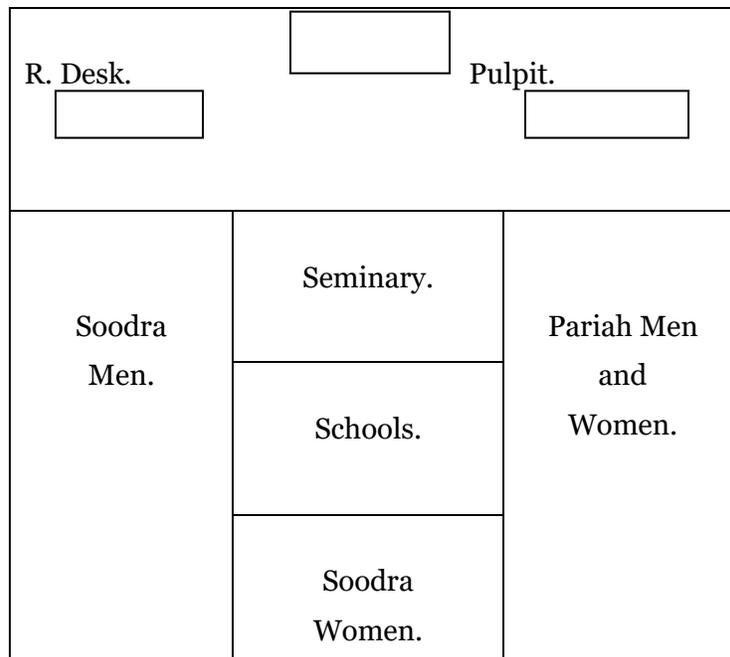
“JANUARY 10, 1834.

“We remind you that you are required to decide upon your obedience to the bishop’s letter respecting caste on or before the 22d day of this month. You have had sufficient time already to consider whether you will submit to lawful and scriptural discipline. You have been informed that you cannot continue in the service of this Mission

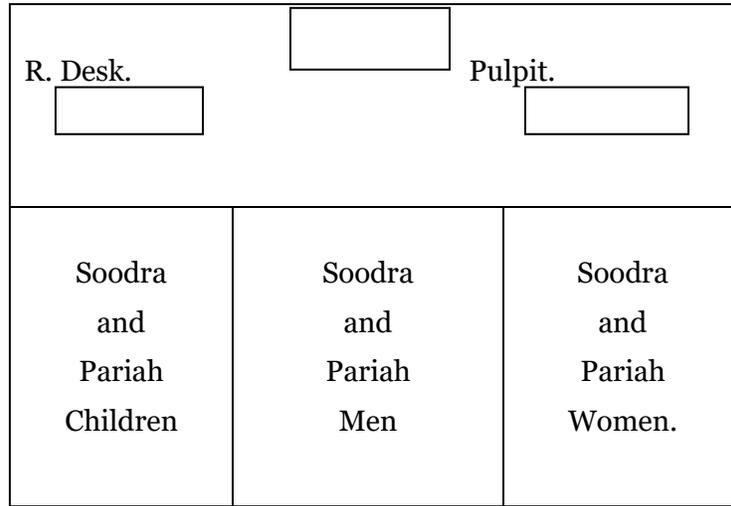
1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 353

unless you entirely conform to its regulations. This is the last notice you will receive on the subject. In case of your refusal to comply, or neglecting to answer this, you will be no longer in the service on the 31st. The bishop has sent another letter to you; and very affectionately, as your father and bishop, he inquires after your conduct, hoping that you have yielded to his admonitions as faithful and dear children. It is our prayer that you may enable us, by your filial obedience, to return a favorable answer, and cause him to rejoice with us over your spiritual welfare.”

The interior of the church was also rearranged to meet the emergency. Up to then it had been arranged in the manner below:



It was now altered, as in the accompanying plan — the sexes being still separate, and one mat covering the whole church:



The answers to the letter of the missionaries were, in due course, received. With singular inconsistency, almost all the writers acknowledged

364 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

the lawfulness of the bishop's wishes, and their conformity to holy Scripture; but some thought they were unsuited to their country and people; some felt that they involved a burden too heavy to be borne; some said that the spirit was willing, but the flesh was weak; some would be unable, if they complied, to marry their children; some feared relations; some asked for delay; — all begged to be excused.

Of the four native priests, one (Nyana-pragasen) conformed; one was absent, and did not answer; two refused.

Of the five superintending catechists, three conformed, two refused.

Of the general body, all with about ten exceptions, who just sufficed to keep life in the mission, refused.

On the 29th of January, all the recusants received a letter dismissing them from their several posts as threatened. This startled them; for they thought their unanimity would have prevented any serious action on the part of the missionaries. The native priests were addressed separately, as follows:

“JANUARY 31, 1834.

“It gives me much pain to be obliged, by your refusal to obey the discipline of the Lord Bishop, and the regulations of the Mission, to send you the enclosed dismissal from the service of the Mission. Your refusal will be immediately communicated to the Lord Bishop, and to the Madras Committee; and we affectionately entreat you, before their decision confirms what we have done, to re-consider the subject, and not to separate from your brethren in the ministry; but in the love of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to count with us all things but loss for his sake, and the benefit of his people, for whose edification you were ordained. And we entreat you, at this important crisis, not to allow your example to promote schism and disobedience; and we join in prayer for spiritual health.

“Signed by J. C. KOHLHOFF,

A. C. THOMPSON,
E. J. JONES,
T. C. SIMPSON.”

On February 5th, a circumstance occurred which caused much heart-burning, and showed the sad spirit that was prevalent. A Soodra woman died and was to be interred in the mission churchyard. To avoid all occasion of offence, the conforming priest, himself a Soodra, was appointed to read the funeral service. He instantly fell sick. Failing in the emergency to find such a substitute as was desired, a highly respectable native catechist of the lower caste was sent. The body was borne on a hired stage, in the heathen fashion — the bier, kept for the use of the mission having been declined, and the money granted that very morning by the missionaries

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 355

for funeral expenses thus misapplied. A large crowd assembled in the churchyard; the catechist was excluded, and a person selected by the parties themselves, prepared to read the service. The missionaries, perceiving what was about to be done, came forward and asked their catechist to proceed; but they were immediately surrounded by angry men, threatening personal violence, and commanding silence.

No further resistance was offered at the time; but it was thought right to bring the outrage before the proper authorities for the following reasons:

- 1st. To disabuse the minds of the natives of the idea that the missionaries might be insulted and threatened with impunity.
- 2d. To prevent further encroachments; since, if the churchyard could be claimed and forcibly used, why not the church-mission house and schools?

These ends were attained, and the offending parties punished; but additional bitterness was infused into the quarrel.

A second case occurred, similar in its general features; but now the Roman Catholic burial-ground was used, and no application made to the missionaries. A subscription was also raised to build a school, and the services of one of the dissident priests were made available for divine service. Marriages were performed according to the ceremonies of the heathen, and a disposition was manifested to throw off episcopal control altogether.

The bishop was kept acquainted with everything that passed. He advised that individuals should be dealt with, and that the communication should be gentle, friendly, personal, and persuasive. He was informed, in reply, that this had been attempted, but in vain; for all the people were inextricably mingled together, and bound by ties of all kinds; and an instance was mentioned in which inquiry had shown that the family of one dismissed catechist was related, more or less closely, with forty-three other families. To untie such knots was impossible.

The difficulty was increased by the interference of Europeans. Individuals of high rank and in high command could be mentioned, who encouraged the native Christians in their resistance, and assured them of eventual success. Government also began to move. The dismissed catechists and schoolmasters had petitioned the Resident at Tanjore in the first instance, complaining bitterly of the treatment they had received. They next applied to the Governor

356 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

of Madras, and, finally, to the Governor-General. The matter assumed an aspect of the utmost gravity, and the Governor-General seemed at one time strongly inclined to interfere. The notice addressed to him was sent to the Resident, with the margin covered with pencil notes of inquiry, which clearly showed the bias of his own mind. It must also be remembered that the matter was not simply one of discipline, as between the bishop and the native Christians. The Society for the

Propagation of the Gospel was deeply interested, and its approval and support (which were, indeed, most honorably tendered) were indispensable.

It may easily be imagined that all these things pressed heavily on the bishop's mind at this crisis. Had he faltered or hesitated, everything would have rushed to confusion; and the influence of the missionaries, the purity of Christianity, the future hopes of the church, would have vanished in a moment. But he neither hesitated nor faltered.

To the missionaries he wrote as follows:

To the Rev. Brethren, the Missionaries in the South of India, especially at Vepery, Tanjore, and Trichinopoly, grace and peace be multiplied.

“PALACE, CALCUTTA, MARCH 27, 1834.

“I have received, dear brethren, your important letters and reports concerning the affairs of the native churches. I highly approve all you have done. The removal of those who refused to yield to the will of our Lord and Saviour in renouncing the distinctions of caste in the Christian Church, as expressed to them by their pastors and bishop, I confirm in the strongest manner. They have separated themselves from ‘the Lord that bought them;’ they have preferred Belial to Christ; they have resolved to mix the doctrine of the holy Jesus with the dogmas of a heathenish superstition. Therefore, none of the offices in the church, none of the funds of the Mission, none of the aids intended for the comfort of the faithful, can any longer be conferred on them. They have been affectionately warned of the greatness of the sin, and of the consequences which would follow their persisting in it, and they have had full space allowed them for consideration and repentance. They must now ‘eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices.’

“The angry, captious spirit manifested by some of these misguided persons who oppose the gracious order of Christ's household; the rude and calumnious language¹ in which others speak of their pastors; the artful and disingenuous manner of a third class; the vain appeal which has been made by others to a letter of one of my honored and revered predecessors, now with God, as if it decided on the merits of the case with finality, whereas it was only an inquiry and suggestion; the proud, contemptuous, worldly temper apparent in almost all the documents; and the tumult which was attempted in some instances — all these things proclaim the necessity of the decisive step which I have been compelled to take. The various methods of mildness used by my

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 357

honored predecessors referred to above, and other bishops of this see having failed, the time seemed to have come when all the native churches would be in danger of relapsing into heathenism and idolatry, unless the religious distinctions connected with caste were at once and finally abandoned. Abandoned, therefore, they must now be. We must no longer attempt to ‘serve two masters.’ Christ and idols are contradictory to each other. Those who retain their caste are not properly and truly members of Christ's body at all. They halt ‘between two opinions.’² No wonder that so many have relapsed openly to heathenism and renounced even the name of Christian, when they were, in fact, only half Christians before, and were already too much ‘mingled among the heathen and learned their works.’³

“The removal of such offenders from the native churches, painful though it is, is like the separation of a diseased limb, indispensable to the safety of the body. Such disobedient persons declare themselves to no longer be of the divine fold, but to have chosen other pastures; they cannot then complain if ‘the porter no longer opens to them.’⁴ I confirm therefore, rev. brethren, all the sentences of removal you have pronounced.

¹ Harmful and often untrue; tending to discredit or malign.

² 1Kings 18.21.

³ Psa 106.35

⁴ John 10.3.

“If any should begin to relent, and God were to ‘give them repentance to the acknowledgment of the truth,’ and they should desire to be ‘delivered from the snare of the devil, who have been taken captive by him at his will,’¹ you will know how to act. The tender shepherd, who is going after the lost sheep, if he finds it, ‘lays it on his shoulder rejoicing.’ The blessed apostle St. Paul bid those who ‘have been overtaken in a fault, to be restored in the spirit of meekness.’² But there must be no compromise on your part. Those who continue to disobey, must ‘bear their judgment, whatever it is.’³ Christ must now at length be ‘all in all’ to those who profess His name. The distinctions founded on heathenism, and connected with the pollutions of idolatry, must at length be renounced; and the system of pride, exclusion, and debasement, interwoven with the impassable barriers of caste, must be abandoned in order that brotherly love may unite the whole body of Christ in one fellowship, and that, in the mystical communion of His precious body and blood, ‘we, being many,’ may, like the Corinthian converts, ‘be one bread and one body, all being partakers of that one bread.’⁴

“The spiritual, heartfelt union in the church being established, the various civil differences arising from station, office, age, talent, rank, birth, diligence, success, piety, and influence, will begin to appear in their gentle and natural, relations. No fixed degradation will be branded on any class of our brethren in the Lord; but the easy and salutary distinctions of human society will have their operation, to the edification of the whole body of the faithful, and to the advancement of every honest word and work. Thus will the truth of the gospel be restored, as I trust. But even if the blessed Saviour should see fit in His just displeasure to ‘remove the candlestick out of its place,’ as regards any of these once flourishing churches, because they refuse to repent, we must not alter our course. We must not provoke the great Master by new transgressions. Other churches will be raised up to bow to the divine will. Thousands and thousands of heathen will, I yet hope, ‘hear the word of the gospel and believe.’ The funds left for the support of native churches and schools will

358 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

be easily transferred to the same holy purposes in other places, and Christ will be glorified as ‘Lord of all.’ “

To the native Christians themselves, who had sent him many memorials and letters, he wrote as follows:

“THE RESTORATION OF YOUR CHURCHES TO THE FAITH AND HOLINESS OF THE GOSPEL is my great object and fervent prayer. The question of caste is a subordinate one in itself. It is as a *symptom* that it is important. It proves the diseased and feeble state of the spiritual life among you. I have given my judgment against it; therefore, in the most solemn manner, because it is the grand impediment to that deep repentance, that lively faith, that holy love to Christ, that due sense of the value of the soul, that genuine charity to all our fellow-members in the body of the faithful, that utter disregard and disesteem of all idolatrous distinctions and usages, which are essential to Christianity. I entreat you to submit cheerfully, then, to this necessary decision, in order that the power of Christ our Lord may be again known among you — delivering you from the miseries of a dark and declining state, and raising you to the holiness and consolations of an enlightened and prosperous one.”

Then, having attempted to remove some of their misapprehensions, he adds:

“Evils enough will always remain in this sinful world to contend against in the strength of Christ. Evils enough will always cleave to our hearts to be watched over and eradicated. But I shall forever praise God if, by firmness and decision now, this one enormous and unnecessary evil is no longer added to the rest — the evil of a voluntary tie kept up with the pagan world; the evil of a retreat to idolatry left open to the weak convert; the evil of a temptation to a lapse from Christianity to heathenism, presented by perpetual association with unbelievers and intermixture in their usages, festivals, and vices.”

¹ 2Tim 2.25-26.

² Gal 6.1.

³ Gal 5.10; the actual text is “bear his judgment, **whoever he is.**” (KJV, *modernized*)

⁴ 1Cor 10.17.

To the government he wrote many letters, as the question assumed its various phases. The tenor of them all was firm and uncompromising. He asserted that the matter was one for spiritual cognizance alone, and fell under ecclesiastical authority; that the missions in the south were wholly independent of the government; that the complaints of the "Tamil Christians" were groundless; that the punishment of some of them was the just retribution for turbulent conduct; that the missionaries were acting under his direction; that he was endeavoring to mitigate evils of long continuance by striking at the root of them; that the funds were not diverted from the mission, but only transferred from disobedient to obedient servants; and that once the evil was removed, religion and civilization would again have free course.

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 359

Government delayed their decision for a long time, and the very delay proved injurious to the settlement of the question. But the ground was taken away from under them. The above reasoning was unanswerable, and left them no pretence for interference. They finally acknowledged this; and, in their answer to the petitioners, stated that the matters of complaint were not such as fell within their cognizance.

Even the Honorable Court of Directors themselves came into the arena. But the slow process of reference, usual at that time, carried on their final decision respecting matters transacted in the year 1834, to the year 1839. It is given here, however, in order to prevent the necessity of a recurrence to the subject. The paragraph from the dispatch of the Court of Directors, No. 1, of 1839, was as follows:

"8. We fully approve of the conduct of the Resident of Tanjore on this occasion. The subject pertains to the Ecclesiastical authorities, who state that they have paid proper attention to it. And as those authorities are fully aware of our positive orders for abstaining from any interference with the distinctions of caste, we are content to leave the subject in their hands, trusting that they will not take any measures that are likely (in being carried into effect) to require the aid of the civil authority."

The result of all these stringent regulations, and these unsuccessful appeals upon the minds of the Tanjore Christians, was not desirable. They seemed to be settling down into a dull, dead, reckless state; and many hundreds, if not thousands of them, were hanging on to Christianity merely by name and outward profession. The bishop's presence was manifestly and urgently needed; and it will now be evident why he had visited Madras, and what must have been uppermost in his mind during the few days allotted for recovery from his "perils by water." One comfort was granted to him. On the very first Sunday morning after landing, a letter was put into his hands from Dr. Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury. With his usual calmness he discussed this very caste question now pressing for decision. He approved of all the bishop had done, and promised to uphold him in such other measures as he might deem necessary for the extirpation of that great evil from the churches. And this he promised, not only as Archbishop, but as President of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

"To the strengthening of my hands," says the bishop in a letter to the society, "in this arduous work, the dispatch of His Grace the President contributed in a degree it is impossible for me to express. I did, indeed, thank God, and take courage."

360 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

On leaving the steamer, the bishop parted company with Dr. and Mrs. Mill, who returned in it to Calcutta, and he was received into Government House where, in the absence of Sir F. Adam, every arrangement had been made to promote his personal comfort, and further the objects of his visitation. While staying at Madras, he delivered sixteen sermons and addresses; held five confirmations in which six hundred and seventeen young persons were admitted to the full communion of the church; repeated his charge to the assembled clergy, and attended large committee meetings of the different religious societies. He was also in constant communication

with the native Christians of Vepery. Whenever they came, whether singly, in bodies, or as deputations, they were kindly received, reasoned with, and persuaded. But no concessions were granted. Their restoration was made to turn upon their willing obedience. Twice he preached to them in their noble church at Vepery. But this was to bring the power of the gospel to bear upon their hearts, and not as yet to form a test of their compliance with his wishes. They were allowed to sit or stand, as they pleased, during divine service, and to come up as they pleased to receive the holy Communion. To a common eye, no distinction was observable. The whole building was filled with apparently a most devout and attentive audience, receiving the word and sacrament in common. But an experienced eye could see the Soodras all standing apart during service, and all retiring from the holy Communion. The evil still existed; and the steps to be taken for restraining it were left till the return from Tanjore.

The bishop now hastened towards that place, treading in the steps of his predecessor, and accompanied by Archdeacon Robinson, whose society was as pleasant as his experience was valuable. Madras was left on December 29th, and on the 31st, at Atcherawauk, the following words were written:

“Our ten miles’ march is over, out of which I rode four on my Pegu pony.¹ The close of another year calls to consideration of the end of life, labors, usefulness, projects, designs. The track of the holy and beloved Heber is solemn and affecting indeed. Poor fellow! The thermometer, as he journeyed, sometimes stood at 112°; and even in his tent, the archdeacon who accompanied him, says they could not get it lower than 97°. It was the very worst season of the year for the South (March to April 1826). Sir Thomas Munro again and again warned him that the end of January was the last moment he should have left Madras. God’s holy will, however, is thus accomplished in us and in the church. Two things strike me: (1) Bishop Heber’s sudden death was necessary to seal his doctrine, to awaken all India, to turn his astonishing popularity

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 361

and loveliness into an attachment to the cause in which he died, to fix England and India in one gaze of interest. (2) His death, after two and a half years of residence and journeys, saved him all the odium, misrepresentation, conflict with the worldly, envy of the wicked, and jarring with religious societies. All was thus *couleur du rose*;² and as to influence after his decease, he died at the exact moment.”

On January 10th, 1835, at seven o’clock in the morning, the pagodas of Tanjore first appeared in sight; and at a ford over one of the branches of the river Cavery a large number of native Christians and school children were assembled. The venerable missionary Kohlhoff was at their head, and crowds of heathen stood around. The river was soon passed, and the bishop immediately alighted from his palanquin; but before he could salute them, a hymn of praise rose on the morning air, sounding most sweet from native tongues. When it was ended, mutual greetings were interchanged. The native priest Nyanapragasen (the effulgence of glory), eighty-three years of age, drew near and was presented. His long white robe, combining in one garment both gown and cassock, harmonized well with the snowy hair falling on his shoulders, and gave him a most venerable appearance. He took the bishop’s offered hand between both of his, and blessed God for bringing him among them; adding a hope that, as Elijah brought back the stiff-necked Israelites to God, so he might overcome the obstinacy of this people.

¹ Probably a Shan breed from Burma, 12.5 to 13.5 hands high, costing 200-350 rupees each. They are unequalled for hill work and bad roads, and capable of carrying 170-pound man 30 miles a day.

² *Rose-colored*, meaning optimistic, or seen as advantageous.

After a few more kind words, the bishop wished them farewell, and hastened on to the Residency,¹ where Colonel Maclean and his admirable family were ready to receive and entertain him.

“Here I am, entering into this once flourishing church, O Lord, in your name, and with a single eye to your glory and the purity of your gospel over all India. Grant me Your meekness, Your wisdom, Your firmness, Your fortitude, Your discretion, Your address in dealing with men. To You I look up. As to myself and human power, my heart fails me. For what can I do with seventeen hundred revolters, and ten thousand uninformed and prejudiced Christians? Lord, undertake for me.”

Such were the first secret aspirations of his soul.

At breakfast Mr. Kohlhoff came in, and the bishop embraced him, asking his blessing. “No, my lord,” he replied, “you must bless me.” Discussion followed, and all matters seemed very unpromising. Eighty Mission servants were still unemployed. Widows and female pensioners were laboring for their bread. Seventeen hundred Soodras had withdrawn from public worship, and never came

362 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

near the church. Meetings were held in a native house, where Pakeynaden, the non-conformist priest, officiated. A school had been formed for Soodra children. Feeling was much embittered. Pride, obstinacy, and anger were all combined. The state of morals was deplorable. The missionaries were very unpopular. Nothing could be more hopeless than the report of things, so far as man was concerned. After two hours' consultation, this became apparent, and refuge was sought in God. All with one accord knelt down to seek mercy and grace, by turns, in this hour of need. The bishop prayed not that he might have his own way, and compass his own ends, but that he might be guided to what was for the real good of the church; and Mr. Kohlhoff prayed with admirable simplicity to “Jesus Christ.”

At five o'clock the same afternoon, a large, mixed body of native Christians, with about fifty school-children, assembled at the Residency grounds. Two native priests were with them; the one, being of very doubtful character, was passed unnoticed; the other, being respectable, though a strong dissident, was addressed. The archdeacon and bishop's chaplain mingled with the people, conversing with, and welcoming them; and finally they were introduced to the bishop. He received as many as could be accommodated, in the room, and the rest stood round the doors and windows. It was an interesting but anxious sight. The bishop addressed John Pillay, the native priest, and begged him to tell all the assembled Christians that his heart was full of love, and he was most glad to see them. He had come to inquire into their grievances, and to explain the purport² of his directions. But being now tired with his journey, he would hear what they had to say, but not talk himself. All might speak except those whose character was bad. Such he would not hear.

John Pillay, in reply, said (speaking English fluently) that they were very glad to see his lordship, and to have him examine into their desolate state. Truly they had been in despair; but now, on hearing such kind words, they began to hope. But, since the bishop was weary, they would not trouble him at this time.

The bishop said he was too tired to talk much, but not too tired to listen.

An old man immediately rose, and said he had been deprived of his pension, at the age of sixty-nine years, after having been long employed in the Mission.

¹ The Residencies were political offices, managed by a Resident, who dealt with relations between Britain and the native princes. It also refers to the British-styled buildings and land a Resident lived on, located in the native prince's capital.

² That is, his plan or objective.

The bishop directed his name to be at once taken down, and said he would inquire into the particulars of his case. He felt that to

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 365

such an old man, the deprivation would be a great hardship; he should feel it himself, and he would deal with the petitioner, if all was clear and right, as he would wish to be dealt with himself.

Another man now rose, as old as the other, but also blind. His story was listened to, and his case dealt with in the same way.

The village doctor followed with his tale; his salary also had been withdrawn.

The bishop said he honored medical men; he looked upon them as next to ministers. His case should be considered.

A schoolmaster then rose, speaking quickly and angrily, but in excellent English.

The bishop took no notice of the haste and anger, but complimented him on his English.

Several others had their names thus taken down for inquiry. The native priest then produced a copy of a petition, which he said he had sent to the bishop some time back. He wished to know if it had been received. Others pressed forward with similar papers and similar inquiries.

The bishop said that he had received so many petitions and memorials¹, that it was quite impossible to answer them all. He had no doubt they had been received; but to make sure, they should now be read. They were read accordingly; and then the interview having lasted two hours, the body of Christians rose, joined in singing a Tamil hymn, made their salaams, and retired.

The interview was satisfactory, so far as it went; but there was some fear lest conciliation should be mistaken for concession.

The bishop told them, before they left, that he would preach the next day, and asked them to come. They said they would gladly come, if they might sit as formerly. They were told that, on this occasion, they might do as they pleased.

The next day being Sunday, the bishop preached in the morning to the English congregation. Divine service was in the Mission Church — a hallowed spot, where Swartz and other venerable men had ministered through life, and found a resting-place at death; where many souls, rescued from heathenism, had been added to the Lord; and where some of Heber's last loving words had been spoken. In the evening, from the same place, the native Christians were addressed. The service, necessarily, was in Tamil; and young Mr. Coemmerer, who was a catechist and spoke it admirably, acted as the bishop's interpreter. Seven hundred and fifty persons were counted, sitting in their manner on the floor of the church, of whom more than three hundred were Soodra men and women; while uncounted crowds stood round the doors and windows. The

366 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

bishop's text was: "Walk in love, as Christ also loved us;"² and he dwelt upon two points — the love of Christ to us, and our love to one another. He was very affectionate and very earnest, and the effect was perceptible; the whole congregation was moved. Towards the conclusion, he dwelt upon the character of the "Good ' Samaritan," as illustrative of the love we should bear to one another. He described the meeting with the "certain man" of the parable; seeing him in distress;

¹ A *memorial* is a statement of particulars (facts) submitted in conjunction with a petition to an authority.

² Ephesians 5.2.

not asking him who he was; not dreaming of defilement by contact with him; but meeting the present duty; pouring in oil and wine; putting him on his own beast; taking care of him; — and all because he was in distress, and because he was a neighbor.

“And what,” asked the bishop, rising from his seat, and with outstretched arms bending over the congregation which sat beneath him, “what did our blessed Master and Saviour say concerning this? “What was His doctrine? What was His command? What were His words? ‘Go and do likewise.’” A long pause of motionless and breathless silence followed, broken only when he earnestly asked everyone present to offer up this prayer: “Lord, give me a broken heart, to receive the love of Christ and obey his commands.” While the whole congregation was repeating these words aloud in Tamil, he bowed upon the cushion — doubtless entreating help from God — and then dismissed them with his blessing.

On Monday, the Mission churches and buildings were inspected; the room in which Swartz died, and all the other places of interest, were visited. Then another conference was held, at which it was resolved to invite all native Christians who might wish it, to private conversation, and thus hear their difficulties and help in their removal.¹

Notes of what passed at several of these occasions follow. The words of the natives only are given; those on the other side may be easily supposed. The bishop, of course, was not present at these conversations.

Thomas, the former senior superintending catechist, and Vepery Pakey, a catechist, applied to the bishop’s chaplain. After prayer had been offered for divine guidance, they commenced by saying that they had much liked their former position, but were dismissed in consequence of non-compliance with the bishop’s wishes. Those wishes were doubtless in accordance with holy Scripture; but to receive the holy Sacrament in common with Pariahs, was contrary

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 367

to usage. They felt very uncomfortable in their present state of separation, and hoped, now that the bishop had come, all would be set right. If his mind could only be softened, it would be a mercy. It was quite true that holy Scripture and duty should have the first place, but many inconveniences would follow from compliance. He had a daughter married to a dissident, who would send her home the moment conformity was shown by her parent. The native priests were leaders and superiors; if they obeyed, obedience would be easier to others. If all were to agree, no inconvenience of any kind would result from compliance. The heathen might despise; but among themselves, as Christians, all would be well; and even if a very large body agreed, they themselves would join. Then they signed their names to a written paper as follows:

“We sincerely, and in the presence of God, declare that we are ready to comply when a large body of the other separatists come over.”

The discussion continued. They would be much happier if all went to church, and it was filled with worshippers. The bishop’s sermon was very awakening and edifying; they understood well the points he insisted on. They feared to lose the respect formerly paid them by the Pariahs, and the outward civility shown them by the heathen. They acknowledged that a good man would rise up, and a bad man sink down; that the clever would be at the top, and the stupid at the bottom, whether Soodra or Pariah. But still they feared the consequences of conformity. The children would not salute them, and they should lose respect.

On another occasion, three individuals presented themselves, two of whom were dismissed catechists, and one a Tranquebar Christian.

¹ That is, the removal of the *difficulties*, not the persons.

They had heard the bishop, and thought what he said very instructive. They were not happy, and had no peace; religion had died in their hearts; but the difficulties of compliance were great. One had three daughters, and if he did as was wished they would never be married. He was a poor man, and would thus be burdened with them. Another belonged to a family which had always married and intermarried within itself, and he must continue the custom. A third was ready to give himself, and his family of eight souls, up to the bishop, to do with them as he pleased. The opposition of the wives was the greatest difficulty they had to encounter. Still, many were willing to conform, and they knew of eleven heads of families who were also willing. The bishop, did not feel the difficulty as they did; they would take care not to be deceived by his kind

368 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

manner, as if he was about to change his purpose, and would endeavor to come to a decision before he left.

The native priest Pakeyanaden was also seen alone. He understood the bishop's wishes properly; he was willing to take the Sacrament according to his rank in life; but if he took it after a Pariah, he would lose respect. He knew he ought to set a good example, and if the other native priest (Vivasanaden) consented, he would not refuse. He would not sign any paper to that effect. He acknowledged that if a Pariah catechist visited a sick Soodra, he was not admitted to the house; rather, the sick man was taken out into the verandah, and they conversed there. This was to avoid defilement; and certainly could not be called Christian love. When twenty years old, he was converted from Popery by Swartz; and, after forty years' service, he felt it hard to be dismissed. He declared that both Swartz and Kohlhoff had Soodra cooks; but admitted that it might be because they understood their business, and were clean; not because they were Soodras. He felt that he was committing himself by what he was saying, and begged to withdraw.

Meanwhile, visits of ceremony were interchanged with the Rajah, to whom much interest was attached as the son of Serfogee Rajah, and the pupil of Swartz. Every possible display of Eastern magnificence took place; but the details may fairly be omitted as beside the present purpose.

Much business was also transacted connected with the secular affairs of the mission with a view to its greater efficiency and the interference of the native priests was forbidden by the bishop in the present crisis.

And now a most important conference was held, at which the bishop himself presided. About one hundred and fifty Soodras were present, and all were at liberty to speak in turn. It lasted three and a half hours the first day, and was resumed on the second. The reader may wish to know the exact sentiments of the speakers; they are therefore given, avoiding repetitions, as they were taken down at the time. The necessity of translating each sentence allowed this to be done easily; though, perhaps, by being translated, the native sentiments may have lost some of their point.

The bishop began by saying that he had been praying for them; that the love of Christ had constrained him to visit them; that he was willing to forget the past, and make all as easy as possible for the future; that he would take particular care of the old and blind; and that, by cheerful submission, they would become as happy as in times

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 369

that were passed. "To myself," he added, "this matter can make no difference; but for yourselves it is most important. It is most important that your divisions should be healed, and that you should be brought back to Christ. And my heart's desire and prayer is that this may be the result of our present conference. And I say this — as the blessed apostle did — 'even weeping.'"

“I will tell you,” said the bishop, after a pause, slowly rising to his feet, “what causes all this strife. It is the fallen heart or man. And this difficulty is to be overcome only by consideration, self-humiliation, and prayer for grace. To get your own way, and do your own will, is no sign of grace. If after complying with my directions, you do not find yourselves happier, I will undo them all again. But they are so scriptural, so fair, so benevolent, so much for the honor of Tanjore, so much for the reputation of Father Swartz now in heaven, and so much for the glory of God, that I have no fear. Difficulties at times arise in every church, because we are fallen creatures. Then after a time God’s providence appears — a bishop is sent, hearts are softened, eyes are opened, and difficulties vanish. I trust it will be thus now.”

Pakeyanaden, Native Priest. — These people wish to explain their grievances.

Archdeacon. — Did they understand the sermon on Sunday night?

Bishop. — When I asked them openly whether they agreed to what I said, and they answered “Yes.” Did they mean it?

Native Priest. — They wish for a more particular explanation.

Bishop. — I have often explained what I wrote; but I will do it again. All heathen customs arising from caste, must be removed from the church and people of God. All the distinctions of rank, station, and office will remain. The doctor will be respected as a doctor; the Moonshee¹ as a Moonshee; the priest as a priest; the catechist as a catechist; the rich as rich; the aged as aged; and so on. What, then, do I want altered? Only that which Satan and the proud heart of man would wish to retain, viz., that the impassable barrier of heathenish caste should be removed, and all Christians be one in Christ. I would have everyone capable of rising by their industry, their merit, their office, their piety, their honesty, their truthfulness; so that if a man is honest, industrious, and able, he may rise in rank accordingly. The impassable barrier which caste presents to this, must be removed. There must be no impassable barrier when you sit at church; but a pious, cleanly, learned Pariah catechist, must be allowed to sit where he pleases without offence. There must be no impassable barrier at the holy table. If seven or eight Soodras were kneeling there, a Pariah must be allowed to come up and kneel too, without confusion or dissension. All this is so simple and clear, that when agreed to and carried out practically, you will wonder why you made so much difficulty about it. Then also the country priest will receive all who come, and will live among his flock. The catechist will do the same. When meetings are held on church matters, all may attend. When godfathers and godmothers are wanted, the choice must not turn on their caste. The burial-ground also will be common to all the dead. I do not interfere with your national customs, or with matters of dress and food. But old heathenish customs must be relinquished. It

370 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

pertains to me to arrange this, and I deem it indispensable. I see by your looks that you are convinced of the truth of what I say, and recognize the Christian law of love. Why, that doctor who sits before me — do you suppose I would refuse to receive medicine at his hands? Not at all; I should be perfectly ready. I know of no distinction in such a matter, but that of superior skill. I would employ the doctor who was most clever, not the man of higher caste. Now I have explained the matter as you wished.

Devasagyam. — In these parts, Heathenism is like the sun shining strongly. Christianity is only a feeble light. It meets great hindrances from friends and foes, and if it is to spread, it must not be made difficult, and subject its converts to persecution. We do not mind being called professors of the religion of God; but we do not like to be called Pariahs. As God first threatened Nineveh and then pardoned it; so we hope you who have threatened, will now excuse, spare, pardon us.

Rayappen Santappen. — You wish we should all come to the Lord’s table without distinction. There has been no such rule from the time of our fathers. We find it very hard, and hope you will not insist upon it. Europeans have distinctions. They have family vaults.

¹ A moonshee is a language teacher (*Hindustani*). But this may instead refer to the Munshies, who worked as government clerks, accountants, and secretaries.

Bishop. — And so may you have them. I have not the least objection. There is no heathenism in that.

Nyanapragasan Arroordapan. — Our Lord, before his sufferings, asked three disciples watch and pray, and then He went away. When He came back. He found them sleeping. And He did this again and again. So we wish you to overlook us this time. When He came the third time, He said, “Sleep on now, and take your rest.” That is what we want you to say to us.

Alroondamy. — Among my relations, a man died. We applied to the missionary to bury him. Two were there at the appointed time; but another person was directed to read the service. We found a man of our own company and caste on the ground, and we employed him. For this we were punished; and being poor people, we were obliged to mortgage our jewels to pay the fine. We had no hope of redress, but now we have. Since the news of your lordship’s arrival came, two have been buried. The missionaries preach the gospel, and say that if a man strikes me on one cheek, I am to turn the other. Do they do that themselves?

Moodhaiakam. — I am a writer. I wish to know whether the missionaries are to work among us or among others. If among us, why do they not learn to speak Tamil, and thus perform their duty. After the funeral spoken of, I went to the Mission House. The missionaries had a string under the table, and were going to tie and flog me! I begged them not to, and they set a dog on me and hunted me home!

Rahrjendrum. — I was a catechist in 1830, and was concerned in this funeral. The missionaries wrote to the judge and said, “Put these four men in prison.” We were fined twelve rupees each.

Vivasanaden. — I am a native priest, and know about this funeral. There was a quarrel a long time back with Mr. Haubroe, the missionary. On that occasion, these three men who have last spoken were set up to speak evil of the missionary. They did then as they have done now.

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 371

A Native (name unknown). — The missionaries give very false accounts of the native servants.

Bishop. — Well, then, you give a right account. I am here. I hear.

Native. — We were offended by what was said last Sunday about drunkards and adulterers.

Bishop. — Why? If none are drunkards or adulterers, why should any be offended? But what about compliance with my wishes?

Native. — We are willing to submit so far as our former customs go; but not to make any alteration.

Bishop. — Sit down.

Another Native. — I belong to the Cowkeeper tribe. Swartz converted my father, who lived to the age of ninety-eight. He endeavored to convert others, and I have followed in his steps. My wife is dead. If I look out for another, they will say, “He is a Pariah. We won’t give him a wife.” The rules are very heavy. I hope they will be lightened. I gave fifty rupees to get a wife for my brother-in-law; and even then she would eat only with the heathen, and not with the family. If you make us Pariahs, we can get no wives.

Amoordapa Pillay. — I am a writer, employed by the Rajah. Caste does not spring from heathenism. You are misinformed. Caste is not a superstition. It is something by which respect is commanded and obtained. It is necessary for us. Pariahs are servants and slaves who perform degrading offices. We are dishonored by their coming near us. We can never submit. We cannot take the Sacrament with them.

Awasagayah. — I was formerly a mission doctor. I perceive that you have come from a great distance to seek our welfare. If we submit, the surrounding heathen will deprive us of employment; and what good shall we get? I wait to hear.

Bishop. — I have already told you.

Christian Maryanen. — I was a schoolmaster. There are three persons in one Godhead, and when the disciples were sent out by Christ, they were to preach and baptize in the name of the Father, the

Son, and the Holy Ghost. So that there are distinctions in heaven, as well as different castes on earth. I beg to inform you that rather than submit, I prefer to be considered a non-conformist.

Rayappen (again). — Among the Pariahs even, there are four or five castes. They will not eat indiscriminately. They have separate doctors and separate customs; so that distinctions exist even among these slaves. They work for Soodras, perform menial offices, remove dead cattle, announce deaths; and they are paid for what they do. We love them very much. When a wedding is celebrated, we often give them a dinner. There are among them the washerman Pariahs, the scavenger Pariahs, and the pandaram or priest Pariahs.

Bishop. — I am glad to hear it, because they also will have something to give up, as well as the Soodras. But if a Pariah, by God's blessing, becomes learned, acquires property, buys an estate, has good manners and cleanly habits — where is the difference in God's sight between him and a Soodra? In that case all must be one in Christ.

Rayappen. — How can we make the heathen understand this? Swartz

372 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

preached among them; some embraced Christianity; some did not. Those who did are subject to insults. The heathen will not associate with them.

Bishop. — What objection is there to that? Christians have nothing to do with heathens. They are commanded to "come out and be separate, and not touch the unclean thing." "Blessed are you when men shall persecute you."

Rayappen. — The heathens will not even give us water to drink.

Bishop. — Will you give water to a Pariah, or drink with him?

Rayappen. — No, I will not.

Bishop. — Then, in what way are you better in that respect than a heathen?

Rayappen. — I wish to bring in all the heathen; but your orders are a hindrance.

Devasagyam Pakey. — I hope you will hear me kindly. I want to know whether there would be any blessing for a Soodra who, with an unclean mind, received the Sacrament with a Pariah.

This man went on, and added something so coarse and indecent that Mr. Coemmerer refused to translate it. The expression was mentioned to the archdeacon; and on his report the bishop rebuked the man, and asked him to leave the room. When he rose to go, all rose, with noise, clamor, and violent gesticulations, and pressed towards the door. Many left. The bishop sat quite still, merely saying, "Only that one man was to go." As they crowded round the door, loudly vociferating, one angry man stopped in the way, and said, "When it is written in the Scriptures that we are to take the sacrament with Pariahs, we will do it, and not before." He was proceeding with his speech, keeping all the rest motionless, when the bishop said, "Sit down, that all may hear." All at once sat down. But the conference was virtually closed, and the hopes of general compliance at an end. They had come with minds made up, and plans arranged — not to comply with the bishop's directions, but to get them cancelled. It was desirable, however, that the utmost calmness should be maintained, and no outbreak caused. The visit was not made without risk. Threats had not been lacking. When they heard of the bishop's coming, they were reported to have said, "Some of the party will not return alive." An unmoved demeanor was therefore necessary, and all remained quiet and attentive. The old native priest (Nyanapragaseu) who conformed, now rose and addressed the remnant that remained. "You are all my brethren and my children," he said; "I have been instrumental in bringing many of you to Christ. With weeping and sorrow I beg to admonish you. If you will hear me I will go on. If not, I will sit down." He then, with animated gestures, reproached them for their conduct, and asked them to pray to God to take away the hardness of their hearts, and bring them to repentance. But they listened angrily, and rudely

interrupted him, and since his words seemed to increase the irritation, he was not encouraged to proceed.

The bishop concluded by rising calmly and saying:

“I have borne all, and heard all that has been said, except such words as ought not to have been spoken. The man who spoke them, I sent away. Those who went with him were like men turning their backs on the truth. I have listened long, and am very weary. You break my heart with sorrow. I came only for your good. Instead of listening to what I say, one tells me one thing, and one another, which are nothing to the purpose. I can only mourn over you before God. It would be far easier for me to gratify you, but what can I do? Jesus Christ tells me one thing, and your habits and customs are contrary to it.

“I will add only a few things. No one will lose any honor and respect worth having by following my directions; but on the other hand, he will gain honor and respect, and be far happier. I repeat, that the impassable barrier of caste must be removed. The way of improvement must be thrown open. The law of love must be obeyed. Not that Pariahs are to be insolent and rude. Any one that is so must be put out of the church. They must be taught humility, as well as others. The barrier is to be removed from the Church of God; but distinctions are allowed in civil society. With that I have nothing to do. And remember that what must be done will be done gently, and kindly, and gradually. If there has been any harshness in times past, I am sorry for it. Some of the missionaries have been here but a short time, and have not had time to learn the language; but what they do is from love to souls, and it demands your gratitude and obedience. I commend you all to God. Christ has died for you, and you must take up your cross and follow him.”

They rose to go; but as they went, they said: “We cannot come to church.” — “You will please yourselves,” replied the bishop, and withheld his blessing.

One of the native priests lingered behind to say, that he would conform if he might always receive the sacrament before the people. This was of course allowable, and his offer was not discouraged. The moment he perceived this, he began to reckon up the arrears of salary that would be due to him from the time he was suspended, and to request that an order might be made for payment. He was, however, bowed out for the time.

On the following morning, divine service was celebrated in the Mission Church, and the bishop preached; but not more than forty Soodras were present. A confirmation in the Fort Church followed, when one hundred and sixty persons, chiefly natives, were confirmed and addressed as usual. The fort itself was afterwards examined, with the Rajah’s palace, schools, and menagerie. Flaxman’s magnificent statue of the late Rajah Serfojee stood in one of the courts;

374 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

but the natives, thinking the turban somewhat too large, had removed it, and substituted one by a native artist, of a different colored marble, with silk tassels and a tuft of black feathers! The bishop preached twice in the Fort Church on the following Sunday. The morning service was in English. A manuscript containing a few notes in the handwriting of Swartz, on the text, “Come to me all you that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest,”¹ had been found in the Mission House. It bore the date, “Fort St. George, July 12, 1778.” The bishop took it up into the pulpit as his sermon. A few natives who understood English were present, and among them one of the dissident native priests. He remarked afterwards, with tears, to the Resident: “It was the sweetest sermon I ever heard in my whole life.” In the evening, a Tamil congregation listened to a discourse upon the two masters, the two services, and the impossibility of joining them, from Matt. 6.24.

¹ Matthew 11.28.

Meanwhile, all the intervals between these public duties and services had been filled up with pleasant social communication, an examination of every part of the Mission, arrangements for strengthening the hands of the missionaries, and short excursions in the neighborhood. Mr. Kohlhoff himself was a very interesting character, having been a pupil of Swartz, and forming a link between the older missionaries and the younger. He was now advanced in years, with an open, honest German countenance, somewhat florid, rather stout and short, speaking with a foreign accent, with long gray hair falling over his shoulders; lacking, perhaps, in power of argument, discernment of character, firmness, and some of the higher qualities of the missionary, but simple-minded, amiable, kind, gentle, and an Israelite indeed in whom there was no guile. His conversation and his preaching were of "Jesus Christ." It was not "God commands this," or "God forbids that;" but "Jesus Christ commands this," and "Jesus Christ forbids that." His old master, Swartz, was often on his lips, and he was full of pleasant reminiscences of him. The bishop inclined his ear to all these, delighted to draw out one anecdote after another, and enter them in his notebook. It appeared that Swartz was at once a father, a minister, a judge, and a master, to his native flock. When any of them had offended, the alternative was proposed, "Will you go to the Rajah's court, or be punished by me?" "O, Padre, you shall punish me," was the uniform reply. "Give him, then, twenty strokes," said Swartz, and they were immediately given.

His habits were most simple. Kohlhoff lived with him when a young man, beginning his missionary course. His mother sometimes

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 375

used to send over a few cakes and a bottle of wine. Swartz gave him the cakes, but took away the wine, saying he did not need it. It was kept for the communion and the sick. One glass of wine a week was all that Swartz allowed himself in middle life; and that was taken between the services which occupied almost every hour of the Sunday. His diet was of the plainest kind. Some tea in a jug with boiling water poured over it, and bread broken into it, made a breakfast, which lasted about five minutes, and sufficed for young Kohlhoff and himself. Dinner, at one o'clock, consisted of broth or curry, with occasionally a little fry. Some meal or gruel at eight, served for supper.

His study was constantly in the holy Scriptures, which he read only in the original Hebrew and Greek. Each morning his native priests and catechists were assembled at early prayers, and went there to their daily duties. "You go there;" "You do this;" "You call on certain families;" "You go to such a village;" — these were his directions. About four o'clock all returned and made their report. He then took them with him, and sitting in the churchyard, or some public place, or in the front of the Mission House, according to the season of the year, he invited the surrounding heathen to converse, or hear the Scriptures read and explained. He was mild in manner, but very authoritative, and would brook neither idleness nor disobedience. A little pleasant humor mingled with his piety. Colonel Wood, the Resident at Tanjore, was about to give a ball and Mr. Chambers was invited. He consulted Swartz, who was his great friend, as to the propriety of accepting the invitation. "Come," said Swartz, "sit down, and let us ask St. Paul." He opened the Bible, and read Romans 7th, which shows how widely the pleasures of the world differ from the pleasures of the believer. Mr. Chambers decided at once, and declined the invitation. Colonel Wood and his lady were much offended, and meeting Swartz soon after, reproached him for having kept back Mr. Chambers and spoiled their party. "I assure you, sir, I assure you, madam," said Swartz, "it was not my doing. I did not keep him back. I did not even say a word. It was not me. It was St. Paul. You must blame him."

"Once," said Mr. Kohlhoff, continuing his reminiscences (many of which have found a record in Dr. Pearson's admirable *Life of Swartz*), "a fire took place where Mr. Swartz was, and spread to a small powder magazine, which blew up. Great fears were entertained lest the explosion should

extend to a much larger magazine near at hand. Now," said Mr. Kohlhoff, "there was a wag (wag),

376 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

and he ran to Mr. Swartz, crying out — 'Mr. Swartz, Mr. Swartz! The magazine is going to blow up! We must run away, or we shall soon be in heaven!' — 'God forbid!' replied Mr. Swartz, 'God forbid!' And then, my lord, this wag, this wicked, wicked wag, went about, and told everybody that Mr. Swartz had said, 'God forbid that he should go to heaven.' Ah, he was a wicked wag. He made a laugh at Mr. Swartz."

A few relics of "the missionary" were found and treasured up: his pocket Testament — a lock of his silver hair — an old chair. This last the bishop ordered to be repaired. It was an old Danish chair, with round back and ratan sides, in which Swartz used to sit and study. It found a place in the library at Calcutta, and doubtless remains there still.

On "Wednesday, January 21st, the bishop set out on a visit to Trichinopoly, proposing on his return to make final arrangements at Tanjore. He left the native Christians there in sore perplexity. They had found him both kinder, and firmer, than they expected. He had yielded nothing, and hurried nothing. His final departure was at hand. There was little hope that he would change his mind. The tie which bound them to their heathen friends drew one way, the fear of losing their employments and being left without resource, the other. Men of influence among them who had talked loudly, were now silent. Two native priests had conformed. Many were inclined to yield. All these things caused "great searchings of heart."

Meanwhile the bishop was on his way to Trichinopoly. He stopped at a place called Muttooputty, the largest station belonging to the Christians on the Coleroon River. It was out of the common track; many swollen rivers had to be forded; the night was very dark, and some of the party were nearly drowned. But there was ample compensation in what followed. Natives from all parts came crowding to the encampment. Their chapel was far too small; so that the largest double tent was prepared for divine service. The cords of it were lengthened, and the stakes strengthened, so as to admit the hundreds who crowded under its shelter. No question of caste troubled any mind. All sat as they came; and after prayers in Tamil, the bishop preached from the words, "Christ is all in all."¹ The holy sacrament was then administered to two hundred and forty-seven native communicants. The service lasted nearly four hours, and was repeated in the evening — the baptismal service being substituted for the evening prayers,

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 379

and sixteen little frightened infants received into the ark of Christ's church.

"Never," says the bishop, recalling this day, "had I such grace given me since I have been in orders, now thirty-four years, as is now granted; that I, who am indeed 'less than the least of all saints,' should be permitted to preach among the Gentiles 'the unsearchable riches of Christ.' If God carries me through this series of duties and labors, I may say truly, 'Lord, now let your servant depart in peace, for my eyes have seen your salvation.' One such day as we have just passed, is worth years of common service. I really almost wish I might resign Calcutta, and take the See of Madras. These native churches require just the care I should delight to give."

On Friday, January 23rd, he arrived at Trichinopoly, a large and important station having good roads, handsome houses, two large churches, and at least fifty thousand inhabitants. Here Bishop Heber "finished his course." To see the house where he lived, and the bath in which he died, were primary duties; and the archdeacon, with a sad heart, pointed out each spot. The bath was a building separated from the house, and standing quite alone. It was entered by a door, and

¹ Colossians 3.11.

lighted by windows, cut diamond-wise in stone, but unglazed. In the floor yawned the deep excavation called a bath, measuring fifteen feet in length, by eight in breadth. The descent into it was by stone steps. The bishop went down and stood at the bottom. When there, he had to raise his hands above his head, in order to reach the narrow ledge running round the room; so that it must have been six or seven feet deep, and was always kept quite full of water. It caused a shudder to look down, while listening to the exaggerated stories told by the native servant — for the archdeacon could not enter. Alas! It needed no exaggeration to fill the mind with sadness. From the excitement of missionary scenes — from preaching to the native Christians — from conversation as to the best means for promoting their highest interests — from earnest prayer on their behalf — this devoted bishop had retired for the refreshment of the bath. His friends waited for him in the house: his servant sat outside. They alike wondered at the deep silence, and the long delay. Then followed the search, the discovery, the loud outcry, the hasty plunge, and the withdrawal of the lifeless body. To stand upon the verge of that tomb-like bath, and to realize these things, was deeply affecting; and words of Scripture rose spontaneously in every

380 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

mind, meditating on the mysteries of God's providence: "I was dumb; I did not open my mouth, because you did it." ¹

On Sunday morning the bishop preached in St. John's Church to a large congregation, and on the next day he visited five hospitals, and examined the regimental schools. His comment is as follows:

"TRICHINOPOLY, JANUARY 26, 1835.

"I have preached in the pulpit, I have stood at the self-same altar, I have placed my foot on the very spot which contains the remains of the holy and beloved Heber. On April 2d, 1826, he preached there; the next morning he was a corpse, in the prime of life and dawn of usefulness. Such are the mysteries of the kingdom of God."

The caste question met him here again, and he hastened to the encounter. The very day after his arrival, he preached in the Mission Church, taking no notice of the Soodras who were present, clustering together as a separate body. For nine months previously, not one of them had been near the church. They had a native priest among them, and he as well as many of the congregation, being possessed of independent property, were apparently determined to stand out. It was necessary, however, that the matter should be brought to an issue at once, for the bishop had but a few days to stay, and he would return no more. Here, therefore, he resolved for the first time, to carry out the purpose he had formed. There was no hope that, in any case, the whole dissident body would comply with his wishes. The evil lay too deep, the prejudices and habits were too strong. But a nucleus might be formed, round which others might gather from time to time, and to which all new converts might be added. If this nucleus could be formed in each station, and arranged upon the basis of the bishop's directions, then time, patience, and watchfulness would do the rest, by God's grace. This, therefore, was the bishop's purpose; and to accomplish it, notice was given of divine service and the administration of the Lord's Supper for the very morning of his departure. All seemed impressed with the importance of the occasion, and the church was thronged. When the bishop, in his robes, left the vestry in order to proceed to his seat at the communion-table and commence the service, he saw many scattered groups of natives standing apart from the main body of the congregation, who were seated on the floor. Fully aware of the cause, he joined one group, and taking two native Christians by the hand, he gently led them forward to a vacant place in front, and seated them. His chaplain, following in the surplice, by his

¹ Psalm 39.9.

directions, did the same. Others who were present were bid to assist. It was all done quietly and kindly, and no sort of resistance was made. The Soodra sat by the Pariah, and the Pariah by the Soodra, and both were intentionally intermingled with many of the authorities, and influential Europeans of the station. When all was quiet, the service commenced; and in the course of it, forty natives came up, without distinction, and were confirmed. Then followed the sermon, from the words, "Preaching peace by Jesus Christ."¹ "When the holy Sacrament was about to be celebrated, the bishop quietly gave directions as to the mode of administration. A Soodra catechist received it first, then two Pariah catechists, then a European gentleman, then a Soodra, then some East Indians. The gentry of the station, having been much interested in the matter, had placed themselves at the bishop's disposal; and at the special request of the lady of the highest rank, a Pariah knelt and communicated between her and her husband. This facilitated the arrangement; and silently, but most effectually, the barrier which had existed for so long a time was broken down, and one hundred and forty-seven partook of the Lord's Supper, without distinction. A precedent was thus set. This was the nucleus of the native church of the future. Every wanderer, every dissident, might join it; but always in this way and according to this rule. New converts also, and everyone who was confirmed would know what was expected from them. Dead leaves would gradually drop off: these were to be the new buds. Of course many Soodras had retired from the church before the sacrament was administered, and all had been free to do so. But it was found that nine families of influence had conformed, and were well content. These, with the large body of Pariahs, were sufficient for the purpose; and the bishop thanked God and took courage. He preached once more, and made a collection for the Propagation Society, which Bishop Heber's death had prevented him from doing nine years before, and then the bishop took his departure. He called at the missionary station of Boodalore on his way, and arrived at Tanjore again on Wednesday morning, January 28th.

No great change had taken place during his absence. Minds were wavering. The precedent set at Trichinopoly was known at once, and something similar was anticipated; but what would be the result, none could foresee. An ordination (the first ever held in Tanjore) gave breathing-time. It was held on Saturday, January 31st, when the Rev. Messrs. Thompson, Jones, Simpson, and Coombs, were admitted to priest's orders; and Mr. Irion, who had

382 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

long been in the service of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, acting on Lutheran orders, was at his own desire, admitted into the deacon's orders of our church. The archdeacon preached an admirable sermon; and at the bishop's desire, the East India Company's chaplain of Trichinopoly, the Rev. Mr. Kohlhoff, a Lutheran, the Rev. Mr. Müll, of the Danish Episcopal Church, Nyanapragasen, the native priest of Tanjore, and his own domestic chaplain, joined in the "laying on of hands." The service was in English, and the whole station was present. Many hundreds of natives also crowded the church, and seemed deeply impressed. The bishop asked old Mr. Kohlhoff after the service, whether he was over-fatigued. "No," was his reply, "this is the day the Lord has made. We will rejoice and be glad in it."

Sunday, February 1st, was appointed for the native service. It was the first time the bishop could meet them, and would serve to show the effect produced by all that he had done. In anticipation of it, he wrote as follows:

"Reason, religion, conscience, the future peace and purity of the native churches, the bishop's presence and unalterable resolution, are all set in array against (1) ignorance, (2) obstinacy, (3) habit, (4) standing well with the heathen, (5) the point of honor, (6) pride, (7) wives and kindred, (8) the world, (9) Satan.

¹ Acts 10.36.

“If I could hope to reckon in my favor, the love of Christ, the Holy Spirit’s grace, gratitude for redemption, and a sense of the ennobling privileges of the gospel — if I could reckon these as my helpers, I should not fear for a moment the nine (or nineteen, or twenty-nine) enemies. God only can work a work of mighty grace among them.”

The day began auspiciously by the receipt of a letter from the native Christians at Vepery, signed by seven in the name and on behalf of all, confessing past errors, and promising unfeigned and unconditional obedience for the future. The morning prayers were read in Tamil at eight o’clock; and at half-past ten all were assembled for the sermon and holy Sacrament. They seated themselves as they pleased; a few sat apart; but the greater number were mingled together. About six hundred were present. The bishop did not interfere, as at Trichinopoly. After the Litany, he preached from the words, “Why are you fearful, O you of little faith?”¹ The whole congregation seemed to remain for the holy Sacrament; for though some had retired, yet the church looked full. The Resident and ladies of his family first approached — then some Soodras and Pariahs, intermingled — then some Europeans — then natives and

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 383

Europeans, mingled — then natives and East Indians, mingled — then one or two missionaries and natives. All was voluntary, and all was perfectly understood. The only remaining peculiarity, and that was fairly allowable and perhaps desirable, was that among the natives, men and women communicated separately — the men first, the women after. The whole number of communicants on this occasion was three hundred and forty-eight. Of these, sixty-two were Europeans, and two hundred and eighty-six native Christians, among whom forty-three were Soodras from Tanjore and the neighborhood. Here, again, God gave success. The number thus conforming certainly was small, as compared with the many non-conformists; but it was sufficient for a precedent. It afforded a rallying-point; and the bishop was content. The result was better than at one time he anticipated. Henceforth all depended on strengthening the mission, watching over new converts, and instructing the rising generation.

“A nucleus is now formed,” he said, “as I hope, in all the stations for a sound and permanent Christian doctrine and discipline. One of the grand artifices of Satan is, I trust, discovered and laid bare. The new converts before they are baptized, and the catechumens before confirmation, will readily submit, from the first, to the undeviating rule now established. The whole congregation will be treated with the extraordinary tenderness which the habits of India for three thousand years and their own low state of Christian faith require. It will suffice as to them that all overt acts respecting the church and the public worship of God, be discontinued. For the rest we must wait. In proportion as new missionaries come out, and true Christianity revives and spreads among their flocks, they will understand the grounds of my conduct, and rejoice in the paternal, though strong resolution which dictated it.”

The next morning was spent in committee, and all matters of detail were finally arranged. Every petition was read and discussed. Six pensioners were restored, not for conformity, but because of age, blindness, and infirmity. The recipients of the Rajah’s yearly bounty were not to be interfered with; but in recommending fresh names to him, those who conformed were, *coeteris paribus*,² to be preferred. Six conforming Soodras were immediately restored to office and pay. All who followed their example before Easter were to be dealt with in like manner; while all who delayed beyond that time, were to be received into the church indeed, but not reinstated in office.

Thus the bishop had done what he could; and if no further discussion appears in this volume, it is because the subject belongs henceforth rather to the history of the Indian Church, than to the

¹ Matthew 3.26.

² Other things being equal.

Life of its first Metropolitan. He was shortly after freed from all control and all responsibility respecting it, by the arrival of Bishop Corrie

384 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

in his diocese. Different opinions on such a complex subject there will always be, and different modes of treating it will suggest themselves to different minds. But the above narrative has been given at such length, in order to expose the magnitude of the evil, and in the hope that no false charity, and no short-sighted policy will ever be permitted to build again the things that have been destroyed. Caste may still, perhaps, remain; but it should never be tolerated, or else like a parasite, it will sap the very life of the goodly tree to which it clings.

The bishop delivered a charge to the missionaries before he left Tanjore. But this will fitly introduce a new chapter, and may be preceded by extracts from the correspondence which took place during the year 1834-35.

TO THE REV. WILLIAM JOWETT.

“CALCUTTA, APRIL 1, 1834.

“I can assure you it is sweet to retrace former days with Mr. Pratt and yourself, and my older friends. I need all help; and transcendently that GRACE, that *seasonable* grace, which alone can really help. Yes, my beloved friend, seventeen months' residence at a distance of sixteen thousand miles from England, her religious privileges, and her church, have sufficed to endear to me old friendships.

“Your letter is among the most welcome I have received, because it is the most honest, and the most really simple and friendly. It does me good. I want to be reminded. I want to be stirred up. I want the comparison of minds in other latitudes. It is a strong and fatal temptation to be placed by age and circumstances of station, out of the reach of admonition, and that perfect freedom of caution and advice which we all need; and then most, when we think we can dispense with them.

“I well remember what you have cited from me as reported of my old tutor, the Rev. J. Crouch, ‘that he never knew how to congratulate any one on any new station, till he saw how he behaved himself in it.’ And I may add to this the saying of Fenelon to Harlai, when made Archbishop of Paris: ‘This day, when you are receiving the congratulations of France on your appointment, is very different from that when you must give an account to God of your administration.’”

TO THE REV. J. PRATT.

“Off CEYLON, NOVEMBER 26, 1834.

“As long as my hand can move shall I write with delight to my old friend and tutor, and now brother in the gospel. Tenderly I recall all the scenes of my youth when I first came to you as a pupil in 1798, and earnestly I remember the example and advice of Mr. Cecil and yourself. I ever trace to that connection, under God's blessing, the right direction of my mind and

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 385

studies when I entered college; as I trace to Mr. Scott's sermons and writings the guidance of them for the two preceding years. I pray you write to me from time to time. Now is the hour of temptation and trial to me. Now I have to act in circumstances of which you can have little conception — complicated, new, unexpected.

“I am laboring to understand my dispensation, as Mr. Cecil would say. I am laboring to detect my most dangerous points. Two things I am sure of: — To preach the gospel of my blessed Master must be right; therefore, I lose no opportunity of setting forth with all boldness the name and grace of Jesus, his person, incarnation, atonement, glory, kingdom, love, obedience. The other is to keep the heart: — This, again, must be right; to keep it with all diligence, above all keeping, as that which commands the issues of life. In other matters doubts as to the particular course of duty will arise. They are generally governed much by particular circumstances, particular obligations and relations. But the mighty, universal doctrine of Christ is everywhere the same; and the tender conscience, the

broken heart, the watchfulness of the soul before God, is everywhere equally difficult and indispensable.”

TO A JUNIOR CHAPLAIN.

“CALCUTTA, 1834.

“You are seldom long from our minds and conversation. We are encompassed here with difficulties of all kinds. The three great spiritual adversaries have under their control many, many others. Sanballat and Tobiah are everywhere. But Christ is greater than a thousand such foes. Preach, pray, live, in the spirit of Christ more and more — all his doctrine, all his grace, all his holiness. Allow me to remind you of the great vigilance needed to lay the foundation of good church habits and associations which are, abstractedly speaking, just as good as others; but which are endeared to us, and bound indeed upon our consciences by the blood of our martyred reformers, and the vows of our ordination. I speak in love, and only generally, as I would wish you to speak to me if our circumstances were altered: my business is exhortation.”

TO A SENIOR CHAPLAIN.

“CALCUTTA, 1834.

“Happy shall I be to visit your station the moment duty will allow. Preach a crucified Saviour, my dear friend. Be grave, dignified, consistent in your whole carriage. Walk with Christ. Live near the cross. Let all your sermons be dipped in the heart, and bedewed with prayer. Plead with souls. Look up to the Holy Spirit for success — and expect it.”

TO A NEWLY ARRIVED CHAPLAIN.

“CALCUTTA, 1834.

“A close and confidential communication with my reverend and honored brethren is what I begin with each, as soon as they arrive, and carry on with my very best judgment for the advancement of the glory of Christ, and the good of souls in this vast diocese. All here is dependent on personal character, personal influence, personal doctrine, personal effort. The Establishment does not support us, but we support it — as in all newly planted churches.

386 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIII.

“My registrar mistook me when he supposed I wished him to convey to you the sense of disapproval I entertained of your sermon. My design was to convey that sentiment with my own hand; for I certainly do disapprove of your printed discourse in several respects. I disapprove altogether of a presbyter of the Church of England addressing in the pulpit those matters of which the people in general cannot be judges, and which may go to loosen their reverence and attachment to the Establishment, especially in a day like the present, and in this unsettled and distant diocese.

“The question, again, about coroners’ inquests, is a grave subject for consideration with the bishop, but surely not a topic for pulpit invective. You have deprived yourself of the fair advantages you might have derived from a private correspondence with myself by this indecorous proceeding; and, in fact, you have thrown back any attempts I may be making to set the matter right, by this your imprudent assault.”

TO A DISTANT CHAPLAIN.

“CALCUTTA, 1834.

“I pray you to study more and more the Second Epistle to Timothy, and the Epistle to Titus, as the minister’s manual; the Epistle to the Romans and Galatians as the apostolical exposition of the gospel; the epistles to Ephesus, Philippi, and Colosse, as specimens of instruction for advanced churches; those to Corinth, for disorderly churches; that of St. James, for Antinomian professors; and that to the Hebrews, as the key to the Old Testament. On this groundwork build all you gather from the four Gospels, the Acts of the Apostles, and the entire volume of the Old Testament. The Holy Spirit is the only real interpreter of these his own inspired words, as he is the only effectual author of life in the souls of our hearers. In both, he is the Comforter, representative of Christ, advocate, conductor, and guide of the otherwise comfortless church.”

TO A CHAPLAIN ENGAGED IN CONTENTION.

“CALCUTTA, 1834.

“I must once more urge you to peace and submission. It is our office, honor, duty. The world expects it of us. I entreat you to address a line of apology for whatever has passed to disoblige the commanding officer of your station. Make no explanations, enter into no particulars; but in a candid manner express your regret if anything has unintentionally given him offence. You perceive, dear sir, what an amazing deal of trouble a slight omission of etiquette has occasioned. Let this be the last. Win with kindness and attention the respect and regard of the brigadier-general. Let all your communications be such as become your respective positions in the station; and let me have the comfort of knowing that your distant sense of duty is as remarkable for peace and harmony, as I fear it has been for the contrary.”

TO THE REV. SAMUEL MARSDEN, NEW SOUTH WALES.

“CALCUTTA, AUG. 1834.

“Your forty years of labor among heathens and Christians put to the blush my few months of residence here. I honor you in the Lord. Your letter of

1834-35. PRIMARY VISITATION. 387

May 2d, just received, delights my inmost soul. You ask if Mr. Wood would have a prospect of obtaining ordination if he came to Calcutta. I answer, Yes, yes, yes. Send any one with your deliberate judgment of his talents, piety, competent knowledge, respectability, and attachment to the church; and your name shall be a passport with me. Two things only are necessary — a title, and means of support after ordination. My next ordination will probably be Trinity Sunday, 1835, if I live to return from the present division of my visitation. And now may the Lord, even the Lord who bought us with His own blood, bless, comfort, and sanctify us in our distant scenes of duty. I suppose the archdeacon's absence occasions his non-concurrence with you in the application for Mr. Wood.”

CHAPTER 14. PRIMARY VISITATION. — (Continued.) 1835-36.

MISSIONARY CHARGE — DEPARTURE FROM TANJORE — VIZAGAPATAM — VISIT TO THE TEMPLE OF JUGGERNAUT — ARRIVAL AT CALCUTTA — DIVINE SERVICE AT GOVERNMENT HOUSE — THE ARCHDEACONRY — THE MISSIONARIES — CONTROVERSY WITH THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY — SELECT VESTRY — CALCUTTA DISTRICTS — LA MARTINIÈRE — DAILY LIFE — VISITATION RESUMED — THE SYRIAN CHURCHES — CONFERENCE WITH THE METRAN — WHITE AND BLACK JEWS AT COCHIN — GOA — BOMBAY — OLD FAQUEER — CORRESPONDENCE.

ON the 2d February, 1835, the bishop delivered his "Missionary Charge" at Tanjore. Eleven clergy, five students, and about one hundred native catechists and schoolmasters (who were occasionally addressed through an interpreter) were present. As might have been expected, the charge bore an exclusively missionary character, and aimed at raising the general standard of piety and devotedness. Written amidst incessant engagements; — the day occupied with preaching and the night with travelling — the body oppressed with an enervating climate, and the mind with the "care of all the churches," — it was a wonderful proof of power and energy, and abounded with wise suggestions and prudent cautions. A little time would have improved, because it would have softened it. The impression of scenes passing before the eyes at the moment was too vivid; the subjects discussed were extremely delicate; the minds dealt with were very sensitive: and hence some of the statements were deemed too strong, and some of the expressions unintentionally gave pain. All this, however, will force itself into notice in due season, and it will not be necessary to give extracts here. It was printed at the request of Mr. Kohlhoff, who rose immediately after grace was said at dinner (or rather, did not sit down again). With folded hands and great simplicity, he addressed the bishop, as the representative of all present. He said the missionaries had been long groaning under the miseries of caste, but had no power to put it down. The missionary Gerické had called it "the great battery of Satan." It was too strong for them. But God had sent the bishop to destroy it. In order that his good advice might be

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 389

remembered, he prayed that the charge might be printed. The bishop promised compliance; and it appeared as an addition to the primary charge that was then passing through the press.

The bishop parted the next day from his most courteous and obliging hosts and, leaving the Residency at Tanjore, retraced his steps to Madras; stopping at Myaveram, a station of the Church Missionary Society; at Cuddalore, a station of the Propagation Society; at Porto Novo, a town rising into importance by its ironworks; and at Pondicherry, interesting from its historical associations. He arrived safely at Madras on Saturday, February 14th, 1835, "having spent," he says, "the happiest six months in my life; so much do I love missionary work."

Ten days were given to Madras — every instant of time being occupied with anxious discussions, important committee meetings, the completion of his charges in the press, an ordination, sermons, and the interchange of visits with the Nabob of Arcot. The steamer having arrived to fetch him, he embarked early in the morning of February 23d.

"It was very affecting," he says, "to take leave of the dear archdeacon and the clergy on the beach. Everyone had sallied from his home at five o'clock, and some had come seven miles, to say farewell. I find I have delivered seventy-five sermons and addresses during this visitation of six months — of which forty-five were at Madras, in the ten weeks spent in that Archdeaconry. The truth is, I never worked so hard — never; and never did so great an emergency present itself. To God only be the praise for attendant success."

The steamer touched at Vizagapatam and Pooree. Of the former the bishop writes:

"I scarcely ever saw so beautiful a spot. The town lies in the bosom of a lovely valley, flanked by giant rocks, a river or backwater opening between them, and breaking or preventing the surf; a beach smooth as Ramsgate sands; a crowded population covering the shore; European soldiery drawn up to receive us; guns firing the usual salute. The chaplain resides three miles from cantonments, and we were soon there. Mr. Chester had been curate of Cripplegate, London; he knew, and had frequently heard me. The colonel, also, had often been an auditor at St. John's; while Mrs. General Taylor, where I am most comfortably lodged, was reading a long letter from Mrs. Maclean — the lady of the Resident at Tanjore — about me, as the steamer came in sight.

"Thus watched and known, how humbly should I walk! how consistently, how fearfully, how honorably! God help me! I cannot now meet Sir Frederick Adam, as I hoped. But I have had an occasion of good here which I could not have looked for. A station of three or four hundred Europeans; two sermons; communication with the chaplain; testifying for Christ where no

390 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

bishop has ever yet been; confirming fifty-seven young people; encouraging the few pious and devout Christians; — all this was done in twenty-four hours. God be pleased to bless! "

The visit to Pooree occupied the same period of time, and gave opportunity for the same services, varied only by an examination of the temple of Juggernaut¹ which is close at hand. The bishop was much moved by the sight.

"I have visited the valley of death," he says; "I have seen the den of darkness. Juggernaut has been trodden with these feet, and seen with these eyes, after thirty or forty years' hearing and reading about it. O Buchanan! How well I remember your pious indignation when, nearly thirty years ago, you visited this foul and horrible scene! My soul is moved within me, even to trembling. The dread pagoda is situated in the vicinity of this station called Pooree. Never did the language of Scripture as to idolatry, appear to me so pregnant with inspiration, as since I have seen the dire effects essential to heathen worship. If we extinguish the Bible, then Greece and Rome, with all their abominations, would again fill the world."

The steamer then sped on towards Calcutta; and on March 2d, the bishop was safely sheltered in the palace.

"Thus ends," he says, "the first part of my visitation; six months and seven days; six thousand five hundred miles; eighty sermons; additions made to my first charge; a second charge written, and both carried through the press at Vepery; health improved; friends made, I trust for life; and, above all, the immensely difficult task of purifying the native church. *Deo sit gloria in sempiternum.*"²

The first thing taken in hand by the bishop on his arrival, was the preparation of two important and confidential letters to the venerable Church Societies. A full account of all that he had done was given, and an urgent appeal made to them for help. The state of each separate mission was described, and the number of laborers in the field. They had already been increased in various ways; but many more were needed:

"All that has been done," he writes, "since the caste question was stirred two years ago, is a mere commencement. The present missionaries are unable to stand their ground and make their way. They must be supported, and speedily, or all must and will assuredly fall back. I pity those few holy men. I have necessarily done them injury for the time. The natives turn all their anger upon them, and misrepresent their most innocent actions. All this will pass away if they are strengthened in numbers, and can make headway against the evils which I have denounced, but not exterminated."

¹ The word means "world-lord", one of the names of Krishna found in the Sanskrit epics. There was "a huge wagon bearing an image of a Hindu god", inspired by the Jagannath Temple in Puri, Odisha. There is an annual chariot procession there carrying the statues of Jagannâth, Subhadra and Balabhadra (Krishna's elder brother). Sir John Mandeville, in the 14th century, described a Hindu religious sacrifice where they cast themselves under the wheels of these huge chariots, and were crushed to death (many would say it was accidental). The English word "Juggernaut" was coined in the mid-19th century. It connotes "something that demands blind devotion or merciless sacrifice."

² To God be the glory forever.

Having thus done his part in removing past evils and providing for future efficiency in these important missions, he turned his attention to current duties.

Calcutta soon oppressed him.

“The first week here,” he says, “has worn me down. The temperature is foggy, damp, hot, and suffocating; quite different from the clear, dry, cool, exhilarating air of Madras. Then the discomposure of events, the pressure of duties, the perplexity of questions, the approaching change in the government, the number of friends gone or going home; my own weak, wavering, sinking heart; a faith feeble as the broken rush; love extinct; bodily power prostrate — what we call ‘spirits’ gone. To You only, O Lord, can the helpless fly for succor — to your Grace only [can the helpless] have recourse. I rather ought to most gladly glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me.”

The change of government, spoken of in the above extract from a letter home, had reference to the approaching departure of Lord William Bentinck. His health had seriously failed; and not having been effectually restored by the retreat to the Neilgherry hills in the Presidency of Madras, an immediate return to England became imperatively necessary. His correspondence with the bishop had long since resumed its friendly tone; and the past being kept out of mind, they now met again with mutual pleasure. On March 12th, the bishop writes:

“Lord William’s departure is deferred for a few days. He holds his last levee on Friday, and Lady William sees company on Saturday. The noble character of Lord William’s administration appears more and more. His answers to the addresses of public bodies are perfectly delightful. I entertain the same opinion as ever about his ecclesiastical proceedings; but, generally speaking, he is incomparable. The good of the natives, advancement by merit, the abolition of suttees,¹ commerce, the press, steam, moral purity in his family, attendance on public worship — I truly believe, in all these respects, we shall never see his like again. Had his lordship been educated in church principles, he would have been nearly perfect. But only last Wednesday, when talking on church matters, he acknowledged that he did not know what an ‘archdeacon’ meant. Nor does he know what ‘a bishop’ means!”

Lord William had been for some time incapacitated from attending divine service — any prolonged attention produced serious attacks of giddiness.² The following extract refers to this.

“MONDAY, MARCH 10TH, 1835.

“Last night I had a most affecting duty. I performed divine service for the first and last time in Government House. A drawing-room was fitted with a

392 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

high table covered with crimson cloth; seats were arranged on each side of the room; all the court was assembled — aides-de-camp, public and private secretaries, physicians — in number about twenty. My chaplain read the evening prayers (we were both robed), and I preached from the words, ‘Come to me all that labor and are heavy laden and I will give you rest.’³ I used Swartz’s sweet notes, as at Tanjore. I spoke and told out ‘the whole story,’ as Joseph Milner would have expressed it — addressed the conscience — called on the infidel (such were present) to consider his ways — invited the superstitious (such were present) to the simplicity of Christ — and commended the Governor-General and his family and suite to the blessed Jesus during the voyage. They were affected to tears. After the prayer at the conclusion, I pronounced the benediction, and gave it a personal application by going round and laying my hands on the head of each kneeling worshipper, and then returning to my seat and concluding it. The Governor-General and Lady William came up to thank me after service; but

¹ The act of a Hindu widow willingly cremating herself on the funeral pyre of her dead husband.

² A reeling sensation; a feeling that you are about to fall.

³ Matthew 11.28.

they were almost unable to speak for tears. Who can tell what good may be done? I suppose it was the most affecting scene ever witnessed at the departure of a governor-general.

“My own soul is subsiding more and more into God. The excitement of India has gone by; the novelty has ceased; I have run through the first series of duties; human schemes and hopes are exhausted. Now, blessed Jesus! I return to You. You and you only work in me, and by me, and for me, and through me. Only You be glorified. Display your grace in the effects of your glorious gospel in the hearts of men.”

The time of the Governor-General’s departure was now close at hand; and the day before H. M. Frigate *Curacoa* sailed, application was made to the bishop to administer the Lord’s Supper in private at Government House. He willingly complied, and described what passed in a letter, dated Tuesday, March 17th;

“I have performed the solemn service. None were present but Lord and Lady William. After the communion they sat down and talked over with me the main things affecting my department. Not a word was said of the sad business of last June. But everything in matters of detail was conceded to me that I could possibly wish. I then embraced each of them, and wished them farewell.”

He then retired to Tittagher for a few days’ respite, and the following are some of his reflections on things past and present:

“TITTAGHER, MARCH 26TH.

“I complete this day the third year since my appointment to this see. I have just been reading Mr. Grant’s letter of March 27th, 1832, on that occasion. I am now sitting in my beautiful flower-house, with the fine morning sun rising, the air cool and refreshing, the noble Hooghly on my right, and the gardeners at work around. The goodness of God overwhelms my mind. No temporal

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 393

sorrows have I but my dearest daughter’s ill-health and absence. Unnumbered mercies stimulate me to gratitude. Dear Henry Martyn’s pagoda study on the other side of the river meets my sight, the echoing voices of the poor natives in their dinghies on the stream meet my ear, with the birds warbling praises to their Maker. Everything calls on me this day to gird up the loins of my mind. Time glides away like the tide which is before. Time, in India — time to a bishop in India — time to one nearly fifty-seven years of age — is ‘short,’ indeed! Oh for grace to redeem it! On looking back, I see what temptations, what secularities, what hurries, what decays of spiritual feeling, what inward diseases, have gained ground. I can truly confess, ‘My feet were almost gone; my steps have nearly slipped.’ One thing I see is the benefit of humiliation and disappointment. The mass of perplexing vexatious duties, since I returned from the South, is indescribable. ‘I am truly set in the plague, and my soul is among lions.’ — ‘This is your hand; you, Lord, have done it.’”

This witness is true. “When the bishop arrived, he found Calcutta, so to speak, surcharged with electricity. Whoever touched it felt the shock. He was troubled on every side — troubled about the Archdeaconry, about his Charge, about the Church Missionary Society, about the Select Vestry of his cathedral. All these will, in their turn, require serious notice.

The Archdeacon Corrie was now absent, having obeyed the call to England, from where, in due course, he returned as Bishop of Madras. The duty of official correspondence with the government during the bishop’s absence, which would have fallen to the archdeacon, had been consigned as was usual to the senior Presidency chaplain. The bishop tacitly acquiesced in this, though he withheld his sanction, being steadfastly purposed to break through the system of routine which assigned a vacant archdeaconry to a senior Presidency chaplain. He was unwilling, therefore, to excite expectations, which in this case certainly would not be realized. The archdeaconry was now considered vacant, and the sweets or bitters of office had apparently excited an appetite for it. Indirect applications having failed, a direct application for the appointment was made to the bishop by the senior Presidency chaplain. This being refused courteously, but decidedly, a claim was set up; the government was applied to, and the Court of

Directors petitioned. A petition was also circulated for signatures among the clergy; the aid of the press was called in; and all Calcutta was agitated by discussion and party spirit. The bishop waited till the proper time had come, and then offered the archdeaconry to Mr. Dealtry, the chaplain of the Old Church, Calcutta, and now Bishop of Madras. He accepted it, and was installed in the autumn of this year. The fire then died out for lack of fuel; but it left its embers smouldering.

394 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

The trouble about the bishop's charge, now printed and in circulation, was caused by the missionaries themselves. The bishop, when addressing the body assembled at Tanjore, and warning them against the dangers of secularity, pursuit of petty objects, and family jobs, had added these words:

“Perhaps not one in twenty of those who come out from Europe in all the Protestant societies, with the best promise, and who go on well for a time, perseveres in the disinterestedness of the true missionary.”¹

With this sentence, three missionaries belonging to church societies in Calcutta thought it proper to be offended, and they sent in a long petition, containing a protest. They were informed at once that it could not be received; that as presbyters, they were bound to respect their bishop's words of counsel and caution; that they were at liberty to form their own opinion; and that the bishop was at all times accessible to an expression of it; — but that a formal protest was irregular and inadmissible. A frank and full apology came instantly from one of the missionaries. He had been misled, and acknowledged his error. The same acknowledgment also came, though more tardily, from the two others.

But the matter did not end here. The dissenting missionaries in Calcutta deemed themselves aggrieved, and they now entered the arena and required an explanation. They were invited to the palace, and assured that the statements made in the charge had no personal or local application. They asked for a written exemption for their own body; but the bishop declined to give this. He advised them, however, to let the matter drop, and not do anything to fix a charge upon themselves which, in truth, ranged over the whole field of missions, and was the result of thirty years' experience and observation. The discussion was quite friendly, and appeared satisfactory at the time; but subsequently, “minutes” of what passed were drawn up with an evident view to publication; and in spite of an official intimation that they were not correct, they were published. This did not tend to the promotion of that kindly feeling which is always so desirable in missionary work.

But a much more important result followed the publication of the charge, and one which necessarily leads to the consideration of a question in which every colonial diocese is interested — the relation in which a bishop stands to the Church Missionary Society. This question, so far as the Bishop of Calcutta was concerned, looks backwards and forwards, but may most properly be introduced here.

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 395

The “Life” of the bishop would be incomplete without it; and the “happy issue” to which it was brought, in the good providence of God, makes reserve the less necessary.

Before the establishment of the Indian Bishopricks, the committee of the “Church Missionary Society for Africa and the East” exercised exclusive control over all missionaries in their employ. Their power to select, support, locate, remove, dismiss, were all unquestioned; and in process of time this power had been delegated partially to corresponding committees abroad. When Bishop

¹ Miss. Charge, p. 99.

Middleton arrived in Calcutta, in the year 1814, he deemed that his letters patent took no cognizance of the missionaries, and gave him no control over them. Their position, therefore, remained unchanged. They were treated with personal courtesy, but neither summoned to his visitations, nor protected by his license.

Bishop Heber's jurisdiction having been enlarged, the missionaries were at once placed by him on the footing of the other clergy. They officiated under his license, and thus became amenable to his authority; but the extent and limits of the authority thus interposed were left undefined.

Bishop Heber died; Bishop James died; Bishop Turner died; and the matter was unsettled still. Not only was it unsettled; it had become entangled.

The clerical secretary of the Church Missionary Society at this epoch was the pious and amiable William Jowett; but the lay secretary, and the ruling mind, was Mr. Dandeson Coates. Most men of that day will remember his tall, thin figure, his green shade, his quiet manner, untiring industry, and firm but somewhat narrow mind. While Mr. Jowett was writing kind and gentle letters, Mr. Coates was stamping upon the committee of management the impress of his own decided views; and the lay element, paramount for the time at home, soon became predominant abroad. Ecclesiastical persons were superseded — corresponding committees reorganized — independent action encouraged. The effect was soon apparent. Both the East and the West¹ were troubled, and one of the first things the Bishop of Calcutta had to do, when entering on the duties of his diocese, was to allay existing irritation. He did not cause it; he found it. Thus he wrote to the acting Archdeacon of Madras:

“CALCUTTA, MARCH 14TH, 1833.

“I cherish the most affectionate regard for the Church Missionary Society. But it is impossible for me to approve of such particular acts of the committee at home as may militate against the principles of the church, or infringe the

396 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

just respect due to the clergy. Nor can I think with satisfaction of a state of things in which a church committee is unsupported by the clergy of the church resident in the place. So far I am bound to acknowledge that your complaints, dear sir, are not without cause. I regret that you and your fellow-chaplains should have been removed from the committee, and I shall rejoice when the time may arrive for your being again invited to take your seat. At the same time, I have no power to replace you; and the sacred cause of Missions is so important, and the merits of the Church Missionary Society, on the whole, so exalted, that I would earnestly exhort you to forbearance and conciliation.”

And thus he wrote to the Archdeacon of New South Wales:

“CALCUTTA, JULY 1833.

“It seems that some unintentional misunderstanding has arisen between the corresponding committee of New South Wales, the committee at home, and yourself. But I trust you will agree with me that in the vast work of Missions, we must open our arms wide to all who are in the communion of the church, and overlook negligences, or errors, or even considerable mistakes. I beg of you the favor to forgive any omission of attention which may have induced a coldness between you and the committee, for my sake and the gospel's.”

The character of the *Madras Corresponding Committee*, as recently remodelled by orders from home, may be gathered from a letter written by Archdeacon Corrie, the most amiable and charitable of men. It was the result of personal communication, and was written to Mr. Dandeson Coates himself, in February 1834:

¹ The Diocese of Barbadoes.

“They appeared to me very little inclined to uphold the system of church government to which we are pledged. At this very time they refuse a ‘title’ for holy orders to Mr. Coombes, the student sent up by the former committee, though somewhat irregularly, to Bishop’s College, where he has pursued his studies diligently, and approved himself both for piety and attainments to the present bishop; and I may add, to myself. Yet the Madras committee, although he had been two years a catechist under Mr. Rhenius, with their cordial approval, require him to go again as a catechist before they will give him a title. The fact is, as far as I can judge, the majority, though men whom ‘I love in the truth,’ have contracted¹ views of the church, and are scrupulous rather than conscientious; they are so afraid of doing evil that they scarcely dare to do good; and when an object spiritually good in their view comes before them, they care little whether it is attained by the rules of the Church of England or any other.”

It was not surprising that a committee thus constituted should act independently of all ecclesiastical authorities; and yet their missions in the South had been in a terrible state of confusion for some time. Mr. Rhenius, the most prominent and influential of their missionaries, had publicly attacked the church, and did so while still continuing at his post and retaining his hold of the mission.

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 397

His principles and position necessarily involved many delicate questions touching ordination, church services, and church property; and this would have seemed, above all things, to require that friendly episcopal interposition which, on the application of the propagation committee, and in the case of the caste question, had been attended with such beneficial and decisive effects. But no such course was pursued. The committee at Madras almost ignored their bishop, never asked him to accept office, and persevered in independent action. Moreover, the parent society tacitly endorsed their proceedings, and at the end of two years sent out the Rev. John Tucker to be their representative and secretary.

The bishop had been much troubled with all this, but waited and held his peace. On Mr. Tucker’s arrival, he wrote once and again to invite friendly communications, and hoped for a gradual recognition of church principles on the part of the committee, and a gradual return to harmonious action. Little progress, however, was made; and when, as already related, he went down to Madras in 1834, he was very uncertain as to the course he ought to pursue. He found no encouragement there to examine into the missions at Tinnevely; and this, together with the lateness of the season, prevented the extension of his visitation to that place.

It was on his arrival at Tanjore, that the pamphlet published by Mr. Rhenius against the church was first put into his hands; and there he learned fully the sinister effect produced by it, and by the personal influence of its author on the church principles of some of the Tinnevely catechists and converts. In his charge, therefore, and in the subsequent “Dedication” to the archdeacons and clergy of the diocese, he spoke strongly of the evils he had discovered, and the necessity laid upon him to bear testimony against them.

“I discovered,” he says, “a system at work in the extreme south (where I supposed the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society were continuing to follow our general doctrine and discipline, though the senior was a Lutheran), in direct opposition to our Protestant Episcopal Church, which sends them out — this is a system so ruinous, in my judgment, to the holiness and peace of the new converts, as to threaten a subversion among them of Christianity itself.”

And again, when cautioning the European, East Indian, and native catechists and schoolmasters whom he was addressing, he says:

“Those of you who may be stationed in the province of Tinnevely, be very cautious. Do not enter into controversy with other catechists and schoolmasters. Pursue your own duty quietly and humbly. If anything is said to draw you aside, make no answer, but report it to the missionaries. Keep close

¹ Foreshortened; limited in scope.

398 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

to your own church, but say nothing of the disorders you may see or hear of. Commit everything to God.”

And again, in the general account of his proceedings, he said:

“I trust I have left everything, so far as the missions of the Incorporated Society at Vepery, Cuddalore, Tanjore, and Triohinopoly are concerned, in a train of peaceful improvement and restoration. The other case, farther south, came upon me by surprise, in the neighborhood of Tanjore and Trichinopoly.”

These remarks which, as referring to the real extent and nature of the evils at work, were strictly true, elicited a letter from the Madras committee which offended the bishop and widened the breach. The real point at issue had reference to the extent and effect of the bishop’s license upon the Church Missionaries; and his reasonable wishes on this topic may be expressed in his own words:

“Let the lay business,” he says, in a letter of February 1835, “the station, the money, the outlays, the buildings, the return of missionaries, their outfit, the care of their wives and children, be with the lay patrons, or their delegates, the committee. But surely the approval of the stations, and the superintendence of the spiritual duties of the licensed missionaries, must pertain to the bishop, and his archdeacon as his representative.”

And again, in December 1835:

“I shall endeavor in patience to possess my soul; where I am wrong, to get right; and where I am right, to wait for God. So far as I understand things at present, the Church Missionary principle now contended for extinguishes the bishop’s office. All I ask for is superintendence, control, and jurisdiction in spiritual things over all persons licensed by me as Ordinary¹ to perform spiritual functions in my diocese. I do not touch Lay patronage; I do not touch temporal authority; I do not touch location of missionaries; I do not touch removal, dismissal, or suspension from support. But I ask for reasonable grounds to be laid before me, when I am called to act by granting a license, just as a bishop in England asks for reasonable grounds when a spiritual person is presented to him for a license. No curate can be licensed without such inquiry and approval. Such is the order of things in England. Much more should something resembling this take place in a new diocese, in planting new churches, in the propagation of that gospel which it is the most special duty of the bishop to superintend.

“And as to the second branch of the question, surely a bishop has claims for that information on the manner in which his spiritual persons or clerks perform their spiritual duties! Surely he must visit, inspect, inquire, examine, or else how is he to administer confirmation — how is he to approve the baptism of converts — how is he to watch the canonical proceedings of the reverend clergy — how is he to stop error or check enthusiasm — how is he to animate and encourage? But I wait.

“I have found all through my ministry that things soon get right if I can

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 399

only keep myself calm and wait for God. They only become irreparable when obstinacy, pride, by-ends, worldliness, self, and departures in heart from Christ lie at the bottom of the wound and fester there. Who ever reached the crown of glory without bearing the cross which leads to it? Not one.”

These, and points like these, were urged calmly and forcibly in many letters; and much as the bishop loved the society and sought to do it good, he steadfastly refused to compromise the rights inherent in his office, and entrusted to his charge. The controversy had already lasted for three years; the atmosphere did not clear; danger became imminent — danger to the society in India lest an open breach should be made with the bishop — danger to the society in England,

¹ The diocesan bishop who ordains the clergy.

lest its church principles should be doubted, and its friends alienated — danger to the missionaries in the fields of labor, lest some should forget that they were Churchmen, and others prove better Churchmen than their managers.

Nor were these dangers imaginary. The withdrawal of the bishop from the society would have been an easy solution to the difficulty so far as he was concerned; but the operations of the society would have been paralyzed in India.

With respect to England, the ominous words of one influential friend of the society at the time will suffice to prove that danger was at hand. He says:

“The main difficulty is with the parent committee. My own humble connection with the society will depend on their conduct on this occasion; because, if they fail to act towards the bishop as they ought, my confidence, shaken for a long time, will be withdrawn. The society may continue to consist of Churchmen, but it will not be a Church of England Society.”

So with respect to the missionaries, the danger was not imaginary; for there were many unmistakable signs to prove that they felt the hands of laymen heavy upon them, and were inclined to seek the support and obey the “godly motions” of their bishop.

“What is my duty under these circumstances?” says the bishop. “It must be —

“1st. To wait upon God.

“2d. To submit to His will.

“3d. To go on meekly and wisely.

“4th. To bear the reproach of the spiritual church on the one hand, and the worldly-minded church on the other.”

And he did endure the reproach thus anticipated.

“For God’s sake, and for the sake of the poor heathens, do not let your love of the church obstruct the diffusion of Christianity,” wrote Mr. Fowell Buxton from England.

400 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

“I would reply,” says the bishop, commenting upon his words, “For God’s sake do not let your *dread* of the church obstruct the diffusion of Christianity.’ No, my heart’s desire and prayer to God is for the widest diffusion of Christianity, and by any means. But in each church there must be order, subordination, and discipline, or else the diffusion of Christianity is lost, and the confusion and discord of human passions succeeds. Still I love the honesty of Fowell Buxton, and I shall set myself to watch more my own spirit, lest I should by any proceedings obstruct, or even appear to obstruct, the diffusion of Christianity.”

The matter had now become too complicated for settlement abroad, and it was consequently referred to friends at home. Three were selected: Dr. Pearson, Dean of Salisbury, Dr. Dealtry, Rector of Clapham, and the Rev. J. W. Cunningham, Vicar of Harrow; and they were placed in communication with the bishop’s son on the one hand, and the Church Missionary Society on the other. After much serious discussion, and the interposition of a wise friend, the society finally conceded the point at issue, and suggested an arrangement which the three referees approved. This arrangement was communicated to the bishop in the month of December 1835. It met with his cordial concurrence, and was subsequently embodied by him in four rules, which the society have ever since retained among their published documents. They will be found appended to the annual reports in the accompanying form:

“These principles were stated in a letter from the Society to the Bishop of Calcutta, signed by the Right Honorable the President, on December 17, 1835, in a manner so satisfactory to the Bishop, that he embodied them in the four following Rules, expressed for the most part in the words of the Society’s letter, which were, at the Bishop’s request, entered upon the minutes of the Calcutta corresponding committee, as the recognized Rules of their practice:

- “1. The Bishop expresses — by granting or withholding his license, in which the sphere of the missionary’s labor is mentioned — his approval, or otherwise, of that location.
- “2. The Bishop superintends the missionaries afterwards, as [he does] the other clergy, in the discharge of their ecclesiastical duties.
- “3. The Bishop receives from those — the Committee and Secretary — who still stand in the relation of lay patrons to the missionary, such communications respecting his ecclesiastical duties as may enable the Bishop to discharge that paternal superintendence to the best advantage; — the Archdeacon of Calcutta or Bombay acting under the Bishop’s immediate directions when he happens to be absent.
- “4. If the Bishop or Archdeacon fills, at the request of the Society, the offices of Patron, President, Vice-President, Treasurer, Secretary, etc., he receives, further, all such confidential information, on all topics, as the Bishops officially neither could wish nor properly ask [to receive].”

This communication from the committee in England, was accompanied

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 401

by a letter from the Earl of Chichester, President of the Church Missionary Society, apologizing for past apparent but not intentional estrangement, and inviting the renewal of friendly and confidential communication. To this the bishop gladly and readily responded, and his feelings were expressed in the letter of acknowledgment he sent to his three friends.

“SIMLAH, JUNE 13TH, 1836.

“I return now to the full tide of affectionate communication with the Church Missionary Society in all its ramifications, which I only felt compelled for a time to suspend because my superintendence was rejected.

“I have committed a thousand errors in the manner of doing things, God knows. But in everything relating to the society there was such careful consultation and deliberation, that I fully expected only time was lacking for my principle to be, as it is, admitted in its amplest form.

“I thank God, my Saviour, that I was enabled to abstain from acting, and to remain quiet, calmly enduring everything in my own breast, and still doing all I could for the Church Missionary Society, that I might not hinder the gospel of God.

“I still have to look to your kindness to keep an eye over things till the machinery has worked for some time as harmoniously as I fully trust it will.”

The sound of contention was thus hushed at Madras, and all things were set right at home; but, meanwhile, difficulties had arisen in Calcutta. Time was, when under the wise and gentle management of Archdeacon Corrie, no ripple had appeared upon the waters there; but the corresponding committee, selected by himself, had been content to register his experienced decisions, and to carry out his prudent counsels. But all this was now changed. Corrie was gone; and men of high standing and office had taken their seats in the committee, bringing with them all that independent and self-reliant spirit learned at the Sudder Boards¹ and in the Secretariat. Their motives were pure, their conduct disinterested, and they were nominally Churchmen; but they knew little about church principles, and forgot that they were working a church society. They preferred acting without the bishop, to acting with him. Differences arose during his absence on visitation. The clergy on the committee were not superseded, but overborne. Archdeacon Dealtry ceased to attend. Complications arose from the determination to erect a Head Seminary in avowed opposition to the Bishop’s College; and, moreover, the corresponding committee, outstripping the parent society which it professed to represent, repudiated the

¹ Or *Sudder Courts*, predated the High Courts of India established in 1861. The Secretariat was the Parliament building.

arrangement just made so far as it respected the bishop's silence. When he arrived in Calcutta, all these fresh difficulties had to be met

402 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

and disentangled. Much forbearance was shown, many conferences were held, long letters were written; and the result was so far good that a dispatch prepared by the committee for the parent society, remonstrating against their supposed concessions, was changed into an address to the bishop, soliciting such explanations of his licensing power, and such assurances touching its exercise, as he might be pleased to give. These explanations and assurances were given at once; and they were transmitted home in due course, where they commended themselves to the parent society, and were admitted as addenda to the rules previously agreed on. They did their part, also, in soothing the minds and winning the confidence of the Calcutta committee; and a friendly feeling was creeping on when, in the early part of 1838, a fresh root of bitterness sprung up. A few words will suffice to explain the cause, and conclude the whole subject.

A missionary in deacon's orders had been sent out from home, with special directions to labor in Calcutta under the bishop's license, and in due time to apply for priest's orders. The Calcutta committee on his arrival, discouraged his application for a license, and directed him to go up to Burdwan and commence his labors there. The young missionary disliked this location, pleaded his home directions, showed some temper, and declined compliance. The committee, grievously offended, straightway withdrew all countenance from him, and left him to follow his own devices. He applied to the bishop, and as a spiritual person sent into his diocese, sought a license and priest's orders. Upon this, the committee was officially applied to. They neither objected nor assented; but justified the course they had pursued, and stood on their right to judge independently in *all* causes concerning *all* persons. The bishop having satisfied himself of the personal fitness and good character of the candidate, licensed him to officiate in Calcutta, and shortly afterwards ordained him priest. The matter was, of course, referred home by the committee; and the parent society having intimated disapproval of the course the committee had pursued, the committee at once resigned, and to a man. It was not necessary; for in the interval, the glad tidings from Krishnagur had moved all hearts and bowed ill wills, and constrained to union and cooperation. However, they persevered in their resignation. A new secretary and a new committee were immediately appointed; and from that moment to the present, no interruption has occurred in the harmonious and successful working of the Calcutta branch of the Church Missionary Society. Modifications of the rules and the addenda may become necessary from time to time, and this will be easily accomplished

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 403

under the present wise and able management of the society; but the above narrative records the solution of the most difficult of all missionary questions, viz., how a voluntary church society may recognize the just claims of the bishop, without compromising its own independence. There were many helpers and many hinderers while the progress was going on; but the problem is safely and satisfactorily solved.

The other question which has been referred to as causing much trouble at this time, was the Select Vestry. Much obscurity hangs over the origin of the body thus designated, but it seems to have been somewhat as follows: The ground on which St. John's Church stood, then called the Cathedral, was the gift of a rich native, and it was vested in nine trustees whose duty it was to see that it was not diverted from its sacred purpose. At first this was their sole duty; but being an organized body (a rare thing in Calcutta), various charitable bequests were from time to time entrusted to them by individuals, or committed to their management by government. The first nine trustees were named; and they were directed and empowered to fill up vacancies in their own body. They had failed to do this. Their numbers fell off; the trust more than once died out;

and the records were actually lost. Thus, though the name was still retained, every shadow of legal right had vanished.

The first stone of the church erected on this ground was laid on April 6th, 1784, and it was opened for divine service on June 24th, 1787 — two lacs of rupees, or about £20,000 had been raised, chiefly by public subscription, and were expended on it. Two church-wardens and six sidesmen were then appointed, after the manner of England, and together with the Presidency chaplains, they called themselves a “vestry.” It was a mere matter of convenience, and nothing more was claimed for it at the time; for, three days after the church was opened, the following “minutes” were recorded:

“The persons acting as church-wardens in Calcutta cannot be considered by the law as properly described under that specification; but they must be considered to act with the consent of the inhabitants, for whose advantage and good they perform the duty.”

Like two drops of water drawn together by mutual attraction, these two bodies fell into one another and formed “the select vestry;” and under that name they administered the charitable funds and managed the church. But two illegal bodies cannot, by voluntary cohesion make a legal one; and hence the pretensions put forth, and the authority claimed by the select vestry, had no real foundation.

404 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV

Still it had existed for some time; the funds were not mismanaged; and the only persons really inconvenienced by it, perhaps, were the successive bishops. Dr. Middleton, the first bishop, found matters in the state described, and greatly felt the inconvenience. He had no authority in his own cathedral. He appealed to government, and in January 1819, government responded to his appeal, and directed all authority in the church, which had now become the cathedral, to be handed over to the bishop. But nothing moved in obedience to this command; and such a storm was raised by public meetings, private quarrels, the Calcutta press, and the enemies of the church and the bishop, that the Marquis of Hastings, then Governor-General, was daunted, and purchased peace by a promise to apply for an Act of Parliament to regulate the matter at home. The act was never obtained — perhaps never really applied for, and the matter slumbered till Bishop Wilson roused and grappled with it. For three years he had borne quietly the inconveniences of his position. He was held responsible for all that occurred in his cathedral, and yet he had no power to control it. Oratorios were given, public female singers engaged, collections made, and servants dismissed, by an irresponsible body who had no legitimate authority, and yet acted independently and without his cognizance. He was unwilling to submit to this any longer, and began the movement by requesting a sight of the records and deeds held by the vestry. Though there was some hesitation in complying with this request, it could not in common decency be refused. The documents applied for were accordingly sent; but as a simultaneous act, the vestry filled up the places vacant in their body, and stood on the defensive.

The result of the examination of the documents was immediately made known to the Presidency chaplains by the bishop; and this was followed by an official application to government requesting that his true position in the cathedral might be authoritatively defined.

The several steps which followed have lost their interest, partly by lapse of time, and partly by the transfer of the bishop’s seat to the new Cathedral of St. Paul, which reduced St. John’s once more to the level of an ordinary church. It will suffice to say that by the energetic and decided measures of Sir Charles Metcalfe, who had now succeeded Lord William Bentinck for a short time as Governor-General, all opposition was overcome. The select vestry was dissolved, the charitable funds transferred to the Supreme Court, and the bishop’s authority definitively established. The old worn-out fabric, touched by firm hands, fell in a moment, and the new edifice, skilfully constructed, stood upon its ruins.

The troubles which have been thus enumerated and discussed, occurring in the path of duty, brought their own compensations with them, and were accompanied by many alleviations. Much kindly communication was maintained, and the bishop went everywhere, preaching the gospel of the grace of God with much acceptance. Several points, also, of great importance to the interests of the church, were accomplished with only that measure of difficulty which waits upon every "new thing." Among these was the assignment to the Calcutta clergy of the right to perform all church offices within their respective districts. In the time of Bishop James, districts had been assigned somewhat hastily to the different churches, and their respective ministers were allowed to baptize and visit the sick. But all fees of every kind were reserved for the Presidency chaplains, and all marriages and burials were still to be performed by them. The public benefited to a certain extent by the change; but still, the boundaries of districts were scarcely known, and the arrangement had become nearly a dead letter.

What had been partially accomplished then, was now thoroughly accomplished. The districts were rearranged; and, reserving the right of the present chaplains, the fee went with the service. Thus the public convenience was promoted, disputes were avoided, and the two great prizes of the Indian ecclesiastical establishment were divided into five moderate ones.

"These are the most important ecclesiastical measures," says the bishop, "which I have been able to carry since I arrived in Bengal, for the comfort of the bishop, for the breaking down of a spirit of opposition in the cathedral, for preventing the choice of Presidency chaplains by seniority alone, for encouraging the other chaplains in Calcutta, and for laying the foundation of parochial order, discipline, and sympathy in the church."

An increase in the number of chaplains was another measure greatly needed, and one upon which the bishop had set his heart. He had already persuaded the government to allow the missionaries and others whose engagements permitted it, to perform divine service with adequate remuneration at destitute stations. But this was a temporary measure, conceded by Lord William Bentinck, discontinued by Sir Charles Metcalfe, and finally forbidden by the Court of Directors. "We disapprove of the employment of missionaries to perform the duties of chaplains in our service; and we desire that you will not so employ them, unless in cases of absolute necessity" — such were the terms of their dispatch of November 1833.

406 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

This expedient to provide occasionally for the urgent wants of his diocese having failed, the bishop devised another by which, without increasing the expense of the establishment, the number of chaplains might be largely increased. This was the appointment of a new class of "assistant chaplains" who, beginning on a lower salary, might speedily and surely rise to the enjoyment of a higher. The general idea was his, but the details were arranged and decided by others; and in these a serious error was made. The proportion of assistant to full chaplains was made too great, and the movement upwards was consequently far too slow. The immediate benefit, however, was a considerable increase of chaplains; and when the hardship became palpable and obvious, it was to a certain extent remedied. The proportion was altered; and one-third of the whole number are now full chaplains, and two-thirds only assistant chaplains.

But the matter of prime importance which characterized this busy and eventful year was the arrangement of a scheme of education for the Martiniere School. The name has since become familiar from its association with the terrible rising, defence, and relief of Lucknow;¹ and the

¹ The Siege of Lucknow was the prolonged defence of the Residency within the city of Lucknow during the Indian Rebellion of 1857. The Martiniere College is the only school in the world to have been awarded royal battle honours for its role in the defence of Lucknow during the rebellion. After two successive relief attempts had reached the city, the defenders and civilians were evacuated from the Residency, which was abandoned.

scheme itself was very much discussed some years ago in a famous debate on the subject of education in the House of Lords. In that debate, the bishop's name was prominently introduced; and the part he took in the matter must now be considered at some length, and with a few preliminary observations.

The history of "La Martiniere" (for such is the name of the establishment) in brief is as follows: A certain General Martin, one of the Indian adventurers of early days, amassed an immense fortune, and spent it in "riotous living." By birth he was a Frenchman, and by profession a Roman Catholic. But he knew and cared little about religion, and in reality he had none. His last will gave sad evidence of unforsaken sin, and utter ignorance of "the things that accompany salvation." But it showed he had a conscience. After various bequests, of a nature easily imagined, the whole residue of his property was bestowed in charity which, as he says, all religions joined in recommending. Part of this residue went to his native city of Lyons, and part was assigned for the entire maintenance and education of a certain number of children in Calcutta. The amount thus assigned was very large at the time of his decease; and it has since increased, first by the accumulations of nearly thirty years, and next by the decision of a court of law in France; so that after all preliminary expenses had been incurred, and a building erected in Calcutta at a great cost, nearly sixteen lacs of

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 407

rupees, or about £160,000, remain at the present moment intact for the support of the institution. The whole was left without reserve. All that General Martin desired was that the children should be apprenticed when their education was completed, or married when they arrived at a proper age; that every year a small premium and medal should be awarded to the "most deserving or virtuous boy and girl;" that at an annual public dinner "a toast should be drunk in memory of the founder;" that on each anniversary of his death a sermon should be preached to the children in "the church" at Calcutta; and that the institution should bear on its front a suitable inscription, and be called "La Martiniere." All matters connected with the investment of the money, and the scheme of education, were left entirely to the discretion of the Indian Government and the Supreme Court.

A long time elapsed before anything was done. The funds were committed to the Supreme Court, as the official guardian of all charitable bequests; but for thirty years no steps were taken, and no scheme of education was devised. This delay arose partly from indecision as to the proper course to be pursued, and partly from a rapid and melancholy succession of deaths in the judges.

At length, in the year 1825, some movement was made by Sir Charles Grey, which was afterwards extended and promulgated in 1832 by Sir William Russel. He had these few guiding points:

"1st. The testator having appointed a Protestant government to carry out his will, had thereby gone far to give the institution a Protestant bias.

"2d. By the mention of an annual sermon, he had clearly no desire to exclude religion.

"3d. By directing the children to attend 'the church,' in Calcutta (there being only one then), he seemed to express a willingness to connect the school with the Church of England."

The bias of the testator's mind was confessedly slight; but it was all one way and it controlled the first decision of the Supreme Court. Sir William Russel sanctioned the expenditure of £17,000 upon the building, which was to include the erection and fitting-up of a church or chapel for divine service. He then decreed the appointment of the Governor-General, the judges of the Supreme Court, the Bishop, the Members of Council, and the Advocate-General, as ex-officio governors, and gave them authority to elect annually four others who, when elected, should have equal authority and power with themselves. He directed that "a clergyman in holy orders

“should preach the annual sermon; that twenty girls and thirty boys should be maintained, educated, and put out in life;

408 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

that other children should be admissible on the payment of a certain sum; that a paid secretary should be appointed; and that all matters connected with the education of children, the selection of master and mistress, the discipline and internal management of the school, should be left entirely to the discretion of the governors. This decretal order was signed W. O. Russel, John Franks, and Edward Ryan; and bears date October 22d, 1832.

When the bishop arrived then, at the end of October 1832, all seemed in a fair train for connecting this great institution with the Church of England, and enabling it eventually to do for India what our public schools have done for the mother country. This was the impression on his mind when he accepted his own nomination, and it was confirmed when, shortly after, the choice of the four elected governors fell on Rev. Dr. Mill, Principal of Bishop's College, and three church laymen; and also when the sub-committee that was appointed to draw up a plan for the general instruction of the children was comprised of Sir Edward Ryan (chief justice in succession to Sir William Russel, deceased), Dr. Mill, and himself. The tacit understanding, indeed, was so clear and decided as to the status of the school that, with the cognizance of the Governor-General and Chief Justice, the bishop wrote to England to secure the conditional services of a clergyman of high standing, as headmaster and chaplain.

But all this bright prospect gradually faded away. The educational controversy arose in England, and it was reproduced in India; and the bishop soon found the chariot wheels begin to drive heavily. He records the changes as they occurred from time to time, with much anxiety, as follows:

“*Sept. 6th, 1833.* Urged on the Governor-General (Lord Wm. Bentinck) that the Martiniere should be placed on the basis of the National Church, as it was professedly to be a Christian institution under a Christian government. His lordship preferred that a layman should be master, and that the institution should be quite open, with no established religion. Christianity he thinks will spread, and may be left to take care of itself. To all this I assigned my reasons for opposing.”

Occasional conversations of this kind checked the bishop, and kept him from pressing for a decision which threatened to be unfavorable. Changes might take place, and he hoped they would be for the better. But instead of this, they were for the worse. The Governor-General retired; Mr. Macaulay took his seat as Member of Council; and a Vicar-Apostolic arrived from Rome.

The bishop resumes his notes:

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 409

“*April 24th, 1835.* The Martiniere has taken as strange a turn as possible. I have talked in private with (Sir Charles Metcalfe) the new Governor-General. He was inclined to nothing being said about religion, and no church being preferred; but if any was to be preferred, then he said he should choose the Church of England. Sir Edward Ryan, whom I saw afterwards, repeated the same sentiments; acknowledging that his mind had been gradually changed. He also suggested the appointment of Dr. St. Leger, the Vicar-Apostolic, as a governor. I objected, and the next morning entreated him to desist from the proposal. However, the moment the meeting of that day in the council-room was opened, he proposed the Roman Catholic vicar. Mr. Macaulay instantly supported the nomination, with a torrent of words to which all seemed reluctant to yield. The nomination was carried with my single negative vote. Colonel Morrison then proposed the Presbyterian chaplain. I conceived this far better than an indifferent or irreligious layman, and acquiesced; and thus, with Dr. Mill, and Mr. C. Prinsep, the four elected governors were made up. The chapel and lecture-room were then talked over; and they seemed disposed to have only a lecture-room.

"I have done all in my power to settle the Martiniere on the foundation of the Church of England. But it seems to me, that the spirit at home against establishments and bishops has influenced our leading men here, and that they have seized the present opportunity to manifest it.

"*Tuesday, June 23d, 1835.* Yesterday the Martiniere governors met, when an entire plan of education was proposed by the secretary. Dr. Garden, forming a kind of general Christianity, fusing all differences, and following no particular church. I obtained time for consideration. But my heart sinks within me when I see the Governor-General, the Judges, and Members of Council thus helping to form a Christian Institution without any distinctive Christianity. God only can help us.

"*June 25th, 1835.* I had an hour's audience of the Governor-General. I explained myself about the Martiniere. The Governor-General acknowledged the difficulty. I said that the needed relief to the Roman Catholic children might have been easily conceded, while the foundation of the whole might have been the doctrine and discipline of our church. I said that such a scheme had hardly ever been proposed before, and never had succeeded, and never could succeed. To teach Christianity without catechisms, forms, or creeds, was impossible.

"*July 6th, 1835.* At a private audience, Sir Charles informed me that the long letter of twelve sheets which I have written, commenting upon the secretary's plan for the Martiniere, was being circulated among the governors.¹ He thought it quite proper from me. He saw the difficulty, and thought Dr. Garden's plan could not be carried. He seemed also to doubt about my proposal.

"*Aug. 9th, 1835.* God be praised for a great act of His mercy yesterday. At the Martiniere meeting, instead of standing alone, as I did when opposed to

410 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

Dr. St. Leger's election, I was supported by the Governor-General, the Advocate-General, Dr. Mill, Rev. Mr. Charles, and Mr. Thoby Prinsep; while on the other side there were Sir Edward Ryan, Sir J. P. Grant, Colonel Morrison, Mr. Ross, Dr. St. Leger, and Mr. C. Prinsep. So that the numbers were six to six; and if it had not been for the presence of the said Vicar-Apostolic, we should have carried the question. The proposition of Sir E. Ryan, the Chief Justice, was that the education should be based on the general principles of Christianity, but that the peculiarities of no particular church should be taught. My proposition was that the education should be based on Christianity according to the doctrine of the Church of England.

"The question was postponed till Saturday the 15th, when I trust that by prayer we may set the victory for Christ and truth. This one business has cost me much anxiety for the last two years, and has occupied much of my time for the last two months. My circular letter of July was fifty folio pages. The Presbyterian chaplain, the Rev. Mr. Charles, behaved himself nobly — giving up his own church for mine, in order to support the cause of Protestantism. To God only be all glory through Jesus Christ.

"*August 12th.* My heart is damped by hearing that Mr. Macaulay is fully in favor of Sir E. Ryan's motion, and strongly against me and the Church of England. Oh! This cuts me to the quick. But it is God's will.

"*August 15th.* Through the divine mercy we have got through the Martiniere business far better than I feared. The whole body of thirteen met together, and Sir Edward Ryan re-proposed his resolution. I proposed, not now my original counter-resolution, which would have been of no use, but a series of resolutions, to the effect that the doctrines of the Church of England should be taken as the standard of what was meant by the 'general principles of Christianity.' At last Sir E. Ryan virtually agreed, by allowing his motion to be guarded by all 'the ancient creeds as held in common by the English, Scotch, Roman, Armenian, and Greek Churches of Christendom.' Thus error is shut out, and the foundations of the gospel preserved. I am united in a committee, with Dr. St. Leger and Mr. Charles, to draw up a plan of religious instruction and a form of family worship. To God be the praise; for man could not have worked this deliverance. May the same gracious hand guide us still, and direct

¹ This letter is too long for insertion.

us to the choice of an able, pious, discreet, and religious master, on whom so much, after all, will depend.”

The bishop’s mind now turned at once to the difficult task imposed upon him of framing, in conjunction with the vicar-apostolic and the Presbyterian chaplain, a catechism and form of worship for use in the school within the prescribed limits. The committee met daily in the palace for this purpose, the only other person present being the bishop’s chaplain, who acted as secretary. The proceedings necessarily occupied much time. Every step had to be deliberately weighed, every book to be circulated and read. The vicar-apostolic had never read our liturgy. Neither the bishop nor Mr. Charles

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 411

were familiar with the Roman missal. A variety of catechisms had to be examined. All minutes of proceedings, when fairly copied, had to be sent round for the perusal and signature of each member. Everyone felt that a considerable degree of responsibility rested upon himself, and acted accordingly; but nothing could exceed the openness and candor which characterized the proceedings throughout.

The first point necessary to be determined was the fundamental truths common to the five main divisions of Christendom. This was not found so difficult as was anticipated, since it was not necessary to define, but only to announce them. Nine important points were, therefore, agreed upon, viz.: (1) The being of God, His unity and perfections. (2) The Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, a revelation inspired by the Holy Ghost. (3) The mystery of the adorable Trinity. (4) The deity, incarnation, atonement, and intercession of our Lord Jesus Christ. (5) The fall and corruption of man, his accountableness and guilt. (6) Salvation through grace, by the meritorious sacrifice and redemption of Christ. (7) The personality and deity of the Holy Ghost, and his operations and grace in the sanctification of man. (8) The indispensable obligation of repentance towards God, faith in Christ, and continual prayer for the grace of the Holy Spirit. (9) The moral duties which every Christian is bound to perform towards God, his neighbor, and himself, as they are summed up in the Commandments and enlarged upon in other parts of holy Scripture — all based upon the doctrines above specified, and enforced as their proper fruits.

Three questions of far greater difficulty immediately followed: What catechism shall be taught? What Bible shall be read? What mode of worship shall be adopted?

1. A complete catechism was impracticable. The Church Catechism offered more points of agreement than any other; but the Presbyterian objected to its definition of baptism, and the Roman Catholic to its definition of the Lord’s Supper. The Presbyterian disclaimed sponsors; the Roman Catholic disliked the enumeration, and denied the division of the Ten Commandments. What was to be done? It was suggested that the catechism should begin by a simple definition of baptism as the initiatory sacrament of Christianity; and that the Commandments should stand undivided, as given in the Book of Exodus. This was agreed to; but nothing could bring about an agreement touching the Lord’s Supper; and there was no alternative but omission.

412 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

The catechism began as follows:

“Question. What is your name?

“Answer. N. or M.

“Q. “When did you receive this name?

“A. At my Baptism.

“Q. What is Baptism?

“A. It is a Sacrament ordained by Christ in his Church.

“Q. How many parts are there in a Sacrament?

“A. Two: The outward visible sign and the inward spiritual grace.

“Q. What is the outward visible sign or form in Baptism?

“A. Water: in which the person is baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

“Q. What is the inward and spiritual grace?

“A. A death unto sin, and a new birth unto righteousness: for, being by nature born in sin and the children of wrath, we are hereby made the children of grace.

“Q. What is required of persons to be baptized?

“A. Repentance, by which they forsake sin; and faith, by which they steadfastly believe the promises of God made to them in that sacrament.

“Q. Why then are infants baptized when, by reason of their tender age, they cannot perform them?

“A. Because they are included in the general command of our Lord respecting that sacrament, and are bound, when they come of age, to perform the obligations laid upon them by it.”

The part relating to the Commandments was arranged as follows:

“*Question.* You said that you were bound to keep God’s Commandments: Tell me which are they? “

Answer. The same which God spoke in the twentieth chapter of Exodus, saying,

“(Ver. 2.) *I am the Lord your God, who brought you out of the land of Egypt, and out of the house of bondage. (3.) You shall have no other gods but me. (4.) You shall not make for yourself any graven image, nor the likeness of anything that is in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the water under the earth. (5.) You shall not bow down to them, nor worship them,*” etc., etc.

No objections were raised with respect to the Creed or the Lord’s Prayer. In these particulars the catechism followed our own. The draft of the whole was made by the bishop, and obtained the approval and signatures of the other members of the committee. First catechisms were also added, after the model of Dr. Watts’;¹ but they presented no difficulty.

2. The question of the Bible was next discussed. The choice lay between the authorized version, and the Romish versions of Douay and Rheims;² for the Greek and Armenian churches had no English version, and all parties deprecated the expedient of placing a

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 413

mutilated copy in the hands of the children. After discussing the matter, it was found necessary to admit both the authorized and the Romish version into the school; but in order to prevent confusion, the children, when reading Scripture, were to be arranged in separate classes according to their respective creeds. “As this however” (thus speaks the report of proceedings), “could not be done in family prayers, when all the children of all classes and each sex, as well as the Christian household, are assembled together, we are of the opinion that the portions of holy Scripture directed to be read as a part of the devotions, should be taken from the authorized English version.”

3. The third question was now proposed — What mode of worship shall be recommended? The discussion of it elicited many difficulties, which need not be enumerated here. The final

¹ Dr. [Isaac] Watt’s *Plain and Easy Catechisms for Children*, Cambridge 1825.

² English translation of the Latin Vulgate Bible (Jerome’s), NT 1582 (Rheims), OT 1609 (Douay).

resolution was, that on Sunday mornings the children should be taken to their respective places of public worship, and that a form should be prepared for family or private devotion only.

This commenced with the general confession, as in the *Book of Common Prayer*, followed by the Lord's Prayer. The psalms for the day, or one of the lessons, as ordered, were then to be read at the discretion of the master. The collect for the week was then to be used, with others, which were carefully selected — some from our English Liturgy, some from the Roman Missal, and some from the Armenian Prayers of St. Nierses of Claia.¹

414 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

Then followed a prayer "for all conditions of men," from the Roman Missal, differing only slightly from our own, which was followed by our "General Thanksgiving," and the Benediction.

On Sunday evenings this same form was to be used, except that a few more collects were then to be read. It was also provided, that on Sunday mornings, when the children were prevented from going out, the psalms of the day were to be read with one of the lessons, and a litany according to a given form. Two forms, in fact, were given: the one was our own, with the exception of the third suffrage, which was altered to meet the belief, or unbelief, of the Eastern Church on the procession of the Holy Ghost, and made to run thus:

"O God, the Holy Ghost,
"Have mercy upon us, miserable sinners."

The other was a shorter litany, taken from the Roman Missal.

From the Armenian Prayers of St. Merses of Claia.

"Heavenly Father, and true God, who sent your beloved Son to seek the lost sheep, we have sinned against Heaven and before you: receive us like the prodigal son, and clothe us with that garment of which we were deprived by our sins. Have mercy on your creatures, and on us miserable sinners."

¹ Some will feel interested in reading these prayers: they are, therefore, inserted here as follows:

Collect from the Roman Missal and the English Liturgy.
(Collect for the Annunciation of the Blessed Virgin Mary.)

"Pour forth, we beseech you, O Lord, your grace into our hearts: that we, to whom the incarnation of Christ your Son has been made known by the message of an angel, may by his passion and cross be brought to the glory of his resurrection; through the same Christ, our Lord. Amen."

From the Roman Catholic Missal.

"As it is your Holy Spirit that has inspired whatever your holy prophets, apostles, and evangelists have taught, give us, O Lord, docile hearts, to put in practice the saving instruction which the sacred books afford; through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen."

From the Roman Catholic Missal and the Anglican Litany.

"O God, whose property is always to have mercy and to spare, receive our petition: that we, and all your servants, who are bound by the chain of sin, may, by the compassion of your goodness, mercifully be absolved; through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen."

From the Roman Catholic Missal.

"Hear, we beseech you, O Lord, the prayers of the supplicant, and pardon the sins of those who confess to you: that in your bounty you may give us pardon and peace; through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen."

From the same.

Out of your clemency, O Lord, show your unspeakable mercy to us, that so you may acquit us of our sins, and deliver us from the punishments we deserve for them; through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen."

From the same.

"Prevent, we beseech you, O Lord, our actions by your holy inspirations, and carry them on by your gracious assistance; that every prayer and work of ours may begin always from you, and by you be happily ended; through Jesus Christ, our Lord. Amen."

From the same.

“O Jesus, wisdom of the Father, grant us wisdom that we may at all times think, speak, and do, that which is good in your sight; and deliver us from evil thoughts, words, and works. Have mercy upon your creatures, and upon us miserable sinners.”

From the same.

“O Lord, who are the lover of that which is good, and the mover and director of the will, do not allow us to walk after the inclination of our own mind; but so lead us that we may always walk after the pleasure of your will, which delights in that which is good. Have mercy upon your creatures, and upon us miserable sinners.”

From the same.

“Heavenly King, give to us your kingdom, which you have promised to your beloved, and strengthen our hearts, that they may hate sin, and love you alone, and do your will. Have mercy on your creatures, and upon us miserable sinners.”

This Litany is subjoined:

“God the Father, of heaven,

“Have mercy upon us.

“God the Son, Redeemer of the world,

“Have mercy upon us.

“God the Holy Ghost,

“Have mercy upon us.

“Holy Trinity, one God,

“Have mercy upon us.

“From all evil: from all sin: from your wrath: from sudden and unprovided death,

“O Lord, deliver us.

“From the deceits of the world: from anger, hatred, and all ill-will: from the spirit of fornication: from lightning and tempest: from everlasting death,

“O Lord, deliver us.

“Through the mystery of your holy incarnation: through your coming: through your nativity: through your baptism and holy fasting,

“O Lord, deliver us.

“Through your cross and passion: through your death and burial: through your holy resurrection: through your admirable ascension: through the coming of the Holy Ghost, the Comforter: in the day of judgment,

“O Lord, deliver us.

“We sinners beseech you to hear us: that you spare us: that you pardon us;

“We beseech you, hear us.

“That you grant to govern and preserve your holy church;

“We beseech you, hear us.

“That you condescend to grant peace and true concord to Christian kings and princes, and your especial protection to your servant our king (queen), the governor-general of India, and all in authority under them;

“We beseech you, hear us.

“That you condescend to grant peace and unity to all Christian people;

“We beseech you, hear us.

“That you condescend to confirm and preserve us in your holy service;

“We beseech you, hear us.

“That you lift up our minds to heavenly desires;

“We beseech you, hear us.

“That you render eternal good things to all our benefactors;
“*We beseech you, hear us.*
“That you condescend to give and preserve the fruits of the earth;
“*We beseech you, hear us.*

“Let us pray.

“O almighty and everlasting God, the comfort of the sorrowful, and the support of those that are heavy burdened; give ear to the prayers of all who call upon you in the day of their trouble and affliction; that meeting with your mercy in their necessities, their mourning may be turned into joy; through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

“The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Spirit, be with us all evermore. Amen.”

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 415

Drawing up these forms was also assigned to the bishop; and when they had been duly circulated, with the catechisms approved, and presented to the governors with a report, the whole was concluded.

As little harm was done as possible; but compromise is, after all, a thankless task, and that is how all parties found it. The vicar-apostolic was recalled by the general of his order (the Jesuits), and charged with having conceded fundamental principles in the report, and having improperly indulged in social communication with the bishop. The Presbyterian chaplain, Mr. (afterwards Dr.) Charles, was called to account by his brethren in Scotland, and blamed as if he had diverged in some particulars from his principles. And the bishop met praise which he did not desire, and censure which he did not deserve. When the Committee of Council on Education published their famous minute of April 11th, 1839, which proposed a scheme of general education for all parties, it was supported by an able and widely circulated pamphlet written by their secretary. In it, the case of La Martiniere was cited, and the conduct of the Bishop of Calcutta highly commended. The debate which shortly afterwards followed in the House of Lords, proved still more conclusively that his motives were neither appreciated nor understood; and a pamphlet was written by his desire, called “La Martiniere,” to remove misapprehension and explain his views and conduct. He did not repent of what he had done; but he wished the circumstances of the case to be made known, so that all interested in the matter might perceive under what pressure he had acted.

The school was opened in due time. A succession of admirable masters (selected chiefly on the recommendation of Sir Edward Ryan) have presided over it; and the bishop watched its progress, at first with anxiety, but afterwards with confidence and interest.

A few details of daily life will now be given, in order to relieve

416 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

these long narratives of important business. They are gathered from a series of journal-letters written by the bishop to his children at home, which were begun regularly about this time, and continued to the close of life. The instant one letter was filled, it was dispatched, and another begun. Wherever he went, the unfinished sheet went with him. At any spare moment the entry was made. Every event was related at the time, and in the manner it occurred. His whole heart was thus opened, his family made sharers of his joys and sorrows; and five hundred and twelve folio letters, minutely written, gradually accumulated, to which this biography will owe much of its interest and value. Should the brief specimens (for they can be only brief) presented from time to time, excite in the minds of many readers a desire for more, it is quite possible that their desires may be gratified later.

The extracts now to be given will commence at the time of the bishop's arrival in Calcutta from Madras.

“April 1st, 1835. — My first dinner-party since last June was given yesterday; thirty-one present; extremely pleasant. I have divided the Calcutta society into seven or eight dinner-parties of about thirty each. Thus I have about two hundred on my list; Government House has at least seven hundred.

“April 2d. — Took Baron Hugel, of Vienna, to the Asiatic Society. The works of Providence are indeed wonderful. Some shell-fish were exquisite, and the leaf-insect was exhibited; most extraordinary; an insect the size of a leaf, formed like a leaf, with the same divisions as a leaf; a small head and legs being, as it were, added. It lives when leaves live, and dies when they die; thus forming, indeed, a link between vegetable and animal life. Baron Hugel has been down with me to Tittaghur, in order that he might visit Serampore; and he, with Dr. Marshman and Mr. Mack, dined with me. Dr. Marshman seems declining; but Mr. Mack is a very pleasing, intelligent, and able man.

“April 6th. — It is curious how Sir Charles Metcalfe is bringing back the old regime. Instead of inviting the native gentry with the Europeans, he appoints a separate audience, and wearing their turbans, they all have to take off their shoes before they enter the room.

“April 12th. — I have been re-reading the letter of advice which I sent to the honored Bishop Turner in 1830. It will be a constant memento for me. It was a curious circumstance that two years after writing that letter, in answer to his earnest request for my advice and counsel, I was myself made bishop. It is curious, also, that in June 1818, my ‘Defence of the Church Missionary Society’ was cut out by the censors (who then superintended the Indian newspapers) from the proof-sheet of the Calcutta Morning Post, on the ground that it was ‘displeasing to the See;’ that is, I suppose to Bishop Middleton. And now the author of that ‘Defence’ is bishop himself! The editor of the Morning Post at that time, called the other day and told me this, and gave me a

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 417

copy of the ‘Defence,’ of which two hundred and fifty were separately struck off; and this copy is now in my desk.

“April 20th. — I am bereft, for a time, of my chaplain, who has just gone down to Penang, to see my beloved daughter. I was walking through their four deserted rooms, with melancholy feelings, yesterday morning, and could only cast myself at the footstool of mercy for support and guidance. I have been reading the correspondence between Knox and Jebb. Knox himself is the curiosity — wrong, undoubtedly — but remarkable throughout.

“May 5th. — In our eight churches (including the missionaries) there were on Easter Day this year, two thousand eight hundred and ninety-one attendants; and seven hundred and eighty-two of them were communicants.

“June 1st. — My poor, dear daughter arrived at the Ghat¹ about one o'clock yesterday, and landed at half-past six. The excitement threw her into faintings which lasted for an hour. The kindness she has received from Sir Benjamin and Lady Malkin, at Penang, is quite indescribable. She has been away from Calcutta more than nine months. And now may my soul be emptied and humbled before the Lord. May I bow to His holy will. I need this discipline. All is ordered. Even this additional distress of husband and wife passing and missing each other at sea — and in all probability very near Penang — was appointed by our great and all-wise Physician. Oh! If my soul would but learn the divine lesson!

“July 12th. — This Sunday begins with melancholy impressions; my dear child gone on her way to England; her husband accompanying her to the Sand-heads; my house deserted; grief and anxiety are my lot; no one to comfort me! But I turn myself to the Fountain of living waters. The broken cisterns can hold no water. The eternal fountain of joy in God is ever the same. May all afflictions indispose me more and more for the turbid comforts of the creature, and quicken more my thirst for the unmixed and vivifying streams of ever-flowing happiness in the Creator.

¹ Stairway in India leading down to a landing on the water.

“*August 12th.* — The newspapers are attacking me for declining to preach for the Cape sufferers if a play was performed for them at the same time. My objection was to be mixed up in this small society, with what I consider a great moral evil — the theatre. I think it would have put the bishop in a false position. I knew my refusal would make a great outcry.

“*August 24th.* — A letter from the ‘Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge’ overwhelms me with gratitude to God. The Society votes me a third £500 to give away, and £500 a year in books for two years, besides a variety of other grants. The kindness with which they treat me is extraordinary. I see in this a talent committed to me of a high order. So also the ‘Propagation Society.’ Oh for grace to employ and occupy with these trusts!

“CHINSURAH, *Sept. 11th.* — I am making another short visit to this large station. It is five o’clock in the morning, most glorious and sweet! The beautiful Dutch church, in the view, intersects the noble river. The sun has not yet risen; the air is of autumnal coolness; the birds are just awake; the bugle is summoning the soldiers; all is mild, soft, inviting. An extraordinary trouble attends even this short movement of thirty miles. I could not come here without a carriage, three horses, and fourteen servants; and if my chaplain

418 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

had come with me, half a dozen more must have accompanied him. One English servant would be almost worth them all. It is the universal custom, arising from the climate, the cheapness of labor, the languor and feebleness of the people, and the wretched, absurd, and unalterable distinctions of caste. The chaplain at Chinsurah, Mr. Rudd, could not find a single boatman to take down a live turkey to Calcutta. Dead turkeys they would have taken, but not a live one.

“*Sept. 14th* — It is half-past eight o’clock in the morning. I am in a *bholeah*, or cabined boat, on my way down to Calcutta, having just landed at Tittaghur, and inspected the packing up of my goods. After today it will no longer be mine. After an occupation of two and a half years, it is melancholy to take a long, and perhaps a final, farewell of a spot where I have spent many most pleasant and profitable hours. Indeed I owe, under Providence, much of my health to this charming retreat... As I write these lines, it is receding from my view... I have lost the last glimpse. The tide has caught the boat, and it is carried along at the rate of ten miles an hour.

“CALCUTTA, *Sept. 15th.* — The three days I spent at Chinsurah remain with a soft and pleasing recollection on my mind. The contrast between that interval of peace, and the hostility of Calcutta, is indescribable. The moment I returned, long attacks in the newspapers, about the archdeaconry and the select vestry, met my eyes. Then came the hurry of visits, anxious questions of duty, and a mind distracted and thrown off its balance. Oh! The grace needed to fill public situations with meekness! God is thus calling me to humiliation; He is emptying me, as it were, from vessel to vessel, weaning me as a child from its mother, checking the tumor of spiritual pride, sweetening the Cross. Three years have been hardly enough to break down my own spirit in India; but I hope it is now breaking.”

The hour of deliverance was now close at hand; and, having held an ordination and preached a farewell sermon, at which the Governor-General, the new commander-in-chief, Sir Henry Fane, the new judge, Sir Benjamin Malkin, and an immense congregation, were present, he embarked on board the *Hattrass* pilot vessel; and Tuesday, October 13th, 1835, found him gliding down the river, resuming his visitation, and writing the following reflections:

“It is nearly three years since I left the *James Sibbald*, in 1832, and now I am resuming a visitation which will occupy half of that period, should health and life be continued. The prospect is overwhelming to the petty reach of human judgment. But to leave one’s self to an Infinite Mind is consoling. God knows the way that I take. Oh that I may be purified by the orders and events of His providence, and come forth as gold! At present the alloy preponderates in the mass. What have I not discovered in my own heart! What evils have been engendered! What corruptions mightily swollen out! What new passions awakened! What departures from the Lord! To You, O my God, would I once more resign myself in the covenant of grace. Receive

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 419

the returning wanderer. Pardon, heal, restore, guide, bless. The deep afflictions into which I have been brought will be overruled, as I trust, to these highest ends. They have come on in the way of duty; they have sprung from my best-considered and most useful proceedings; they have arisen from unreasonable opposition of those who ought to have supported me. Thus they come, as to myself most especially, from the hand of God. The clamor, misrepresentation, calumny, disunion among the clergy, invectives in newspapers, that I am going through — it is not easy to conceive. Two things are topics for thankfulness — the Governor-General supports me nobly, and all the leading people in the Presidency concur in his approval.”

The *Hattrass* was a brig of one hundred and eighty tons, placed at the disposal of the bishop by the government, and commanded by Captain Clark, a courteous and experienced pilot. The party consisted of the bishop, his chaplain, Dr. Allan Webb, and Mr. Coemmerer, the young catechist already mentioned, who was about to be ordained on the scene of his future labors in the south. It was proposed to close the year at Bombay, and to fill up the short intervening period by a visit to the Syrian churches, and Goa, on the coast of Malabar. From Bombay the visitation would stretch over the upper provinces, and close at Calcutta, about April 1837.

The usual variation of currents, calms, and squalls — the usual alternation of sultry heats and refreshing breezes — attended the progress of the comfortable little vessel, while proceeding down the Bay of Bengal, rounding Ceylon and Cape Comorin, and ascending the Malabar coast towards Quilon, the desired haven. But a brief account of the Syrian churches, which it was proposed to visit, will be more interesting than the mere details of a voyage without accident or adventure.

The number of Christians scattered over the province of Travancore, on the coast of Malabar, has been variously estimated from one to three hundred thousand. They attribute their conversion to the apostle St. Thomas. Hence, all the early converts in the south of India were, and are still, called St. Thomas' Christians. That a holy man of that name visited India in times preceding all historical record, and there is little doubt that his efforts for the conversion of the natives were wonderfully successful; but there is no proof sufficient to identify him with the apostle. All traditional records, however, affirm the existence of a large body of Christians from the earliest times. In the first century, the gospel is said to have had “free course” among the pearl-fishers of Ceylon, and the rude cultivators of Malabar. At the Council of Nice, in the fourth century, a “Metropolitan of Persia and the great Indies” appeared, and

420 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIY.

affixed his signature to the roll of bishops. In the sixth century, Cosmas, surnamed “The Indian Traveller,” whose work was translated by Bernard de Montfaucon, and inserted in the “*Nova Collectio Patrum*,” tells of large bodies of Christians with whom he had come in contact, and who had many clerks, and a bishop from Persia. In the ninth century, one Mar Thomas, an Armenian merchant, appears upon the scene, as a protector and benefactor, if not an instructor, of the Christians. King Alfred, of Britain, is also commemorated as having, from combined motives of a secular and religious character, sent an embassy to the East. His ambassadors bore gifts to the shrine of St. Thomas, and returned laden with a rich cargo of pearls and spices.

But all these events, and all these personages, are seen through the mist of tradition, and appear vague, shadowy, and undefined. It is not till about the year 1501 that the mist rises; and, in the clear light of history, we see a fleet of ships belonging to the King of Portugal, and intent upon extending his Indian conquests, anchored off the coast of Malabar. The natives, Christians, recognizing the tie of brotherhood, flocked to the shore, and sent deputies on board to claim protection against their heathen neighbors. The communication which then took place made known the fact, for the first time and beyond all doubt, that there had long existed, and existed still, a body of Indian Christians who differed materially, both in doctrines and in practice, from

the Church of Rome; who owed her no allegiance, knew nothing of her claims, and shrunk alike from the image and the adoration of the Virgin Mary.

The interference of the Roman with the Syrian Church must be dated from this period, then. The aggression sprang from the neighboring city of Goa, which soon became the head-quarters of the Portuguese. In 1545, when their power was well established, Albuquerque, first Archbishop of Goa, began to stir himself. He sent a friar named St. Vincent to try what could be done to bring those whom he accounted heretics, to the obedience of the faith. A series of intrigues of all sorts followed the failure of this attempt, and for a long period, persecutions on one side were mingled with dissensions on the other.

At length Don Alexo de Menezes, the celebrated Archbishop of Goa, appeared upon the scene. He made complete the partial success which had already been obtained by Rome. He showed unwearied patience and undaunted courage in pursuit of his object. He combined the temporal with the spiritual power; and was on one hand the governor to punish, and on the other, the bishop to persuade.

Mar Abraham, the Syrian Bishop, had died in 1597; and Menezes

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 421

succeeded in preventing the landing of a successor from the Motlier Church at Babylon. He himself went everywhere teaching and preaching, confirming, and enforcing unity. He was received by some churches, rejected from others; and he was often in personal danger from popular commotions. But nothing moved him from his purpose. He gradually won over a certain Archdeacon George who, in default of the bishop, headed the old church party; and at length ventured to issue summonses for a general synod to be held in the Church of Udiamper, or Diamper on the 20th of June 1599, with a view to agreement on common articles of faith. Thirty-eight priests had already been ordained by him; and now on Trinity Sunday he ordained fifty more. A majority of two-thirds of the synod was thus secured; and when on the day appointed, a large body of Syrian clergy, and a still larger number of deputies from the churches, assembled; the old creed was abjured,¹ and the new creed adopted. The proceedings of this synod, which are on record, show what the ancient Syrian churches had received by tradition from their fathers, and how nearly it approached the Protestant truth. They held no doctrine which absolutely involved transubstantiation; they condemned the use of images; they denied purgatory; they knew nothing of auricular confession or extreme unction; they allowed the marriage of priests; they attached no supremacy to St. Peter; three sacraments were received — baptism, the eucharist, and holy orders; confirmation was unknown; and the Nestorian error concerning the two distinct natures of our Lord was held.

For these, the whole body of Romish teaching was now substituted. The decree to that effect was signed first by Menezes himself, then by one hundred and fifty-three priests, and then by about six hundred and sixty deputies from various parts of the country. The triumph was complete for a time. The synod had done its work; and the history of its proceedings was versified,² and made the subject of a chant to be sung on great festivals and solemn processions. All was thus fixed upon the public mind. Moreover, fresh catechisms were framed, new forms of devotion introduced, auricular confession enjoined, and the whole country parcelled out into parishes. In 1601, when a Jesuit was consecrated bishop by permission of the Pope, the work of Menezes was finished, and Rome's fetters were riveted on the ancient Syrian Church.

But Menezes found no successor like-minded with himself; and the bigotry, pride, and avarice of the Jesuits, ruined their cause. First dislike arose, then disaffection, then revolt. A leader was

¹ Formally reject or disavow a formerly held belief, usually under pressure.

² *Versified*: (poetry) compose verses or put into verse.

soon found; and in the year 1655, the incubus began to be shaken off, and old customs were resumed. While Rome retained her hold

422 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

in many places, she was entirely rejected in others; and hence, without going further into detail, it is easy to trace, from what has been said, the origin of those differences which are perceptible at the present day. The ancient Syrian Church still exists everywhere, disclaiming all allegiance to Rome, but leavened seriously with much of her doctrine, and continuing, unhappily, many of her practices; while the Romish Church, still standing by her side, continues to teach all her well-known errors, and to exhibit all her idolatrous superstitions.

Dr. Buchanan visited these churches in 1806, and had much friendly communication with them, as detailed in his "Christian Researches."¹ He was followed by Bishop Middleton, in 1816. Bishop Heber corresponded with then Metran (or bishop), and projected a visit which was prevented by his death in 1826. The incidents that are connected with Bishop Wilson's communication have now to be added; for on Nov. 15th, 1835, he landed at Quilon, and preached his first sermon from Luke 11.12-13.²

The situation of Quilon, on what is called "The Backwater," constitutes its great uniqueness. This backwater is formed by a succession of long inland lakes, running parallel with the sea for nearly one hundred and fifty miles, for the most part separate, but in a few spots connected with it. It is the great highway of the country — sometimes expanding into a breadth of many miles, sometimes contracting into channels of a few feet. The banks are clothed with cocoa-nuts, and studded with villages. All traffic is by water; and vessels of every description, gliding in every direction, give life and animation to the foreground of a picture, which is rendered impressive by a background of lofty mountains. The country owes allegiance to the Rajah of Travancore, whose palace is at Trivandrum. A Resident represents the British Government; and the bishop was kindly received and courteously entertained in his spacious house, situated on the backwater.

Quilon was only the entrance-gate to the Syrian churches; so that on the third day, after the bishop had preached and held a confirmation and ordination, a movement was made into the interior under the guidance of Captain White, the representative of Mr. Casamajor,

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 423

who was ill. Several boats were provided, each rowed by twelve or fourteen men, who shortened the journey and lightened the labor by a variety of chants and songs, sometimes on historical subjects, sometimes in praise of the Sahib, and sometimes a simple "titti zitti e la." Crocodiles, in countless numbers, sank down silently into deep water as the boats approached; the paddy-bird, kingfisher, and heron, rose up in the air with a plaintive cry; while nests hanging suspended from the branches of the trees told of the gliding foe in the jungle. Here and there stood miserable huts, the abodes of miserable slaves; for slavery exists here, and it has its privileges. Attached to the soil, and sold with it, they refuse by right to be separated from it; and when, in recent years, a missionary freed his slaves, with one accord they all appealed to the Rajah against the act, as a breach of their privileges, and an encroachment on their rights in the soil.

¹ *Christian Researches in Asia, 1812*, by Rev. Claudius Buchanan, D.D., provost of the college of Fort William in Bengal.

² All further particulars of the origin and history of the Syrian churches may be learned from a work by Michael Geddes, Chancellor of Sarum, written in 1894; from "Indian Conferences," translated from the Dutch, in 1719; from "Histoire du Christianisme des Indes," by La Crose, librarian to the King of Prussia, in 1723; from Buchanan's "Christian Researches;" from "Dr. Middleton's Life," by Le Bas; from Archdeacon Robinson's "Last Days of Heber;" from Hough's "History of Christianity in India;" and from Kaye's "Christianity in India."

As the party drew near to Allepie, a station of the Church Missionary Society, the bell was heard sounding sweetly over the waters, and calling to evening service. Though weary with a journey of sixty miles, the bishop preached to a congregation of about three hundred native Christians, and then at once retired to rest.

The church missionaries, in the province of Travancore, were laboring among the heathen; but their position with respect to the ancient Syrian Church was very delicate. They could not help but see the abuses which had crept in, and desire to correct them; but a gentle hand and master-mind was requisite for this. The reformation of a church must at all times be a gradual, difficult, and thankless task; and the temptation in the present instance, undoubtedly was to draw converts from it, rather than to “strengthen the things that remained, which were ready to die.” Moreover, the position of the missionaries was very anomalous;¹ and every point of contact threatened collision. A large grant of land had been made by the Rajah to Colonel Munro, when he was Resident, to serve for the erection and part maintenance of a college for the instruction of the young Syrian catanars, or priests. The Church Missionary Society largely contributed to this college; and the Metran promised that all candidates for orders should pass through it. The management of the land pertained to the Syrians; the instruction of the young catanars to the missionaries. It is easy to see how differences might arise, as indeed they had arisen, on both these points; and how requisite it was that the wisdom of the serpent should be combined with the harmlessness of the dove. Unfortunately, the reputation of the present Metran complicated the whole matter. His character was more than doubtful in many respects; but there

424 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

was no proof forthcoming, no suitable tribunal, and consequently no remedy. Much of this was known to the bishop before, and some correspondence had taken place. The Metran had written to complain, and the bishop had written to advise. But even here embarrassments arose, for his letter had not been allowed to reach its destination. Now, however, that he was on the spot, information of all kinds was available. The charges brought against the Metran, and which touched upon morality and honesty, seemed only too true; yet any call for interference on the part of the authorities (for which there were precedents), seemed undesirable, and liable to misconstruction.

The state of the catanars, or native priests, gave rise also to serious consideration. They had considerable influence over the minds of the people, and some of them were learned — some were pious men. But the general tone of religion was low, and the ignorance of many was deplorable. The agreement as to the college had not been kept, and hence the standard of learning had not been raised. A fee of twenty or thirty rupees, paid to the Metran by every candidate for orders, was a temptation to ordain, which in his poverty he could not resist. More were ordained than the necessities of the church required. Hence the catanars became poor; for the resources of each church, sufficient for the maintenance of the few properly attached to it, were not sufficient for the maintenance of the many sent by the sole will of the Metran. The funds available remained the same; the number to be supported by them increased without limit. Even young children were ordained. Half the pupils in the college — boys of twelve and fourteen years — were deacons, and bore the tonsure.²

From this came a further evil. The clergy were thrown upon the people for support; and a custom had obtained which, though profitable, was not originally sanctioned by their church, viz., prayers for the dead. Their poverty perpetuated this Romish error, even if it did not introduce it.

¹ *Deviating from the general or common order or type.*

² *Tonsure: The shaved crown of a monk's or priest's head.*

Nor was this the only error resulting from their communication with Rome. There were others. But then none of them were fixed indelibly upon the church, as by a Council of Trent. Reformation was quite possible. There was no pretence to infallibility. The views of the church on main points were sound. The Scriptures, when translated into the vulgar tongue, were hailed with joy, and read with reverence. Married catanars lived happily and respectably. Where the belief of one approached transubstantiation, the belief of another diverged from it. There was nothing to forbid hope, or to check friendly church communication. If all things were

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 427

not pure, there was nothing to prevent purity. And on the whole, it was resolved to pay all respect to existing authorities, to remove stumbling-blocks gently out of the way, and to persuade, if possible, to a voluntary correction of the abuses which had crept in. In case such a result should appear, by the blessing of God, the bishop was prepared to raise, or endeavor to raise, a large fund in the way of endowment which might supersede fees and render prayers and masses for the dead unnecessary.

With these views matured, the bishop moved on from Allepie towards head-quarters. He had been much interested in the new people and new scenes surrounding him. The town of Allepie was very thickly peopled; the men finely built, comparatively fair, and presenting a general appearance of cheerfulness and independence; the women very inferior in personal appearance, and but half-clothed. The tone of morals was very low; the traffic chiefly in timber; the language Malayalim. After a few days' stay, and the performance of all necessary duties, the bishop wished farewell to the Rev. Mr. Norton, the missionary, and his kind family, and proceeded on to Cottayam. Here was the college; here the Metran; here Mr. Bayley, the pious and experienced head of the mission; and here, then, the real business of the visitation commenced.

When the morning of the 19th of November dawned, two of the ancient Syrian churches in the immediate neighborhood of the mission premises were unveiled to sight, and afforded an opportunity for examination, which had been long desired. A glance into the interior of one of them was followed by a courteous invitation to enter, spoken in excellent English by a catanar, whose name was subsequently found to be Marcus. These Syrian churches, both as to their exterior and interior, presented a certain degree of similarity with one another, and were constructed on a thoroughly primitive model. Neither tower nor spire were visible; but chancel, nave, porch, and cloister, were to be found in almost every case. Galleries ran atop the cloisters at the side, which provided homes for the resident clergy. The floor of the interior was generally of hardened clay or paved with stone. No seats were provided, and the idea of pews had never reached the coast of Malabar. A gallery generally extended over the western end of the church, part of it partitioned off in rooms. An arched chancel, which was raised several steps, and much narrower than the nave or body of the church, occupied the eastern end. In it stood the high altar, more or less decorated with paintings of a poor kind, and with desks on either side. Sometimes the cross was seen; never the crucifix. A lamp suspended from the

428 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

roof was always burning. A bell, hung sometimes within the church, and sometimes without, called the people to their devotions, and occasionally mingled with them. Such was the general appearance of churches, which primitive Christianity doubtless modelled, and successive generations had reared. Towers and spires, cathedrals and abbeys, rose in wealthy countries, but not among the poor Christians of Malabar.

When the first visit just referred to was paid, some priests were preparing to perform their early mass. The flour for the wafer was mixed, and warmed into substance in the sight of all present; the service was in Syriac, which none of the people, and only a few of the catanars, now

understand; and the general external forms and gestures of the Romish church appeared to be pretty closely followed.

From the second church, commonly called "The Big Church," which was also visited, a picture of St. Thomas had been removed "lest," as the catanars said, "the ignorant people might worship it." The subjects of the small paintings, in squares behind the altar, were scriptural. This was the first introduction to the Syrian churches.

After breakfasting with Mr. Bayley and Mr. Peet, the missionaries, and before the commencement of family prayers, forty sweet little Syrian girls, clothed and taught by Mrs. Bayley, came gently in and took their seats upon the floor. Two catanars also entered, as to a familiar home. The verandah of the house was crowded with servants. All listened with deep interest while the bishop expounded, through an interpreter, the twenty-third Psalm.

At ten o'clock he put on his robes to receive the Metran; and soon after that hour a procession was seen to leave the college, wind through the cultivated paddy-fields in the valley, and ascend the hill on which the Mission House was elevated. The palanquin of the Metran, the red umbrellas of the attendants, the white dresses of the catanars, and the flutter of a little crowd of hangers-on, formed a most picturesque group. The bishop awaited his visitor at the door. He was a good-looking man, about fifty years of age, with a tendency to stoutness, the appearance of which was much increased by the dress he wore — a cassock of figured lawn over crimson satin, and a tippet of embroidered cloth, stiff with gold. He had a mitre on his head of red and green velvet, tipped and edged with gold. A cross, studded with rubies, hung upon his breast; an ornamented bag was held in his hand, and a silver crosier was carried and held by an attendant priest behind his back. The beard was long and gray, the mustache thick and black. The expression of his countenance was weak and feeble. He had an attractive, twinkling eye,

1833-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 429

and a stiff, uneasy gait. He was evidently ill at ease, and doubtful "into what all this would grow."

The catanars who accompanied him wore a long, white, loose dress, over white trousers, with a scarf of the same color thrown over head and shoulders. Their crowns were shaven, and they generally had long beards.

The usual introductions accompanied the reception of the Metran, and the usual unmeaning compliments of the East were followed by arrangements being made that the bishop should preach on the following Friday and Sunday in two of the neighboring churches. The hour of one o'clock was fixed to return the Metran's call; and then, with very little ceremony, he took his leave.

At one o'clock all entered their palanquins, and proceeded to the college, and were at once taken up to a library full of valuable books presented by the Church Missionary Society. The Metran now wore a loose undress of crimson, with a leathern girdle, and a curious skull-cap. He was courteous, but embarrassed, and for all matters of information, he was compelled to refer to the attendant Malpan, or college tutor. The conversation turned partly upon their ancient Syriac manuscripts; and several specimens were exhibited. They were fairly illuminated, but possessed no intrinsic value. Their liturgies were numerous, and all masses. The following extracts were taken at the time from one in most esteem, and the translation is inserted, as showing the form of words used for the consecration of the elements at the administration of the holy Communion.

"Priest. — By His coming, may He make this bread the quickening body, saving body, celestial body, and the body of the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and life eternal to those who partake of it.

"People. — Amen.

“Priest. — May he make also this mixture that is in this cup, the blood of the New Testament, the saving blood, celestial blood, the blood that saves both soul and body, and the blood of the Lord God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins and life eternal to the partakers of it.

“People. — Amen.”

This is not transubstantiation, though it looks like it. All this may be, and yet the elements retain their natural substances.

After making these extracts, and taking leave of the Metran, the students in the college were examined. About forty were present, of whom thirty-five were deacons. They answered well all questions on Scripture history and simple points of doctrine. The younger classes were passed by for lack of time.

430 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

The next day, Friday, Nov. 20th, was set apart for divine service at a place called Puthupalli, ten miles distant. The church was beautifully situated on the river-side, with a little jetty, a wooden cross, and a flight of steps. Festoons of evergreens and brilliant little flags signaled a kindly welcome. The interior of the church was lit by hundreds of small lamps fed with oil; but it was intensely hot; and when the bishop found that the illumination was simply to do him honor, he requested that the lights might be extinguished. Hands everywhere were lifted, and in a minute all the lights were out. Divine service then commenced, and our morning prayer was read by the missionary, in Malayalim. When it was concluded, the bishop began his sermon:

“Peace and grace be with you! Passing through your country, I salute you in the Lord. In St. John’s Gospel we read these words: ‘Then Jesus spoke to them again, saying, I am the light of the world; he that follows me shall not walk in darkness, but shall have the light of life.’¹ These are the words of the Lord. As before the sun arises all is dark, so is the world without Jesus Christ. Sin is a state of darkness. Jesus Christ is the light. To follow Christ is to walk in light.

“Three things I shall speak to you about:

“1st. The darkness in which man is, as a sinner.

“2d. The light which is in Jesus Christ.

“3d. The blessedness of following his light

“Receive, I pray you, the word of exhortation, and let him that has an ear, hear what the Spirit says to the churches.”

The assembled congregation listened to the address which followed this introduction with deep interest for the half-hour it lasted; and then one and another came up with their salutations of peace.

One old man was introduced who, on being asked, said his name was Philippus. He was delighted on being reminded of Philip the Evangelist. The bishop was then taken to see the vestry, and the rooms over the cloister in which the catanars attached to the church resided. He partook of milk and eggs, and then departed — returning home amidst thunder, lightning, and rain.

The first interviews with the Metran had been merely complimentary; but the next day (Saturday) was fixed on for conference and exposition of the bishop’s general views. He was attended by his chaplain, the two missionaries (Mr. Bayley interpreting), and the official assistant to the Resident. The Metran was accompanied by ten or twelve malpans and catanars. On his arrival, he was ushered into the bishop’s private room, and there informed of the several

¹ John 8.12.

topics which were to be discussed at the conference. This was done in order to show him all due respect; and he repeatedly expressed his gratitude for it. The bishop addressed him with much earnestness, and urged how important his assent and consent would be for the good of the church which he represented; but he wavered, shuffled, looked round, seemed to feel the lack of support, and expressed pleasure when it was proposed to adjourn to the other room where the catanars were waiting. Notes of what passed were taken at the time by the bishop's chaplain; and when the Metran more than once seemed to notice the fact with uneasiness, the bishop told him that every word was being put down as spoken, and that an exact copy should be given him when the conference was ended. This promise was fulfilled; and a copy of what follows is at Cottayara to this day.

The Bishop began by addressing the Metran and his clergy in these words:

Bishop. — Honored Brother and Metropolitan: I wish, as a brother bishop, to suggest certain points for your consideration, and that of your clergy.

The Metran expressed his readiness to hear, and asked the clergy to come forward.

Bishop. — The ancient Syrian Church is one of the most honored of Christian churches.

Metran. — I know not what is meant by the words "Ancient church."

Bishop. — It is one of the most honored of Christian churches.

Metran. — From the time of the Council of Nice our church has been conducted as was then arranged.

Bishop. — I mean that I have come here as a stranger honoring your church as one of the earliest churches.

Metran. — You address me as a brother; I wish to receive your counsel as a father.

Bishop. — I merely wish to throw out certain suggestions. I have no authority to interfere with your church. My *first* suggestion regards the college which the British Resident and Travancore Government established and endowed.

Metran. — The property of the college was furnished partly by the Resident, partly by the Church Missionary Society, and partly by ourselves.

Bishop. — I recommend that those who shall be ordained by the Metran, be ordained only after they have been instructed and examined, and have obtained certificates of learning and good conduct.

Metran. — There are only a few learning at the college at present.

Bishop. — But perhaps as many as can be desired by the Metran for the sacred ministry.

Metran. With regard to those in the college, there will be no difficulty; but there are others in other places; there is the difficulty.

432 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

Bishop. — The Metran may send such to college.

Metran. — Only a few are learning in the college; the others are educated in the different churches.

Bishop. — When the agreement between Colonel Munro and the previous Metran was made, it was understood that only those should be ordained who were educated in the college.

Metran. — It was agreed so. Those that receive certificates can be ordained.

Bishop. — And when this is put in practice, it will be seen whether there are not enough for the Metran.

Metran. — There are now seventy churches, and there are only thirty-five students in the college; and these will not be enough.

Bishop. — But fifty more may be admitted; and a learned clergy is for your own honor. It is the design of the institution. It is for the honor of all, that you fall in with, and support it.

Metran. — It is.

Bishop. — I only suggest these things to my brother and the catanars — that they support the college, and that he ordains only those who obtain certificates of their sufficiency.

Metran. — The church shall assemble, and take this into consideration.

Bishop. — Yes; and if the Metran finds a young man anywhere about who is qualified, let him send him to the college, and not ordain him at once.

Metran. — That is very good.

Bishop. — It leaves the Metran all power of ordination, as well as of selection.

Metran. — It is proper.

Bishop. — I speak as a brother; the college and the church missionaries have been here for twenty years with no other object than the honor thus proposed to be conferred on the body of the Syrian Church.

Metran. — That the Syrians may become learned and respectable.

Bishop. — I hope that the Metran will, until the church can be assembled, do as the Resident would wish he should do, and ordain only those who have been thoroughly instructed in the college.

Metran. — It is so. I signified my willingness before.

Bishop. — And the catanars — all — are they cognizant of this?

Metran. — We will take it into consideration, and draw up a statement.

Bishop. — Till the matter is considered by the church, the Metran will act as now stated?

Metran. — There shall be no departure from it.

Bishop. — In my weakness I now touch upon a *second* subject. I speak only for the good of your church. I am a child.

Metran. — I consider you as an elderly father.

Bishop. — I speak for the good of your church.

Metran. — We listen with all humility.

Bishop. — I should suggest that all the lands, funds, property, belonging to your church, being examined, an account should be sent to the Resident, in order that, being looked into, he might see that all was proper and correct.

Metran. — We will take it into consideration as a body.

Bishop. — In a church extending so widely, there are lands, and goods, and

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 433

property which should be examined every year, to see that none is alienated and lost.

Metran. — Very good.

Bishop. — There is danger, I understand, of some loss occurring to the church we were at yesterday — Puthupalli.

Melran. — About what? The land? Oh, yes; there is a dispute.

Bishop. — You want the protection of the Resident for this, and similar things.

Melran. — We have frequently applied without receiving any answer.

Bishop. — I will speak to the Resident.

Bishop. — I go to a *third* thing. Could anything be devised to increase the incomes of the rev. catanars, and to support them respectably?

Melran. — Certain plans have been adopted before, but have not been found sufficient. We will consider it.

Bishop. — If there was some permanent endowment, instead of uncertain fees, it would tend to their comfort.

Melran. — It would.

Bishop. — It would be better for the clergy to be thus supported, than by prayers for the dead.

Melran. — Prayers for the dead are according to the custom of the church; and it would require a meeting of the church before any alteration could be adopted.

Bishop. — But would it not be better for the clergy to be otherwise supported?

Metran. — Yes; very true; if it could be devised. But we cannot come to a decisive conclusion. The fees are according to the property of the individual.

Bishop. — I only suggest. It is for the Metran to decide.

Melran. — As to a parent whom we love, so do we listen to your words.

Bishop. — I have myself no personal interest in the matter.

Bishop. — I go now to the *fourth* point. I wish to ask how schools could be spread all over the Syrian churches.

Melran. — One school would be very good for every church; but one school would not be enough for one of our large churches of a thousand or two thousand families.

Bishop. — But it would be a beginning. And when your clergy are all educated, as is proposed, they will be able to instruct in the several schools. At present the catanars, generally, do not know enough. But when they have all been educated, they will know and be able to instruct others in English, Syriac, and Malayalim.

Melran. — At present there are only thirty-five students in the college.

Bishop. — But we would gladly have fifty there, or more, if necessary. If you would have schools, we would give you help in establishing them: the Resident, the Church Missionary Society, and I, would help you.

Metran. — That is very good.

Bishop. — I would mention a *fifth* thing. I would beg the Metran, as a

434 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

matter of great importance, to direct the catanars to expound and explain the gospel to the people, on Sundays, in Malayalim.

Metran. — It is only by the priests preaching that the people know the gospel.

Bishop. — After the prayers every Sunday, it will be very desirable for the gospel to be explained.

Metran. — It is very desirable; but the clergy are not learned enough at present. When they are able, it shall be done.

Bishop. — The last thing I would suggest is that the prayers should be interpreted, so that the people might join in the worship of Almighty God.

Metran. — We will meet as a body to consider this.

Bishop. — The Syriac was formerly the language of the people; but now they do not understand it. Prayer should be made in a language they understand.

Metran. — Our services were in the Greek and Latin languages, and afterwards were translated into Syriac.

(Some discussion here took place between the Metran and catanars.)

Metran. — We suppose it is about one thousand years since they were translated; but we have no means of knowing exactly.

Bishop. — If Syriac is now known, keep it, by all means. But St. Paul says that if prayers are uttered in an unknown tongue, there should be one to interpret, or he that speaks is a barbarian to others.

Metran. — Very good.

Bishop. — If the prayers were thus rendered into Malayalim, you might have, from all your various liturgies, one of moderate length, arranged for the use of those who do not understand Syriac.

Metran. — We will take it into consideration as a body.

Bishop (addressing the catanars). — And the catanars all think — do they not? — that if there were a liturgy in Malayalim, under the authority of the Metran, it would be a good thing.

Metran. — They all assent.

Bishop. — I hope again you will forgive my boldness as a stranger.

Metran. — I am persuaded that what you have stated is good advice.

Bishop. — We wish to do you good, if you, as a church, will accept our aid.

Metran. — We constantly pray that we may be thus supported.

Bishop. — We wish that the Syrian Church should shine as a bright star in the right hand of the Son of Man — holding fast the faithful word, the light of the Holy Spirit, the atoning blood of Jesus Christ, the pardon of sin through faith in Him, and the holy Scriptures as divinely inspired and the foundation of all faith. I have longed to come here for three years past, and I shall represent to the Governor-General, and the Resident, and the Bishop of Madras, what has passed, and I shall do all I can to help, if the Metran and church are willing.

Metran. — We will take it into consideration.

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 435

Bishop. — If you think over what I have said, and imagine that it will tend to good, and wish for aid in carrying out the plan, I shall be happy to leave a sum of money.

Metran. — As may be most agreeable.

Bishop. — I shall leave one thousand rupees out of love, and as a mark of love to the Church of Malabar, to be administered by the Resident, the Metran, and the Church Missionaries.

Metran. — It will be as much as ten thousand, coming from you. All shall be taken into consideration, but it cannot be done in a day.

Bishop. — I have suggested nothing, you will observe, but what is agreed to by the Metran and all here present.

Metran. — All shall be duly considered.

Bishop. — Then I will send the topics of what I have suggested for your consideration.

Metran. — We would send an answer tomorrow night, before you leave, but it is impossible; only one or two of our distant churches have clergy present.

Bishop. — But the Metran has authority to a certain extent.

Metran. — Yes; but in special matters all must meet.

Bishop. — When was your Liturgy formed — when do you suppose?

Metran. — In the year 345.

Bishop. — Have any additions or interpolations been made since the Council of Nice.

Metran. — No; it has come down as we use it now.

Malpan. — We do think that some prayers have been altered, and others added.

Bishop. — Archbishop Menezes altered your liturgies. Which prayers do you think may have been altered?

Metran. — I cannot positively say. There are different customs in different countries.

Bishop. — It would be very good for the Liturgy, before it is translated, to be corrected by the decrees of the Council of Nice, until you get further information.

Metran. — Our liturgies have been formed by great persons; we are weak ones: what can we do?

Bishop. — If, however, these things shall be determined, I shall be very glad to make my donation. I only wish to repeat my desire that the agreement originally made by the Metran and Colonel Munro should be scrupulously adhered to in its main features.

Metran. — We shall assent.

Bishop. — Tomorrow, being Sunday, I will come down and be present at divine service; and after your prayers are over, I will, if you please, address an exhortation to the people.

Metran. — We shall be most happy.

All then rose to go, after Mr. Bayley, the senior missionary, had taken the opportunity of reminding the Metran, and all the catanars then present, of the arrangement made by Colonel Munro a few days

436 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

before. It had been then agreed that a letter of a public nature should be addressed to all the churches, signed by the Metran and by Mr. Bayley, with a view of carrying into effect the plan Colonel Munro had decreed for the benefit of the Syrian Church. This plan contemplated the signature of all official letters on church affairs, and to the churches, by the Metran and Mr. Bayley conjointly; and this plan had been acted on up to the period of the previous Metran's death, and for some time afterwards. The Metran and catanars being appealed to by Mr. Bayley for the truth of this statement, confirmed it, and said it was so. Each one then went to his own home.

Sunday morning called all together again for the performance of divine service. It was according to the Syrian form, and was read part in Malayalim and part in Syriac. At the church-yard gate the bishop was received by the Metran and catanars — the former begging to be excused attendance at the prayers, as he was fatigued by a service he had just ended. He promised, however, to be in time for the sermon. The church was crowded with one dense mass of people, all standing, while hundreds waited outside. The priest who was about to officiate, robed in the chancel, putting on a cope of crimson and yellow damask which fell in broad folds, and had a showy, if not rich appearance. The assisting deacons had dresses of the same color, but of coarser materials and ruder construction. Mass was then performed; and though it was impossible, of course, to follow the words of the service, yet in externals there was evidently an approximation to Rome. The wafer was consecrated and elevated, but there was no prostration or adoration. On the contrary, the priests and the whole congregation joined in the chorus, or rather shout of praise, to which the large church-bell, hung in this case within the building, added its loud clangor. The noise was deafening, and the bishop was much discomposed. In the midst of the service the "kiss of peace" was sent round. The officiating priest first took the hands of the assisting deacon between his own, raising them to his lips and forehead. The deacon conveyed the kiss, in a similar manner, to the senior catanar; he to his brethren; they to the

laity; the laity to one another. And very interesting it was to watch the little ripple thus created in the sea of human beings, as it passed down the body of the church, and subsided at the extremity.

Service being ended, the Metran in his place, the lights extinguished, and all hushed to silence, the bishop gave his text from the address to the angel of the church at Philadelphia.¹

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 439

The crowd was too great to allow sitting down. All stood, therefore, during the hour that the sermon lasted, listening with intense interest. There were about fifteen hundred to two thousand persons present, besides the Metran and forty-one catanars.

When the sermon was finished, the Metran drew near, and thanked the bishop, saying, "What you have preached is what we want." He then led him by the hand to the church door, and the congregation dispersed.

"I have witnessed," says the bishop, in his journal-letter, "the most affecting scene which I could ever have conceived — two thousand of the ancient Syrian Christians crowding to hear the word of the gospel in the principal church at Cottayam — the Metropolitan and about forty priests and deacons being present. After their own service, performed in their usual manner, I preached from Rev. 3.7-8, for more than an hour, the Rev. Mr. Bayley interpreting. I dwelt on what the Spirit says to the church of Philadelphia: *first*, as it respects Christ, who addressed the church; *secondly*, as it respects the church itself; *thirdly*, as to the promise made to it. On this last heading I showed them that Christ had set before them an open door by the protection and friendship of the English Church and people. In application, I called on each one present to keep Christ's word, and not deny His name, as to their own salvation.

"Never again shall I behold such a sight. How can I bless God enough for bringing me here at this critical time? For under the present Metran all has been going back."

Before returning home from church, a visit was paid to the house of Marcus, the catanar mentioned before. He offered refreshments, and conversed with much intelligence about the service just concluded. When questioned about the holy Sacrament, he asserted distinctly that, after consecration, the bread and wine did not lose their natural substances. He did not believe in transubstantiation, neither did the church. They called the elements "The body and blood of Christ," because He did himself; and in a similar sense to that in which they called holy Scripture the "Word of God."

The house was neatly furnished — two sofas, a lamp, table, and chairs. His wife shortly made her appearance with their three little children — having evidently waited, as might have been the case under similar circumstances in England, to improve her dress and put on her ornaments. She was a young, modest, and pleasing person, and the children fat and shy. The whole impression made was pleasing. "It is my wish," said Marcus, on shaking hands and taking leave, "to be a faithful teacher of others. Please pray for me."

At five o'clock on Monday morning, the boats were once more

440 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

manned, and hastening towards Cochin, a stirring town thirty-five miles distant, and built, as it were, on a strip of sand about three miles wide, the sea before, the backwater behind. Mr. Risdale was missionary here, and acting chaplain, and he received the bishop into his house. Among the residents were several who remembered the visit paid by Dr. Buchanan in the year 1806-7. They spoke of him as quiet in manner, and somewhat reserved, walking about a great deal, and wearing a white cap under his hat. Bishop Middleton was borne in mind; and one

¹ Rev. 3.7-8.

gentleman present had been employed by him to translate several Syrian works; among them was an apocryphal book called “The Infancy of Jesus;” but what had become of the translation he did not know.

Deputations from the White and Black Jews of Cochin also called to pay their respects to the bishop, and to solicit a visit to their respective synagogues. The origin of these people it is hard to trace. The White Jews were evidently the superior class, but even they know little of their own history. They claim to have come from Jerusalem after its siege and overthrow by Titus. They are as fair as Europeans, but retain the distinctive Jewish countenance.

The Black Jews, on the contrary, are very black, and evidently of mingled blood and lower breeding. The white and black do not fraternize. They hold no communication in common, and worship in different synagogues.

The visit to them was paid in the dusk of the evening; and on landing from the boats, the bishop was received by white Jew boys, bearing immense flambeaux¹ of wax, and was escorted by a crowd of curious on-lookers to the synagogue. A very singular scene presented itself within the walls; and as in a dissolving view, India and her idolatrous children seemed to fade from sight, while Palestine and her ancient people came forth distinct and real. The large, clean room was one blaze of light; benches ran along the walls; a gallery filled one end; an altar, protected by a rail, filled the other; and in the midst stood a circular desk where a Rabbi was chanting the evening prayers. About one hundred Jews were present. They occasionally joined in the chant, but their general demeanor was careless and irreverent. Long beards hung down over dresses of every form and color peculiar to the East, and they seemed to wait with impatient curiosity for the conclusion of the service. The moment that the prayers ceased, some of the headmen approached the bishop, and asked him to address some word of exhortation to the people. On the reiteration of the request, he rose, and began his address as follows:

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 441

“Children of the God of Abraham, the God of Isaac, and the God of Jacob: Hearken.

“We believe, as you do, in the God of Moses, David, Isaiah, and Daniel. The prophet Isaiah says, in one place, ‘A virgin shall conceive and bring forth a son,’ and in another, ‘He shall be despised and rejected of men.’ The prophet Zechariah says, ‘your King comes to you, meek, and having salvation.’ The prophet Daniel says, ‘After threescore and two weeks, Messiah shall be cut off, but not for himself.’ Now, we Christians say that all these things have been exactly fulfilled in our Lord Jesus Christ; that He has come; that He has proved His mission by fulfilling prophecy, by working miracles, by a pure and holy life. Through ignorance, your fathers slew Him and hanged him on a tree. You are still expecting a temporal Messiah, with external splendor and glory; we say that the highest glory of our Lord is exhibited in His condescension and humility, in that, though He was rich, yet for our sakes He became poor, and humbled Himself even unto death for us men and for our salvation. We ask you to listen to these things. Seek the Spirit of God who spoke in times past to the fathers by the prophets. Pray that your hearts may be opened to understand and believe the evidences of the Christian faith, and the Messiahship of the Son of God. There is salvation in no other, for there is no other name given under heaven among men, whereby we can be saved...”

Eyes glanced fiercely, and lips curled scornfully as he spoke these words; and whispers were interchanged, as if each one was confirming his neighbor in unbelief. But no outward manifestation of displeasure appeared; and when the discourse was ended, prayer once more arose from the desk, and the “Bishop of Calcutta” (for the words were plainly distinguished) was apparently commended unto God.

The congregation was then dismissed; but many lingered. They drew aside the veil above the altar, and exhibited the rolls of the law, deposited in silver cases. These were of no antiquity.

¹ A flaming torch (such as are used in processions at night).

They had been engrossed on parchment, and obtained from Holland about seventy years before. Certain tablets were spoken of on which the special privileges granted to them by the kings of the country in early days were said to be engraved. They promised to bring them for inspection, but failed in the performance — and sent some writings professing to be copies, but really unintelligible, on the following day. No satisfactory information of any kind could be elicited. The standing curiosity is their existence and their isolation in India.

The synagogue of the Black Jews was then visited. The building was inferior, but similar; and the service was concluded. So that having looked round, and spoken to a few individuals, and noticed the particular physiognomy which was as marked in the black

442 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

Jew as in the white, the bishop at once re-crossed the stream and retired to rest.

On Tuesday, November 14th, divine service, with a confirmation for seventy-five young persons, was held in the church at Cochin; and the last day for the bishop's stay in these parts had then arrived. It was set apart for a hurried visit to several of the Syrian churches in the northern part of Travancore, and for an interview, if possible, with the second Metran. This peculiarity of the church was not very clearly made out; but it appeared, from the statements at Cottayam, that in the uncertainty, at present, of communication with the Patriarch of Antioch, the mother church, it had become customary for the Metran to consecrate a successor, who remained in retirement without any power or jurisdiction till a vacancy was caused by death or avoidance, when he at once came forward and assumed the governance of the church. The bishop was willing to encounter some fatigue in order to meet this second Metran, to pay a passing visit to the Rajah of Travancore, and to see a few more of these interesting churches. But the arrangements for the journey were badly made, the air was sultry, the roads were a drifting sand, the bridges were broken down, the route was often lost, no refreshments were provided, and the ten miles spoken of at first, extended to twenty-five; so that, though the Rajah was visited, and five interesting churches — Tripoonatra, Caranyachirra, Udiampoor (or Diamper), Mullimduraiti, and Candadad — examined, yet the attendant fatigue and exposure were very great. All suffered; and the bishop for a short time was very unwell. The residence of the second Metran could not be reached.

Some rest was essential; and happily it restored the bishop, who met with all his scattered party, and stepped on board the *Hattrass*, lying off Chetwa on the coast, on the 27th of November 1835.

“I must pour out my heart,” he says, the next day, “ere the impression is weakened, now that I have completed my visit of ten days to the Syrian churches.

“And first, I owe humble praises to Almighty God, that He has granted me to see the two spots I most eagerly desired, but never thought I should be allowed to visit — the southern scenes of Swartz's labors, and the Syrian churches. I have also been permitted to visit them each in the most critical juncture; and have, I trust, been enabled in each to lay the foundation of important service. I was yesterday well enough to write out my sermon on Rev. 3.7-8, which Mr. Bayley will immediately translate into Malayalam and circulate, when printed, among the two hundred and fifty clergy, and

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 445

one hundred thousand laity of the Syrian Church. The Resident will, moreover, immediately meet the senior missionary, and see the Metran, and put things in train to meet my wishes. God only knows what events may happen; but never in my life, I think, was I permitted to render a greater service than to these dear Syrian churches. But, hush, my soul! lest you rob God of his glory.

“Among the general remarks which occur to me while reflecting on these churches, one is that we have here an example of a native ministry in primitive simplicity, living for the most part in their churches, on about eight or ten rupees a month (or ten or twelve pounds a year), their dress white

linen, their food rice, eggs, and milk. It was thus that Ambrose, Basil, and Austin lived, allowing for differences of climate.

“Another remark is that we have here the primitive use of synods and elections. The Metran himself is chosen by the clergy — two or three being set apart, and then lots are drawn. The congregation also approves of the priest before he is set over them; and the deacons are nominated in the first instance by lay persons. For all great matters, bishop, priests, and chief laity meet in synods.

“Another primitive custom is the number of priests and deacons who live at each church. There are generally six or seven; and as, from their poverty, they are frequently unmarried, they live on the fees. This leads to abuse.

“Another trait is the high reverence of the people for the sacred office. They distinguish between the bad character of the present Metran, and his office. This reverence doubtless partakes of superstition.

“It is a further peculiarity, that each Metran or Metropolitan consecrates his successor early, and then dismisses him to the most distant part of his diocese, to live retired in one of the churches, without allowing him the power of ordination or the privilege of jurisdiction. This is to keep up the apostolic succession.

“Once more. Ecclesiastical and civil suits are brought before the bishop, while criminal cases go before the ruling powers, according to St. Paul’s directions to the Corinthians. This is, however, giving way in civil matters, but the ecclesiastical power is complete.

“Again. This is now the only church, so far as I know, that professes to be governed by the decrees of the Council of Nice, and enforces on her priests, at ordination, obedience to its canons.

“As to the Nestorian and Jacobite errors, they seem to know nothing about them; though the liturgies now in use among them certainly employ the Jacobite terms.”

Thus this interesting visit to the Syrian churches ended. The purpose, deliberately formed, had been carried out with the utmost kindness and caution, and the hope that much good would result from it was surely natural and reasonable. But evil influences were at work, and the result was not realized, as will appear in the further progress of this biography.

446 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

The *Hattrass* is now speeding on her way to Goa, the only remnant of the once wide-spread dominions of Portugal in India, and the head-quarters of Romanism. The Bombay Government had officially announced the bishop’s visit, and requested that he might be received with courtesy; and the authorities did even more than they were asked to do — they added kindness to courtesy. The bishop soon landed, was carried up the river, and comfortably lodged in the Government House.

But the glory of Goa was departed. Insurrection had paralyzed the state, and decay had undermined the church. There was a government *de facto*, but not *de jure*;¹ and all the ecclesiastical establishments were reduced to the lowest ebb. The bishop had even been warned of danger, and dissuaded from the visit; but he found, in truth, that “the revolution” had rather opened Goa to him, than closed it against him. He found access everywhere, and was astonished at the magnificence of the buildings and the beauty of the scenery. If Calcutta is a city of palaces, old Goa is a city of churches; and no time was lost in viewing them. The day selected was favorable. It was the festival of *St. Francis Xavier*, and the church erected to his honor was thrown open, and magnificently adorned. The priests were attired in their most gorgeous dresses, the choral music was exquisitely performed, and the military display was very imposing. All the authorities were present; and each lady, gracefully enveloped in the lace mantilla, sat in her own chair, or knelt on her own little square of exclusive carpet. A quiet gallery was

¹ *De facto* – existing in fact, regardless of the lawfulness of it; *de jure*: according to law.

appropriated for the bishop, from where he watched the service with painful interest; and when it was over, he proceeded to the examination of the building. It was immense in size, and superb in design; but the most interesting feature, and one rarely seen to such advantage, was the chapel dedicated to St. Francis, and containing his body. The authentic records of his life are wonderful. Descended from the noblest of the land, he fraternized with the poorest; and, in the prime of life, left all to promulgate the faith in India. He was the first Jesuit missionary. Shrinking from self-indulgence, and courting sufferings, he lived a dedicated life, and died a martyr's death. So far as the number of his converts were concerned, his success was marvellous. By his own account, he baptized ten thousand heathens of the province of Travancore in a single month, so that at length his lips were unable to pronounce the formula, and his hands to perform the office. From there he visited the Straits of Malacca; and after ten years' labor in those parts, he formed the grand design of entering and evangelizing the Chinese empire. On his way there, and in

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 447

the island of Sancian, as it is said, he met his death, and closed a course of unwearied labors and entire self-renunciation, unparalleled in the annals of his church. Would that it had been for the promulgation of a purer faith!

In his mortuary chapel, the bishop now stood gazing upon its lofty arches, and admiring its beautiful proportions. The walls were covered with exquisite Italian paintings, and the chapel was brilliantly illuminated with wax candles. The tomb itself so nearly fills the chapel that only one spectator can pass round at a time. Its pedestal is formed of variegated marbles, finely wrought and polished. At the height of about six feet, four bronze sculptures are inserted in the four sides, depicting various scenes in Xavier's life.

In the first, he is preaching; his attitude is that of St. Paul at Athens; the audience is wrapped in attention, and exhibit all the varied expressions of interest, curiosity, and anger. In the second, crowds of all ages — the old man leaning on his staff, the young child led by its parent — press forward as candidates for baptism, while fervor, reverence, and devotion, pervade the scene. In the third, his martyrdom is portrayed — the fury of the murderers finely contrasting with the meek patience and resignation of the martyr. The fourth compartment exhibits a scene of heavenly blessedness, in which everything is suggestive of calm repose and holy joy. The figures, in each case, are in high relief, the countenances full of expression, the attitudes most graceful. Above are rich ornaments, and sculptured niches, beautiful both in design and execution. The whole is surmounted, at the height of about twenty feet, by a silver coffin in which the body of the saint reposes. There was a time when it was exhibited to the people on this festal day; but the exhibition led to tumults, and has long since been discontinued. The coffin is now secured by three locks, the diverse keys of which are kept — one by the King of Portugal, one by the Archbishop of Goa, and one by the Viceroy; and all must agree before it can be opened. The utmost skill and cunning of the silversmith are lavished upon its exterior; and when each figure, scroll, and flower chased upon the pure and glittering metal reflects the light of a hundred tapers, the triumph of Italian art is indeed complete.

Many of the other churches were also examined. With Buchanan's "Christian Researches" in his hands, the bishop wandered over the magnificent cathedral, stood upon the ruins of the Palace of the Inquisition, endeavored to get access to the interior of a nunnery on the plea of age and office, lingered long in the Church of

448 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

S. Gaetano, and finally rested in the Monastery of St. Augustine. The following entry was there made in his journal-letter. It conveys his first impressions while yet fresh and vivid.

"OLD GOA, CONVENT OF THE AUGUSTINES,

“THURSDAY, DECEMBER 3D, 1835.

“Here in the very building where Dr. Buchanan, in 1808, wrote those touching memoranda about Goa, which filled England afterwards with indignation at the Inquisition, I am sitting, with mixed feelings of admiration, grief, and joy. I see some effects of that eminent man’s labors. A few years after he wrote, the Inquisition, by the interference of England, was abolished; and in 1830, the entire building was levelled to the ground. I have been walking over the ruins, and it was with difficulty that I was pulled up the mounds of overgrown fragments. I looked round on the vast masses with wonder at the mysteries of Providence in the overthrow of this monstrous usurpation. The dungeons were inaccessible and, indeed, the long, lank, wild herbage springing up all about, rendered the separate divisions of the building indistinct. It seems to have been a quadrangle, with an interior court and cloisters. It adjoined the cathedral and archiepiscopal palace, and is an emblem now, as I hope, of the fall of the kindred establishments of an apostate church in Europe.

“This was, as Dr. Buchanan well expresses it, the City of Churches. In 1690, there were one hundred and fifty thousand Christians in communion with the Church of Rome. Now the number of communicants in the cathedral and different parish churches are about two hundred. As the power of Portugal sunk before the Dutch in 1660, and was at length annihilated by the British supremacy, Goa gradually lost its influence. It then became, and was discovered to be, unhealthy. Thus it was deserted, and so it remains.

“I have been breakfasting in the cloisters on provisions brought by Archdeacon Carr, of Bombay, who has joined us, and Captain Le Mesurer, who is appointed to command our escort. On either side I had a monk; one held office in the convent, and spoke a little French. I told him how I admired St. Austin, and had read only a few days since an abridgment of his ‘Confessions.’ I said, we Protestants believe in Jesus Christ as St. Austin did, though you think we are Atheists. No; we know we are sinners, and we humbly trust in the merits and death of the Son of God. ‘Je ne suis pas Jesuite, moi; mais je suis, Jesus. Non sum Jesuita; sed ego sequor Jesum.’ They assented.”¹

The public entertainment given by the authorities concluded the day, and afforded the bishop an opportunity of returning his acknowledgments for the courtesy with which he had been received.

Friday, December 5th, was fixed on for leaving Goa, and paying a hasty visit of seventy miles to Belgaum, a large and important military station, which the bishop was unwilling to pass by. The journey was attended with much inconvenience, but no accident; and on Sunday morning, December 6th, he addressed nearly one thousand European troops in the station church. The change of

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 449

climate was wonderful; and within the walls of the fort, English flowers and fruit were thriving beautifully — a sight rarely, if ever, seen elsewhere in India. The Sunday services were followed by a confirmation and holy Communion on the Monday, and then, from the dinner-table of H. M. 20th regiment, all the party entered their palanquins to return to the coast, and reembark in the *Hattrass*, which was lying off Vingorla. In five more days the anchor was cast in the harbor of Bombay, and the bishop was received by his old friend. Sir Robert Grant, the governor. He landed quietly and early on Sunday morning, and drove at once to church, preaching from Luke 4.18. The Church of St. Thomas (now the cathedral) presented a venerable and ecclesiastical appearance, and the congregation was very large. The bishop was invited by Sir Robert and Lady Grant to take up his abode with them; and the sixteen days of his stay were divided between Malabar Point and the Parell, the two government houses. He greatly enjoyed the familiar communication thus obtained; but the distance from Bombay itself was considerable in either case, and the effect was rather that of a visit to the governor, than to the clergy. The communication with them, though most friendly, was casual, and rather hasty. Here, however, under the thoughtful and prudent administration of Sir Robert Grant, and the amiable and

¹ I am not a Jesuit, but I am a follower of Jesus (*in French and Latin*).

gentle discipline of the archdeacon, there were no disputes to settle, nor any embarrassing questions to discuss. Bombay was at peace, and all that was done tended to edification. The usual sermons, confirmations, school examinations, public and committee meetings took place. The morning ride began, and the evening party closed each day. Twice every week the governor gave a public breakfast (such was his custom), and this enabled each one who had the entree, to pay his respects to the governor, and at the same time leave a card for the bishop.

The superior natives also gathered much about him, and had free access. One day a Greek of high repute in Bombay came to pay his respects, and to beg a blessing. After much converse, he knelt down, while the bishop laid his hands upon, and blessed him.

Two Parsees,¹ and a Hindu also, of great wealth, and speaking English admirably, came for religious converse, and endeavored to identify their faith with his:

“There is one, and but one, omniscient, omnipresent, and omnipotent God,” said the bishop. “Exactly so,” was the reply; “that is our religion; that we believe.” — “God has made a revelation of himself to man,” added the bishop. “He has; we fully believe it,” was the ready assent. “God has Himself become incarnate in our

450 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

nature, and manifested Himself in the flesh.” — “Quite true; he has.” Thus these grave men claimed agreement with Christians as to the unity, revelation, and incarnation of God; and when pressed upon the subject of idolatry, declared that they only worshipped God through the figure of fire or imagery. To the bishop’s remarks on Jesus Christ being the light of the world and the only Saviour, they listened in silence.

One wealthy Parsee gentleman invited him to visit his house, and he found it fitted with all the conveniences and luxuries of European life. Valuable paintings, large mirrors, luxurious couches, were in profusion in the reception rooms. A wedding was going on. It had already lasted ten days, and was to last twenty more. During the whole time, the house was open, the feast spread, and loose garments provided for each invited guest, which courtesy and custom required them to wear. The little bridegroom was a clumsy boy of fourteen years; the little bride a pretty girl of ten, covered with ornaments. The marriage was real; but the establishment would not be set up for some time to come. The whole was a striking illustration of the Scripture parable.

A place where the Byraggies, or religious mendicants,² travel in crowds, and which was accounted most holy, was also visited. An immense tank was surrounded by low, open buildings, abounding with idols. Huts of mats scattered here and there, sheltered such devotees as made the place their home; while crowds who paid merely a passing visit to the place, were bathing in the tank or worshipping the favorite idol. One man of special sanctity was pointed out. After travelling all over India, and visiting every sacred shrine, he had settled here for life. Attracted by the sound of visitors, he crawled from his hut, and presented a hideous spectacle. He was quite naked, with the exception of a filthy blanket thrown over his shoulders, and a rope tied round his loins. His body was covered with white ashes, and his face smeared with cow-dung. Blood-shot eyes glittered, as it were, in deep, dark caverns; a long beard and mustache were twisted up, and fixed to his chin and cheeks by cakes of mud; one arm was stiffened by long retention in the same position; to the upturned palm of the hand was tied a flower-pot with flowers in full bloom; while from each finger, in spirals of five or six inches long, hung down nails, the growth of many years. Pride shone through all his filth. Joseph Woolff had been to see this man as he passed through Bombay on one occasion. “Who are you?” he asked. “I am a god.”

¹ A member of a monotheistic sect of Zoroastrian origin; descended from the Persians; now found in western India.

² A male member of a religious order that relies solely on alms (charity).

— “You look much more like a devil!” was the quick response.” Begone!” said the devotee, with scorn; “take yourself out of my sight.”

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 451

While gazing on this piteous spectacle, a large party of worshippers entered the quadrangle. “Where do you come from?” was inquired. “From Rajpootana,” was the reply. Such is India; — so hard the bondage, so strong the delusion, so wearisome the service.

The temple of Elephanta was examined, and subsequently the still more famous caves of Karlee, Ellora, and Ajunteh; but these are too well known to need description; and when the usual portion of correspondence has been introduced, this chapter, so full of busy and of varied scenes, must close.

TO SIR BENJAMIN MALKIN.

“AT SEA, 1835.

“You will find one of the works I have lent you, ‘Knox’s Correspondence,’ intermixed with a good deal of doubtful matter. It is very interesting, clever, ably written, with many fine criticisms and remarks upon life and manners; but there seems a new school of divinity opened, which I do not like, because it is not scriptural and, therefore, can never work well in the long run. It is all very well with Mr. Knox and Bishop Jebb; but what will the mass of our clergy do with a Justification borrowed from the Council of Trent, and set up against Luther’s notion, and as I truly believe, St. Paul’s? What is to be said of a scheme of Providence which represents error and idolatry as a guardian and casket for truth — Popery, for example, the casket and protection for evangelical doctrine, and suited better than Protestantism for a rude age?

“My dear friend, we must beware of the danger of new-fangled doctrines, however plausibly recommended by the association of much truth and piety in their inventors. So in our station in society: we are ever in danger. Calcutta presents a strange admixture of good and evil. The scientific spirit which passes by Christianity in its philosophical schemes, is afloat. Men are ashamed of the gospel. The pleasure-hunting spirit which swallows up all our leisure in vanity, and would generate in India the theatrical contamination of England, is also abroad. Public persons like lady Malkin and yourself, must make your stand. A bishop is allowed, of course, to be a little particular. But a judge will have a battle to fight.”

TO LADY MALKIN.

“CHINGLEPUT, 1835.

“How deeply I feel your tenderness to my poor sick daughter! May it please God to crown your kindness with the success it so amply deserves. I wish I could be present to hear your discussions. Two knotty points I threw out some thoughts upon. Two more are now sent me, I suppose to try my hand upon them.

“I am quite of the opinion that there is a preceding, intermediate, and lower state of bliss for the righteous, between death and the resurrection. Instantly upon the soul’s entering the separate state, a private judgment passes upon it,

452 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

and happiness or misery succeeds. But both of these will be consummated when the body is reunited to the soul, and the entire man appears before God at the solemn tribunal of the last day, and is adjudged to the eternal happiness or woe of both body and soul, of which we have an account in 25th St. Matthew.

“What the happiness is, we cannot even conceive — we have no positive ideas; we can only remove all present known and unknown inconveniences, and add all that is involved in absolute felicity in the presence and enjoyment of God; and this we call heaven: as the awful contrary is called hell. But as both judgments depend on our conduct in this present state of probation, and as the eternal and final state is such as to swallow up in our contemplation all intermediate ones, we generally and very

properly speak of judgment as following death, and heaven or hell directly succeeding. But I suppose purgatory, merits of saints, and indulgencies, were hammered out of the scriptural doctrine of the intermediate state.

“Upon the second question, as to degrees of happiness in heaven — there has never been any doubt. It may be answered in a word. There are the same degrees of happiness in the state of reward, as there are degrees of misery in the state of torment. The faithful servant was placed over two, five, or ten cities, accordingly as he had discharged his previous trust. The parables of the talents and pounds settle this. In the case of the righteous, all is owing to the grace and favor of God, and all is subordinate to the merits and death of Christ. But in that subordination the proportion of reward is governed by the proportion of service. The numerous passages which declare we are to be judged according to our works, include this idea. The apostle’s account of one star differing from another star in glory, does the same. As twenty vessels of capacity differing one from another would be all filled if cast into the sea, and would all have the measure they severally could contain, and no more — not because the ocean could supply no more, but because they could not receive it — so the saints, according to their attainments in grace, are like different vessels of different capacities cast into the ocean of bliss. They are filled each to the very utmost reciprocity, and admit only certain measures — not because God is unable to give, but because they are unable to contain more.

“Not only is this so; but we have reason to think that the two states of happiness and misery go on increasing and augmenting, by what we now call habit and exercise, through eternity. Satan, we may imagine, has been increasing in malignity, artifices, hatred of God and goodness; and Gabriel in benevolence, obedience, love of God and holiness, since the fall of one, and the confirmation in bliss of the other. The joy of the saints is, we know, augmented by the repentance of one sinner, and the misery of the lost increased by seeing Abraham afar off, and Lazarus in his bosom.

“But I check myself. We are soon out of our depth when we try to swim in this undiscovered and untracked ocean.

“Here again the mass of happiness and of misery so infinitely surpasses in importance all the subordinate questions of their degrees, that it is common and most safe to speak of them, the one as a state of unutterable bliss, the other a state of unutterable misery — everlasting life, and everlasting death.”

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 453

TO THE REV. R. CUNNINGHAM.

“CALCUTTA, July 1835.

“Such is India. Sorrow, separation, grief, exhausted spirits and strength, unaided solitary effort, with the trying climate and anomalous position. But to You I turn, O you Saviour of men. All plentitude is in You, all happiness in You, all grace, all consolation, all support, all triumph, all sanctification in You! Nor are creatures withdrawn unless you may be duly known, estimated, loved — and fill the vast void.

“I am greatly obliged to you for all the information you give me, and all the hints you drop. Rely upon it, the reports you hear about my extreme Churchmanship are all unfounded. I am precisely the same in my principles and way of going on, as when I wrote against Archdeacon Thomas in 1818. But, of course, no one believes this. The tax we pay for any station of moment, is the misrepresentations and prejudices we have to encounter, and which are various as the passions of men. It is necessary for me, now I have the care of doctrine and discipline, to stand forward in my duty among my pastors, and bear the consequences. God must judge between the bishop and his oaths of sacred duty to Christ and the church. But I thank you from the bottom of my heart for your kind suggestions. It is the truest exercise of friendship. I profit by it as much as I can.”

TO THE SAME.

“TITTAGHUR, AUGUST 10, 1815.

“All the tidings you send me are most welcome. I love to see your handwriting. I love your affection and your dear wife’s. I love your honesty. I love your disinterested determination to write,

whether I can answer or not. Yes, dear brother, my dangers and temptations are great indeed. Break down I must, if my friends, like Aaron and Hur, do not uphold me by their prayers. Well do I understand the remark of Fenelon: 'I cannot control the diocese of my own heart; how then can I manage the hearts of the clergy and flocks committed to me?' Well, we must struggle on, 'looking to Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith.' Depend on it, you know little of the difficulty of the Christian life in England, compared to what we do in India. Faith here has no earthly props. She stands alone amidst the "waves."

Decision on an Appeal to him as Metropolitan, from the Archdeacon of Colombo.

"The main points of your appeal appear to be these two:

"First. Has an archdeacon the right to perform divine services in the church where his official seat is fixed, in preference to every other clergyman except the chaplain, at such times as the bishop has not expressly directed?

"Second. Has the Bishop of Madras, as your diocesan, a right to direct that any other clergyman than the archdeacon should give occasional assistance to the chaplain of the church where his seat is fixed?

"With regard to the first point, I am decidedly of the opinion that the archdeacon does not have the right; and, on the whole, I conclude that the venerable archdeacons in the Indian dioceses do not have a right to perform divine services

454 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIV.

in the church where their seat is fixed, in preference to any other clergyman whom the chaplain may occasionally ask to render him assistance at such times as the bishop has not expressly directed.

"The second division of the case proposed allows a very brief consideration.

"Nothing can be more clear than that the Bishop of Madras had the fullest right to permit the chaplain to call in the assistance of the Rev. Mr. _____ in the church where your official seat is placed. The instant the episcopal power interfered, all the points of the previous divisions of the case became unnecessary or inapplicable. It is inherent in the bishop's high office, that his pastoral, as well as his corrective and judicial power, extends over his whole diocese, and that no place of public worship can claim to belong to the church from which his presence and doctrine are excluded. A bishop, therefore, in India (where there are no benefices, no freeholds, no vested rights) is surely competent to give permission to whatever clergyman he pleases for an occasional entrance into any pulpit in his diocese, in agreement with all the ancient and modern canons, decrees, and usages of the Christian Church."

TO TWO CHAPLAINS.

On the recurrence of a disagreement between them.

"CALCUTTA, 1835.

"It is with very serious distress of mind I have received a letter from the junior chaplain of your church, dated April 6th, complaining of an irregular observance of the rules I took the liberty of suggesting nine months ago.

"The chief thought that occurs to me from a very long past experience of my brethren at home, if I may venture to intimate it, is to avoid the interference and meddling of any third person between you. Two brother clergymen can scarcely fail to understand one another; but if relatives or friends are allowed to come in, with whatever good intentions, mischief is almost sure to ensue. Understand each other, explain to each other, open your apprehensions to each other; but shun the representations and feelings which any third party may interpose.

"This is the chief thought that occurs to me on a general view of the cases of joint ministers, and without the least knowledge that the slightest occasion for it exists, or ever has existed, in your own case.

"A subordinate suggestion, if I were called upon to make one, would be that when any occasion of apparent misunderstanding occurs, you should wait till it has been fairly and fully explained; you

should just allow, that is, a week or two of calm to intervene, in order that a friendly correspondence may be established, and precipitation avoided.

“To attend to little things, which fall under the rules I suggested, trifling as they may be — inconsiderable, microscopic — is a third still more subordinate point of wisdom. Little things had better be done right, as well as large things; and if little things are neglected, they often swell to large ones.

“But I am ashamed to offer these reflections to brethren of such piety and standing as those whom I now address. I would only say, it is impossible for me, and would be obviously improper, to attempt again to enter into the details

1835-36. PRIMARY VISITATION. 455

of duties between my reverend brethren. I cannot, however, avoid suggesting to them the prodigious evils that bickerings and misunderstandings create in their large and important flock, the certain diminution of their own comfort and usefulness, and the fearful scandal given to the worldly-minded and unbelieving. The apostle Paul’s holy example, his patience and forbearance especially to the Corinthian Christians, together with his readiness to bear everything for the gospel’s sake, may well be studied by myself and you, my honored brethren.

“I am unwilling to intimate to you, which yet I must do after this second appeal to me as bishop, that it will, I fear, become my duty to consider, should disagreements continue, how far I can recommend the removal of one of you to a new, and therefore less irritating, sphere of duty.”

CHAPTER 15. PRIMARY VISITATION. — (Concluded.) 1836-1838.

BOMBAY CHARGE — THE MARCH — THE ESCORT — THE CAMP — AHMEDNUGGUR — EUROPEAN TROOPS — AURUNGABAD — LITTLE GROUP OF CHRISTIANS — MHOW — DURBAR AT INDORE — NEEMUCH — NUSSEERABAD — AJMERE — JYEPOOR — DAY AT THE PALACE — THUGS — DELHI — MEERUT — MUSSOOREE — NEW CHURCH — JOURNEY ACROSS THE HIMALAYA MOUNTAINS — SIMLAH — “SERMONS PREACHED IN INDIA” — RETURN TO THE PLAINS — ON THE SUTLEJ — LODIANAH — KURNAUL — THE CITY OF DELHI — VISIT TO THE KING — AGRA — TAJ MAHAL — BAREILLY — CAWNPORE — CHURCH BUILDING — FUTTEHPORE — ALLAHABAD — THE PILGRIMS — PILGRIM TAX — ON THE GANGES — ARRIVAL AT CALCUTTA — KRISHNAGHUR — BURDWAN — DEPARTURE OF DR. MILL AND BISHOP’S CHAPLAIN — DEATH OF SIR BENJAMIN MALKIN — JOURNAL — CORRESPONDENCE.

The bishop had intended to make his primary charge suffice for the Archdeaconry of Bombay; but it had been printed, and the official delivery of an address already well known was manifestly inexpedient. Hence the preparation of a second charge became necessary (or, if the missionary charge at Tanjore is reckoned, a third), and as an addition to multifarious¹ duties, it was attended with much anxiety and labor.

The clergy were summoned for the 23d December, and on that day the charge was delivered. The topics were to a considerable extent local; but the state of the Syrian churches was described in a graphic and forcible manner, and a series of valuable thoughts were suggested for the encouragement and guidance of the clergy. It was afterwards printed at their request.

This duty performed, immediate preparations were made for a long journey through the upper provinces of India. It was of importance to reach the Himalayan Mountains, and obtain shelter there before the hot weather set in; and this involved a succession of one hundred marches, and a distance of fifteen hundred miles, through countries in many parts unsettled, and by no means safe. Elephants, camels, hackeries (or country carts), and tents, along with their attendants, were willingly furnished from the commissariat stores of the government;

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 457

but each one of the party had to provide his own servants, bearers, palanquins, horses, and all the contrivances essential to comfort, and indeed to health, on a long land journey in India.

The camp was gradually formed and sent forward, while the bishop, bidding farewell to Bombay and the many kind friends who had ministered to him there, paid a rapid visit to the great military stations of Poonah and Kirkee. Both these were renowned in the history of India. At Kirkee, two thousand British soldiers discomfited² a host of thirty thousand Mahrattas.³ An isolated and lofty hill rises from the plain, forming a magnificent pedestal for two temples, the one ornamented with black marble, the other glittering with gold. On the parapet of one of these, the Peishwah⁴ sat, and saw his last hopes vanish with his beaten troops.

These stations now formed the head-quarters of a military division; and three English regiments, some artillery, and a large body of native troops, were cantoned there. The number of Christians was nearly four thousand, and two chaplains ministered to them.

¹ Having many aspects.

² That is, defeated.

³ A member of a people living in Maharashtra in west-central India.

⁴ The equivalent of a modern Prime Minister. Emperor Shivaji created the Peshwa designation to more effectively delegate administrative duties during the growth of the Maratha Empire; the root of the word is Persian, meaning ‘foremost’.

Here passed the last day of the old year, and the first day of the new one. The following were the bishop's reflections:

“POONAH, DECEMBER 31, 1835.

“We arrived at this ancient seat of the Mahratta empire at five o'clock this morning. It is an immense cantonment. It has been quite fearfully cold. At eight o'clock yesterday morning, the thermometer was 54°. The fine old Mahratta commander of the thirty horsemen who form my escort, and ride peaceably beside my palanquin, was a celebrated officer under the Peiswah's government, and fought most fiercely against the English only eighteen years ago. The tremendous character of these Mahrattas remains, though they are subdued. My commander came to me this morning to be introduced, decorated with gold. He had a dark, jutting countenance, eyes fierce and prominent, mustache black as jet, sword sheathed by his side. This Poonah,¹ with Ahmedabad,² was one of the scenes of the acute negotiations of the Duke of Wellington in 1803. Even at present, no Mahratta is allowed to go to Bombay without special license.

“JANUARY 1, 1836.

“A happy, happy new year to my dearest family. A bishop's and a father's blessing rest upon you all. Be encouraged in the good ways of the Lord. Let us grow in grace, and in the knowledge (which includes, in inspired language, faith and love) of our Lord and Saviour, Jesus Christ. Let our constant aim be deep, unaffected,³ heartfelt humility before God, silence, dread of human applause, a willingness to be unknown, a sole reference to the approval of God the great final Judge, and an independence from the frown or flattery of the religious world. May all this increase in us this new year, immensely difficult as each part of it is.”

458 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

Divine service was performed at Kirkee this day, and five hundred soldiers crowded the inconvenient room used for a church, and heard the bishop preach from Romans 12.1. Regimental schools and libraries were then inspected, hospitals visited, and the sick comforted. A site for a church was also selected, and plans suggested for the building. An evening drive to Dapoorie, a country house that is much valued by the governor at Bombay (and much deprecated by the government at home), and then a small evening party, closed the second day.

The third was given to Poonah, where a church stands well, and looks handsome. When first erected, it was wondered at by the natives of Central India. “What!” they said, “have the English really a religion? This is the first outward sign of it that has yet reached our eyes.” The bishop preached in it to an overflowing congregation. Other sermons followed day by day, and the impression made upon all classes was very striking. The confirmation followed, and put the seal to it. But what most delighted the bishop, was the effect produced upon the two valuable men who at this time filled the office of chaplains. He held earnest converse with them on some things which he thought might be improved in the exercise of their spiritual functions, and his affectionate exhortations met with a grateful response, and produced a lasting effect.

Meanwhile, the camp had been pitched in the neighborhood, and all was now ready for the march to Simlah. On January 4th, the bishop, accompanied by Archdeacon Carr, his chaplain, captain, and doctor (and for a few days by Sir John Awdry and the Rev. Mr. Jackson), commenced his patriarchal life. Two hundred and seventy persons accompanied him, and formed a motley group of all ranks and callings. First came the soldiers, horse and foot — the former as a guard of honor, but still calculated to render good service; the latter as a defence in a district full of thieves. The commander of the horsemen has already been described. The men were in strict accord with him — wild and undisciplined Mahrattas, full of fire and pride. They

¹ From the Poonah or Pune District of Maharashtra, India, near the Mula and Mutha rivers.

² Largest city in the state of Gujarat in India.

³ That is, genuine or unfeigned.

received British pay, but each wore his own dress, provided his own horse, and chose his own weapons. The dress was fanciful, and composed of mingled colors of red, yellow, blue, and white, with a small turban set jauntily upon the head; the horse was active but full of vice, and incapable of long-continued service; the weapons consisted of a long gun, a spear, several swords, and pistols *ad libitum*.¹ These troopers served to carry messages and procure guides.

The Sepoys,² on the other hand, guarded the camp at night.

1830-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 459

Without such precaution in this part of India, few could escape being pillaged. A naked man with hair shaved close, and skin dark as the night, would glide beneath the cords, cut an opening in the canvas, and strip the tent. All would be conveyed away so silently and imperceptibly that the inmates, however numerous, would be unconscious of the wrong till the morning light revealed it. Indeed, instances were common of the very sheets of the bed being taken from under the sleeper. A tickling feather sufficed, without awaking, to cause a restless movement, and this allowed a pull. Then came a pause; after which the process was repeated again and again, till the object was attained. And if the sleeper awakened from any sudden cause, and upon discovering the thief, attempted to seize him, a greased body and a sharp dagger fixed outside the elbow, ensured escape. A party who came across the bishop's route afforded an illustration of all this. They asked to be allowed to pitch their tents close to his guard of soldiers for better security. They were willingly allowed to do so; but in the morning there came a message to beg for clothes, since husband, wife, child, and nurse, had been robbed of almost all.

But besides the troops thus needed for honor and for safety, each individual of the bishop's party was provided with a full set of bearers (for no relays were to be met with in these parts) for carrying the palanquin, and running into stations for Sundays; while each hackery,³ elephant, camel, bullock, and pony, had one or more attendants, with wives and families accompanying them.

Soon all things fell into order. Each person in the encampment found his proper place and moved on day by day without friction. Long before dawn, the summons to arise and depart was heard; and if the sleeper hesitated, the tapping at his tent-pegs, and the collapse of the canvas covering, presaged a catastrophe. A cup of coffee was ready at his call; his horse stood at the tent-door; one after another joined the single file, following the troopers and the guide, and keeping close together lest, from the high jungle on either side, a tiger should make his spring. Five or six miles were thus slowly passed; and when the sun rose, the bishop finished the march of ten or twelve miles in his palanquin, and the others on the gallop. Upon arriving at the new encampment, a second set of tents, facsimiles of those just left, stood pitched in the same external order as the day before; while the proper occupant, on entering, found his table, chair, book, writing-case, and pencil arranged precisely as when sleep had closed his eyes on the previous night. All remained the same, but in another scene, and under another sky. Some hours after, the elephants, camels, and carts came up, bringing the tents and baggage.

460 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

Then daily food was sought, followed by the morning's quiet, the mid-day meal, the evening stroll.

Thus the bishop marched through this part of India. It will not be necessary to follow him step by step, but only to mark points of interest and importance as they occurred.

¹ Without advance preparation.

² A native of India employed as a soldier in the service of Great Britain.

³ A two-wheeled cart.

The first large station reached was Ahraednuggur,¹ interesting, as still showing the breach made in its strong walls by “Wellington’s great guns. As *Colonel* Wellesley, he took both fort and town; and from there went and fought the battle of Assaye. Handsome cantonments for troops, chiefly artillery; bungalows pleasantly situated, and bright with flowers, were arranged outside the fort. The chaplain, Rev. J. Goode, was absent; but Mr. Jackson had hastened forward to act on his behalf. Schools, hospitals, libraries, were at once examined; two sermons were preached on Sunday in the only room available; and a confirmation was held, with divine service, on Monday. The claims of the temperance society were also strongly urged. The necessity of the case compelled it in this and every other military station. Spirits, fiery in themselves, and inflamed still more by spices, are so cheap and so easily obtained in India, that the temptation proves irresistible to many. In vain, noble reading-rooms are built; in vain, large and interesting collections of books are made; these do not suffice to stay the plague. The mid-day sun forbids (for the most part) exercise in the open air; the long hours pass slowly for the idle man; the authorized allowance of spirits produces the taste and suggests the resource; and the habit, once begun, the noble British soldier soon becomes a wreck. The temperance society offered itself as a palliative or remedy; the bishop generally found commanding officers anxious to secure his recommendation of it to their troops; and from then on, it was one subject borne in mind during all his visits. At Ahmednuggur his appeal was very successful; and many at once came forward and took the required pledge.

Thus, having done his best during four days to leave a blessing behind him, he passed on and soon entered the territories of the Nizam.

He was met by a large body of troops sent to the frontier to do him honor, and was escorted by them to Aurungabad. This was the famous city of Aurungzebe, a place of great renown and extensive commerce.² It was especially celebrated for the manufacture of rich brocade, and beetle-wing muslin, and was seven miles in circumference. But the space is greatly contracted, and the glory all departed. Amidst heaps of grass-grown ruins, and fragments of

1830-38. PRIMARY VISITATION 461

fallen temples, one building of exceeding beauty remains intact. It is the mausoleum of white marble, erected by Aurungzebe to the memory of his favorite daughter. In its tapering minarets, its faultless domes, its noble arches, its exquisite proportions, its rich surrounding foliage varied with running water, and its ornamental interior, it rivals the Taj Mahal at Agra. The cantonments of the British Contingent were at some distance from the town; and here the bishop was received by Captain Twemlow and his amiable lady. The number of Europeans did not exceed thirty. There was a neat church and burial-ground; but no chaplain, no divine service, no observance of the Sabbath, nor any other Christian ordinance.

Before divine service commenced on Sunday morning an interesting circumstance occurred. A little group of natives stood within the camp, seeking permission to join the Christian congregation as it assembled, and asking baptism for their little ones. They recalled the memory of the few in Israel who had not bowed the knee to Baal; for though the single missionary station in the Presidency of Bombay (Nassuck) was not far distant, and its Church Missionary (Mr. Farrar) had recently visited the camp, yet in his work he had found little encouragement, and made no converts. Where then did this little company come from, consisting of four men, six

¹ The Ahmednagar Fort is located in Maharashtra. It was the headquarters of the Sultanate. In 1803 it was taken by the British in during the Second Anglo-Maratha War. Later it was used by the British Raj as a prison. The Fort was round in appearance, with twenty-four bastions, one large gate, and three small sally ports.

² Named for Aurungzebe, the last powerful Mogul emperor of Hindostan. His original name was Mohammed, but his father altered it to Aurungzebe, which means “Ornament of the Throne.” He showed great piety in early life, but in conjunction with his brother Morad, he rose against Shah Jehan and seized the throne in 1659. He was a pious Muslim, but his policies partly abandoned the religious toleration of his predecessors. He died in 1707.

women, and five children, all professing and calling themselves Christians? They had journeyed from the South of India, and had originally been Roman Catholics. But, meeting an old Dutch woman from Ceylon, she had taught them a more excellent way. They separated themselves at once from what they were convinced was unscriptural and erroneous, and now held fast the faithful word. Two of them were servants to a military officer just appointed to Aurungabad; and being all related, and with a common bond of union, they had refused to part, and had journeyed in company. Each Sunday their custom was to meet and edify one another. They had a Hindustani prayer-book, and the nature of its services was singularly well known. Hearing of the bishop's arrival, they sought baptism for their children. Questioned on the subject of the Eucharist, they said, with much modesty, that whatever change took place at consecration, they thought the elements retained their substance of bread and wine. Inquired of as to their mode of performing divine service among themselves, they described a perfectly correct practice, which left out the Absolution and the Benediction, as pertaining, they said, to a minister.

The bishop was delighted when this little group of respectable, well-dressed, and well-instructed Christians was brought to his tent.

462 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

He welcomed them to church, admitted them to holy Communion, and baptized their children.

About seventy persons were assembled at the time of divine service, as previously announced, among whom were mingled some Roman Catholics and a few heathen. The effects produced by the bishop's strong and faithful words upon minds totally unaccustomed to hear the gospel, and isolated from all Christian communion, were diverse and curious. Some were quite alarmed at hearing idolatry denounced and Christianity proclaimed. "What will the Nizam say, when he hears of it?" — Such was their uneasy inquiry. The old colonel commandant had no such fears. But he had not heard a sermon for twenty years, and was perfectly certain that everything the bishop said was directed personally against himself (the text was "walk in love," and the sermon had been often preached in India); he consequently refused to attend church again, or to bid the bishop farewell. Another officer in authority, but of a different cast of mind, expressed the utmost astonishment. "I came out," he said, "as a boy of fifteen. I have been many years in India, and have been tossed here and there. I have been stationed here some years, and have not heard a sermon preached. I never heard such words delivered with such power. I had no idea in my mind of such manly eloquence. I cannot express my feelings."

While the holy Sacrament was administered, it was painful to see the effect of long disuse. When the sentences were read and the usual alms solicited, none knew what was wanted, none were prepared; and though a noble sum was afterwards sent, the whispered explanation, made necessary at the time, could meet with no response.

This total forgetfulness of church customs and Christian duties was not a singular instance. Another may be mentioned here, though not occurring at this time or place. The bishop, while continuing his visitation, had halted and pitched his tents near the open house of a civilian. He was an Englishman of high family and good repute, but far separated by his location from all Christian associations and Christian usages. By the bishop's side, at breakfast, his Bible and a few other books were always placed; and as was his habit, he asked permission to have family prayers when the meal was ended. Receiving a tacit, though somewhat wondering assent, he began to read and to expound; but while doing so, the hookah in his host's mouth was not withdrawn; the vigorous smoking still went on. The bishop said nothing, and took no notice; but when the reading was concluded, and all knelt down for prayer, and the drawing of the smoke and gurgling of the water still

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 463

continued, he was obliged to stop and say that they were praying to God, and that such conduct was irreverent and improper. Then, with unfeigned surprise, the hookah was laid aside, and the knees bent. The young man evidently thought the bishop was doing some strange thing in which he had no concern. Such is the effect of a total suspension of Christian ordinances. How important, then, the effect of a visitation such as this, to keep alive the flickering flame, and feed it with pure oil.

When the bishop left Aurungabad, he earnestly exhorted the residents to meet each Sunday in God's house to offer up the prayers he marked, and read the sermons he provided. He also notified the government that an application should be made to the Nizam to defray the expenses of an occasional visit from a chaplain to the Christian officers in his employ. When this was referred, however, to the Governor-General, the answer was that "it would form an inconvenient precedent." — "Ah!" said the bishop, when he heard it, "our government is unchristian and antichristian still." And thus those few sheep were left alone in the wilderness.

Proceeding northwards, the fortresses of Dowlatabad and Asseerghur were visited with wonder, and no spot of interest was passed unnoticed. The Emperor Aurungzebe's tomb at Rowsas, beautiful in its simplicity; the Ajunteh Pass, with its marvellous fresco caves; Boorhampoor, on the river Taptee; Itnairah, with its terrible jungle, breathing pestilence, and harboring tigers; Mundlaisar, eight degrees hotter than any other part of India, with orangeries yielding fruit of concentrated sweetness, and peas growing eleven feet high; — all these, and many other famous spots, were visited in passing: and on Saturday morning, Feb. 6th, after leaving the camp and making a *dâk run*¹ of thirty miles with his chaplain, the bishop entered the large frontier military station of Mhow.

The Presidency of Bombay was now changed for the Presidency of Bengal. Archdeacon Carr returned. The regulations of the service required that the captain of the escort should be superseded. Many of the Bombay servants also begged their dismissal. So that a "fresh departure" had to be taken, and a country manifestly unpopular to be entered on. Here also, a letter from Bishop Corrie was received, deprecating any further progress in advance, hinting at serious dangers, and recommending a return. But if there was an unsettled country before them, there was the unhealthy jungle behind, where several of the camp followers had mysteriously disappeared, and all the party, except the bishop, had seriously suffered from

464 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

repeated fevers; there also seemed no reason why a plan deliberately arranged and undertaken should be changed; the bishop was in perfect health; he was where he had proposed to be, and at the time appointed; if the visit round this part of India could not be accomplished now, it never could. On the whole, it was determined to persevere in the original design, modifying it only so far that by a rapid *dâk run*, in and out, more time might be given to the successive stations, and the progress of the camp might be uninterrupted. The bishop's own comment is as follows:

"The Bishop of Madras has sent me an earnest entreaty to return to Calcutta by sea from Bombay, and not venture the journey to Delhi and the hills. But by this I lose all the advantage of the last three months. I turn back upon my steps before any adequate cause appears. I leave the Upper Provinces to be visited some other time with increased risk and inconvenience. All with whom I consult here, however, so fully agree that I am quite at ease *in foro conscientiae*,² and have resolved to go on, whatever Providence may appoint for me. I am with God."

At Mhow, the bishop was entertained in the house of the Rev. J. Bell, the chaplain. Two sermons were preached in the church on Sunday. Visits were received, and hospitals, schools, and

¹ A Hindi word for "mail"; also used for a British colonial postal and passenger transport service in India.

² In conscience.

libraries were inspected on Monday. The consecration of the church and another sermon occupied the Tuesday — the offered service of a body of Freemasons being willingly admitted. The confirmation was held on Wednesday morning; and in the evening the bishop and his party paid a short visit to Indore, the residence of the Holkar of the day — the term Holkar being a designation, like that of Pharaoh in the olden time, and signifying that the seat upon the musnud¹ pertained to one whose family were of “Holl,” a village in the Deccan. In the noble house appropriated for the Residency, the bishop was most agreeably entertained by Mr. Bax and his lady, and enjoyed his communication with hosts so cheerful, able, and experienced. On the Friday, English service was arranged for a little company of eight, and the holy Sacrament was administered to all kneeling round the same table, and joining in the post-communion. The service was sweetened by its rarity.

Hurry Holkar held a Durbar² to receive the bishop with due honor. A little before sunset, the party proceeded to the town and palace, on five huge elephants, covered with most gorgeous trappings, which had been sent for them. Swarms of Mahratta cavalry were in attendance, commanded by one of Holkar’s sons. The procession was characterized by all sorts of frantic demonstrations — the shouts of the people, the galloping of horses, firing of pistols,

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 465

and clouds of dust. The armed camels formed a striking feature in it. On the back of each a swivel gun is mounted, and when calm, they march in ranks. But now, whether partaking of the excitement, or frightened at it, they defied their riders and their nosebits alike, and were galloping wildly over the plain. A galloping camel is a strange sight. The rider pulls back the head in vain, and lays it on the hump; the animal still pursues his headlong, or rather headless career. Nothing brings him to his senses but fierce blows upon the nostril thus brought within the reach of the rider. Long avenues led into the town. Wild peacocks were grouped upon the trees, and hunting leopards chained to many of the doors; the populace poured out into streets straight and wide, from houses handsome and well-built, by thousands and tens of thousands. At length the palace was reached, and at the top of a narrow and somewhat shabby staircase, Holkar received his guests, shook hands, and led them to the Durbar. In this case, no seats were provided, and all were obliged to sit as best they could. Conversation was rapid, and was enlivened by music and dancing, but not interrupted. In about half an hour, all rose to leave. Then followed the bedizenment³ with flowery wreaths around the head, neck, and wrists; which was smiled at and submitted to as a matter of etiquette. But the bishop winced when Holkar rubbed a whole handful of oily attar over the front of his best dress-coat, and was evidently in despair when the anointing was followed by a shower of rose-water. In vain he rubbed afterwards, and was rubbed; the visit to Holkar cost him a suit of clothes. The Vizier was more merciful to his suite; and a little persuasion averted the compliment. But all alike bore off the wreaths of flowers, and on arriving at the Residency, presented anything but a clerical appearance.

The next day, bidding farewell to his kind friends, and speaking a word on behalf of the “Lord’s day,” and the “not forsaking assembling themselves together,” the bishop returned to Mhow; after preaching again on Sunday, and addressing the assembled station on various important topics, he concluded his visit on Monday and rejoined the camp, amidst a fierce storm that permitted no further movement for two days.

¹ A seat with a cushion that is used as a throne by Indian princes.

² The room in the palace of a native prince of India in which audiences and receptions occur.

³ Excessive ornamentation.

The young Nawaub¹ of Jowrah came out to the camp to call upon the bishop, and pay his respects. He was a child of about eight years old, and the bishop sententiously gave him some good advice. "My lord," said the old prime minister sitting by, "the words you speak are pearls and diamonds dropping from your mouth."

After several marches, a forced run was made for Neemuch, the second largest station on this frontier. A great danger was incurred,

466 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

And barely escaped. A band of two hundred marauders had attacked the bazaar at Neemuch the day before, carried off eight thousand rupees, and after a fierce fight, left many dead behind them. As they rushed from Neemuch, maddened with rage, they missed the bishop by only three hours, who was unaccompanied by anyone except his chaplain. The troops of the Nawaub had accompanied him for the first half of the journey, as being dangerous, but had left him for the last half, as being safe. He was "with God" however, and was preserved.

The course pursued at Neemuch and Nusseerabad, the next station visited, did not materially differ from that pursued at Mhow, and need not be narrated. As the bishop advanced, he obtained a better insight into the real state of morals among the Europeans. He did not know all; but he knew enough to give him pain, and to put an edge to his discourses. He endeavored to raise the tone of religion and morality everywhere, and to find employment for those who were well-disposed. Old plans of usefulness were revived, and new ones suggested. The hands of the chaplains were strengthened, and irregularities checked. At one of these distant stations he found the chaplain just preparing to read prayers for a Presbyterian minister, who had announced his arrival and expressed a willingness to preach. It was not, in this case, the result of advanced liberality, but sprang from ignorance and an inability to say "No." This was not an isolated instance; and the recurrence of it was checked by a general circular to the clergy.

The Deccan, Malwa, and Candeish, had now been passed through and Rajpootana was entered on. The countenances and general bearing of the natives were entirely changed. All wore an air of complete independence. Each chief dwelt in his own castle, leant on his own arm, and carried his own sword. Nothing but England's power kept the peace. Many a stronghold was passed where stores of arms were kept, and long rows of horses stood tethered. Yet all professed innocence and honesty. One Killedar,² to whose castle the evening walk had led, came out and saluted the bishop, and accompanied him back to the camp, holding his hand. A crowd of followers came behind, and a bard went before, singing his master's praises. The Killedar was bewailing his past bad fortune: "I have had no luck in life; but now that I have touched and held the Lord Sahib's hand, I shall be prosperous." He was a true Rajpoot,³ stout and tall, with an immense black beard and mustache, trained upwards. He went on recounting his good deeds and his good repute. "Yes," said one of

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 467

the Suwars,⁴ who walked close to the bishop, "Oh yes; no doubt you are a very innocent, and a very honest man; but there are many sad rogues about these parts, and they give it a bad repute." "That is exactly it," said the Killedar; "there are sad rogues about, and through them, I, though a good man, get a bad name. I do not deserve it. But what can I do? The outside of the fort is not mine." — "True," said the Suwar, "what can you do?" And then showed his own

¹ Or nawab: A governor in India during the Mogul empire.

² Killedar: governor of a fort, or native commander of a garrison.

³ Rajput: member of one of the patrilineal clans of western, central, northern India and some parts of Pakistan. They claim to be descendants of ruling Hindu warrior classes of North India.

⁴ Cavalry trooper, equivalent to Sepoy in the infantry.

private opinion by refusing to admit any soul into the camp. The bard alone was kept for his music's sake; but he caused weariness, and was soon dismissed.

The magnificent remains of Chittore had been thoroughly examined; also Dunaira and Dablah; and now Ajmere was visited — a city clinging to the mountain-side, and flourishing under British protection. It is supplied with most sweet water from a noble tank or lake, on the banks of which a hundred ghats, mosques, and country palaces produce a most superb effect. One of the holiest spots in India, to which Ackbar, in the height of his glory, paid thirteen pilgrimages from Agra, is at Ajmere; but certain conditions being insisted on, such as putting off the shoes, the bishop refused to visit it. A singular Jain Temple, however — the interior full of lofty, slender columns, elaborately wrought, and supporting graceful arches — the exterior carved and enriched with Arabic inscriptions from the Koran — inspired admiration, though standing in the jungle and falling into ruins. Such are the wonders of India, when the beaten track is left.

The bishop next approached Jyepore. It was a powerful and independent state, rendered notorious by a tragedy then rare in India, but now, alas! only too familiar. One day the Resident, while in the act of mounting his elephant after attending the Durbar, was cut down, and three severe wounds inflicted on him. Before the foul purpose could be accomplished, however, deliverance came. The murderer was seized, and the Resident, Major Alves, was hidden in a palanquin, and hurried off by his staff; but one gallant young civilian, foremost in the rescue, who had imprudently lingered behind, was surrounded by an ignorant and excited mob, and killed. Troops from Nusseerabad were summoned on the instant; and the anger of the British Government hung like a dark thunder-cloud over the city for many months, while the matter was investigated. The Rajah was but a child, and the Ma-jee, or queen-mother, was supposed to be guiltless. The prime minister was the person accused and arrested; for how could such an attempt be made in the very precincts of the palace where he was supreme, without his cognizance? And yet the

468 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

inquiry proved him to be innocent. The whole was the plot of an ex-minister to displace and ruin a successful rival. The attack was planned by him, and the assassin was hired in order that his rival might be implicated and removed, and he himself restored. Such are the means for bringing about a change of ministers in India.

This being satisfactorily proved, it was necessary to reinstate the accused but innocent Rawul in office: and the presentation of the bishop to the Ma-jee, in Durbar, was deemed a fitting occasion.

On March 18th, the bishop and his suite were conducted to the Durbar on elephants and horses. One-eighth part of the city, full of noble buildings, was covered by the palace which on this occasion was thrown open for inspection and refreshment. Court after court, and chamber after chamber were examined. All was painting, mosaic-work, and marble. One court was devoted to astronomical observations, and was filled with huge erections and transit instruments. In the gardens were temples, fountains, and summerhouses of all descriptions, shaded with trees, and gay with flowering shrubs. Inclined planes (no stairs) led up from story to story of the principal building, till the summit was reached, and a view of the whole city obtained. Even the harem was opened for inspection — the inmates having for the moment been removed elsewhere. Their rooms were small, but adorned with talc, stained glass, and gilding. The usual attendants accompanied the party, and led them finally to a garden-house, where breakfast was prepared. Tables were spread near a small reservoir of water, round which arched cloisters ran, and in which fountains of red water played. After breakfast, the bishop began to read Heber's account of his visit to Jyepore; and as he read, each place was recognized. The palace and scenery were still the same; only the figures in the foreground had been changed. For now a group of women

gathered in the cloisters; and while the sun glittered on their spangled dresses, the tinkling of little silver bells upon their feet harmonized with the clear voice and sweet notes of a singing child, and mingled with the falling waters of the fountain. The whole constituted a fairy scene, widely diverse from past life and its realities.

Soon, in another apartment of the same garden-house, huge bearded men, the lords of Jyepoor, with sword and shield, began to assemble, and were introduced by turns to the bishop.

“They were,” he says, describing what passed, “in most splendid dresses, each with his round shield, sword, and dagger. I begged to look at one of their shields; they made me a present of it instantly. I replied that I was a minister of peace; and taking out my Greek Testament, and handing it to

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 469

them, said, ‘That is my shield.’ They turned over the sacred pages with curiosity and surprise. I then showed them the pictures in one of Heber’s journals (vol. 2d), and my little book of maps. They wished to see London. I opened the ‘World,’ and placed my pencil on it. I then spread out a map of India, and pointed out Jyepore. I then gave them a sheet of paper filled with texts from the New Testament, written in Hindustani, but they could not read the character.”

The Durbar opened about noon. It was held in a large room, hung round with silk purdahs¹ of rich colors and diverse patterns. A thick carpet overspread the floor, on which all sat cross-legged and covered.

The Ma-jee, as a female, did not appear, but conversed through some small circular holes in the wall of separation. Her voice was low, but clearly heard, as she expressed to Major Alves her joy at his recovery, and her gratitude to the British people for saving her country from confusion. With many complimentary expressions, she also congratulated the bishop on his safe arrival, and welcomed him.

The Durbar now began to fill; for up to now, it had been a private audience. As the Dajpoot chiefs appeared one by one, their names were called out by the master of the ceremonies, who greeted each in the sovereign’s name with a “Maharajah, salaam.” All were splendidly attired. About fifty of the highest rank were seated, and about two hundred stood behind. The Ma-jee now spoke only to a eunuch; whispering compliments, which were repeated in her name. Suddenly a file of men appeared, bearing large trays full of rich presents of jewelry, cashmere shawls, rare muslins, and Indian curiosities. Five were laid before the bishop, three before his chaplain, and two before the doctor and captain; and it was announced, in addition, that an elephant waited the bishop’s acceptance at the gate. It need scarcely be said that eyes sparkled somewhat at the sight, and that there would have been very little difficulty in accepting these offerings of good-will, on the part of those at whose feet they were laid. But the Resident interposed, and in their names begged to decline the gifts. “Such was the custom,” he said, “among the English. The Honorable Company declined all gifts.” The Ma-jee was hurt; and instantly replied, with reasoning which seemed remarkably cogent to all concerned, that the bishop was not a servant of the company, and not therefore bound by their rules; and that it was an offering to him simply as a holy man. But the Resident was firm; tray after tray was removed out of sight; and the elephant never carried a bishop.

The installation of the Rawul followed. Jewels were suspended from his turban,

470 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

an unkar, or sharp instrument used to drive elephants, was placed upon his shoulder, and a sword was girded to his side. A long list of presents made to him were enumerated; and he

¹ A screen used in India to separate women from men or strangers.

himself presented in return a nuzzer,¹ or offering of gold mohurs² — retiring from the presence, after having done so, with low salaams. The Durbar then broke up, and all retired to the garden-temples, till the setting sun allowed of movements homewards.

The next day the bishop was called to see a body of Thugs — those Indian murderers once hidden in darkness, but now brought to light. Out of a large body in custody, four were called forth, and the bishop questioned one of them, a mild-looking, aged man.

“I have been a Thug,” he said, “for thirty years. It was my kismet — my fate. Had I been born a carpenter, I should have built houses and made tables; but being born a Thug, I robbed and murdered. I had no idea of its being wrong, though I think so now. It was my profession, and I followed it as soldiers do. Our goddess guides and protects us. She tells us when and where to act. Sometimes we kill seventy at a time; sometimes ten or twenty. The bodies are plundered, and then buried. It is a sorrowful thing to us when we happen to kill people who have no money. Formerly, we used to plunder first, and kill after. But we found it more quiet, and comfortable, and safe, to kill first, and run the risk of plunder. I have killed about three hundred, men, women, and children, myself. Women and children are all the same. If I was set free now, I should not resume the practice. I am done with it.”

Some of the party were anxious to see the process; and when the bishop had retired, one Thug was asked to exhibit upon another. But their principles forbade this. A Hindu servant, therefore, was sent for, and consented to the experiment. He sat down on the floor, and one of the Thugs sat opposite, holding him in conversation. After a while, when he appeared interested, his attention -was directed to the window by some remark upon the weather. He looked up. In an instant the Thug standing behind him twisted a cloth tight round his neck, threw him prostrate on his face, knelt on his back, and was strangling him. Every one present involuntarily rushed forward to the rescue; and the man arose, shaking himself, and grinning a very ghastly smile. He was black in the face, and evidently thought the matter had been carried quite far enough.

Under the vigilance of the British Government, the whole of this atrocious system, grafted upon a religion once called innocent and

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 471

moral, was dying out. Hundreds of Thugs, proved guilty of murder, had already been executed. Hundreds more, where proof had failed, were held in custody. The names of hundreds more, undetected and at large, were accurately known and registered. Colonel Sleeman, to whom the suppression was entrusted, never slept. Every movement was watched, and every suspicious circumstance noted. To leave one Thug at liberty, was to perpetuate the system; for it had the power of self-production everywhere, and one Thug could initiate hundreds. So secret, so stealthy was the system, that the servant waiting upon his European master — obedient, gentle, courteous — might be a Thug in disguise. A rising inclination, or a call from a companion, would bring him to his master to ask for leave of absence for a while — his “wife was sick,” or his “father was dead,” — any excuse would serve for the predatory or murderous excursion. And then when the time for his return had arrived, he would appear again, as obedient, gentle, courteous as before, with the blood of hundreds, perhaps, on his hands and heart. Surely the dark places of the earth are full of the habitations of cruelty. The more heathenism is known, the worse it appears; and the louder is the call upon Christians to come for the help of the Lord against the mighty.

It is easier to relate these incidents of travel, than to convey a correct impression of the powerful influence produced by the visits of the bishop to these distant and isolated spots. The daily morning and evening prayers, with expositions of the Scriptures; the conversation always

¹ A gift that is given by a subordinate to one who is superior to them.

² A British Indian gold coin worth fifteen silver rupees.

directed with a view to edification; the earnest discourses in the pulpit or the chair, never more tender, simple, and impressive, than when two or three only were gathered together; the sanction given to the performance of divine service by someone in every station who feared God and eschewed evil; the suggestions made for the continuance of family devotions after he had left; the presentation of books, either his own works, or some others calculated to impress the mind or raise the tone of piety; — all these were the results following each visit. The impression in many cases may have been transient, but in many it was abiding; and all knew and confessed that there had been a prophet among them. When the tone of piety throughout the land was low, it was raised; when error entered and began to spread, it was checked. The silent influence of twenty-five years of service such as this, is incalculable. The “day” alone can declare it.

After performing divine service both in the Residency at Jyepore

472 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

and in the cantonments, on Sunday March 20th, the bishop hastened to join the camp which had come up and passed on. The season was advancing, the heat was increasing, and forced marches were adopted; so that on Saturday, March 26th, Delhi was in sight.

“After a journey,” says the bishop, “of eighty-nine days, of which fifty-one were, in part, spent at the different stations, and thirty-eight wholly in travelling, I came this morning within sight of the domes and minarets of Delhi. The distant view very much resembled that of Oxford from the Banbury road. A near approach, however, dissipated the delusion, as it displayed the lofty city walls, in excellent repair, stretching as far as the eye could reach. We entered the fortifications at about seven o’clock, after fifteen hours’ dâk; and most imposing was the grandeur of the mosques, palaces, and mansions of the ancient monarchy of the world. The red stone of which many of the buildings are constructed, is very beautiful. The wide streets, the ample bazaars, the shops, with every kind of elegant wares; the prodigious elephants, used for all purposes; the numerous native carriages, with noble oxen; the children, bedizened with finery; the vast elevation of the mosques, fountains, and caravan-serais¹ for travellers; the canals full of running water raised in the midst of the streets — all gave me an impression of the magnificence of a city which was once twenty miles square, and counted two million inhabitants. May God bless the hundred and thirty Christians, out of the hundred and thirty thousand Hindus and Mohammedans now constituting the population.”

But the plan marked out for the bishop did not contemplate any stay at Delhi on this occasion. It was to be visited on the return journey from the hills; and there was only a halt now on the Sunday before Easter, and an address to the few Christians residing at the civil station some miles without the city walls. That halt gave rise to the following reflections:

“DELHI. SUNDAY IN PASSION WEEK, MARCH 27TH, 1836.

“It was on this day, in 1832, that I became bishop-elect of this awfully responsible See. As I enter on the fifth year of my sacred office, I would desire to humble myself before my God and Saviour for his unnumbered mercies. The very fact of having performed a land journey of twelve hundred miles through the most disturbed native provinces, with changes of temperature often exceeding 40° within twenty-four hours, and exposure in tents unavoidably perilous, speaks of the goodness of God. I have been reading over, as is my annual custom, my notes made in 1832 and subsequent years, and the Consecration Service, in order to affect my mind with these mercies; and in order, also, to learn penitential sorrow and shame for my countless defects, sins, and provocations, and that I may seek for more grace for the short and uncertain period of remaining service, that ‘Christ may be glorified in my body’ somewhat more this year ‘whether it be by life or by death.’

“Publicity, external duties, talk, misrepresentation, reliance on an arm of flesh, the opinions of men, party spirit, divisions, fear of human judgment,

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 473

¹ An inn with a large courtyard that provides accommodation for caravans.

secularity, worldly-mindedness, are among the evils I would most desire to shun. And I would learn retirement, internal duties, silence, reliance on the approval of God, frankness, truth, integrity, simplicity, spirituality, deadness of heart to the world and the creature, submission under the cross, union with Christ, preparation for 'that day.' Amen, Amen."

To spend the remainder of Passion Week, Good Friday, and Easter, with the four thousand Christians at Meerut was now earnestly desired; but a heavy storm of rain on that Sunday night made the attempt perilous. The whole country was under water, and the contents of the palanquins, carried through the swollen streams on the bearers' heads, were saturated with water. Meerut, however, was reached at ten o'clock on Tuesday morning, and the excellent chaplains were at once called to conference. Two fine regiments of European cavalry, the 11th Dragoons and the Buffs, besides infantry regiments and a large body of native troops, were stationed at Meerut. Their parade grounds, the barracks — consisting of long rows of bungalows with verandahs — the schools, hospitals, and libraries, were most complete. Sir David Ximenes was in command, and the Rev. Mr. Proby and Mr. Whiting were chaplains. A noble church, with deep galleries, erected in 1821, and consecrated by Bishop Heber in 1824, was capable of accommodating nearly two thousand persons. The bishop longed to communicate to them some "spiritual gift," and he spared no labor. The programme of the visitation was soon arranged. Each day the church was opened for morning prayers; each day the bishop expounded the holy gospel with much tenderness; and each day more than two hundred persons assembled to receive the word at his mouth. On Good Friday and Easter Day, the whole body of the military thronged the spacious church. Such a sight called forth all the bishop's powers. To arrive in time, he had far outstripped the camp, and his sermons were all left behind; but he made fresh ones on each occasion, more suitable, perhaps, because written under present impressions. Meerut was full of sickness and full of sad hearts, and deep sympathy had been aroused for one of the chaplains into whose house death had again and again entered. As three dear children were in quick succession carried to their burial, the hearts of all were moved, and prepared to receive the word when the bishop, on Easter Day, addressed his crowded audience from 1Thess. 4. 13-14, and spoke of the "child of sorrow consoled by the fact, the benefits, and the prospects of the resurrection." It was hard to decide which was the most affecting sight — when hundreds were melted into tears in the great congregation under the power of his appeals, or when, the public service being

474 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

ended, he went into the house of mourning, and read his sermon once again to the bereaved and weeping mother.

The number presented for confirmation on Easter Eve had been one hundred and twenty-two; the number of communicants on Easter Day was one hundred and twenty. The evening services, though voluntary regarding the attendance of the troops, and though the bishop did not preach, were largely attended; and on Easter Monday and Tuesday the interest continued unabated.

On Wednesday, the bishop preached in a pretty missionary chapel, built by the Begum Sumroo, and under the charge of a catechist named Richards. On this occasion, seventy natives were baptized and confirmed.

On Thursday, divine service was celebrated on the occasion of the consecration of a new burial-ground; and on Friday one hundred sick soldiers were visited in hospital, addressed tenderly, and prayed for. The fine schools of the Dragoons and Buffs were also examined.

On Saturday, two hours were spent among the native Christians, and two hours more in earnest and anxious conference with the chaplains — the mind of one had been long harassed with conscientious scruples on various church questions.

Every, interval of time between these public duties was filled up with receiving visitors and returning visits; among the former appeared, to the bishop's great pleasure, Captain Thomas, the son of his old controversial adversary, Archeacon Thomas of Bath.

This accumulation of duty proved too much; when the following Sunday morning's sermon had been preached to a larger audience than ever, if possible, and the Sunday afternoon's sermon had been preached to the natives in their missionary chapel, the bishop fell ill.

His skilful doctor was happily at hand, and by his directions every engagement was relinquished, the day of departure postponed, and quiet enjoined. By God's blessing, the illness proved temporary and passed away, but nothing more was done. Nor was it necessary. The desired impression had been produced, and his labor had not been in vain in the Lord. The prayers with which everything had been begun, continued, and ended, seemed to be at once heard and answered. The whole tone of religion was raised, and its influence seemed to pervade all minds. Even in the social communication of every day, much kindly feeling was elicited; and the splendid entertainments given by the Buffs and Dragoons at their respective mess-rooms, were rendered subservient to edification by the addresses delivered. At no station visited up to then, had a larger blessing been granted.

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 475

"I look back," the bishop says himself, "on the fifteen Meerut days with special thankfulness, from the vast extent of the population, the time falling in Passion and Easter weeks, the amazing opportunities for extensive usefulness, and the tranquility restored to the mind of a most amiable, pious, simple-hearted chaplain."

He had been too much occupied at Meerut to turn aside to any sight. He only made what he called "a pilgrimage" to Sirdhana, the residence of the Begum Sumroo, who had died about a month before. Being now restored by rest, he wished farewell to his kind entertainers, Mr. Glyn, the judge, and Mr. Whiting, the chaplain, and pressed on to the camp at Deyrah Dhoon. He was then on the foot of the Himalaya mountains, and on April 16th, 1836 — the very day fixed in the plan arranged for him by Captain Garden nine months before — he ascended them, and halted at Mussooree, wondering at the goodness and mercy which had followed him, and made the crooked places so straight, and the rough places so smooth.

Mussooree was only a halting-place on the way to Simlah, and the bishop was welcomed and entertained by Captain and Mrs. Brace, two cherished friends and companions of his voyage from England. On April 22d, he writes as follows:

"We spend our days most pleasantly, and, as I hope, profitably. How good is God, to interpose seasons of calm and reflection between hurried successions of duty! Now we have time for thought, prayer, meditation, preparation. Now the soul retires into itself, instead of acting perpetually in external things. It heals itself as well as others. I am sure when my camp came up, and I got re-possession of my Thomas á Kempis, one interior sentiment of that remarkable saint-like writer recalled me to myself more than a hundred conversations with men: 'It is good for me, O Lord, that you have humbled me, that I might learn your righteousness, and might cast away all elation and presumption of heart. It is profitable for me that confusion has covered my face, that I might seek You for my consolation rather than men. There is no one who can console me of all who are under the heavens, except You, O Lord my God, the heavenly Physician of souls, who strikes and heals, brings down to hell and lifts up. To You I commend myself, and all that relates to me, that you may chasten me. Better is it to be punished here than in the future world.'¹ I close my letter with a cheerful, humble trust in my Almighty Saviour. My life hangs by a thread. The hills which are life to others, may be death to me. 'Christ is all' to D. C."

¹ Book 3, chap.50, par. 5, 6. (probably Wilson's own translation.)

There was neither chaplain nor church when the bishop entered Mussooree; but he seldom left a place as he found it. Divine service was performed twice each Sunday at Landour, the sanatorium

476 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

for sick soldiers; and as soon as the over-crowded room gave significance to the appeal, he announced his intention to build a church, and called a public meeting to make the necessary arrangements. The result is thus described by himself:

“MUSSOOREE, TUESDAY, APRIL 26, 1836, 6-30 A. M.

“Very chilly morning; thermometer 44°; driven in from my walk by the wintry cold. Yesterday also was cold, with a cloudy sky and rain. My poor terrified frame, accustomed for four years to excessive heat, is shrivelled up with this English January weather. But what a blessing such hills are! There were twelve new houses built last season (April to October), and there will be more this. Nor are we without hopes of an English-like country church being built. I was sitting, about eleven o'clock, with two or three gentlemen who had called, among whom was Captain Blair, just returned along the hills from Simlah, when the two leading persons at Meerut, Hamilton and Hutchinson, came in to talk with me about the church of which I gave notice on Sunday. We soon warmed. Plans, sites, architects, means of supply, were arranged in about two hours. I promised one thousand rupees from the Church-building Fund, two hundred rupees from the Christian Knowledge Society, and two hundred rupees myself. Three gentlemen each subscribed two hundred and one hundred. We ordered our ponies, and johnpons (commonly called, but properly char-palkee — a four-legged chair, carried on two poles by two or more men, and usual on the hills) on the instant, to go and see the three or four places pronounced eligible for sites. The heavens were cloudy, and no sun to dread. We were on the grounds from two to four o'clock, and selected the best spot. Before night Mr. Bateman, my chaplain, had sketched an elevation for a church, fifty feet by twenty-five, to hold two hundred people; and I had finished my letter to Mr. Whiting, the owner of the land. On Monday we hope to be ready for the public meeting. My church-building experience at home comes in, and enables me to speak with decision.

Deo gratias.

“*May 4th.* — We shall have a church here presently. The beautiful plan was entirely approved by the committee here on Monday, as well as by a scientific officer at Saharunpore, to whom it was submitted. The estimate is three thousand two hundred rupees; and the subscriptions already raised amount to three thousand three hundred rupees. A little hesitation remains about the exact site, because the habitations ramble over a space of four or five miles; but we have two in view, and I hope before we leave on May 16th, to lay the first stone.

“*May 10th.* — God be thanked! I have just returned from measuring out the site for our new church, to be called Christ Church, which Mr. Proby has given us out of his own garden, about one hundred feet by sixty. This will be the first church built in India after the pattern of an English parish church. It will stand on a mountain like Zion, ‘beautiful for situation.’ The tower is eighteen feet square, and thirty-five feet high; the body of the church is fifty-five by twenty-three.

“*Monday, May 11th.* — On Saturday we laid the foundation-stone of Christ Church, Mussooree. The whole Christian population poured out — I suppose

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 479

four or five hundred persons. The scene on the gently sloping side of the hill was exquisite, and the entire ground around the circuit of the foundations was crowded. The Himalaya mountains never witnessed such a sight. I began with some prayers from the service for consecrating churches, slightly varied. Then my chaplain read Psalm 87. Mr. Proby read Haggai 1st; and the whole assembly sung the hundredth psalm. I made a short address. The senior civilian, Mr. Hutchinson, next read the deed of gift. Colonel Young, political agent (the king, in fact, of the Dhoon),¹ read a copy of the inscription. All

¹ The Dhoon Valley at the base of the Himalayas, where the city of Dehradun is located.

was now ready, and I descended into the deep cavity in the mountain and laid the stone in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. The Lord's Prayer and Benediction closed the service. As we were departing, the band of the Ghoorka regiment struck up the national anthem, which, echoing and re-echoing among the mountains, was the finest thing I ever heard. Afterwards I entertained the committee at dinner. We sat down, twenty-one, in camp fashion — each one sending his own chair, knives, forks, plates, and spoons. God be magnified! The whole celebration was unique. It will be the first church raised amidst the eternal snows of Upper India, and all planned, executed, and money raised, in a single month. Nine months will finish it."

This was the bishop's last public act in this place; and, after writing the above lines, he commenced his journey, and plunged into the sea of mountains intervening between Mussooree and Simlah. Nothing could be more sublime than the scenery. Now one huge mass standing forth in its naked majesty of rock and precipice; now a second, clothed in the beauty of the flowering rhododendron; and now a third, varied with plantations of the fir and pine. The summits of the whole range presented a continually changing outline; each deep ravine, or khud, was a bed of wildflowers; and every little patch of soil spared by the mountain torrent, was formed into terraces for the growth of grain, and the site of a native village. Narrow paths, winding round the mountain sides, connected these villages together, formed the route for travellers, and led to each day's resting-place. Often from the resting-place the goal was in full view, and apparently close at hand; but such was the projection of the mountain spurs, and such the depth of the ravines, that generally hour after hour would pass away, and ten or twelve miles be passed, before it was fairly reached, and the day's work done. This was no route for elephants, camels, palanquins, or comfortable tents; and these were accordingly exchanged for experienced ponies, stout sticks, hill tents, and johnpons. The main camp was sent round by the lower route of Nahun — all the heavy baggage — while indispensable things were carried on the back of puharries, or hill-men, hired for the purpose, and accustomed to the duty. They perfectly understood the philosophy of a division of labor, and a company of two hundred and fifty barely sufficed. The attempt to cross the mountains

480 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

was a serious matter in those days, and not free from danger. "No mountains in the world are more precipitous, no alternations of heat and cold more trying. And there was no way of escape. The route once entered, bishop and phuarrie¹ must tread the same track, shiver under the same cold, faint under the same heat, and incur the same risk. No one could succor his neighbor. Colonel Young, who was well-acquainted with the route, and gave the bishop the great advantage of his society and protection, was in the habit of announcing beforehand the dangers of the day. But he never offered help; knowing well that to attempt to aid, was to increase the peril. One day he forewarned all that the most critical part of the journey was to be encountered, and recommended caution. The reason soon became apparent. At one spot, the path, meeting with a rock cropping out of the mountain side, too hard to be cut through, and too large to be removed, rose over it, steep as the roof of a house, barely three feet wide, and with an ascent and descent of twenty feet; while on one side the mountain stood up like a perpendicular wall, and on the other sunk sheer down, at least three thousand feet, without a tree or shrub to break the fall. The colonel alighted, and sent his mule on; she passed safely over; he followed, and walked on, never stopping even to look back, till he reached the next encampment. "What would have been the use?" he said. The bishop followed in his johnpon, borne carefully by his hill-men; but it made the breath come short to see his feet suspended, as they necessarily were, over the dizzy height. One pony, when it reached the ridge, was seized with a sudden panic, and stood still, trembling violently. An instant more, and it would have fallen headlong and been dashed to

¹ Presumably someone like a Sherpa guide.

pieces; but its master covered its eyes, and led it gently and safely down — instinct serving better than sight.

Colonel Young was making his annual tour of inspection, and his presence was a singular advantage to those desiring to become acquainted with the manners and customs of the mountaineers. They gathered round him at every village, and he held “cutchery,”¹ listening to complaints, dispensing justice, and enforcing moral obligations. Thus their religion, amusements, prejudices, oaths, marriages, laws of inheritance, and manner of settling disputes, gradually became familiar, and afforded data for their improvement.

Their religion seemed simple enough. Some few temples there were in deep ravines, but these were reserved for great occasions. A little heap of stones, or any single stone of unusual size or shape on the mountain side, adorned with a few flags, and sprinkled with red powder, was the place of worship and object of adoration. They had none of the varied idolatry of the Hindu, nor the fierce

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 481

bigotry of the Mohammedans; but they knew no more excellent way. A species of soothsayer was met with, who pretended to foretell things to come. He put himself into violent and voluntary agitation, and what he said while brain and intellect were alike confused, was taken to be the word of God. Witchcraft was also a part of their belief, and as a test, a waterfall of tremendous height was used. If the accused, on being thrown down, escaped alive, she was put to death as being guilty of witchcraft; if killed by the fall, she was pronounced to have been innocent.² One day loud screams for justice were heard outside the bishop’s tent, and all ran out to learn the cause. An old hill-woman lay prostrate on the ground. Her story was that her son, weary of keeping her any longer, accused her of witchcraft; her prayer was that she might be thrown down the waterfall to prove her innocence. A better way, however, was found than this. She had dressed herself in all the finery of the hills; the doctor took paper and paint, and as her marked features and fantastic headdress came before the sight of a crowd of natives assembled round, their astonishment and delight were inexpressible. The old lady

482 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

rose in a moment to the height of popularity. No more was heard of the accusation. The son came forward, and, with a low salaam, expressed his resolution to take her home and keep her. And she left, with a few words from the bishop, bidding her keep her tongue (which had never for a moment stayed) in subjection. So simple-minded were they that, in connection with this incident, the colonel mentioned that when he first came among them, and was about to punish some offence, knowing that cows were sacred animals and never beaten, they prostrated themselves on the ground, ate grass, and called themselves cows, that they also might escape unbeaten.

Their marriage customs were very bad, and the cause of endless strife and misery. When a female married, she married the whole family; however many brothers there might be, they all claimed an equal right in her. This unnatural usage made everything else unnatural; and in some domestic establishments, one husband would be nursing the child, another spinning the wool, a third sweeping the floor, while the woman herself was working in the fields. A still worse custom was perceptible also and, either as a cause or a consequence, female infanticide prevailed; so that one of the first acts of the colonel on entering a village, was to call for all the

¹ “Court.”

² Mirrors the British practice of *Trial by Water* in the 16th and 17th centuries: witches were innocent if they drowned, guilty if they survived. King James VI of Scotland (later James I of England) claimed in his *Daemonologie* that water was so pure an element that it repelled the guilty, hence the practice.

female children, and compare them with his list, to see that none had been destroyed. The effect of this vigilance was good. The number of females had much increased; and now and then a stout villager would draw near, with a broad smile on his face, and say, "Colonel, sahib, I have got a wife all to myself!"

The administration of justice was prompt and primitive. A Panchayat, or native court, accompanied the colonel in his tour. It was composed of five old men, chiefs by hereditary right, and all questions involving old customs or matters of fact were referred to it. Most interesting was to see these men, at the close of day, sitting under the shade of a spreading tree, with long white beards, grave faces, and rough blankets, while around them sat or stood hundreds of hill-men, listening to the cause in hand, or giving testimony concerning it. One among the crowd would rise up or press forward, and with rapid speech and earnest gesture give his opinion. All were silent while he spoke the truth; but the instant he overstepped it, or distorted any fact, loud noises arose on every hand to correct or contradict him. When one side was fully heard, the other side replied; and then the Panchayat decided and reported. An oath for confirmation was considered among them as an end of strife. A man once came urging a claim against another for twenty-five rupees (a very large sum, for in these disputes the amount seldom exceeds a single rupee), which he said he had lent him. The fact was strenuously denied.

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION.' 483

The plaintiff was asked whether he would swear to the truth of his statement in a temple. "No, he would not take the oath in that temple, but he would in another." Now, a false oath in this last temple only brought a curse upon the land; but a false oath in the other brought a curse upon the person as well. This looked suspicious; and the decision was, "withdraw the claim, or take the oath." He withdrew the claim. In another case, four brothers came to complain. They had given thirteen rupees for a wife, but she did not like them, and would not complete the bargain which her father had thus made. The father, for his part, did not wish to constrain her. "Let her have her own way," he said. He was asked to return the money, and he did. The brothers took it: three were glad, one sad.

It is impossible to give each day's proceedings, though they were recorded fully. Before the colonel, who had come to the limits of his jurisdiction, took his leave and returned to Mussooree, a meeting of the hill-men was summoned; and the bishop addressed them at some length. His own account is as follows:

"I begged the colonel to ask them whether they would like schools to be set up in their chief villages; and whether they would send their children to them, and countenance the masters. They all declared they would. I took the names of eleven, besides the head-man (here called the Chountron), and wrote them down as engaged to welcome my missionary schools, if I could set them up. I told them that our ancestors, fourteen centuries ago, were in a far worse state than the mountaineers of the Himalayas. But Almighty God had sent us teachers, and so we had risen to our present power. I wished them to follow our example. They clapped their hands with joy, and promised to do all I desired. I said I would correspond with them through the colonel, and hoped they would candidly consider the Christian religion, which was the only true light of the world. They said they would; but at present they did not know what it was. They had lived like the animals, but now they were beginning to get on.

"Ah! what shall I do for this simple, but ignorant and unhappy country of the mountains?"

The bishop and his party now journeyed on alone; and it was necessary to hasten, for supplies began to fail. Several minor rajahs came out to pay compliments, as their respective territories were entered; and among them one who brought as a present, some honey and a sheep. This last was particularly acceptable; for the small flock which had accompanied the camp from Mussooree was eaten up, and only a few ducks and fowls carried on men's backs remained. The present being accepted, however, a return was

necessary, and it was difficult to find anything suitable. At length the sight of two or three ponds of water in the mountain hollows brought the ducks to mind. Having ascertained that they would be accounted most precious, since they had seen no such birds before, two ducks and a drake were at once presented, and carried off loudly vociferating in the arms of the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer. They were liberated at the ponds, and their noisy acknowledgments contrasted ludicrously enough with the silent astonishment of the assembled crowds. When the New Zealander stands on the ruins of London Bridge, and reads that ducks are indigenous in the Himalaya Mountains, may this book live to correct the statement and solve the mystery!

The rain now set in; and heavy storms, with thunder and lightning, disquieted the camp. Trenches were required to carry off the water. The tents were saturated, and became heavy to carry in the day, and dangerous to sleep in at night. It was, therefore, with great delight that on June 3d, after much discomfort, the whole party straggled into Simlah, and found shelter in a comfortable home. The journey had occupied eighteen days. All suffered except the bishop; his health and spirits, happily, remained firm. Three extracts from his journal-letters will express his grateful feelings:

“SIMLAH, 7200 feet above the level of the sea, FRIDAY.

JUNE 3, 1836; thermometer 73° at four P.M.

“We arrived here this morning, after a march of four hours. Judge my delight, when a packet of seventy-one letters and papers were placed on my table; and this in addition to forty-three sent out to me on the preceding day. But I am too fatigued to enter upon them. My spirits also are overwhelmed. The impression, on a first reading, is thankfulness to the God and Father of all grace, for his goodness to the most unworthy of his creatures.

“*Saturday, June 4th.* A calm, delightful repose of eight hours, in our nice bungalow; perfect quiet; no jabbering tongues of three or four hundred natives at half-past two o'clock in the morning; no bugle sounding at four o'clock; no exhausting march of three or four hours. “When our camp from below has come up with my books, papers, and implements of business, I hope to sit down for four months' diligent work in this charming climate. But one hundred and fourteen letters rather overwhelm me. I have been at present only able to take them, like Hezekiah, and spread them before the Lord. I have twice done so — expanded them on my desk — turned them over — and prayed for each individual who has written them, especially for the sixty-six brethren assembled in Islington, who signed the letter of January 5th.

“*First Sunday after Trinity, June 5th.* Blessed be this holy morn! All calm, all inspiring peace and gratitude. I am sitting at six o'clock in the morning, in my room, with its windows open all around, and the sun just making its way over the eastern hills. There is not a sound to interrupt the moments of communion with the Author and Preserver of my blessings. But

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 485

something more is lacking than external repose and opportunities — even your grace, O blessed Saviour! — or the soul clings to the dust still, nor does it ever rise towards yourself. Quicken me according to your word!

“Three of our party are likely to be confined from church from over-fatigue upon the march, and sleeping for nine days in damp tents. They have sharp fevers. I owe my own exemption, under God, to the better tents provided for me, and the less fatigue I underwent.

“But I must break off. I have no books, no robes, no sermons, and am waiting for their coming up before the time for service.”

Thus the rest at Simlah commenced; and it continued without any serious interruption for four months. It was a pleasant respite from “the burden and heat of the day,” both in a natural and

spiritual sense. The weather was for a time uncertain; sun and clouds alternately ruled. The mid-day sun was neither trustworthy nor pleasant. The clouds were too familiar. For days together they enveloped the whole station, and filled the house so that doors would not shut nor windows open.¹ The small rains, already mentioned, were followed in due course by the great rains; and then communication was often difficult; congregations could not assemble; divine services were put off; and dâks,² never very rapid, were delayed. "Great sir," exclaimed an old native woman, starting up from sleep upon the mountains, with the dâk bag by her side — "great sir, do not be angry. I am not the dâk. I am only the express."

The society upon the hills this year was very agreeable; and the bishop did everything to promote kindly feeling by social communication and small weekly parties.

There was no chaplain in charge of the station; but divine service was performed twice each Sunday, in a small room given for the purpose by Lady William Bentinck. Here the bishop and his own chaplain officiated; and arrangements were soon set afoot for giving an ecclesiastical appearance to the building by erecting a tower and chancel, and for promoting the comfort of the congregation by the addition of a clock and bell. Prayer-books were supplied, singing commenced; and the Sundays were the happiest days in the week, and worthy to be held in lasting remembrance.

But the bishop's leisure was employed chiefly in the preparation of a volume of sermons, and in carrying them through the press. They were, what the title-page professed, "Sermons preached in India;" and by their publication he fulfilled many promises made during the course of the visitation. The judges at Madras had joined the archdeacon and clergy in requesting the publication of several sermons preached in that Presidency. The authorities at Bombay and at Ceylon had done the same. The bishop had promised

486 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

to print the sermons preached at the Syrian churches, and at Meerut; and the congregations at several other places also held his pledge. All these were now remembered and fulfilled; and after his return to Calcutta in May 1837, the volume appeared. The sermons were arranged into a series in order to show the "tendency of Christianity;" but this was scarcely an improvement, for the connecting links were heavy. Each sermon, as it stood alone, was admirable. The first sermon the bishop ever preached was introduced into the series, from the text, "Him that comes to me, I will in no way cast out;"³ and when the volume was presented to old Dr. Marshman before his death, he said it was "the best." The funeral sermon for Bishop Corrie, tidings of whose death were received before the visitation ended, was also included. The volume was handsomely reprinted in England, and met with much acceptance.

In these employments, and in much important correspondence, the summer at Simlah passed away; and as October drew near, the camp was reorganized at the foot of the hills, and the bishop prepared to descend and resume his visitation. Early in the morning of October 10th, each one of the party who had straggled wearily into Simlah on June 3d, took up his staff, and prepared to quit it. Converging at the same time from different points, friend after friend — Colonel Hamilton, Mr. and Mrs. Taylor, Captain and Mrs. Curtis, Mr. Raikes, Captain Simpson, Mr. Wake, and others — joined the company; so that when the boundary of Simlah was reached, they had become "two bands." After having partaken of the coffee and refreshments kindly provided, everyone stood up uncovered on the mountain brow, and the bishop commended all to God, rendering thanks for the past, and entreating grace and guidance for the future. Then,

¹ That is, they swelled with moisture.

² Here dâk refers to actual mail delivery, rather than a leg of the journey.

³ 1John 6.37.

with a blessing and a cordial farewell, Simlah and Simlah-friends disappeared from sight. A steep descent and a journey of ten miles led to a bungalow, where the heat of the day was passed; and then a further journey of fifteen miles led to the resting-place of Sabbathoo. It was pleasant to see a piece of level ground, and to tread upon it. A week was spent among friends at Sabbathoo, in order to get accustomed gradually to the atmosphere in the plains; and arrangements were made that the children of the hills, educated in the government school there, should be trained to act as schoolmasters in fulfillment of the pledge given by the bishop.

The journey was resumed on the 17th; the route led not directly, but obliquely, downwards. The track still clung to the

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 487

mountain-side, the scenery continued very grand, the air felt fresh and pure; when suddenly the path sunk out of sight, a curtain seemed to be withdrawn on either side, and the plains of India lay stretched before the eyes, misty with heat, and boundless in extent. The first feeling was to start back and return; but duty said, "go forward," and it was obeyed. In one half hour all were enveloped once more in the heat of India. The foot of the mountains is most unhealthy; and it was necessary to remove the camp from the place where it was pitched, and to hasten on. In two days, Roopur, on the river Sutlej, was reached, and the bishop was welcomed by Captain (now Sir Claude) Wade, the king of the country. But this was not accomplished without a terrible accident. The roads were most treacherous. They were covered with sand, so that the surface was smooth; but beneath all was rough, rocky, and most dangerous for equestrians. The bishop continued to use his johnpon; but all the rest were mounted; and in the freshness of the morning, the captain and doctor were tempted to a gallop. In a moment both horses fell, and their riders were dashed to the ground. Dr. Webb, happily, was unhurt; but Captain Gillanders, a most valuable and excellent man, apparently lay dead. It was a terrible moment, but consciousness returned; the first apprehensions were not realized. The bishop resigned his conveyance, and the captain was borne to a neighboring Rajah's house. He was attended with the greatest care and skill, and was before long enabled to resume the command of the escort; but some serious and secret mischief had been wrought, and in a few months he died, deeply regretted, on his voyage to England.

It was at Roopur that Lord William Bentinck met Runjeet Singh¹ — so that the place had some historical interest; but the object of visiting it was to drop down the river Sutlej to Lodianah. Subsequent events have made the territory familiar; but it was then little known. Huge boats, built upon the Indus, were in readiness, and the stream bore them down forty miles within ten hours. This was the very stream (the Hyphasis) which Alexander's soldiers refused to cross. He had passed the Indus at Attock; the Jhalum (Hydaspes) at Jhelum, where he conquered and behaved so nobly to Porus, the Chenab (Akesines), and the Ranee (Hydraotes). But from the Sutlej he was compelled to turn back and retrace his steps. While gliding down it, the bishop rose upon the deck, and looking towards the territory of the Punjab, then scarcely known, exclaimed aloud: "I take possession of this land in the name of my Lord and Master, Jesus Christ." It seemed little likely at the time that we would have

488 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

any inheritance to put our foot on. But this incident is surely very remarkable when connected with our speedy possession of the whole territory, the favorable prospects of our missions there, and the help and deliverance Christian England drew from there in her extreme necessity. It seems to show how faith has power with God, and still prevails.

¹ Maharaja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839) was the founder of the Sikh Empire.

Lodianah was then the watch-house for Lahore, and the frontier station on our side of the river. About one hundred Christians resided there, and the bishop at once began his ministrations among them. The erection of a church was the first object; and liberal contributions were made towards it. A committee was appointed; the sketch of a Gothic church, to hold one hundred persons, was drawn and approved; a site was selected, and an application made for a grant to government. Christ Church, Lodianah, was the result of these efforts; and till a chaplain could be appointed, the bishop made arrangements, as in other cases, for a Sunday assembling, and the reading of prayers and a sermon. On the single Sunday assigned to this station, two services were performed, and confirmation along with the holy Sacrament, were administered. All was interesting and impressive. The influence of Captain Wade was very great, and all for good; and his hospitality and kindness were without bounds. He had charge not only of the communications with Runjeet Singh (who had sent vakeels¹ to the bishop with his compliments, and forty pots of sweetmeats, as a nuzzur²), but also charge of the two ex-kings of Kabul,³ who afterwards figured so prominently in the Afghan war. They were now pensioners on the British Government, and lived in a garden-house near Lodianah. The bishop was allowed to visit them; but no sort of ceremony was permitted, and everyone was strictly enjoined to wear both hats and boots.

Shah Soojah, who was afterwards conducted by the British army to Kabul, and placed upon the throne, was first visited. He was a stout, middle-aged, good-looking man, who was dressed respectably, but not richly. He sat upon an ottoman, and the bishop on a chair close by. After the usual compliments, he said: "Does your lordship know the Governor-General? I want to be brought to his notice. One word from him would seat me on the throne of my ancestors; and then the English and their government would have in me a firm friend. With only four thousand rupees, I lately made an attempt myself, and it was very nearly successful. My children are asking me what sort of a place Kabul is; and unless some aid is given, they will live and die without seeing their inheritance. I wish these things to be pleaded before the Governor-General."

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 489

The bishop assured him that he would remember and report what he had said, but urged that, in his present state, he was exempt from many of the troubles pressing upon kings. "Would it not be better to remain contented and peaceful?" "True," he rejoined, with some shrewdness, "but your lordship, for instance, fills a high and important post; you can do much good; you have much influence; many depend on you. Would you wish to retire from all this, and be banished from the world and forgotten?"

The bishop confessed he would not. "Neither do I, my lord."

The other brother, Shah Zemaun, was blind and fretful. His eyes had been put out when driven from Kabul, and he was now helpless and hopeless. His converse was chiefly on religious subjects, and the interview was brief.

It was from these kings that Runjeet Singh extorted the famous Koh-i-noor [diamond] which now graces the regalia of our queen; and it is at Lodianah that some of the most magnificent shawls are manufactured. The ladies of England little know from what poor mud huts these costly fabrics issue.

¹ An ambassador, attorney, agent, or headman – that is, his representative.

² Accepting nuzzurs (a ceremonial offer of money and gifts) was prohibited by an 1828 reform law after a corruption scandal involving the British Resident at Delhi, Sir James Edward Colebrooke.

³ That is, Kabul Afghanistan; originally spelled "Caubul."

Through Sirhind and Rajpoorah the camp now moved towards Umballah, then a small, now a large station, where Mr. Edgeworth courteously received the bishop. The usual divine services were performed in his house on Sunday, October 29th. A marriage was also performed here by his chaplain.

Pressing on towards Kurnaul,¹ the camp was pitched for one night at Thanesir, a very celebrated place in Eastern story, abounding with magnificent temples, immense tanks, and very holy, Brahmins. The latter found out the bishop's pundit, and taking him from the camp at night, inquired about his master's "faith and duty," — what were his plans? what was his religion? what are his habits? what are his reasons for travelling? what is his teaching? The pundit was a Christian, a son of Anund Musseeh; he was going down to Calcutta to complete his education at Bishop's College; and as the best answer to some of these questions, he went and fetched from the tent Dr. Mill's Sanscrit work, called the *Christa Sangita*. It is scarcely necessary to say that this is an epic poem, in Sanscrit verse, containing the history of Christianity and the evidences on which it rests. It is a wonderful proof of genius and learning, and a most valuable gift and legacy to India. So much were these learned Brahmins struck with the poem as the pundit read it, that they continually asked for more and more; and it was not till day dawned, and the camp began to move, that they released him,

490 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

saying that "the bishop himself must be an angel," and that "no mere mortal man could have written such a book."

Kurnaul was at this time a very large and important station, under the spiritual charge of the Rev. W. Parish, who received the bishop into his house. There was a large church, and much time and thought were devoted to adding a tower to it. No result followed at the time; but eventually the tower rose — a tall Roman structure — only to be removed elsewhere, when Kurnaul, as a military station, was abandoned. However, the church as it stood was consecrated, and a little building was also licensed for divine service, to which some interest attached. It was called "the soldiers' meeting-house," and was built entirely at the cost of the soldiers of an English regiment, by whom, on leaving the station, it was handed over to the chaplain for the use of their successors. It was a neat, enclosed bungalow. The middle part was fitted for divine service, and the exterior verandah was partitioned into little chambers, where soldiers might singly "shut the door and pray" to their Father in secret. In the hands of the chaplain, and watched over by him, its tendency was truly to edification. It was named St. John's Chapel.

A flourishing temperance society existed at Kurnaul, patronized and chiefly supported by one excellent officer, whose history was singular. Originally fun-loving and worldly, to say no worse, his change of mind and conversion to God were very marked. He was in a company where reckless gambling was going on, and upon a very large stake being proposed, one of the players took from his bosom a small, hideous black figure, intended to represent the devil. He addressed himself to it; called it his best and only friend; coaxed, pleaded, threatened, and prayed for success in terms of fearful blasphemy. The captain was horror-struck. He left the company at once, and that night found him prostrate in tears of penitence before God. Nor did he join the world again till his prayers were heard, his eyes opened, and his soul had found peace. He was now a believer in Christ, and ready for every good word and work. This temperance society had originated with him, and he was present when the bishop addressed the members with great power and effect. Colonel Sale, afterwards so distinguished at Jellalabad and elsewhere, was also present. He had joined the society himself, as an example to the troops.

¹ Or Karnal, in the Haryana district near Delhi in northwest India.

The congregations on the two Sundays given to Kurnaul were very large, and the impression was very great. Even a deputation of the Roman Catholics waited on the bishop to thank him for his sermons, which almost all had attended. So great, indeed, was

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 491

the effect, that the few alarmists sent down an earnest application to Calcutta for a priest “to stay the plague.”

Upwards of a hundred soldiers and others were confirmed, with the usual addresses; and the next day two fine men of the 16th Light Infantry, came up to the chaplain: “Please, sir, will you give us our seven duties?”¹

The next day an ordination was held. Anund Musseeh, a Brahmin convert of fifteen years standing, known to Bishop Heber, was admitted to holy orders. He had been called to Simlah and spent some time in familiar communication there which had proved highly satisfactory. There was no objection to *him*; but his wife remained a heathen, and her influence was sinister. In primitive times, no convert was admitted to the holy orders unless he had won over his whole family to the faith of Christ; and there was much wisdom in the rule. It was not, however, insisted on in the present case; but all due inquiries having been made, Anund Musseeh was ordained on the title of the Church Missionary Society, and he was appointed with a stipend of eighty rupees a month, to labor at Kurnaul under the direction of the chaplain. He was the first native the bishop had ordained, and the first Brahmin admitted to holy orders in our church (for Abdool Musseeh was a Mohammedan). The usual questions proposed to the candidate were read by the bishop himself in Hindustani, and ordination was conferred in the same language — though the pronunciation of the words was somewhat imperfect. Years passed — and then regret mingled with the recollections of the day.

On Monday, November 14th, the march was resumed. The camp halted at Paniput, Sumalka, Soniput, Alipore — places full of traditions, and historical reminiscences, and abounding with game of all descriptions. On November 18th they entered Delhi. The impression of magnificence, splendor, activity and alas! flagrant immorality, made on the mind by a former hasty visit, were abundantly confirmed by a longer stay and more accurate observation.

Colonel Skinner was notified of the bishop’s arrival. He at once drove down to the chaplain’s house and repeated his earnest request that he might be favored with a visit, preparatory to the consecration of his church. This Colonel Skinner was a man of much celebrity, and the commander of a famous body of light horse called by his name. His “life” has recently been published, and possesses great interest; but at Delhi it was listened to from his own lips. His father held a command in the Mahratta army, and introduced his son into it at a very early age. He soon saw hard service, and,

492 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV,

to use his own words, was engaged in fighting every morning before breakfast for months together. He entered our service about the year 1806, and distinguished himself greatly by his sagacity and personal bravery. He raised and commanded a body of irregular cavalry, and was made a full colonel of the English army by George the Fourth, who himself put his name at the head of the list, and overruled all questions of etiquette in his favor. Entering into Delhi with a conquering army twenty years ago, and gazing on its countless domes and minarets, he made a vow that if he was ever able, he would erect an English church which would rear the cross among them. The time came when he was enabled to commence the work; and he persevered, although the cost far surpassed the estimate, and he lost the bulk of his fortune by the failure of Calcutta

¹ See page 229.

agency houses. The church rose slowly, notwithstanding. Government offered to relieve him and complete the work, but he declined the offer. His vow might be delayed, but must still be kept. And now he stood before the bishop — a tall, stout, dark man, of fifty-six, clad in a military dress of blue, silver, and steel, with a heavy helmet on his head, a broadsword at his side, and a red ribbon on his breast — to say that the church was finished, and to beg that it might be consecrated. His sons were Christians, as he was, but his wife remained a Mohammedan, though, as he said with tears, “a better wife, for more than thirty years, no man ever had.”

The bishop instantly drove with him down to the church. It was a beautiful Grecian building, in the form of a cross, with handsome porticos at each extremity — three of them forming entrances with flights of steps, the fourth closed in and appropriated for the chancel. The body of the building was circular, and surmounted by an ornamented dome, cupola, and cross. The flooring was marble, and a temporary desk and pulpit served for the present occasion. The whole effect was very chaste and beautiful. The bishop was delighted and, mindful of the founder, called it St. James, and fixed November 22d for the consecration.

On that day a large congregation assembled, and a very striking and impressive sermon, going a good deal into detail, was preached.

After the consecration, the whole European society of Delhi met at Colonel Skinner’s hospitable abode, and expressed their deep gratitude to him. They also requested the publication of the bishop’s sermon as commemorative of the day. A most kindly feeling pervaded every mind.

A confirmation followed; and the colonel, with his three sons, knelt at the altar to dedicate himself as he had previously dedicated his church, to the service of God. The scene was very impressive,

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 495

and the bishop’s address moved all to tears. At the conclusion, the colonel himself attempted to express his acknowledgments, but words failed, and he wept silently, while the bishop prayed that the kindness shown to the house of his God might be returned sevenfold into his own bosom. Alas! that a church so beautiful in its design, and so interesting in its early annals, should, before many years had passed, have been “riddled with [musket] balls, filled with dying men, and made a magazine for shot and shells.”

It will readily be believed, that on this occasion all the wonders of Delhi were inspected; but only a state visit to the old king, and an attendance at the Jumma Musjeed,¹ can be described.

The visit to the old King of Delhi was arranged by the Resident, and all matters of etiquette were settled by him. The bishop objected to taking off his shoes, and to having a turban placed upon his head. A pair of overshoes, to be put on at the entrance of the king’s court, presented an easy solution of the first dilemma, and the second was not insisted on.

A long vaulted archway leads to the outer court of the palace. This is the king’s entrance. The gateway terminates the noblest street in Delhi, down the centre of which, and between avenues of trees, a channel of bright and sparkling water is ever flowing. On state occasions, the procession passes down this street, hundreds of pigeons circling around the king, until the entrance gate being opened, they dart through it before him and cling to the vaulted and echoing passage like a rushing wind. To train these birds, and make them the instruments of enticing the unwary from other flocks, is a king’s amusement in Delhi, varied by flying kites, and attempting to cross a neighbor’s, and to cut its string.

¹ The Masjid-i Jahān-Numā (Persian: the ‘World-reflecting Mosque’), commonly known as the Jama Masjid (Hindi: ‘Friday Mosque’) of Delhi, is the principal mosque of Old Delhi in India. The Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan commissioned it in 1650 and completed it in 1656. It is the largest and best-known mosque in India.

Through the gateway thus mentioned, and along the vaulted passage, the bishop and his party entered the palace. All India's splendors are marred by dirt and decay, and it was so here. It was soon necessary to leave the carriages, and the way had to be picked through dark passages, and buildings filled with dirt and rubbish, in order to gain the king's court. Then all was magnificence. The door opened upon a large quadrangle in front of which was the Hall of Audience, supported by immense square pillars of white marble, inlaid with scrolls and flowery patterns of cornelian, jasper, and other precious stones. Purdahs, or curtains, of all colors and designs hung from the crenated arches. Persian inscriptions on the walls declared, "If there is a paradise on earth, it is this, it is this;" while in the centre stood the Peacock Throne, once a fabric of pure gold and jewels, and valued at a million sterling; and even now, though but a shadow of what it was, yet it was a bright shadow still.

496 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

Upon it, supported by cushions, and surrounded by his sons and courtiers, sat the old king — worn, fretful, peevish.

The usual ceremonies took place. The usual compliments were exchanged. The specified gold mohurs were presented, and eagerly accepted. The accustomed head-dresses, scarfs, robes of honor, and garlands of flowers were given in return; — until anyone glancing at the bishop, would no longer have recognized him. A long red robe, wrought with gold embroidery, enveloped his person. A brilliant shawl was wrapped around his breast. Emeralds and rubies, mingled with strings of pearls, encircled his neck. The only thing which marked the bishop was the old square college cap, deliberately worn, and determinately retained. None of the party could smile at the other; for all were disguised after a similar, though less gorgeous fashion. Much of all this was mere show; and whatever might have been the intrinsic value of the jewels and dresses, as well as of the horse and elephants at the gate, which for a time called the bishop master,¹ nothing was carried out of the palace. Government had paid the gold mohurs, and now claimed the presents; and in the next court, after making salaams, and leaving the king, the borrowed plumes were all stripped off, and the party entered the carriages precisely as they left them. The hall itself, however, was allowed to remain, with all its decorations and its throne unmoved, for a few hours; and while a sketch was being made of the interior, the king's little sons or grandsons, princes of the House of Delhi, without a particle of clothing, came peeping at the process, or playing their childish games in the shade. All this is now a tale of the past — a pageant that passes by — a dream when one awakes.

On Friday, the sacred day among the Mohammedans, the magnificent Jumma Musjeed, the largest mosque in Delhi, was visited. It stands in the very heart of the city, and its lofty domes and minarets rise above a thousand others. Through the main entrances, reached by flights of many steps, thousands of Mussulmen² were hurrying to and fro, while elephants, camels, horses, carriages, and hackeries, each surrounded by a few followers gaily clothed, waited in the street below. Within the immense quadrangle, surrounded by what may be called cloisters on three sides, the worshippers were assembled, joining for a short time in the service which was going on, and then retiring — exhibiting some of the appearance of devotion, but none of the reality. Now all would stand erect, careless and unconcerned; now every head would be bent in lowly reverence; and now, at the sacred name, all would fall prostrate on the ground. A number of the dead, wrapped in white linen, and laid upon their biers among the living throng, waited the funeral

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 49T

¹ That is, they belonged to him for only a time.

² Muslims.

service and interment. After a time, the discourse or sermon for the day commenced, and the bishop drew near to hear. A free passage was instantly and courteously made for him and all his party, and they listened to a Moulavie¹ reading, in a sonorous and regulated voice, the history of Zacharias and Elizabeth, as given in the Koran, and expounding the meaning sentence by sentence. It soon, however, became monotonous and wearisome, and all left.

During the bishop's sojourn in Delhi, much communication took place among the higher class of natives. Many princes, gentry, and learned men called upon him, and held discussions of all kinds upon all subjects. If they got no good, they gratified their curiosity, showed their courtesy, and obtained presents of books.

And now came the closing Sunday, and the last of these most interesting services, with the administration of the Lord's Supper; and on Monday, December 3d, the camp moved on. It passed through Chattah, Jeyt, and Muttra. The temples at Bindrabund, and the tomb of Ackbar were examined; and then the bishop entered the carriage sent for him by Sir Charles Metcalfe, and drove into Agra.

Events had marched on during the bishop's absence from the Presidency; and Sir Charles, who was left as temporary Governor-General of India, was met again as permanent Governor of Agra. It rejoiced the bishop to meet so good a friend; and three weeks were spent happily and profitably in his company. The church was consecrated, and a fund raised for adding a tower, spire, and bell. A soldiers' chapel was also licensed, as at Kurnaul. Divine services were celebrated twice each Sunday, and morning and evening prayers with the governor and his household were duly offered and appreciated. The general conversation ran much upon religion and religious topics; and it may well be hoped that the communication of these few weeks produced a lasting good effect upon the calm mind of the great statesman — for such, indeed, was Sir Charles Metcalfe.

The Church Missionary premises in the town itself were visited with much interest. Here Daniel Corrie (when chaplain), and after him, Abdool Musseeh, were in the habit of sitting and reading aloud, from a verandah overlooking the public street, the Hindustani Scriptures. Ostensibly, there were few hearers; but in every closed verandah, and behind every purdah near at hand, men sat listening to the words of life; and, in many cases, the seed thus cast upon the waters was visible after many days. The whole mission, however, was now nearly extinct. The old catechist, who was longing to see the bishop, had lingered on to within the last few days,² and then he entered into rest, leaving none to supply his place. Better times,

498 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON-. CHAP. XV.

however, have since dawned on Agra. May an abundant harvest reward the laborers who have entered in!

Of the fairy Taj Mahal, the strong-walled Fort, and the wilderness of ruins stretching for miles around, nothing needs to be said. The bishop was now in the beaten track of India, and it will be better for him to hasten on. He had been prevailed on to stay one week beyond his time, and he now had to make it up by rapid journeys. He began to feel less dread of the sun. He grew tired of the monotony of the camp. He shrunk from the disturbed nights in the palanquin. Therefore, as far as possible, he resorted to wheeled carriages and relays of horses, by which means seventy miles could be traversed in a day, the camp outstripped, the station reached, and the Sunday saved. But then it was necessary to drive all kinds of horses, and to pass over all manner of roads — roads so bad that Heber, who traversed the same route, compares them to a farm-yard first

¹ 'Custodians' of Islam; clerics or religious instructors.

² That is, of Wilson's visit. He died two days after Wilson departed for Calcutta (page 424).

trodden into deep holes, and then frozen hard; and says, that “though a buggy can go over them, since it can go anywhere, yet they were never meant for buggies nor buggies for them.”

Thus driven by his chaplain, the bishop, after leaving Agra, pressed on to Allyghur; and after performing all duties there, and examining the wonderful fort, made for Bareilly. Eighty miles had to be traversed. Elephants and buggies were exhausted by turns; and when, at last, all traces of a road had disappeared, and no means of further progress appeared, bearers and palanquins, sent out by an admirable man, a Major Smythe, were discovered under a grove of trees, and bore the bishop to his journey’s end. Nothing daunted him in those days. He had to make up for a lost week, and it was made up.

Bareilly, however, was an important station; a halt was made, and the new year (1837) welcomed. There was a chaplain, and divine services were performed in his house. But there was no church, and immediate steps were taken to raise one. An unexpected obstacle, however, appeared in the person of the brigadier in command. He not only passively declined contributing, but actively opposed the project. He declared that it was the duty of government to build churches; that individual interference was uncalled for and unwise; and that he was not only determined to sit still himself, but hoped nobody else would move. These arguments were urged loudly and unreservedly at his own table, and before a large party, whom he had invited to meet the bishop. With hopes all sanguine, and plans matured, the bishop was not prepared for such an outbreak; his nerves failed; he shed tears as

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 499

the only reply. No one at the moment could interfere, however painful the scene; but no sooner had the party left the dinner-table than a fine old civilian of fifty years’ standing, quietly put down his name for a subscription of one thousand rupees. Major Smythe joined him, and put down his for two hundred; another gave one hundred; all gave something; and in two days four thousand rupees were raised, a committee formed, and an application forwarded for aid from government. Thus were the inspired words proved true: that they who “sow in tears, shall reap in joy.” There is now a Christ Church, Bareilly — the result of that appeal, which at first looked so unpromising.

Another rapid run of forty-eight miles through Furreedpore and Futtehgunge, to Jellalabad, on January 5th, followed by another of equal distance, varied by a passage across the mighty Ganges on January 6th, brought the bishop safely to Futtighur, where he found an excellent chaplain, a good church, and all things in order. Much pleasant communication took place here with friends, who were gradually passing down the country from Simlah; the germs of missionary work were watched and encouraged; the church and burial-grounds were consecrated; divine services were performed; the holy Sacrament and confirmation administered; and then the bishop rejoined the camp for a few days’ quiet march. The sportsmen went out and provided the table with wild geese, as on the other side of India it had been provided with peacocks. On January 14th, the bishop entered the large station of Cawnpore, and rested in the chaplain’s house. He seemed himself to be no worse for the efforts he had made; but all his company suffered greatly, and the shadow of death for a time had passed over some of them. It requires a certain knowledge of India to understand the effect of these forced marches, hurried journeys, and constant exposure.

Cawnpore was an immense station even in 1837. It stretched out seven miles in length, contained three thousand Christian inhabitants, and presented, at first sight, almost an English aspect. To enter it was like entering the outskirts of London. “T. Harman, Tailor,” and “Thomas Brookes, General Dealer,” over the shop doors, were new sights, and strange to Indian eyes.

It was an anxious thought with the bishop how best he might move and benefit this station. For a long period much in it had been adverse to true religion and piety. An officer had been in

command, whose influence was very great and very injurious. A regiment of cavalry had been in cantonments, as conspicuous for its

500 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

bravery as for its immorality. These things had gone far to neutralize the labors of two most excellent chaplains, and had made their duty difficult. One of them, in fact, had been very recently removed, and in a manner which may serve to show the delicacy of a chaplain's position in India, and the constant prudence it requires. He had long been on bad terms with the commanding officer, but there had been no positive outbreak. One day, however, he received a letter from him, inquiring officially, on the supposition of a church being built in the station, how many persons it should be constructed to hold. The answer should have been official also. But the chaplain forgot himself. He wrote and said that the number of attendants in church would depend much on the character of those who held authority in the station. If they were God-fearing, and church-frequenting men, then the congregation would be large. But if they were profane and ungodly men, who despised religion, and neglected church, then the congregation would be small. This brought a second official letter from the commanding officer, requiring a more explicit statement, to which the reply was that the chaplain had no other statement to make.

This correspondence, before the ink was well dry, was sent up to be communicated privately to the bishop. The message returned on the instant was, "You are wrong. You have fatally committed yourself. If a complaint is made, you cannot be defended." The complaint was made. Sir Henry Fane, the commander-in-chief, communicated with the bishop on the subject; and the matter went through the regular routine. The bishop did what he could. But the result was the triumph of the officer, and the removal of the chaplain to another station. Great heart-burnings followed. The chaplain was deeply regretful and, by those who were unacquainted with the circumstances, the bishop was blamed. One consequence was that only a single chaplain now remained to perform the duties of the extensive station, and there was no church. Happily, however, some changes had taken place just before the bishop arrived. An admirable man, Colonel Oglender, was now commanding officer, and a new regiment had replaced the old. Still the visit was looked to with apprehension; for prejudices were strong, the society was scattered, the stream was adverse, the station seemed unmanageable; and to have been gentle and tender, as at Meerut, would have been out of place at Cawnpore. The bishop finally decided on a totally different course. He dropped, suddenly as it were, into the station on a Saturday night; and on Sunday morning he rose up in the pulpit and said all that was in his heart. First, he mourned over the "cruel" removal of one of their excellent chaplains. Secondly,

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 601

he openly denounced the irreligious conduct of those who had been recently removed from the station. Thirdly, he announced his purpose of laying the foundation-stones of two new churches before he left. And lastly, he intimated his resolution of discovering whether there was "any grace and good-feeling in Cawnpore or not." Nothing less than this, or something like this, could have produced the desired effect. As it was, the station was effectually aroused.

Having arranged all needed plans, found all required helpers, and issued all necessary circulars, the bishop left matters to work their way for a few days, and set off on a visit to Lucknow — over the route since trodden by Havelock and his gallant troops.

Having first stopped at one of the king's summer palaces called Dilkoosha, or "Heart's Delight," he was afterwards entertained by Colonel Lowe at the Residency. From there he visited the king in state; he was entertained at a sumptuous royal breakfast; mourned over the unblushing licentiousness which an examination of the palace unveiled; greatly admired the extraordinary beauty of the city; stood beside the tomb of General Martin of "La Martiniere;" performed divine

service both in the Residency and cantonments; arranged so effectually for the building, that Christ Church, Lucknow, at once arose; and then, after an absence of one week, returned to his great work at Cawnpore.

All his instrumentality had worked well, and his church-building plans were progressing satisfactorily. He turned at once, therefore, to the spiritual duties of the visitation. Two sermons were preached each Sunday. Two large temperance societies were addressed. Three regimental schools and hospitals were visited. Four hundred children of the free school were examined. The native orphan asylum was inspected. Two numerous confirmations were held after divine service on weekdays. The holy Sacrament was administered. Four burial-grounds were consecrated. Twice he addressed the native Christians in Hindustani, the sermons having cost him two hours a day for a whole week in preparation. An ordination was held, with the usual preliminaries. A translation society for Upper India was formed. Committees of all the leading religious societies were attended and strengthened. And all this while visitors were calling every morning, and large social parties filled up every evening. The bare enumeration will suffice to show how thoroughly he threw himself into his work. But it must be filled up with the earnestness, and power, and prayer so natural to him, and so necessary always in order to give an adequate idea of the effect produced.

Finally, he accomplished his great object; and before he left the

502 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

station, the foundation-stones of two churches were laid. The bishop himself gave two thousand rupees; the Christian Knowledge Society, five hundred; Sir Charles Metcalfe, five hundred; Sir Henry Fane, five hundred. The subscription paper showed seven thousand; the collections yielded two thousand; the proceeds of the old building were reckoned at two thousand five hundred; and the Church-building Fund was pledged for twelve thousand. Altogether, twenty-seven thousand rupees were available. This would very nearly suffice to build a single church at one extremity of the station; in which case government was pledged to build a second church at the other extremity. The design, therefore, was accomplished; and to the astonishment of all, Saturday, February 4th, was fixed for laying the foundation-stones. On that day, accordingly, the troops were paraded, large crowds assembled, the Freemasons assisted, military music gave life and animation to the scene; and with solemn prayers and the usual ceremonies, the foundation-stones of Christ Church and St. John's were laid by Mr. Wemyss, the senior civilian, and Colonel Oglander, the brigadier in command.

The visitation was now ended; and, after farewell services on Sunday, the bishop left with a heart relieved from care, and filled with gratitude to God.

“Never did I enter a station,” he says, “with such despondency, and never did we leave one with such joy. Three years of irritation between the clergy and the military authorities had led the senior chaplain, in an ill-omened hour, to write an offensive letter. The chaplain was removed, and all was in a flame. His large circle of friends was up in arms. The design for building churches (which had been taken up and laid down more than once or twice since 1827, when materials were collected) had almost been abandoned in despair. Well, in three short weeks God has cleared up the sky. The station is friendly; they submit to their loss; they have come forward nobly to subscribe; the engineer officer has worked cordially; two Gothic designs are determined on, and a capital committee is appointed with rules laid down for their guidance. You should have seen the ceremony yesterday of laying the first stones; — the immense throng of people, all the soldiers drawn out, all the officers, all the gentry, and thousands of natives. It would have done your heart good. A numerous masonic lodge assisted. The senior civilian laid the stone at the church, and the brigadier at the chapel. I was almost killed with the exertion of addressing, perhaps, three thousand people in the open air. I contrived, however, to make them hear. To God only be glory in Christ Jesus! Amen.”

The bishop's donation to the building of this church may have been noticed; but it cannot be known how constantly similar

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 503

donations were given. His charities at this time were broadcast over India. He rejoiced when the first heavy expenses attendant on his outfit and furniture were liquidated, because "it would enable him to give to India." He gave without stint at every station. It is not known whether he ever kept an account of his charities himself; but a few memoranda made by his chaplain show that, from the time he left Simlah — that is, in less than four months — he had given away eight thousand three hundred rupees; or for the time, half his income. These were merely occasional and passing charities, and apart from his regular subscriptions to every good work, and his large benefactions to public objects. He delighted in thus helping good designs, and furthering God's work.

On February 6th he left Cawnpore, and after spending Ash Wednesday with Mr. Rivaz and Dr. Madden at Futtehpore, and performing divine service there, he joined the camp. The roads were now magnificent — one hundred feet wide, raised, with handsome bridges, and comfortable bungalows for travellers. A thousand miles had been traversed since leaving Simlah, and the weather began to be very warm, so that the end of the land-route at Allahabad was looked to with some eagerness.

It was reached on February 11th, and the bishop was welcomed by the Rev. Henry Pratt, the chaplain, and hospitably entertained by Mr. and Mrs. Lowther. This was the scene of the pilgrim tax, and the grand annual fair, or Mela, was just concluding. Immense crowds of pilgrims still remained, from each of whom the tax of one rupee was to be collected. The bishop stood for a long time in the strongly barricaded office where, by a Christian hand, this tax was taken, and a corresponding ticket issued, admitting the bearer to the margin of the sacred stream. Upon the production of the ticket, another Christian hand-stamped a red signet on the devotee's right arm which authorized him to bathe, and realize its supposed beatitudes. The bishop looked upon the frenzied multitude, the hideous assemblage of idols, the town of straw huts raised on the river-banks, the countless flags indicating separate Brahminical establishments, and the pilgrim, now shaved, bathed, marked, and penniless, retiring from the scene with a little vessel of the sacred water to be carried home — if, indeed, he ever reached his home. In the contemplation of all this, he says that "he was never so affected since he had stood at Juggernaut, two years before."

He soon, however, roused himself to effort. He first sought out

504 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XY.

the dispatch of the Home Government in February 1833, absolutely prohibiting the collection of the tax. He then obtained one of the tickets which was really issued, and is still preserved, numbered 76,902, and bearing a stamp and an inscription in Sanscrit, Persian, and English, for the admission of one Jattree, or pilgrim, to the stream. He gathered up all the statistics also, casting the balance between profits and loss, and inquiring from the best authorities the probable expenditure of human life. And upon all this, as a foundation, he raised the superstructure of a strong personal appeal to the Governor-General. He wrote, moreover, to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge; and his strong statements obtained immediate publicity, and the widest circulation in England and India. Private letters were also written to Fowell Buxton, the Rev. F. Cunningham, and other influential and philanthropic friends; and thus he did his part to overthrow the evil which had been so long and so ably denounced by others. How far his representations may have been effectual in India, does not appear. But, before the year was ended, the tax was abolished.

The station at Allahabad was very handsome, the situation very agreeable, and the class of residents superior. A church was rising effectually, though amidst some strife and dissension. A

long stay was not required. The usual services were rendered on the one hand, and fully appreciated on the other; and then the bishop took his passage in the steamer and dropped down the river on his way to Calcutta. Two days afterwards he heard of the death of Bishop Corrie, of Madras.

“How can I describe my feelings?” he says. “I have this morning heard of the sickness and death of my honored and beloved brother, Bishop Corrie. Oh, what will become of India! Here I am again left alone, with three dioceses on my single hands. Dearest, dear Corrie! Only one year and a quarter in his diocese! It was on the 5th of February that the lamented event took place. Blessed man! He has entered into rest. Never was there a more exalted, meek, consistent Christian. No one — not even Bishop Heber — has filled a more important station in the general propagation of the gospel in India. All Hindustan loved him. He inspired universal confidence. There was a gentleness of character, a quietness of spirit, and a boldness in the profession of Christ, which are rarely combined. Well, it is the Lord. His ways are in the deep, and His judgments past finding out. He can raise up instruments at His pleasure. May He be graciously present with His widowed church.”

Mirzapoor, and Chunar, the scene of Bishop Corrie’s earlier labors, were next visited. Four days were given to the wonders of Benares, and the interesting labors of the church missionaries.

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 505

Ghazeepore, Buxar, Dinapore, Monghir, Bhaugulpore, and Rampore Beauleah, were successively touched at. “Of all these scenes,” the bishop says, “Heber’s description is perfect and most lively. He was then new to them. They met him early. We come to them with minds satiated with sights, and bodies exhausted with heat.”

On March 13th, the steamer worked round and anchored off Saugor, at the entrance of the Hooghly. On the following morning, Archdeacon Dealtry and Dr. Mill came on board. In the afternoon, the bishop landed, drove round to Government House to pay his respects to Lord Auckland, the new Governor-General, and the Misses Eden, and reached his own home at four o’clock, in health and safety.

And thus ended the longest visitation, perhaps, on record. The outlines of British India had been well-near traced. The confines of Burma, China, Thibet, Kabul, had been nearly touched. The Ganges, Sutlej, Brahmapootra, Cavery, and Nerbudda rivers had been crossed or navigated. Commenced on August 25th, 1834, it concluded (with two intervals rendered necessary by the climate) on March 14th, 1837. Two and a half years were thus occupied, and more than thirteen thousand miles traversed by sea and land.

“I cannot enter upon any one duty, this first morning after my arrival in Calcutta,” says the bishop, “without humbly offering my praises to the great Giver of all good, for the preservation granted to His unworthy servant. Thirteen thousand five hundred miles have been traversed, and the whole diocese of India visited, though not in all parts; and now I return in safety, and I can thankfully add, in perfect health. I feel, in truth, far better this morning than when last I left Calcutta. Oh for internal, spiritual, ecclesiastical, domestic, personal peace in Christ Jesus, amidst the changes and trials which I must, and do, and ought to expect.”

And now he entered once more upon the duties of Calcutta. Lent was far advanced; but he availed himself of the last Friday evening’s service to preach a most affecting funeral sermon for Bishop Corrie. “All India mourns” — thus it commenced. “We have lost one of the gentlest, meekest, most exalted Christians that our church has ever known. We have been deprived, for the fifth time, of a chief pastor of our flocks after a brief, though most honorable and useful episcopate. We have lost him at the very instant when his presence was required for the solemn office of consecrating a brother bishop, and thus settling for the first time, our Anglican Apostolic Church in India with her appointed pastors.” The largest congregation ever collected together in St. John’s Cathedral,

506 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

listened to these and many like words, with deep emotion and full assent; and the sermon was afterwards inserted in the printed volume, as already mentioned. It was followed by the usual services of Passion Week and Easter; by addresses delivered successively in all the Calcutta churches; by the resumption of the clerical conferences; by a confirmation of five hundred young persons; by a public and private ordination, and by committee meetings of the Church-building Fund, the infant schools, and all the other religious societies in Calcutta. Thus the reins were taken up once more, and a fresh impulse given to every good work.

From the new Governor-General and his sisters, the Misses Eden, the bishop received every courtesy; and his return was celebrated by a state dinner-party which included all the heads of departments in Calcutta. The bishop himself also resumed his communication with society, and small friendly parties were varied occasionally by large official ones. The season proved intensely hot. All Calcutta was one huge vapor-bath, and in vain the bishop sought refuge in a country house across the river, called Shalimar. In July, he projected a short missionary tour to fill up a few gaps left in the hasty conclusion of his visitation. Chinsurah, Bancoorah, Burdwan, and Krishnaghur (where no religious movement had yet taken place) were thus visited. Extracts from letters written by him at the two last-named stations may find a fitting place here.

“KRISHHAGHUR, 130 MILES FROM CALCUTTA, JULY 24, 1837.

“We arrived on Saturday at this bigoted centre of Hindu idolatry — the city of Krishna. Two pious missionaries of the Church Missionary Society have made a little beginning. I have visited their schools, and examined the children in the gospels, surrounded by hundreds of heathen spectators, full of curiosity. The children are not Christians; but they replied to my questions with a quickness and decision quite delightful, so that the whole crowd heard the word of the gospel. Besides the schools, the missionaries have small chapels, where they confer daily with the people, and preach. Sometimes two or three hundred are collected. The ‘lewd people of the baser sort’ at times disturb, but none dare injure them. They have no adult converts as yet. We are doing all we can to encourage Christianity, and help on this blessed cause.

“BURDWAN, AUGUST 6TH, 1837.

“There is a little church here, very neat and appropriate. Yesterday we spent four or five hours at the mission house, which is about a mile from the town. I have examined a hundred and fifty native scholars from the villages around. Nothing could be more delightful. Indeed, what I have seen of Mr. and Mrs. Weitbrecht, gives me the highest impression of their talents, character, exalted piety, excellent sense, and simplicity of heart. I am charmed and edified. There is a little Christian village attached to the mission premises, of

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 507

about eighty souls. I visited it. — A neat row of cottages, raised a little from the earth, gardens for each family in front (Mr. Weitbrecht is gardener, architect, and everything), a fine tank before the gardens, three rooms in each cottage, a little nice furniture, beds, tables, chairs, and writing-desk. A picture of Robert Hall adorned one of the walls. The men and women came out as we passed, and I asked. What is this child’s name? Theophilus. And this? Abraham. And this? Sarah. What are your several occupations? I am a carpenter. I am a tailor. I am a Hurkaru.

“Thus the cleanliness, comfort, purity, diligence, and honest employments of English villages begin to appear. I do not, of course, speak too confidently; but if life is spared, and, instead of six years, Mr. Weitbrecht continues forty, there is nothing I should not hope. I confirmed nine baptized adults yesterday — all hopeful, and most of them decided Christians.

“Tell my grandchildren that an elephant here had a disease in his eyes. For three days he had been completely blind. His owner, an engineering officer, asked my dear Dr. Webb if he could do anything to relieve the poor animal. The doctor said he would try nitrate of silver, which was a remedy commonly applied to similar diseases in the human eye. The huge animal was ordered to lie down; and at first, on the application of the remedy, raised a most extraordinary roar at the acute pain which it occasioned. The effect, however, was wonderful. The eye was, in a manner, restored, and the animal

could partially see. The next day, when he was brought, and heard the doctor's voice, he laid down of himself, placed his enormous head on one side, curled up his trunk, drew in his breath — just like a man about to endure an operation — gave a sigh of relief when it was over, and then, by trunk and gestures, evidently wished to express his gratitude. What sagacity! What a lesson to us of patience! “

This interesting missionary excursion terminated on August 18th, when the bishop returned to Calcutta for a season, intending to resume it in October.

During the interval, he was called to bid farewell to Dr. Mill, who, having completed his term of service, and suffered much in health, was about to retire from the Principalship of his college. The bishop had always admired his superior talents, his great learning, his prodigious memory, his simplicity of character, and consistency of conduct; and was glad to have an opportunity of publicly acknowledging the good service he had rendered to the church in India. “I have been giving,” he says, on September 3d, “a dinner of fifty persons to Dr. Mill, on his departure, and have delivered him an address from the clergy. This was on Friday last, and most affecting. His pupils present him with a silver inkstand. The Asiatic Society makes an address, and his friends found a fellowship at Bishop's College. He sails about the 1st of October.”

The bishop's first chaplain (also the writer of this work), was compelled to leave India about the same time, from repeated and serious

508 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

attacks of illness. The Medical Board forbade all further duty, and allowed no delay; and the bishop, on resuming his visitation, was compelled to go alone.

A far more serious and irreparable loss to the bishop occurred at the same time. Sir Benjamin Malkin, who had been promoted from the Recordship of the Straits to the Supreme Court at Calcutta, fell a sacrifice to his arduous duties and the treacherous climate, in the very prime of life and full career of usefulness. The bishop's original acquaintance with him and his excellent lady had ripened into the most sincere friendship; and during his late residence in Calcutta, one day in each week had been set apart for an interchange of social visits. He was just the character the bishop loved — learned, honorable, unassuming, attached to the church, regular in all religious duties, gentle in manner, with a touch of humor, a happy temper, and a handsome person.

“My heart is broken,” he says, on hearing of his death on October 21st. “The amiable, pious, learned, honored. Sir B. Malkin is no more. I have as yet received no particulars; but the fact is certain. I never had such a blow in the way of the loss of a friend. The very man to whose wise, firm, and friendly counsel, together with the sympathy of his most excellent lady, I looked forward, on my return to Calcutta, to supply the loss of my chaplain and Dr. Mill. And oh, the dear widow and fatherless children! Thank God for his religious character, his inward piety (which I do not doubt far exceeded what his modest and silent carriage allowed him to speak of); his constant attendance, twice on Sunday, at church; his delight in religious conversation and family prayer. Yes, I doubt not he is now in the presence of his Redeemer, a glorified and happy spirit. But we are indeed left desolate. Calcutta is desolate; his family and circle of friends are desolate; the many religious and benevolent institutions he nourished are bereaved of one of their purest, ablest, sweetest, and most valuable members. Oh that I may ‘hear the rod, and who has appointed it!’ My daughter gone — my son and chaplain gone — Dr. Mill gone — my most intimate friend now gone! Blessed Jesus! be all to me — daughter, son, chaplain, adviser, friend, You all-sufficient Saviour, whose self-existence and infiniteness for the supply of those that trust in You, is declared in your name — ‘I AM THAT I AM,’ — be my refuge.”

When the year 1838 opened, the bishop had returned from his short visitation (during which he had suffered a good deal from indisposition), and was residing in Calcutta. The rough work of the diocese was done. The characters of the clergy, and the wants of the stations, were generally

known. The caste question was at least quiescent, and seventeen missionaries were laboring in the field where the bishop had found but two. The church missionary

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 509

discussion caused no further anxiety. The senior Presidency chaplain had retired from the service. The Governor-General was in the Upper Provinces. Sir Charles Metcalfe had built up the government of Agra, and was returning home. No special matter caused uneasiness; no urgent duty pressed. Under such circumstances, quotations from the bishop's journal-letters may supersede, for the present, all other records, and give variety and interest to this period of his Indian life.

“CALCUTTA, *Sept.* 1837. I am endeavoring to enter more into the interior of religion, and treat everything in God and with God. The real spirituality and simplicity of Christ are soon lost, and with great difficulty regained; and yet upon them all depends. What is a minister of the gospel with doctrine only? — Salt that has lost its savor. What power to pray, to read, to instruct, to preach, has the secular, worldly-minded clergyman or bishop? All is dead, formal, repulsive. Christianity is a heavenly principle — a life — a communion of soul with God in Christ — the participation of a divine nature — an inhabitation of the Holy Spirit — a sacred sympathy.

“I am disgusted to indignation at the folly, the ‘noodleism,’ of some at home, in swallowing the gross popery of _____ and his coadjutors. Why, the foot of Satan is not even concealed. That ‘tradition sermon’ ought to be burnt. Such driveling, such magnifying of uncertain, petty matters; such evaporating of the authority of Scripture, such nibbling at all the baits of Popery! Mark my words, *if some of these men do not leave our church, and join the apostasy of Rome.*

“*December* 1837. I have been running through Newman and Griffith, and it delights me to see how common sense has carried the latter, though inferior in natural and acquired endowments, beyond, far beyond, the learned Oxford divine in real theology and ecclesiastical knowledge. I really am charmed with parts of Griffith's work; and here and there he has hit off the truth with marvellous discernment. And the man is right, on the whole. Whereas, Newman's *Prophetical Disquisitions* are, as a whole, wrong — grossly, glaringly, dangerously, inconsistently wrong. ‘An enemy has done this,’ may be written over the title of his volume. Was ever anything so impudent as the condemnation he passes on Hooker, Jewell, and all the leaders of the Reformation, till he comes down to Laud! ‘My soul, do not come into their secret; my honor, do not be united to their assembly.’¹ No; if we cannot stand against the reproduction of these school subtleties, we are unworthy of the name of Protestants. If no one brother will unite with me, I am ready to protest alone against this egregious, driveling FATUITY.

“SHALIMAR. *Epiphany, January 6th,* 1838. On Thursday evening I had the singular delight of hearing Krishna Mohun Banerjea, my Brahmin convert, preach for the second time in English, in the old church. It is an extraordinary thing, surely, that a Hindu college student, only five or six years ago rescued from the gulf of infidel metaphysical Pantheism, should not only have embraced, but be able to expound and teach, in a very competent manner, the Christian religion. His amazing extent of English knowledge, his good style,

510 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

and propriety of accent, augment the surprise. May God preserve him steady, humble, diligent. I tremble.

“CALCUTTA, *Jan. 24th.* You will be surprised to hear that I have been obliged to give up Shalimar. The owner was so loose and exorbitant, that I could make nothing of her. Everything is removed; all the servants discharged; the boat returned; and my beautiful retreat withered, like Jonah's gourd. But only conceive the kindness of Professor Withers of Bishop's College. I had ordered my furniture to be replaced in my ‘visitor's room,’ and the rest brought here. But no; he will insist on my occupying the principal's vacant lodge. Nothing that I could say would prevail. And lo! four charming rooms are

¹ Gen 49.6.

fitted up with my Shalimar goods, and ready for me as soon as the gout will allow me to move. Still I am determined not to remain there long, but to remove into my own 'prophet's chamber.' Indeed, nothing can exceed the promising state of the college. Everything is studiously done to please me. A spirit of missionary zeal and evangelical piety is increasing. The native students are going on admirably. Dr. Mill's visit to Bombay has won all hearts there, and restored the reputation of the college. Dr. Mill is delighted with the plan of sending out Mr. Malan; and the more I think of it, the more I think it is likely to be successful. It gives us a capital oriental scholar, full of youth and energy; and it leaves unimpaired Mr. Withers' influence for good over the whole society. If God is graciously pleased to bless, all will do. The church missionaries up the country are applying for admission for their converts. Two lads are coming from Bombay. At Madras, Archdeacon Harper has arranged that the Vepery Seminary shall work in with the college. And all this is owing, under God, to the uniform determination I have held of doing all I could to bring the college into a good state, and not to abandon it in despair.

"CALCUTTA, *Feb. 1st.* Among other books, I have been reading the 'Lost Church Found,' which proceeds on a very good idea, and has taught me something concerning the first British churches, the century of Saxon heathenism, and the re-conversion by Augustine, which is valuable. My 'Oxford Memorials' delight me. I can never satisfy myself with looking over the long-known scenes of my youth. I hope the 'London Churches,' and the 'Cambridge Memorials,' will be equally good. But, after all my new authors, I turn back to my old commentator, Scott, with a fresh zest. I am now in Ezekiel, in my annual course; and I sit with astonishment at many of his grave and deep remarks, and I hope to turn them into prayers. That book is not yet sufficiently valued. I have now been reading him for forty years, and my judgment is that he surpasses all other commentators by far, with the single exception of the incomparable John Calvin, who, considering the age when he wrote, stands a prodigy of sound interpretation of inspired Scripture, and of real learning. In speaking of comments, I may say that nothing has annoyed me more than the loss of my own comments in the shape of sermons. Perhaps five hundred manuscripts were purloined by Sir Henry Fane's servants during my absence on the hills in 1836. I left, of course, my books, furniture, maps, pictures — everything — under the care of Sir Henry when he took my furnished house in September 1835. My sermons were arranged in order on a separate shelf for the Duftry's easier access. On my return, my eye instantly caught the contracted row.

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 511

The loss is indescribable, because I do not have the time or health for the laborious preparation which I made in younger life; and the twenty-six just published have narrowed my stock of suitable discourses for India yet more. Positively, I have no course ready for the ensuing Lent, and do not know what I shall do. They were all in short-hand, so they must have been stolen merely for sale as waste paper.

"BISHOP'S COLLEGE, *Feb. 10th.* Sir Charles Metcalfe arrived on Feb. 1st, on his way home. He retires because of the displeasure expressed by the court at his liberation of the press. He is a truly great man, and much advancing in religion. I received him to dinner. We sat down sixty-two. The most perfect order prevailed, and all were delighted with Sir Charles' affability.

"BISHOP'S COLLEGE, *Feb. 15th.* Sir Charles embarked this morning, at seven o'clock, after thirty-eight years of uninterrupted residence in India, and after occupying during the whole of that period, a succession of the highest and most confidential situations — private secretary to Marquis Wellesley; Resident at Gwalior, at Delhi, at Allahabad; then in Council for seven years; for one year Governor-General, and for two years Governor of Agra. During this long period, three things have distinguished him. First, a calm, firm, silent, immovable, and yet tender and meek habit of mind, in which he resembled Mountstewart Elphinstone, the celebrated Governor of Bombay. Secondly, unbounded liberality in his hospitable entertainments, and acts of charity so large that he retires with scarcely any fortune. Thirdly, unimpeached integrity and public spirit. He had also shown an increased regard for religion in recent years, and has preferred the most faithful and energetic ministers.

"CALCUTTA, *Feb. 21st.* It appears that three things grievously offended the Court of Directors in Sir Charles. First, his press law. Secondly, his change of the Mint and equalization of the coinage, with the profile of George the Fourth substituted for the name of Shah Aulum. Thirdly, a hasty report home of

a fearful decline in the finances, which he had to retract a fortnight after, as a blunder of some hundred lacs in the accounts had been detected. The gentlemen, however, who told me this, seemed to doubt Sir Charles' prudence in taking offence, and writing home for an explanation. Had he just quietly waited for a year or two, the Court would have recovered their good humor. Nothing is more common, it appears, than the reproaches sent out by the Leadenhall sovereigns to governors-general, councillors, and commanders-in-chief on all sorts of topics, both grave and trifling. They are laughed at here, and the previous measures quietly pursued. And then, after three or four years, when the final plans are reported home, the new directors generally observe 'that, on the whole, they approve of such and such a regulation,' contradictory as it may be to their previous orders.

"But, if the Court concurs with the Governor-General, then the case is different — then the first hints are interpreted as commands, and the Governor-General tells the bishop (for instance) that such and such a thing is expressly and absolutely forbidden, and that the recall of the allowance made to missionaries is inevitable! India is advancing rapidly, however, under the British rule, complicated and ponderous as it is. Lord William Bentinck first put the lever under the mass, and fairly loosened the coherent parts. It was a rude

612 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

concussion, but it has done its work. Lord Auckland is reaping the fruit. We only lack a religious Churchman at the head to have all things go right.

"CALCUTTA, *March 17th*. Last evening I drove with the archdeacon to Mrs. Wilson's to lay the first stone of an additional building for the Female Orphan Refuge. She has obtained land for a mission church and house from a Brahmin, for a quarter of the sum anyone else could have done. There is a current impression on the people's minds that she is a 'holy woman.' 'We know,' said the Brahmin who owned the land, 'who you are: you are a holy woman; we holy persons always like to get on the borders of the Ganges if we can. You do the same. This is very good. You and I are growing old, and it is good to be near the sacred river. Yes; all right: you shall have it.' Nor could Mrs. Wilson make him distinguish between residing near the Ganges for air, exercise, boats, convenience of bathing, receiving provisions, etc., and residing for religious worship, and for the benefit of dying with its sacred mud in her nostrils. This confusion of ideas cannot be avoided.

"BISHOP'S COLLEGE, *March 29th*. A week of such incessant hurry I think I have scarcely passed since I came to India; partly owing to my Lent Lectures, with which, as the people so much attend, I take the utmost care. Three out of the four I have written out, and indeed composed anew. Last Friday's, on the doctrine of reconciliation, took me an hour and a quarter to preach; and I copied out into my notes seventeen or eighteen authors. If you had seen me in my back study, with the folios covering the large committee table — Augustine, Chrysostom, Poole, Owen, Calvin, Scott, Doddridge, Whitby, Hooker, Melancthon, Beza, Henry, Burkitt, Bloomfield, Quesnel, Beveridge, Simeon — you would have been reminded of old times. In fact, I never took more pains in all my life; and what is the consequence? What I have always found, that in proportion to the pains you take is the blessing which follows, because the sermons are better worth attending to. You must not wonder if I continue to send out for more books. You will find a formidable list coming. But I will tell you one thing: I have just bought volumes to the amount of a thousand rupees, at the sale of dear Sir B. Malkin's library, and I chose as many as I could to spare those left at home. I shall ever regret that I was so ill-advised as not to bring out my whole library. But, never mind; no one really values or uses a library, unless he collects it himself. So that, in truth, I am the only one who can really take advantage of my own stores. You never look at them, I know, compared with your own purchases.

"BISHOP'S COLLEGE, *April 5th*. Last evening I attended our Asiatic Society, where Lieut. Kittoe made a report of his antiquarian researches at Juggernaut and Cuttack. Vestiges of decayed temples, inscriptions, curious usages, illustrations of history (India cannot trace anything distinctly before B. C. 300), and beds of coal. This last point is astonishing everyone. Extensive beds of coal intersect the entire peninsula of Hindustan. Iron also is abundant. And these are two grand sources of commerce.

"Dr. Richardson of Moulmein dined with me on Saturday. All is going on well. The church is crowded in the morning; a Burmese war is inevitable; a third regiment is ordered from Madras; trade flourishing; American Missions active. I hear from Lord Auckland once a month or so. They were at

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 513

Mussooree Church on March 18th, which they term 'beautiful,' and say was well attended, considering the early season.

"CALCUTTA, EASTER EVE, *April 14th*. I have just had three officers of the fleet with me to beg me to patronize a play to be gotten together for the famine fund. 'No, gentlemen,' I said, 'that is impossible. You could not wish me to undo all I have been doing my whole life;' and I bowed them out. What a profound ignorance, even of decorum!

"EASTER DAY, *April 15th*. May we rise to greater newness of life with our triumphant Lord! This is my sixth Easter in India. Soon will it be said, 'Let another take his bishopric.' Oh, to end well! I am jealous over myself. (1) I would examine my heart. (2) I would search into my administration of this vast diocese. (3) I would suspect myself, especially on two points — where the natural selfishness of man blinds his judgment of his own actions — and as to spiritual affections, where decays of grace begin. Lord, raise me up with Christ.

"CALCUTTA, *April 18th*. After the hurries of Lent and Easter, I am turning my thoughts towards my second visitation, which ought to have begun in August 1837. I propose to deliver my charge on Friday, July 6th, and then embark for the Straits. Ten weeks spent there, and in going and returning, will bring me back to Calcutta the end of November. As I have no prospect of a chaplain at present, I take the archdeacon with Mrs. and Miss Dealtry. I suppose I shall, the following winter, push on for Simlah, so as to descend the Ganges again in the autumn of 1839, three years from my last visitation. Bombay will demand me in 1840 and 1841. But 'who shall live when God does this?' My hand trembles at writing even the words.

"CALCUTTA, *April 23d*. Captain Lewis is come down from Moorshedabad, after being engaged for two years in the suppression of the dreadful Thug system, especially on the river. This is the more fearful, because the more mysterious branch of it. He says it will occupy six or seven years more to extirpate the entire body. He has never discovered a trace of compunction in any of the murderers' minds. The horrid attempts sometimes fail from the unexpected approach of strangers. One terrific instance occurred of a man whom they strangled, as they supposed, and buried in the sand after having scooped out, in wanton barbarity, one of his eyes. The victim revived, however, laid his information, and the whole gang was discovered. The expense to government for the suppression of the system is 25,000 rupees a month. A party of Sepoys suffered for their own injustice. They seized a country boat, and insisted on being conveyed gratuitously to Patna. The boatmen (Thugs) pretended to remonstrate, pleaded their poverty and the loss they would sustain. The Sepoys, however, forced them to proceed, and all were murdered.

CALCUTTA, *July 1st*. I close today the sixtieth, and enter, please God, tomorrow the sixty-first year of my age. My sermon at the cathedral is from Gen. 35.1,3. I am, as it were, about to go up with Jacob, and build an altar to the God that appeared to me in the day of my distress, and kept me in the way which I went. How important are the denunciations of Scripture against the world, worldliness, secularity, the name to live when we are dead, leaving our first love, being neither cold nor hot, under the highest professions

514 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

of knowledge and faith! These are the dangers I feel, because they creep insensibly on the unconscious heart, and because public life now for forty years has been wearing away the gloss and bloom of internal piety, and rendering the revival of them more difficult. Simplicity once gone, how hard to restore! In this view I look upon the trials sent me, as memorials of mercy, warnings, voices, compensating dispensations, needed medicines for the soul, the chastisements of a heavenly Father."

A few extracts from the correspondence spreading over the two years embraced in this chapter, will now conclude it.

TO THE REV. FRANCIS CUNNINGHAM.

"JYEPURE, MARCH 19TH, 1836.

“Distance from England is the least of the sorrows of an Indian residence. It is separation from Christian brethren, the lack of advice in exigencies, the groundless suspicions raised about one’s motives, the rash judgments formed by those who know only half of a case, the impossibility of setting things straight once they have become involved.

“But from all these trials, I turn to the Supreme Master, who knows the hearts of His servants, and will at length make their righteousness as clear as the light, and their just dealing as the noon-day. To bear the cross for His sake is sweet. The world and the church are equally sources of difficulty when He is pleased to appoint. So Cecil found it — so Robinson — so Walker of Truro — so Claudius Buchanan — so the two Milners — and so Scott, father and son. All we can do is to watch and wait, to examine our hearts and motives with more jealousy, to lean on the safe side, and to suffer rather than sin.

“The future is entirely with God, and I shrink from sending you the sketch of my designs. India is the region of the shadow of death. Disappointed projects are strewn on all hands. Life slips away in a moment, like a stream gliding down an unseen fall; now it is flowing gently along, the next instant it dashes down — down — down the declivity, and is heard of no more. What a comfort it is that an omniscient, omnipotent hand is with us — a God of love — a Saviour full of grace — a Spirit of consolation and power! The sacrifice of the cross is the nucleus of all comfort and hope. My earnest desire is to so use the talent committed to me, that I may receive the plaudit, ‘Well done, good and faithful servant; enter into the joy of your Lord.’”

TO DR. PEARSON, DEAN OF SALISBURY.

“SIMLAH, JUNE 1836.

“You were always the faithful friend. How few of them I have. I especially thank you for hints for spiritual vigilance, and concerning the dangers to which I am most subject. The charge of assumption, which you tell me is commonly advanced, I am not surprised at. You know my faults on the side of

1836-38. PRIMARY VISITATION. 515

excessive energy and overstrong expressions. I suppose these have given occasion for the charge.

“Watch for me, and over me. Admonish, suggest, aid. It is impossible to be in the glare I am in, without peril to the soul. Plain truths, kindly put, by dear friends like you, are among the most valuable and consoling supports to a poor sinful creature. Oh for St. Paul’s spirit! or Quesnel’s, or Pascal’s, or Thomas á Kempis’! God help us by His grace, free favor, and undeserved communication of His Holy Spirit.”

TO LADY MALKIN.

“GHAZEEPORE, OCTOBER 1837.

“I commend you to Him who is the ALL-sufficient God, and who places His chief glory in sustaining and consoling the weak and destitute.

“His ways are indeed mysterious, afflictive, sudden, overwhelming, desolating at times. But He is, in Himself, and His dealings with us, the same. His name is ‘I AM THAT I AM.’ He knows His designs and His purposes of grace.

“There is no reasoning with an INFINITE BEING. It is utterly in vain for us feeble, ignorant mortals. But we may cling to the skirts of His raiment, as it were; we may hang upon His gracious promises; we may trust His power, wisdom, and love. Eternity annihilates the few years which may intervene between our own dismissal and that of those we most tenderly love. They are not lost, but only gone before in the procession of mortality.”

TO CAPTAIN WADE, THE RESIDENT AT LODIANAH.

“CALCUTTA, FEBRUARY 1838.

“I trust you are able to keep up the regular reading of prayers, and a sermon on Sundays, in your station, by the pious zeal of some lay officer or gentleman, when a chaplain is not with you. However admirable the piety and labors of ministers of other bodies of Christians (the excellent and devoted

American Presbyterian missionaries, to whom I beg to present my love), yet our own stable and fixed liturgy, our primitive order of church government, and our union as churchmen in our own sacramental offices, are adequate grounds for just and decisive preference, feeble as our churches in this country are at present. Nor will the manifestations of the divine grace be lacking for the devout performance of the services which the same grace has been pleased to ordain. We urge the claims of the Anglican Church, not to exclude, but to magnify the glory of the grace of God in Christ Jesus. We urge them, also, not to pass any judgment whatever on other churches, and other forms of discipline, but to express our attachment to our own.

“Never can we too frequently remember that no church can save a wicked or a worldly man, remaining such. Individual penitence; individual faith in the atonement of the Son of God; individual holiness, implanted and nourished by the life-giving Spirit of God; individual morality and righteousness in the conduct and behavior — are the ends in view in all church government and ecclesiastical offices. And unless these ends are sought by the individual’s

516 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XV.

prayers for grace which burst from the awakened heart, we call ourselves churchmen in vain. The internal work of personal piety once begun, the church continues to build up, to nourish, to admonish, to console, to strengthen into everlasting life.

“I do not apologize, dear sir, for these plain hints, because it is my office to exhort on all occasions, and because I know the simplicity of your faith and love in Christ Jesus.”

TO A CHAPLAIN.

“FEBRUARY 5TH, 1838.

“Some of your questions I can only answer as a private friend. “I should advise you to shun all conversation with any military officer which borders on infidelity. No clergyman should allow language hostile to Christianity to be uttered in his presence twice. A respectful remonstrance should follow the first invasion on the rules of decency in this way; and, if repeated, the minister of Christ must abstain from the society where he is thus insulted in the person of his divine Master.”

TO ANOTHER CHAPLAIN.

“CALCUTTA, FEBRUARY 1838,

“Let me suggest to you what I am sure I feel myself daily, that the growth of heart-felt religion is the spring of all ministerial peace and usefulness. We are what our hearts are. Let us feel an interest in our work, a care for souls, and a sense of the inestimable love of God ‘in the redemption of the world by our Lord Jesus Christ’ (as our liturgy expresses it), and our public duties will become more and more our joy.”

TO ANOTHER CHAPLAIN.

“CALCUTTA, JANUARY 17TH, 1838.

“The two dioceses of Madras and Bombay still pressing on my attention, and having no chaplain, I am much overwhelmed and harassed. But I cast myself on the affection of all the clergy in my earnest endeavor to do my best. God pardon my mistakes, and supply my large omissions. Christ is the Head of the church.

“My general rule in matters of church discipline is, to do enough to secure the interests of the church, and then to embrace as widely as possible the pious and devout of other communions. Thus I act, when I feel myself called upon to decide abstractedly upon different matters, on my own judgment. But when the opinions of my rev. presbyters, in their several churches and districts, take a somewhat different direction from my own, I leave them most fully, as a Protestant bishop should, to the unembarrassed decision of their own minds. A bishop is the centre of Christianity to his diocese, not by assuming to bring all subordinate questions to one uniform model of feeling and sentiment, but by conciliating all hearts, sustaining the main features and life of Christianity in the comprehensive articles and liturgy of our church, and upholding our broad defences of discipline according to the rubric and canons, so far as they are not necessarily modified by circumstances.”

CHAPTER 16. SECOND VISITATION. 1838-1842.

THE BISHOP'S SECOND VISITATION — IMPORTANT CHARGE — VOYAGE TO THE STRAITS — CHITTAGONG — SIR WILLIAM JONES' HOUSE — APPOINTMENT OF PROFESSOR STREET — LENT LECTURES IN CALCUTTA — FIRST IDEA OF THE NEW CATHEDRAL — AWAKENING AT KRISHNAGHUR — PROPAGATION SOCIETY MISSIONS — BAPTISM OF NATIVES — CONSECRATION OF CAWNPORE CHURCHES — LUCKNOW — DELHI — ALMORA — MUSSOOREE — SIMLAH — MOONLIGHT AT AGRA — ADDITIONAL CLERGY SOCIETY — GWALIOR — JHANSI — SAUGOR — JUBBULPORE — CALCUTTA — CONTROVERSY WITH PROPAGATION SOCIETY — MRS. WILSON AND FEMALE ORPHAN REFUGE — JOURNAL-LETTERS — SYLHET AND CHIRRAPOONGEE — TEN THOUSAND ORANGES — CAUBUL TRAGEDY — JOURNAL-LETTERS — CORRESPONDENCE.

On July 6th, 1838, a most important charge was delivered to the assembled clergy in Calcutta. It was dedicated to the bishops of Madras and Bombay who, before the publication of it, had arrived in their respective dioceses; and it branched out into four divisions. In the first, the bishop gave some account of the impression made upon his mind during the course of the primary visitation; in the second, he entered into the statistics of the diocese; in the third, he dwelt upon the state of the missions; and in the fourth, he pointed out the dangers which threatened the church, along with the corresponding duties.

It was the last part which made the charge so important. He conceived that the greatest dangers threatening the church arose from the publication of "The Tracts for the Times," and the movement consequent upon such publication. It will have been observed in the last chapter at how early a period he was aroused to this danger, and how he foretold results some years before they came to pass. "Mark my words," he said, "if some of these men do not leave our church and join the apostasy at Rome." And again: "If no one brother will unite with me, I am ready to protest alone against this egregious, driveling fatuity." These words were spoken in the year 1838.

This charge was his protest.

518 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

"It is to me," he said, "a matter of surprise and shame, that in the nineteenth century we should really have the fundamental position of the whole system of Popery virtually reasserted in the bosom of that very church which was reformed so determinately three centuries ago from this self-same evil, by the doctrine, labors, and martyrdom, of Cranmer and his noble fellow-sufferers.

"What! Are we to have all the fond tenets which formerly sprung from the traditions of men reintroduced, in however modified a form, among us? Are we to have a refined transubstantiation — the sacraments and not faith as the chief means of salvation — a confused and uncertain mixture of the merits of Christ and inherent grace in the matter of justification — remission of sins, and the new creation of Christ Jesus confined, or almost confined, to baptism — perpetual doubt of pardon to the penitent after that sacrament — the duty and advantage of self-imposed austerities, the innocence of prayers for the dead, and similar tenets and usages which generate 'a spirit of bondage,' again asserted among us? And is the paramount authority of the inspired Scriptures, and the doctrine of the grace of God in our justification by the sole merits of Jesus Christ (which reposes on that authority), to be again weakened and obscured by such human superadditions; and a new edifice of 'will-worship,' and 'voluntary humility,' and the 'rudiments of the world,' as the apostle speaks of them, to be erected once more in place of the simple gospel of a crucified Saviour?"

"My language is strong, my reverend brethren; but I think you will agree with me that it is not too strong for the occasion. You shall judge for yourselves. I select as a specimen of the whole system, and what forms its basis so far as I can understand it from the various publications which have reached me, the following passage from the able, learned, and accomplished author of the sermons on 'Tradition,' — for it is not necessary to disparage in the slightest degree the high endowments of the leaders in this new way."

He then quotes Professor Keble's sermon on Tradition, as follows:

"'With relation to the supreme authority of inspired Scripture,' says the Professor of Poetry, 'it stands thus: Catholic tradition teaches revealed truth, Scripture proves it; Scripture is the document of faith, Tradition the witness of it; the true creed is the Catholic interpretation of Scripture, or scripturally proved Tradition; Scripture by itself teaches mediately, and proves decisively; Scripture and Tradition, taken together, are the joint rule of faith.'

"So, then, Tradition is the primary, and holy Scriptures the secondary teacher of divine truth! So, then, we are to search the inspired word of God, not as the one authoritative, adequate rule of faith, but as the document of what this Tradition teaches. We are to study the Scriptures, not in order to ascertain simply God's revealed will, but to prove tradition by scriptural evidence. And the standard of revelation is no longer the Bible alone — that is, the inspired word of the eternal God in its plain and obvious meaning — but 'Scripture and Tradition, taken together, are the joint rule of faith!'

"All this is surely sufficiently alarming; but it becomes incomparably more so,

1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 519

when we learn with what latitude the word 'tradition' is understood. It includes, as we gather from the other repeated statements of the learned author, 'unwritten as well as written' traditions, 'certain remains or fragments of the treasure of apostolical doctrines and church rules;' in other words, an oral law, 'independent of, and distinct from, the truths which are directly scriptural;' which traditions are to be received 'apart from all Scripture evidence, as traditional or common laws ecclesiastical.' So that it appears that SCRIPTURE, AND UNWRITTEN AS WELL AS WRITTEN TRADITION, ARE, TAKEN TOGETHER, THE JOINT RULE OF FAITH."¹

"And why," the bishop asks, "this deviation from our old Protestant doctrine and language? Why this false principle? Why this new school, as it were, of divinity? Who had undervalued ancient testimony in its proper place? The dignity and grace of the Sacraments; who had denied it? The study of primitive antiquity, who had renounced it? The witness of the early Fathers, who had disparaged it? Why then weaken the argument, which all writers of credit in our church had delighted to acknowledge, by pushing it beyond its due bearing?"²

He goes on to assign its proper place, and give its due weight, to the testimony from tradition:

"Who had called in question the testimony of the apostolical and primitive ages to the genuineness, authenticity, and divine inspiration of the canonical books of the New Testament, as of the Jewish Church to those of the Old? Or who had doubted the incalculable importance of the witness of the universal ancient church at the Council of Nice to the broad fact of the faith of the whole Christian world, from the days of the apostles to that hour, in the mysteries of the adorable Trinity and of the Incarnation, as related and recognized there? Or who had called in question the other matters of fact which are strengthened by Christian antiquity? And we receive such tradition for this one reason: because it deserves the name of JUST AND PROPER EVIDENCE. It is authentic testimony. It is a part of the materials from which even the external evidences of Christianity itself are derived. It furnishes the most powerful historical arguments in support of our faith. It is among the proofs of our holy religion.

"But evidence is one thing; the rule of belief is another. Not for one moment do we, on any or all these grounds, confound the history and evidences of the divinely inspired rule of faith, with that rule itself. Not for one moment do we place Tradition on the same level with the all-perfect word of God. Not for one moment do we allow it any share in the standard of revealed truth. Scripture and Tradition, taken together, are not, we venture to assert, 'the joint rule of faith;' but 'holy Scripture contains all things necessary to salvation; so that whatever is not read in it, nor may be proved by it, is not to be required of any man, is that it will be believed as an article of faith.' And Tradition is so far from being of coordinate authority, that even the ecclesiastical writers who approach the nearest to them, and are read in our churches — which

¹ Charge, pp. 61, 62.

² Charge, p. 63.

520 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

not one of the Fathers is — ‘for example of life, and instruction of manners’ — are still, as being uninspired, not to be applied to establish any one doctrine of our religion.”¹

A caution and a protest follow:

“Against this whole system, as proceeding upon A MOST FALSE AND DANGEROUS PRINCIPLE, and differing from the generally received Protestant doctrine, I beg, reverend brethren, most respectfully to caution you. I enter my solemn protest against the testimony of the Fathers to any number of facts being constituted a ‘joint rule of faith.’ I protest against their witness to the meaning of certain capital series of texts on the fundamental truths of the gospel being entitled to the reverence only due to the authoritative revelation itself. I protest against the salutary use made of the testimony of primitive writers by our church, as a safeguard against heresy, and an expression of her view of the sense of the holy Scriptures, being placed on a level with the blessed Scriptures themselves; that is, I PROTEST AGAINST A MERE RULE OF COMMUNION BEING MADE A RULE OF FAITH.”²

The tendency of the system is next pointed out:

“You may rely upon it, reverend brethren, that this ‘joint rule of faith’ will never long consist with the simplicity of the gospel. I speak with fear and apprehension, lest I should in the least degree overstate the case. I suspect not — I repeat, I suspect not — the reverend and learned leaders of the least intention, or idea, of forwarding the process which I think is, in fact, going on. But the plague is begun. A FALSE PRINCIPLE IS ADMITTED IN THE RULE OF FAITH, AND IS ALREADY AT WORK.

“The whole system, indeed, goes to generate, as I cannot help but think, an inadequate and superstitious religion. The mere admission of the inspiration and paramount authority of holy Scripture will soon become a dead letter. Due humiliation before God, under a sense of the unutterable evil of sin, will be less and less understood; a conviction of the need of the meritorious righteousness of the incarnate Saviour, as the alone ground of justification, will be only faintly inculcated; the operations of the Holy Ghost in creating man anew will be more and more forgotten; the nature of those good works which are acceptable to God in Christ, will be lost sight of; and ‘another gospel,’ framed on the traditions of men, will make way for an apostasy in our own church, as in that of Rome — unless, indeed, the evangelical piety, the reverence for holy Scripture, the theological learning, and the forethought and fidelity of our divines of dignified station and established repute at home, INTERPOSE, BY DISTINCT CAUTIONS, TO PREVENT IT — as they are beginning to interpose, and, as I humbly trust, they will still more decisively do; and as their signal success in the instance of the Neological theories, a year or two since, may well encourage them to resolve on.”³

He then brings the matter home to his own diocese:

1838-42. SECOND VISITATION-. 521

“My duty has led me to submit these remarks to you, my rev. brethren, in this diocese. Over our Indian church I am ‘jealous with a godly jealousy.’ Our feeble native converts excite my special regard. I fear ‘lest as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtlety, so their minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ.’ Let the example of the Jesuits in China and Japan, my missionary brethren — let the immediate proof that lies before you in the degenerating tendency of a religion based on tradition, in the case of our Indo-Portuguese population — or let your own observations on the tenacity with which the traditions of caste, and washings, and petty superstitions, adhere to so many in our native flocks — warn you against entering upon the fatal labyrinth.”

He then concludes the subject as follows:

“A JOINT RULE OF FAITH IS NO RULE AT ALL. Give to the witnesses and writers of each age all reasonable weight and influence, but do not yield to them any part of that paramount authority which

¹ Charge, p. 68.

² Charge, p. 69.

³ Charge, p. 75.

pertains only to the revealed word of God. Use them as advisers, do not bow to them as sovereigns. Honor them as attendants around the footstool, but do not allow them to obscure the majesty or usurp the throne of inspired Scripture.”¹

Thus the warning voice was raised in the Indian church. It struck at the root of the evil. The tract on “Reserve in communicating Religious Knowledge,” and the still more notorious “No. 90,” which appeared in March 1841, were not needed. The danger was seen afar off, and met openly and determinately. There were many alarmists at the time, but the Bishop of Calcutta was among the first speakers. Surely he was sent to India “for such a time as this,” and spoke “a word in season.” It warned the clergy, fenced the missions, and preserved the unity of the church. Again and again the seeds of error wafted across the ocean; again and again they found a fitting soil; but the watchful husbandman was there, and they were never allowed to take root, spring up, and bring forth, as in England, the baneful fruit of family dissension and individual perversion. This biography does not profess to deal in controversy; but it states facts as they occurred, and unveils opinions without reserve; and whatever differences of opinion may exist as to the points at issue, all will honor one who, having deep convictions, fearlessly and opportunely uttered them. Had all our fathers in the church spoken as promptly and earnestly, many of the evils of the present day might have been averted.

The charge now under consideration was soon after published and widely circulated. “I am delighted,” said Dr. Spencer, the new Bishop of Madras, “that your lordship has grappled so manfully

522 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

with the incense-breathing theorists of Oxford. They are good men, and this makes them all the more dangerous. God grant that the malaria may not invade India.” “It is the most perfect thing that I have seen since I have been in India,” said Dr. Charles, the Presbyterian chaplain of Calcutta. “I read part of my charge to two of the chaplains on a visit here,” says the bishop himself, “who are avowed advocates of the new theology; and you should have seen their countenances!”

As soon as the charge was delivered, the bishop embarked in the pilot brig, the *Hattrass*, which was again assigned to him by government, and commanded by his good friend Captain Clark. The archdeacon and his family, and Dr. Webb, accompanied him. The companionship was pleasant, but the voyage tedious. Three extracts will convey an idea of its employments:

“‘HATTRASS,’ JULY 22D, 1838.

“You would be delighted to hear some of Archdeacon Dealtry’s sermons. We are both now endeavoring to ‘mend our nets,’ after the hurrying labor of fishing ‘for men,’ for so long a time. Our nets have got much out of order. Oh for restoring, repairing grace! For myself, I feel ashamed and confounded when I think of the disorder and decay of divine principles within me. The Lord keep me in His gracious hands, and bring me to His heavenly kingdom.

“AUGUST 8TH, 1838.

“I have been reading, with singular pleasure. Bishop Monk’s ‘Life of Dr. Bentley.’ I wonder how I passed it over when it was published in 1830. I suppose I was waiting for the 8vo. edition. It is really one of the most able, impartial, trustworthy pieces of literary biography which I have read. Bishop Monk must be a prodigy of learning. He writes beautifully, and his equanimity of judgment is admirable. And never had a scholar so fine a subject to treat. Bentley was a man indeed, with all his faults. What energy! What deep and accurate learning! What vivacity of wit! What courage! What sagacity! (Pray send me out my set of the Boyle and Bentley controversy about Phalaris, if it has not come out.) “What discoveries he made! His diagram was a wonderful hit. Then his Epistle to Mill; his Boyle’s Lectures; Phileleutherus; his Horace; his Terence; his collections for Homer — all first-rate. As

¹ Charge, p. 77.

the master of a college he was a sad tyrant, I admit; but what fortitude and resources he displayed! And he died, after all, in his nest, in spite of Boyle, Miller, Coldbatch, Bishop of Ely, House of Lords, Court of King's Bench. I laughed quite heartily, when sitting alone and reading the romantic story, at the old hero's tough and indomitable spirit. The worst part of his character is the lack of Christian piety and humility, which cannot help but lower a clergyman, and that clergyman a professor of divinity.

“HATTRASS,’ AUGUST 26TH, 1839.

“I have been returning grateful thanks to our Redeemer for his answer to our prayers on Friday last. On that morning I commended our ship to the

1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 523

divine mercy, entreating favorable winds, and begging that the judgment of the captain might be guided what to do; for our stores were falling short, and it seemed almost necessary to return upon our track, the wind was so directly and obstinately adverse. Not an hour had passed afterwards, when the wind changed, we ran by the island of Junk Ceylon, and, instead of putting back, we have been going on steadily for two days. Surely a more remarkable, and as it were tangible, answer to prayer has seldom occurred to me in the whole course of my life. Accordingly I have composed and delivered a sermon today on Ps. 116: 1, 2. Subject, ‘Affectionate gratitude to God, the duty of those who have been delivered in answer to prayer.’ The divisions were, First: A state of distress supposed. Secondly: Deliverance in answer to prayer commemorated. Thirdly: Resolutions of grateful love. Application: *The happiness of religion*, which works chiefly by gratitude to God, the fountain of good: *The misery of sin*, which consists of ingratitude and neglect of God, the only source of joy.”

Without dwelling at length upon the details of this second visitation, a short account of what occurred, as station after station was visited, will serve as an interesting supplement to the first.

At Penang, the bishop found in the new Recorder, Sir William Norris, an excellent friend; but the loss of Sir Benjamin Malkin weighed heavily upon his spirits. The *Hattrass* carried down to the island the first news of his death, and the grief was universal. In the charge recently delivered in Calcutta, the bishop had publicly borne testimony to his worth; and he attempted to read the extract when addressing the congregation on the first Sunday morning. But the whole audience was in tears, and his own feelings were so overpowered that he was obliged to call the archdeacon up into the pulpit to finish the quotation.

At Malacca he found the Dutch church, which had been resigned to him, fitted up with all suitable conveniences. A reading-desk was provided, the pulpit was removed, the Communion-table enclosed, a vestry built, and new pews erected so as to increase the accommodation. Porch and belfry were also added, and everything prepared for him. Moreover, another of the missionaries connected with the Chinese College and the London Missionary Society, a Mr. Evans, applied to him for admission into holy orders. The decision in his case was postponed, as it had been in the case of Mr. Hughes, till the society had been communicated with, and had bidden him “God-speed.” From that quarter there was no difficulty. But it is sad to record, that when all hindrances were removed, and the way made plain for the reception of these two excellent men, and the fulfillment of their conscientious desires, they both died of cholera within a very short period of each other. The bishop refers to this melancholy bereavement on January 9th, 1841:

524 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

“Conceive my distress at receiving a letter from the Governor of Singapore, dated December 7th, conveying the melancholy account of the death of both Mr. Hughes and Mr. Evans by cholera — the first on November 25th, the second, after interring his friend, on November 28th. No particulars. Each seems to have been seized unexpectedly, and to have died within four hours. O my Saviour! How unsearchable are your judgments. Two of the best men in India cut off in the prime of life and health, and just at the moment when plans of usefulness were opening before them. Never since I have been

in India has the church suffered a greater loss. For themselves the change was blessed, but for survivors, alas! the blow is most severe. Still, it is the Lord; let Him do what seems good to Him.”

At Singapore he found the church, which had cost him so much care and pains on his former visit, completed, and ready for consecration. But it was claimed by a portion of the subscribers, who were not members of the Church of England, as their own property; and a protest against its consecration obtained sixteen signatures, and was presented to him. He never had a harder task than to arrange this matter of common honesty. But he dealt very gently with it. The governor was firm, and the result good. A public meeting was held to consider the matter, at which the whole case was so clearly explained, that the protest was withdrawn, and the petition for consecration signed by fifty-one persons. All were conciliated. One opponent offered to collect money for an organ; a second undertook to raise a tower; the archdeacon gave a bell; the resident a clock. “I never saw a whole community come round so well,” says the bishop. “To God be the praise! “

Moulmein was found greatly increased in population, and improved in religious matters under the zealous chaplain. The bishop now saw Dr. Judson, the celebrated missionary to the Karens,¹ who explained his former backwardness on the plea of indisposition. He describes him as “a most lovely person: countenance mild, intelligent, penetrating — fine forehead — aquiline nose — gentlemanly address — dark complexion — manner of speaking, slow — voice musical.” They talked for an hour, and the bishop was much struck with his spirituality, humility, and “retiredness of mind;” and this impression was confirmed by a subsequent interview in Calcutta, where Dr. Judson went for his health’s sake some months after, and was most kindly welcomed.

“Never was I more cordially received than here,” the bishop says, when leaving; “and may the effect of what has been done be powerful, through the grace of the PRIMARY TEACHER, the Lord and Giver of Life.”

Chittagong was now visited. This was a new station to the
1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 525

bishop, and the fallow ground had to be broken up. Situated on the coast of Arracan, the novelty of everything, and the exquisite beauty of the scenery, charmed him. But there was no church, no divine service, no Sunday observance, no charitable institutions, no exhibition of Christianity. An occasional visit of the chaplain from Dacca, afforded the only means of grace. Plans were at once set afoot to remedy all this. A public meeting was called, and it was determined to erect a church. Sixteen hundred rupees were contributed on the spot. The bishop gave five hundred for himself, and five hundred from the Christian Knowledge Society. An application to government, and a grant from the Church-building Fund, completed the five thousand rupees required; and, as in so many other cases, a church was reared at Chittagong.

A house in the immediate neighborhood, frequented by the celebrated Sir William Jones,² was visited with much interest. It stood upon the summit of a hill commanding a magnificent view of the sea on one side, and the mountain range upon the other, and was called Jaffierbad. His study was pointed out; but all was falling into ruins.

The various religious services connected with the visitation were thoroughly appreciated. Not a soul was absent on any occasion. “Never was there a station,” says the bishop, “which needed a

¹ Adoniram Judson, Jr. (1788-1850) American Baptist missionary who served in Burma for almost forty years. At the age of 25, he became the first Protestant missionary sent from North America to preach in Burma. His mission and work led to the formation of the first Baptist association in America, inspired many Americans to become or support missionaries, translated the Bible into Burmese, and established a number of Baptist churches in Burma.

² Sir William Jones (1746-1794) was an Anglo-Welsh philologist and scholar of ancient India, particularly known for his proposition of the existence of a relationship among Indo-European languages.

visitation more; and never one where we succeeded more completely in the great ends in view. Our host was Mr. H. T. Raikes, son of the excellent Chancellor of Chester.”

On November 21st he left Chittagong, and on the 23d arrived safely in Calcutta. “I have hardly yet turned round,” he says, on entering the palace; “but gratitude for the divine mercy should swell in my heart, when I consider four months of absence without any one calamity.”

Thus closed the year 1838. The following reflections ushered in the year 1839:

“*Jan. 1st, 1839. New Year’s Day.* I have been delivering my Eben-Ezer sermon, first composed twenty-five years ago. May that God who has helped us up to now, help us also from now on, and even to the end! We enter a new year, ignorant of what a day may produce, but leaving everything in the hands of Infinite wisdom, love, and power. If we are but found growing in grace, and preparing more and more for heaven, nothing can come amiss to us. To live, will be Christ; to die, gain. Oh for a higher aim, for brighter faith, for more tender love to souls, for more dedication of heart to my divine and compassionate Redeemer! Christ is all. I would fain stand with my loins girded, and my lamp burning, waiting for my Lord, my Master, my Love.”

526 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

Wars and rumors of wars marked the commencement of the year 1839; but the attention of the reader must be limited to matters in which the bishop himself was concerned. On January 20th, he was cheered by the arrival of his new domestic chaplain, the Rev. John Henry Pratt, Fellow of Caius College, Cambridge, and son of his old tutor and dear friend, the Rev. Josiah Pratt. No vacancy in the list of Bengal chaplains had occurred, and hence his appointment had been so long delayed.

“It was September 4th, 1837,” writes the bishop, “when I took leave of my first chaplain; and it was January 20th, 1839, when I obtained a successor. Thank God for support during the long privation. The prospect of relief is most consoling; but I must name no earthly friend ‘Noah saying, this same shall comfort me.’”¹

Bishop’s College next engaged his attention, and claimed his aid. Dr. Withers, who presided over it, was seized with fever, and compelled instantly to go to sea; and after a short interval, Professor Malan’s eyesight entirely failed, so that he also left for England. In the emergency, the bishop stepped forward, and once more assumed the office of a college tutor and vice-principal. He gave three Divinity Lectures to the students, fifteen in number, every week, and Mr. Pratt took the remaining work. It was a great addition to his labor; but it seemed to recall pleasantly his earlier days, and to increase his interest in the college. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel was not ungrateful for the service rendered. “I cannot conclude,” says the secretary, the Rev. A. M. Campbell, writing in May 1839, “without once more expressing the universal feeling of gratitude for your lordship’s unprecedented kindness in taking charge of the college during the lamented absence of the professors. We earnestly pray that their health may be restored, and that you may not suffer from your exertions.” And again, in June, when announcing the appointment of the Rev. Mr. Street as the new professor, he says: “We devoutly pray that the speedy arrival of this promising young man may relieve your lordship from the heavy load of anxiety and labor which your have been kind enough to sustain on our account. It seems almost idle to talk of thanks in connection with such services; but I wish you had witnessed the feeling manifested at Oxford when I informed the public meeting that, during the interregnum occasioned by the sickness of Mr. Withers and Mr. Malan, the duties of principal and professor had been discharged by the Bishop of Calcutta.”

The Lent Lectures followed. The subject selected for this year

¹ And he called his name Noah, saying, “This *one* will comfort us concerning our work and the toil of our hands, because of the ground which the LORD has cursed.” (Gen 5:29 ^{NKJ}).

was “The Lord’s Prayer.” The lectures were entirely new — for the former series, as already mentioned, had been stolen — and the bishop said that he found his old pastoral feelings at St. John’s, Bedford Row, revive under their continuous composition and delivery. The attendance, in point of numbers, exceeded any former occasion. Every part of the church was crowded, and numbers of the first civilians and their ladies were seated in the aisles. “To God be all the glory,” says the bishop, “and may His grace penetrate many hearts.”

And now the great idea of building a cathedral in Calcutta entered his mind. The erection of two new churches had been for some time in contemplation — one, from the Evangelical Fund at the disposal of the clergy and managers of the “Old Church,” for the Missions; and one, on the proprietary plan, for the increasing population at Chowringhee. The first was in due time carried into effect; the other fell through, and in its stead it was proposed to enlarge and improve St. John’s Cathedral. This pleased the bishop, and he warmly encouraged the thought. A plan was selected, and the necessary funds were forthcoming, when objections suddenly arose, and new ideas were suggested, which may be best related in the bishop’s own words to his children at home.

“CALCUTTA, MARCH 18TH, 1839.

“What do you say, my four children, to your father’s attempting to build a cathedral to the name of the Lord his God in this heathen land? The fact is, everything is beginning to look that way. The new chancel which I proposed is pronounced impracticable. The Military Board has declared against it. The Council asked me for a better plan, and intimated their willingness to make a large grant. The idea of the Chowringhee church is given up. W. Wilberforce Bird has long wanted me to build a church on the Maidan or Esplanade. The increasing population demands increased accommodation. What do you say? What will government grant? How much the Church-building Fund? How much the Christian Knowledge Society? How much friends in India? How much shall I give myself? How much can I hope to raise? We shall see. The coincidences are curious, and encouraging, to say the least. It would be a noble design. What an honor to build a church for Christ our Lord in some measure corresponding with our secular palaces, and marking our estimate of Christianity! Bishop Middleton’s heart was set on this, twenty years since, under Lord Hastings’ government. The Lord alone can dispose the wills of men, and grant the blessed success. *Sursum corda!*”¹

The idea grew, and the plan seemed so promising, that he felt justified in making a public announcement of his intention at the last of his Lent Lectures, when nearly twelve hundred of the *élite* of Calcutta were present.

528 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

“I thought,” he said, “I should never have such a favorable opportunity again; and that to express a firm purpose on my part was one step towards success amidst the timid, vacillating, shifting population of India.”

The extracts from his journal-letters, while resident this year in Calcutta, will have an almost exclusive bearing upon this one topic, which naturally occupied his mind.

“*April 3d.* I have had a long interview with the Governor of Bengal, Colonel Morrison, about my new church; very kind and obliging. He was good enough to compliment me on my public letters, which he said he had had the curiosity to read from the day of my first arrival. He is warmly in favor of my church. I never did meet with a governor in a kinder and more obliging temper; nor can I be thankful enough to Almighty God for his goodness.

“*April 21st.* May the calm of the Sabbath pervade all our minds. I have been walking on the roof of my house for a few minutes, and contemplating the site of my intended cathedral, and the vast surrounding population. Oh! If that glorious building should ever rise to the honor of my God and

¹ [Lift up your hearts.](#)

Saviour! It will be the first Protestant cathedral ever erected in this land of idolatry and superstition. Of course I must expect great difficulties, oppositions, delays. But if God accepts the design, and is pleased to prosper it, all is well. God grant that many may be 'born there.' I intend it for natives as well as Europeans.

"Friday, May 3d. The grant for my site passed Council on Wednesday, and is going up for confirmation to Lord Auckland.

"Tuesday, June 4th. Last evening, at five o'clock, just before my forty-sixth clerical meeting, came Lord Auckland's answer to my application for a site. He GRANTS IT most handsomely. We returned solemn thanks, in our little synod, to Almighty God. On March 15th the suggestion was made; on June 3d the land is granted. *Gratias Deo in sempiternum!*¹

"Friday, June 14th. My proposals are printed, and in a few days five hundred copies will be diffused throughout the length and breadth of India. I wish you could have seen me on Wednesday evening, taking possession of the ground made over to me. It was June 12th — a day much to be remembered, as I trust, for India. I wrote in the morning to the Governor of Bengal, Colonel Morrison, and begged him not to resign me to the Military Board, but to put me at once in possession of my ground, and let me mark it out the same evening. He did so. He wrote a note from Council to Colonel Macleod. At six o'clock in the evening of that day, you would have seen me standing on the ground — about one thousand feet by six hundred — and have heard Colonel Macleod telling me, 'My lord, it is all yours. Choose whatever part you prefer for your cathedral.' I seemed to myself like Moses surveying from Mount Pisgah the promised land. I figured to myself my beautiful spire, rising up two hundred and twenty feet — the fine, deeply buttressed Gothic nave, chancel, and transepts, marking the massive grandeur of the Christian religion — the magnificent organ, sounding out, 'Thou are the King of glory, O Christ!' — my native presbyters, in their snow-white vestures, walking down

1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 529

the aisles — the Christian neophytes responding in the choir — and Jesus acknowledged as the Lord of all.

"But, hush, my foolish heart! All future things are with your God and Saviour, who often abashes human projects, and dashes them to pieces like a potter's vessel. God's will be done. I have called the cathedral St. Paul's, to denote the doctrine which I trust will ever be proclaimed by its ministers, and the example of tenderness and fidelity which they will ever exhibit. I have fixed June 18th for issuing my proposals, because it is the anniversary of my leaving England, and completes my seventh year; and because it is the anniversary of the victory of Waterloo, emblematical, I hope, of the spiritual victory of Christ in my cathedral. The next step is to see and get the plans drawn and arranged. I wish I was an architect. But I am not.

"July 5th. The meeting of my architects today was most important. The building cannot cost less than four lacs (£40,000), I fear; and then I shall want two more for endowment. I shall never live to see it complete; but my successor will bless the day when God put it into my heart. I stand overwhelmed at the divine goodness and condescension; and one thing I am perfectly persuaded of — that a greater blessing will repose on my children and their families, by my devoting the revenues of my see to Christ, than by any selfish greediness to advance them by robbing God, which the natural man would desire. Amen.,

"July 12th. I am beginning to save every rupee for my missionary cathedral and endowment fund — the most glorious design formed for India's civilization and Christianity since the erection of the bishoprics, if the Lord condescends to bless. My subscriptions are coming in beyond my expectation. "We have very nearly thirty thousand rupees already promised.

"August 24th. I am now busy preparing to resume my visitation. We wait for the cessation of the rains to open our ground for the foundations of the cathedral. The working drawings are nearly ready.

¹ Thank God for eternity.

“September 5th. It is astonishing how the cathedral project is favored. At our monthly committee on Tuesday, we found we had one hundred and fifty-three thousand rupees subscribed altogether for the four years from 1839 to 1843, and nearly sixty thousand of them actually paid into the bank. My building committee (Colonel Macleod, Major Forbes, and Captain Fitzgerald) have entered on their office. My finance committee (Archdeacon Dealtry, Mr. C. K. Robinson, Mr. Pratt, and Mr. Molloy) have done the same. Everything will go on, in case of my death, without interruption, please God; and if the grand design should be taken up liberally at home, with rapidity. But with God is favor, grace, success; everything is what He is pleased to make it.

“Wednesday, Oct. 9th. On Tuesday, at five p.m., our first stone of St. Paul’s Cathedral was laid. I will send you a copy of the prayers used, which I altered from the consecration service, and from those adopted by Bishop Middleton on laying the first stone of Bishop’s College, on December 15th, 1820. I will also send the address I delivered. I wish I could send you an impression of the scene — the crowd, the number of gentry, the clergy, the natives, the whole field covered with people and carriages. But I cannot.”

All these preliminary steps having been successfully taken, and

530 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

the necessary appeals sent home, the work progressed, and the reader’s attention may be drawn for a time to other matters; especially to one occurring at this time — the awakening at Krishnaghur.

One day, at the close of the year 1838, a native, of courteous address and fine bearing, stood at the gate of the Bishop’s Palace, the bearer of a message to him from the missionaries of Krishnaghur. The message was similar to the one spoken to St. Paul in vision, when the man of Macedonia stood by his bedside, saying: “Come over and help us.” It conveyed tidings of a great and general movement among the natives towards Christianity. Twelve hundred inquirers had already appeared, and among them were many anxious candidates for baptism. There were but two missionaries on the spot, and advice and help were urgently required. The relations of the bishop with the Church Missionary Committee at the time were still delicate; so that he hesitated to go down. But he received the messenger most gladly, presented a donation in money to meet the present necessity, and forwarded a paper of inquiries which, answered, would enable him to judge better the reality of the work.

After a little time. Archdeacon Dealtry and the Rev. K. M. Banerjee were sent down to Krishnaghur, and were met there by the Rev. Mr. Weitbrecht from Burdwan, and Rev. Mr. Sandys from Mirzapore. Their report was very striking. Fifty-two villages were in motion; and the inquirers (including their families) numbered three thousand. It has already been shown how idolatry, as a system, had been undermined by the missionaries; and now the inquirers after truth were earnest and sincere. The whole population of the district numbered about twelve thousand, and it seemed as if, means being promptly provided, they might all be won to Christ. Immediate steps, therefore, were taken, consequent on this report, to strengthen the brethren; and letters were written home which produced a great effect, and raised high the hopes of the friends of missions.

This was not the only cheering prospect at the time. The Rev. Mr. Sandys, Church missionary at Mirzapore, had received an invitation to come and open the “new doctrine” at a place called Tanga; and it was making rapid and unexpected progress at Balasette, a spot just occupied.

The Propagation Society’s missions also seemed inspired with new life. The bishop, in February, was called to the baptism of one hundred and thirty-five native converts at Barripore, and he confirmed sixty who had been previously baptized. And now the

1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 531

Rev. Mr. Driberg came to announce a message from a village of one hundred families, requesting to be taken under instruction.

“What is all this?” said the bishop. “What is God about to do for us in India? Thousands of souls seem to be making their way up from the shadow of death to the fair light of Christ; or rather, as we hope, are about to be translated from the kingdom of darkness into the kingdom of God’s dear Son.”

He hastened, therefore, to one of these scenes of labor; and as soon as the season allowed, left Calcutta in the river-steamer the Experiment, and made Krishnaghur the first halting-place in his visitation. “Into your hands,” he says, on the eve of his departure, “I commend my spirit, my body, my soul, my diocese, my flocks with their pastors, my all. O you blessed Jesus! Keep, I pray You, me and mine. Preserve, sanctify, and enlarge your Church. Prosper the present design of building a principal church to your name in this metropolis of Christian India. Make this visitation a source of spiritual blessings indeed! Guide the archdeacon in his duties during my absence. Bless all the reverend clergy, civil and military servants, East India community, merchants and others. Pardon also, O my God! the unnumbered sins and transgressions committed during the period of my superintending this portion of your Church. Pardon especially sins of omission.”

He was accompanied by the Rev. John H. Pratt and Doctor Webb; and he proposed, by the upward river route, to reach Mussooree and Siralah before the next hot season, returning to Calcutta about February 1841.

Now, however, he is in Krishnaghur. That mission had already assumed a distinct form. The machinery had been set up, and a winnowing had taken place. The circle comprised seventy-two villages, and in each of these there were a certain number of inquirers. Seven hundred had been baptized, and some thousands were receiving instruction. A mingling of motives was discernible. There had been a defective harvest, borrowing money to pay the rents, and looking to the missionaries for help; but still, the spirit of inquiry was genuine and sincere. The bishop went from station to station, examining, preaching, encouraging, confirming. He visited Krishnaghur, Solo, Ruttenpoor, Anunda Bass, and Ranobunda; and said he could hardly sleep from agitation, joy, and anxiety to direct everything aright. He describes the baptism of one hundred and fifty converts at Anunda Bass as follows:

532 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

“Never did I feel the beauty of our baptismal and confirmation services so much as this morning — the prayer of thanksgiving of the first, the laying on of hands and supplications of the second. It was the sign and seal and first day, in the eye of others, of the new birth by water and the Spirit. It was the descent of the sanctifying grace of the Holy Ghost.

“We began with examining the candidates for baptism. ‘Are you sinners?’ — ‘Yes, we are.’ — ‘How do you hope to obtain forgiveness?’ — ‘By the sacrifice of Christ.’ — ‘What was that sacrifice?’ — ‘We were sinners, and Christ died in our stead.’ — ‘How is your heart to be changed?’ — ‘By the Holy Ghost.’ — ‘Will you renounce all idolatry, feasts, poojahs, and caste?’ — ‘Yes, we renounce them all.’ — ‘Will you renounce the world, the flesh, and the devil?’ — ‘Yes.’ — ‘Will you suffer for Christ’s sake?’ — ‘Yes.’ — ‘Will you forgive injuries?’ — ‘Yes.’ In a word, I went over all the branches of Christianity with the candidates, and finding from Mr. Deerr that they had for a year or more been under instruction and walking consistently, I begged him to read the baptismal service. When we came to the questions, I paused to tell them of the seriousness of the engagement, and I asked the whole congregation of the baptized if they would be witnesses and godparents to these candidates. They shouted out that they would. The sight was most touching — one hundred and fifty souls about to enter the Christian Church, and the whole of the Christian village standing sponsors for them! Baptism was then administered; and I stood in the midst, and received them into the ark of Christ’s church. You cannot imagine the intelligent, anxious eyes of the assembly as this was going on.”

At Ranobunda, two hundred and fifty were baptized in the same manner; and these additions to the church raised the whole number to above one thousand.

The foundations of the requisite missionary buildings were next laid, a sub-committee was appointed, the four missionaries now on the field were counselled and encouraged; and then, on November 1st, the bishop went on his way rejoicing. "A good and great work is evidently going on," he says. "But to oppose this, there is cause to fear:-1. Temporal motives. 2. The effect of the relief granted at the time of the inundation. 3. The countenance and presence of so many Padres and Sahibs. 4. The influence of example and popular movement. 5. The instability of the human heart. 6. Satan's infinite craft. But... time will show WHO ARE TARES AND WHO WHEAT."

A certain measure of reaction followed, as it always does; for in the spiritual, as in the natural world, the blossom far exceeds the fruit. It proved so at Krishnaghur. The gathering did not equal the promise; yet a great work had been wrought. A true church was gathered out of the world of heathenism; and it still stands, like a city set upon a hill.

Pursuing his journey, the bishop passed through Berhampore,

1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 533

and stopped at Moorshedabad, where he was most agreeably entertained by Mr. Elliott, of the civil service, and breakfasted with the N'izam in great state. From there he visited Beaulah, Patna, Gyah, and Hazeerabagh. At the latter place, which was a new station, he spent his Advent Sunday. The church was little besides four walls. There was no roof, no floor, no windows, no doors, no communion-table. But he determined to perform divine service in it. A tarpaulin was stretched over the rafters of the roof; mats served for windows and doors; loose bricks formed a communion-table; the gentry brought their own chairs and carpets. Thus he rebuked, intentionally, the dilatoriness of the executive officers. They had been two years trifling with the building; he left them with a pledge that all should be finished in two months.

From There he passed on, preaching and performing all the usual services at Ghazeepore, Jaunpore, and Benares. From the latter place he sent down to Krishnaghur the sum of three thousand rupees, the result of collections made for the mission. "The languor," he says, "with which I revisit old places — and all are now old to me — is abundantly compensated for by the greater calmness and leisure for spiritual duties, and the better acquaintance with my diocese which I am acquiring; and my dear Mr. Pratt enjoys the novelty."

Christmas Day was spent at Allahabad; and then the river was left, and the land march began. His former plan was somewhat changed. He had now a strong little phaëton,¹ which he found "an amazing comfort;" and instead of starting at four o'clock in the morning, he started at seven. For horse exercise, he had his old white "ghoont," or hill-pony; but at first it was too cold for him to ride. Mr. Pratt was his companion. Dr. Webb, with his wife, child, and nurse, had their own palanquin carriage. Captain Hay, a most gentlemanly officer, commanded the camp which, with the escort, exceeded two hundred souls, and was accompanied by a flock of sheep and goats.

Thus journeying, he reached Cawnpore on Jan. 4th, 1840; and, thanks to the indefatigable, quiet, and able management of Colonel Oglender, who had superintended all the works, kept all the accounts, and transmitted every month all minutes of proceedings in committee, both churches were completed and ready for consecration. "Nothing can be more beautiful," he says, "than Christ Church. It is one hundred and thirty-four feet, by seventy-seven — tower one hundred feet — style Gothic — pinnacles and corner towers in admirable proportion; the pulpit, of fine mahogany, was made in Calcutta, and cost fifteen hundred rupees. The whole edifice is simple,

¹ Large open carriage seating four with folding top.

appropriate, ecclesiastical. The expense is thirty-two thousand four hundred rupees; and the balance, of two hundred and seventy rupees, due to the architect, will be easily made up.

“But this,” he adds, “is only one of God’s mercies which I have to record at the commencement of the new year. 2. The Governor-General is in excellent humor. 3. The majority of the Council favorable to religion. 4. The Church Missionary Committee tranquillized. 5. The Presidency chaplain gone home. 6. The cathedral begun. 7. The Krishnaghur awakenings. 8. Bishop’s College harmonious. 9. Mr. Pratt a first-rate helper. 10. Health continued, and strength to preach three or four times each week. 11. Children and grandchildren doing well. 12. Islington. 13. Marlborough. Oh for gratitude, watchfulness, humility!”

Having consecrated the churches of Christ Church and St. John’s at Cawnpore, he passed on to Lucknow, and from there to Bareilly. In both these places, the churches he had founded, being finished, were consecrated — the one on Jan. 17th, the other on Feb. 12th. “The Lucknow church,” he writes to his ex-chaplain, “is a complete success. It is quite a bijou; cost five thousand four hundred rupees, and holds one hundred people. How you would rejoice to see your plans carried out so capitally! This is beautiful.”

At Meerut, where he arrived on Feb. 22d, he met Lord Jocelyn and General Elphinstone — names of historical interest and sad reminiscence — “both fresh from England, and Lord Jocelyn burning to go to China.” The services in the church were extremely interesting; and the crowded congregations consisted mainly of soldiers returned from the first prosperous campaign in Afghanistan and Kabul.

All had previously been peace; but he was now mingled with the din and accompaniments of war. The appearance of the Afghan prisoners interested him much. They were supposed by many to be the remnants of the lost tribes of Israel.¹ They commonly bore the names of Jacob, Joseph, Abraham, and similar. And he recognized the Jewish physiognomy. “The state prisoner I visited at Meerut,” he says, “was a Jew, every inch of him: the prolonged nose, gracefully bent downwards; the eye, the look, the whole face, seemed to proclaim a descendant of Abraham. I have drawn up a prayer for a general thanksgiving.”

After a short visit to Delhi, the camp moved on to Almorah, on the mountains. He had not visited this place before. He describes it as less picturesque than Mussoore or Simlah, but rendered sublime

1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 535

by rugged rocks and the snowy range. After staying a week, and laying the foundation-stone of another hill church, he stretched across the mountains, accompanied by his kind friends, Mr. Lushington and Mr. Batten. The fatigue was “almost too much” for his strength; but he arrived in safety at Mussoore, on April 24th, and rested for three weeks.

Mussooree was vastly enlarged. One large hotel was built, and another was being built; the houses were multiplied, and the number of residents exceeded six hundred. The church was finished, and looked beautiful, and was in due course consecrated. Till May 11th, he was in constant communication with friends, well known, from all parts of India. Then he moved on by

¹ “In the ninth year of Hoshea, the king of Assyria captured Samaria and he carried them away to Assyria and placed them in Halah, and on the Habor, the river of Gozan, and in the cities of Medes” (2Kgs 17.6). In the years 722-721 BC, the Ten Tribes who comprised the northern Kingdom of Israel ‘disappeared.’ Conquered by the Assyrian King Shalmaneser V, they were exiled to upper Mesopotamia and Mede, modern Syria and Iraq. Intermarriage between the remnant Israelites and the Assyrians lost them their inheritance in the Promised Land, and led to Samaritans being treated as outcasts (Joh 4.9).

the lower route through Nahun to Simlah, having completed his journey of two thousand three hundred miles from Calcutta. The following were his reflections:

“SIMLAH, *May 21st*. We are now settled in our Simlah house. I inhabit Lord Auckland’s rooms; each door being provided, besides locks, with wooden fastenings at top and bottom, that no one might intrude into the council chamber. I rise at five, give two hours for riding, bathing, and devotion; breakfast and prayers at nine; work till two; repose till four; give an hour to my moonshee;¹ ride at six, and call upon the sick; dine at half-past seven; prayers at half-past eight; retirement from nine to half-past ten; bed seven hours. Thank God, I sleep well generally, and take food with appetite, and use regular exercise. But I feel a sensible decline of strength, as it is natural I should; and anxious cares weigh upon my spirits. I think I was never designed for a bishop. I want more prudence, firmness, management of mankind, discretion, calmness, and general knowledge. I am a poor creature, and my soul fades and withers under the secularity and publicity of my station. I feel it does. I want more to gather up my feet into my bed, like Jacob, and prepare for my being summoned into eternity, and give up the ghost. Before this reaches you, I shall have entered, if I live as long, my sixty-third year, when the constitution commonly breaks down in a moment, particularly in this country. If I reach heaven, it will be as the ‘least of all saints,’ — a monument of grace and undeserved mercy. God be merciful to me a sinner.”

The temporary depression manifest in this letter — doubtless the result of over-fatigue — soon passed away, and the sojourn at Simlah was characterized by incessant activity, and kindly hospitality. He composed twenty-five new sermons, and preached more than forty. He wrote five hundred and six letters on matters of all kinds, directed to all quarters. He collected thirteen hundred rupees for the repairs and enlargement of the church. He reestablished a native dispensary. He gave “dozens of little, quiet, cheer

536 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

fill dinner parties.” And thus the four months of retirement at Simlah passed away, and the time for resuming his visitation once more drew near. On Oct. 22d he says: “We had a charming congregation last night, at our concluding Wednesday evening lecture. I preached from Hebrews 13.20, 21, ‘The God of peace, etc.’ I made the sermon on the preceding evening, but I had composed one on the same text, forty years ago; and I remember that when I came down from the pulpit, Mr. Cecil said to me, ‘Well, brother, I see we are hooping the same barrel. It is sound, brother; it contains everything.’ He meant that the doctrine was exactly his own, and embraced every branch of truth. What a blessed thing to have been kept for forty years in the narrow path, and to be preaching now precisely the same truth, with the same amplitude as I was instructed to do when first setting out!”

“Simlah! To you I now bid adieu. It is Monday morning, Oct. 26th — dark, cold, piercing. To God Almighty, the Father, Son, and blessed Spirit, be the care of the souls of this station committed. And to the same divine Saviour be our bodies, souls, and journey committed also. Amen.”

With this devout aspiration, the bishop commenced his return to Calcutta. He passed through Sabbathoo, Lodianah, Kurnaul, Paniput, Delhi, and Allyghur, as before. At the last station, he consecrated what he calls “one of the prettiest little churches in India; Grecian, with tower and spire, built since 1836, chiefly by Mr. Thornton’s efforts.” — “I hope,” he adds, “that I shall not leave a single station without its church, when I arrive (if I ever arrive) at Calcutta.”

He stayed for ten days at Agra, and was received by the Hon. Mr. Robertson, the governor. The Orphan Schools at Secundra greatly interested him. Three hundred children, rescued from the famine of 1838, were sheltered there, and freed from the contamination of Hinduism. Baptized and instructed in childhood, they were to learn different trades, and be prepared for a useful life. The bishop preached to them in the long, arched crypt of an old Mohammedan tomb which

¹ Language teacher.

formed part of their premises, and then he left; the sermon to be printed as the first fruits of the Agra Orphan Press.

The missionary premises also were again occupied; and from a wide circle round, the children of the schools were called in to be examined. “As they all sat in little companies,” he said, “covering the compound, it was like the five thousand whom our Lord ordered to sit by fifties on the grass.”

One night, before the company retired, the conversation at Government House
1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 537

happened to turn on the spotless purity of the Taj Mahal when viewed by moonlight. The governor at once ordered his carriage, and drove the bishop and Mr. Thomason to see it. The moon shone brilliantly, and the effect was magical; but it could not long engross the bishop’s mind, nor drive out daily duties.

“As I was walking up and down the grounds, arm-in-arm with the governor and Mr. Thomason,” he says, “I turned the conversation to our destitution of chaplains, and inquired whether an additional Curates’ Society might not be found for all India, giving titles to youths educated at Bishop’s College, and ordained by the several bishops? This society would have the East Indian population particularly in view. We can never have chaplains enough for them, and they are increasing most rapidly. Of course, the plan must be well digested and wisely begun.”

This proved the germ of the “Calcutta additional Clergy Society.” Having performed more than the usual services, and laid the foundation-stones of two churches — one at Secundra, for the orphans, to be called St. John’s, and one at the Civil Station, to be called St. Paul’s — he left Agra on December 8th, and directed his course to Gwalior, Jhansi, Saugor, and Jubbulpoor. These were in the ancient territories of Scindiah, a name so well known in the earlier annals of India; and in all of them bodies of Europeans were located. The journey was quite out of the common track, and the country presented an entirely new character. It was rich in productions, studded with gardens, adorned with superb trees, and varied with hills and watercourses. The bishop was fêted¹ by all the native authorities as he passed through Dholpoor, Antree, and Dutteah. Now a nuzzur² of sweetmeats arrived, on which the whole camp regaled; now dinner was provided for him in a large tent, where the viands³ to be eaten were covered with gold and silver leaf; now a magnificent procession of elephants came forth to meet him; and now a native durbar (second only to the one at Jyepore) was held to do him honor. “Pomps and vanities surround us,” he says; “but all presents are declined.”

At Gwalior a little company of nineteen Christians was gathered together for divine service on Sunday, December 14th, and on Monday morning he writes:

“All my party have gone out, and I am seated alone in the balcony of the ancient Palace of Gwalior, which overlooks the town. Oh! when will Gwalior be the Lord’s? When will its fort be turned into a missionary college? When will the hum which now fills my ears from the crowded bazaars and streets of

538 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON CHAP. XVI.

this vast native town, be exchanged for hymns of praise to Christ? It SHALL BE DONE in God’s good time.”

On arriving at Jhansi, on December 20th, he says: “I have made a sermon for the twenty-eight Christians in this wilderness of a place. We made a collection for the Agra orphans. Seven were

¹ Celebrated – having honors or rewards bestowed on someone.

² An offering or gift.

³ A choice or delicious dish.

at the holy Sacrament. We often hear sad accounts, after leaving small stations, of the open vices in which some of the chief persons are living. And what can be expected, when there is no chaplain, no church, no Sabbath, no public worship? The state of India cuts me to the heart, and I can do so very little! God only can help. His Spirit can raise up instruments, and surely something is preparing.”

Sauger was a large and important station, and he stayed there for twelve days. Continuous strife had existed for a year, which all his letters and remonstrances had failed to allay. His very first act was to bring together the chaplain, and all parties concerned, and to propose immediate reconciliation, and a burying of all past discord. Having succeeded in this, every day was fully occupied. Twelve public services were performed in the twelve days — seven in church, and five elsewhere. Funds were also raised to improve the church, and an impulse given in the right direction to all religious and benevolent designs.

In Jubbulpoor much evil was at work. Minds were poisoned with skepticism, and characters debased by immorality. The bishop hastened there, and did what he could to stay the plague. “Hurry, hurry, hurry!” he says, “as usual. A church was founded this afternoon in presence of the whole station. Confirmation followed, and some baptisms. Alas! the people put on their best appearance when the bishop is with them, but relapse again afterwards. Oh! What a creature is man! What a place, India! What a condition are the scattered Christians in! O Lord Jesus! Look with pity upon us.”

The camp now turned back, and a journey of two hundred and forty miles, upon a magnificent road, brought them to Allahabad once more. Two thousand six hundred miles had been traversed since leaving Simlah; and though the bishop had suffered a good deal from fatigue and variety of temperature, yet his health still stood firm. Having ordained the Rev. Mr. Perkins, at Allahabad, diverged from the usual route to visit the Church Missionary Station at Gorruckpore, and called again at Krishnaghur, he arrived safely at Calcutta, on April 3d, 1841.

1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 539

“May God be forever praised and magnified,” he says, “for all His goodness and mercy during a year and a half. I have attended church once more, though I took no duty. It will require a few days for my mind to calm down to regular occupations. Oh for grace, wisdom, power, victory over self, real spirituality, meekness, preparation for suffering!”

He was soon caught in the current of Calcutta business; but two matters of anxiety from different quarters pressed most heavily upon him: one was connected with the new Professor of Bishop’s College; the other, with Mrs. Wilson, of the Orphan Refuge at Augurpara.

The notification of Professor Street’s appointment to Bishop’s College has been already mentioned. He reached India during the visitation, and at once entered upon his duties. In due time, the bishop made his acquaintance, and thus describes what appeared to be his mingled character: “Professor Street is about thirty years of age; ripe scholar, iron constitution, fine health; active, enterprising, zealous for missions, prodigal of his strength; rides twenty miles a morning in the sun; manners good; no great talker; in short, he would have been a capital professor, if he had not been imbued for seven years — steeped — in Tractarianism.”

It was not the intention of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel at that time to have sent out a man of extreme views. Indeed, a proposed successor to Dr. Mill (Mr. Manning, afterwards Archdeacon, so well known from his high talents and subsequent perversion) had been withdrawn, solely and entirely, because, as the secretary informed the bishop, “he was an avowed Oxford Tract man.” But in appointing Mr. Street, they overlooked or disregarded an ominous testimonial from Mr. Newman, of Oriel, in the following terms:

“He is a gentleman, and a man of serious mind, and sound doctrinal views. — J. H. NEWMAN.”

These “sound doctrinal views” were tenaciously held, openly avowed, and widely promulgated. They were diametrically opposed to all that the bishop, as visitor of the college, was teaching and preaching. Great embarrassment for many years was the necessary result. At first the bishop hoped against hope, and used every conciliatory means at his command, to preserve unity, and prevent mischief. When these failed, he spoke words of warning. On May 2d, he preached his own ordination sermon. The subject was “The sufficiency of holy Scripture as the Rule of Faith;” and it contained these words:

540 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

“I have already answered, in part, the appeals made to me from every part of the diocese, and I may say India, in various discourses delivered in the progress of my visitation. I seize the first opportunity, on my return to the metropolis, to lift up, as I am now doing, my warning voice on this occasion of a solemn ordination. Upon one point of detail I think I should be wrong in withholding from you now my intention. It is my design to institute, in my future examination for holy orders, a more minute inquiry than formerly, as to the sentiments of each candidate on the subject of the sufficiency and completeness of holy Scripture, as laid down in our sixth article, and on the great fundamental doctrines of our faith immediately connected with it. And I shall require, also, of those who are training for catechists, such previous assurances, at least six months before they offer themselves for the work, as may satisfy me on this vital point.”

Bishop’s College, and all India heard these, and many such-like words, for the sermon was printed and widely circulated.

This warning having failed to produce the desired effect in India, a strong remonstrance was written home; and it was recommended that the society, without casting any slur upon their professor, or in any way injuring his prospects, should withdraw him from the college. In earlier days this remonstrance would have produced the desired effect, and the recall of the professor (for which there was a precedent) would have restored harmony. But, instead of this, a measure of compromise was resolved on. The bishop was informed, in courteous terms, that the society was sensible of its obligations to him, and convinced of the impossibility of working the college effectively so long as there was a lack of confidence in the mind of the diocesan. When, therefore, he pronounced any decision condemnatory to the professor’s conduct or doctrine, they should be prepared to meet it by a corresponding resolution on their part. They hoped, however, that such an alteration would take place as would render any further steps unnecessary.

This was throwing upon the bishop a responsibility he did not choose to take. To recommend, as visitor of a college, the withdrawal of a professor, was a very different thing from condemning, as bishop of the diocese, the conduct and doctrine of a presbyter. In his official character, as visitor, he had remonstrated with the society, and recommended a certain course; but, since they did not think proper to adopt it, he felt freed from all responsibility. His conscience was relieved; and, though he grieved daily over what he saw, yet he took no further steps till called upon to confirm in person, some years after, what he had affirmed in his official letters at this time.

1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 541

The other anxious matter which met the bishop on his arrival at Calcutta, had reference to that excellent lady Mrs. Wilson, who had done so much for the promotion of female education in the East. Nothing could be more admirable than the course previously pursued. But she had left Calcutta to take charge of a large asylum for female orphans at Augurpara, about fourteen miles distant. This involved long and serious deprivation of the means of grace. She was comparatively isolated. She fell in with the Plymouth brethren. Their books were studied day and night to the exclusion of all others. No one knew what was working in her mind till the mischief was done. Then, with the promptitude and decision which was her characteristic, and which is so valuable

in a good cause, she determinately renounced her allegiance to the Church of England. The refusal of the Church Missionary Society to adopt her plans, and supply her with a missionary, was the spark which fired the train; and a letter to the archdeacon gave publicity, for the first time, to her purpose. The effect upon the bishop's mind is best given in his own words:

“Alas! Mrs. Wilson, of Augurpara, is determined to secede from the church, and join the Plymouth brethren. You start! But it is too true. I determined, instantly I heard it, to go down with the archdeacon and Mr. Pratt, and see what an interview would do, under God's blessing. We conversed with her for two or three hours, without the least effect. Yesterday I recapitulated the conversation in an affectionate letter; and offered to pay for the support of a missionary at her station, if the Church Missionary Society would not. All was in vain. We must now endeavor to save the Mission and orphans if we can; for this is only the beginning of the fall. My comfort is to cast myself on my Lord Christ, and submit to His righteous will in this sharp affliction. Her apostasy is like a standard-bearer fainting; and all aggravated by the opposite errors of the Tractarians. Never was I in such a plunge — never! But now faith must have her triumph — faith in the power and grace of Christ — faith in His love and wisdom.”

Leaving these anxious matters, we may learn what was passing in Calcutta at the time, by extracts, as usual, from his journal-letters.

“*April 6th.* I met Lord Auckland. He looked full three years and a half older than when I last saw him; as, unquestionably, his lordship must think I did. All at Government House were very courteous. I have mounted my ghoot again, and met a member of council this morning in my ride. He seemed to say that government was about to undertake some unfavorable measures. From nine o'clock till two my house was filled with visitors. Many of them were clergy, including Mr. Boswell and Mr. Street. I have fixed the Church Missionary Committee for Monday, the Cathedral Committee for Wednesday, the Ordination for May 2d. Engagements to dinner I decline.

“*April 8th.* Every moment is occupied. I have been five days in Calcutta,

542 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

and four times to my new cathedral. I ride round the scaffolding and framework of the building every morning on my ghoot (as Nehemiah, on his beast, around the desolations of Jerusalem), and watch the progress-making, and the different views the cathedral will present. The sun will not allow me to visit it while the men are at work.

“*Easter Monday, April 12th.* Yesterday we celebrated our Easter. The Governor-General and his family not present; neither were they last Sunday, nor Good Friday. The collection was only one thousand and fifty rupees, instead of five or six thousand, when Lord William and Sir Charles were present. The Governor-General's non-attendance encourages the judges, members of council, commander-in-chief, and higher civilians to absent themselves. We had only about five hundred in church. All Calcutta is mad after the world. French plays are acted at Government House, a new theatre is built, two Sunday papers desecrate the Lord's day; all is rushing backwards, as to morality and religion, with a refluent¹ tide. I must see what I can do. But the Lord Christ and his Spirit alone can awaken a torpid world like that of India. We must wait and pray.

“*May 25th.* Last night I attended, with the clergy, the entertainment given in Government House, on the Queen's birthday, and made the usual complimentary address. I begged the Governor-General to assure Her Majesty of the loyalty of the bishop and clergy, and of their continued prayers to Almighty God for every blessing on her person, family, and government. There was an immense crowd. Dost Mohammed sat on the same sofa with Miss Eden. He is a tall, stout-built, athletic person, of a certain age; not so very intelligent; way-worn; his dress simple — an immense turban, and flowing robe.

“July 2d. Blessed be your name, O God, for having preserved me through another year of my pilgrimage. May I enter upon a new course. May I treasure up the few remaining years of life upon earth as precious opportunities for your glory in heathen India. I think this must be my last birthday. I

¹ Flowing back; returning; ebbing.

enter on my sixty-fourth year. This is the tenth birthday I have spent while absent from my native country.

“August 21st. How could you omit mentioning in your letter the glorious charge of the Bishop of Chester (J. B. Sumner)? It is the ‘Record’ of June 7th that contains it. Oh, how the dear bishop grasps the traditionalist question, and crushes the serpent’s head! I am now quite ashamed of my poor ordination sermon. I could scarcely go on with reading the charge for joy and gratitude. It is a noble testimony.

“August 25th. This poor Mrs. Wilson! Though she has submitted to necessity, and the whole station of Augurpara is made over to the Church Missionary Society, yet she has written me a strange letter, full of accusations of my worldliness (so easy an accusation!), and wanting me to have tea-parties, instead of giving dinners. Conceive of the judges of Calcutta, and members of council being invited to a prayer-meeting and tea! O, my children! keep steady — keep steady, sound-minded, and humble; for all this is pride at the bottom: pride — self — mere wilfulness — and the world in another form.

“August 27th. I am very busy, first, with the old set of rules for the clergy, which Lord William Bentinck overset in 1834. I think now I shall bring them to bear. Secondly, with a prospectus for my Calcutta Diocesan Additional

1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 543

Clergy Society — a glorious project, now ripening, and vital. Thirdly, with rules for the missionaries, as to proselytism, or rather non-proselytism. Fourthly, a report of my new cathedral.

“September 1st. I wish you could see our happy manage just now. Mr. Leupolt and his wife are recovered, and appear in chapel, at the breakfast-table, and at dinner also. Their conversation is so simple and edifying, it does me good. It reminds me of Swartz. I feel as Obed-edom did when the ark was under his roof. We sit in the verandah for an hour between dinner and prayers, and talk of the kingdom of God. Make much of them in England. I can fancy them entering Barnsbury Park, or Huddersfield Vicarage, and telling you how old I look, how feeble I am, how gray; and yet how well for my years, and how cheerful, and able to get through a world of business.

“September 7th. We have formed our Additional Clergy Society, resembling your ‘Additional Curates’ and ‘Pastoral Aid’ Societies. I drew up a statement as to the wants of the diocese. We want ninety on our establishment; we have only forty-one. We want sixty in the fields of labor; we have only twenty-nine. We propose that half the stipend of a clergyman should be paid by local subscriptions. Stipend not less than three hundred rupees a month, or three hundred and sixty pounds a year. The committee is to consist of the bishop, archdeacon, Calcutta chaplains. Bishop’s College professors, and three Calcutta laymen. I can only think that, if God blesses, it will be a glorious thing for the diocese. It will, of course, be a long time getting into play, because we have to train and prepare the men. We showed the prospectus to the Governor-General this morning, for we shall want his concurrence in military stations.”

As the cold season approached, a short tour was projected to a few stations unvisited before; and the bishop, having published a report of his cathedral, in which he entered into details concerning the state of the works, the style of architecture, the estimates, the amount contributed, the sums required, the spiritual objects in view, and the probable course of things when the consecration should have taken place — left Calcutta on October 6th. Having spent a short time at Barrackpore, Burdwan, and Chinsurah, he embarked in the *Experiment* steamer, and went round to Dacca, proceeding from there to the previously unvisited stations of Sylhet and Chirra Poonjee. His own descriptions will give the best idea of these two places:

“SYLHET, Sunday Morning, November 7th. Here I am, blessed be God! with my sermons on my table, and two volumes of the Life of William Wilberforce taken down from the library, which I dipped into with delight last evening. It is three years since I read it last. What exquisite piety! What consistency! What walking with God! Oh, may his sons not dishonor such a father! I don’t like the archdeacon’s tone of divinity.

“I addressed pretty strongly a party of sixteen here, in family prayers last night, and am now thinking what sermon I can best select for a station where a

544 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

chaplain has not been for a single day for three years, and where I shall preach only once. I think St. John 5.24, will give me as much scope as any: ‘These things I say, that you might be saved.’ May the Lord help me!

“Mr. Sealey’s house, in which I am, is perched, like a bird’s nest, on the top of a little hill, perhaps one hundred and twenty feet high. But, as it is a cone, the whole circuit of the plains, covered with verdant and thick vegetation, stretches around to the horizon with its green mantle. The contrast with the heats and mosquitoes of the steamer is inexpressible.

“CHIRRA POONJEE. We are four thousand feet above the plains. The thermometer in the garden, at six o’clock in the morning, is 56°; at eight o’clock in the house, and with a fire, it is 67°. A wild kind of journey of fourteen hours brought us here. We went fifteen miles in a covered boat from Chuttack; then mounted elephants; then I got into a tonjon¹ with bearers; and Mr. Pratt rode on a pony. The place is very bleak; and though doubly and trebly clothed, and sitting by a fire, I am not warm. I have now visited all the hills but Darjeeling. Chirra Poongee is not much frequented; for the water is bad, and the climate a perpetual rain. The distance from Calcutta is only three hundred and sixty miles, but the access is difficult. Sometimes more good is done in these desolate places than in much larger ones. At Chuttack (Mr. Inglis’), we had a family of seven, and many were in tears during the service. Three were confirmed, and the whole seven partook of the holy Sacrament.

“We are on the south-eastern frontiers of our wonderful empire. The hill people are from Thibet and China. They raise rude altars on the tops of mountains, and offer goats in sacrifice. We had divine service on Friday; congregation only fifteen, but so attentive, it was delightful to observe them. On Sunday there were two services, and holy Communion.

“*Tuesday, November 16th.* We are now on our way to Calcutta, which I understand is getting worse and worse under present influences. The theatre is triumphing in some new London actresses. Boxes are advertised for the half year. The dissipation and vice in our comparatively petty population is incredible. I see a string of meetings for the races for two months, with all the consequent dining, betting, and ruin. We have two Sunday newspapers to help on Satan’s work. Jesus, Master, have mercy on us!

“*Thursday, November 18th.* I shall have preached fourteen times in five weeks. Oh that grace, as a heavenly dew, may descend! Our friends seemed to think they could not do enough for us. Sheep, poultry, potatoes, coals, servants — all were placed at our disposal; and this morning the captain of our steamer has shown me the following note:

“I have the pleasure to send you ten thousand oranges; one thousand of which, put up in baskets, please to present to the Lord Bishop with my respectful compliments. Of the remainder, pray keep as many as you like, and distribute the rest among the crew of the steamer. — GEO. INGLIS.’

“And here are the ten baskets, with one hundred sweet, luscious oranges in each. They are finer than the Portugal. They grow wild on the hills.

1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 545

“Having given my booksellers at Calcutta orders to send me the Tractarian controversy publications, I have now in my cabin rather more than I can manage — twenty-one new works, of which eight are very considerable volumes. It is impossible to digest so much theology.

“OFF BARRISAUL, *November 23d.* Our visit here has been most affecting and interesting, from the reception into the Protestant faith and church of four Roman Catholics, and their subsequent confirmation and communion. My second visitation, begun July 10th, 1838, is now November 23d 1841, closed through God’s mercy. The third is to commence next August, should life and health be

¹ A kind of sedan or open chair, swung on a pole, and carried by four bearers, in the manner of a palanquin.

continued. I am more and more convinced of the immense importance of this practice of our church. It is the awakening of the diocese, clergy, and flocks.”

Advent Sunday was spent in Calcutta, which was soon thoroughly and rudely awakened from its dream of dissipation. His own journals will convey the best idea of what passed in the interval between his arrival and the commencement of his third visitation.

“*Friday, December 10th, 1841.* Never was anything equal to the consternation throughout India at the tragedy in Kabul. The accounts of Monday were rather more cheering. But that a general insurrection has taken place, and is as yet unquelled, is certain. Lord Auckland and the Council were sitting till near midnight on Friday, and Lord Auckland and Miss Eden were walking by moonlight afterwards, on the roof of Government House, to calm their minds, till one in the morning. The Burmese war, or the Nepaulese, were nothing to this. May God, in the shaking of the nations, bring on the kingdom of Christ. And oh that governments would honor God, depend on Him, and not boast of self-power!

“*January 8th, 1842.* There is an overwhelming report that our army in Kabul has capitulated. Lord Auckland is thin, low, and dejected. He told me a fortnight back, that he thoroughly disliked my proposed new cathedral establishment. But these things are temporary. God’s will be done. The Lord Christ will settle his church in Hindustan, in spite of governors-general, members of council, playhouses, reunions, Sunday papers, and horse-races.

“*January 22d.* The appalling tidings of the murder of Sir W. H. Macnaghten has filled all Calcutta with fear and astonishment. I met and at the Asiatic Society in the evening. They were thunderstruck; never anything like it had occurred in India. Oh! May God give our country and our rulers hearts to feel, and eyes to see! I have known Sir William Macnaghten well for eight or ten years, and he has often and often heard me preach. I wrote to him three times lately — the last time to congratulate him on a promotion he will never, alas! now enter on — the governorship of Bombay. Sir A. Burnes I also knew in 1833. Such is worldly glory!

“*January 30th.* I have been delivering a thanksgiving sermon on the dear queen’s safety, and also to sustain the broken hearts of our friends under the appalling news from Kabul. The Governor-General was present, and the two ladies. The Governor-General has never heard above two or three sermons

546 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

from me; the last was July 9th, 1837. We are all disconsolate; for there is reason to believe that treachery may follow our brave fellows as they retire.

“*February 11th.* I saw the Governor-General and Miss Eden this morning. The convention had been signed and violated, and scarcely one out of the five thousand four hundred soldiers were expected to have escaped. The ladies and children were said to have returned to Kabul. Negotiation, instead of active measures, had ruined everything. When Burnes was murdered, there were not sixty rioters; now there are sixty thousand insurgents. Even a month after the first outburst, all might have been saved by a spirited and bold determination; but now all is lost. A proclamation was issued last night, ordering five new regiments to be raised.

“*March 3d.* On Tuesday the new Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, arrived, amidst the thundering of cannon. I was attending, at the time, a meeting to address Lord Auckland, which was most crowded, unanimous, and enthusiastic. I proposed the address, and said I should have abstained from attending a meeting of that nature as a minister of religion, but for the calamities of Afghanistan. These determined me to attend, even if I had stood alone. Our Governor-General was entitled not only to common obedience and loyalty, but to sympathy and love. I said that I differed from him on many points; but that was no reason why I should not testify my esteem for his suavity of character,¹ impartiality, love for the natives, and general philanthropy. I afterwards called at Government House, but did not see Lord Ellenborough. He is described as being just the opposite of Lord Auckland. We all tremble for the Ark of God.

¹ Being gracious and ingratiating.

“*Saturday, March 12th.* I have accompanied Lord Auckland to the ship. At half-past six in the morning, the gentry all assembled at Government House. The new Governor-General was there in full dress. The Misses Eden went off first, in carriages, with tolerable self-possession. In about half an hour Lord Auckland descended the splendid flight of steps, conducted by the Governor-General who, after reaching the lower step, took his leave. Lord Auckland, the members of council, judges, and myself, then walked leisurely through the superb files of troops, preceded by the four hundred splendid servants of the establishment in their scarlet attire, to the ghat at the riverside. Tears filled his eyes, when he finally shook hands with us. An immense crowd, including almost all the gentry of Calcutta, remained till the steamer got under way. It was on the grounds of his suavity, kindness, impartiality, modesty of carriage, punctuality, extraordinary diligence in business, and general talents for government — especially in things relating to finance, arts, and commerce — that I attended the meeting for erecting a statue to him; though as to religion, abstinence from injurious public amusements, indifference to the church, and piety, his administration was the reverse of good. God knows, however, whether we may not have a worse, even in these respects.

“*May 24th.* Lord Douro writes out that THE DUKE has been better in health lately than for fifteen years past, and has lost those attacks which used to return periodically for many years. When the Afghan business was discussed in council at home, he cried out, ‘Redeem the ladies, or your disgrace will resound from one end of Europe to the other.’ Lord Ellenborough is now at Allahabad. Mr. Pratt hears from his college that he must resign his fellowship, or return.

1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 547

He means to resign, this mail. It is a noble instance of disinterestedness, considering the uncertainty of my life, and the permanent provision which a Caius fellowship affords. He gives himself up to India — there to live, and there to die. I have long made the same resolve, *Deo favente*.¹

“*July 3d.* I struck off a new sermon again last evening, after tea — that is, after nine o’clock — as I have done three times. I find I can write a new sermon as quickly as I can make myself master of an old one. I am now turning earnestly to the preparation of my charge, which may God aid me in.

“*August 19th.* I have been working very hard at my poor charge, and have completed the fourth transcript. But, alas! I find, on reading it, that I must cut out thirty pages, to reduce it to an hour and three-quarters in delivery. August 24th is the appointed day.

“August 23d. I turn now to you, O my Saviour! before I close my eyes this eve. Grant me sleep to restore my body and mind; and grant me grace, wisdom, tenderness, and fidelity tomorrow. It is your work, O Lord.”

Some portion of the correspondence carried on during the four years included in this chapter, will follow these extracts.

TO THE REV. FRANCIS CUNNINGHAM.

“CALCUTTA, JANUARY 1838.

“I still crave more advice and admonition on the part of such old friends as yourself. It is very hard work to struggle up the hill of difficulty, even as respects one’s own salvation. But when we have to draw up with us clergy, societies, committees, flocks, the effort is increased. But God will help. There are few things I am more afraid of than being made a sort of stalking-horse for evangelical battles. The idea, that because I hold such and such doctrines, and entertain such and such sentiments, and was brought up in such a circle of interior and devoted friends, *all India is of course to be converted* — cannot be but hateful to the Lord, who loves only the contrite in heart, and ‘scatters the proud in the imagination of their hearts.’ But all is finding its level. The bloom of novelty is blown off. I am forced to stand the same steady, unbending Churchman now, that I had done for thirty-five years at home. I am forced to adopt the general principles of church order in my particular province, with fearless superiority to the momentary prejudices of friends or of opponents. Of course this is not popular, as it was never intended to be; for, ‘if I please men, I am not the servant of Christ.’ But it awaits the last great day.”

¹ With God’s help or favor.

TO THE SAME.

“SIMLAH, JULY 1840.

“I have a selection here from all the upper provinces of India to impregnate with the seed of grace, and send back to their respective posts to illuminate and save the Hindu world. We have about two hundred gentry, just as at your watering-places. But don’t be sanguine¹ about the good actually [being done]. It

548 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

is very feeble, inconsistent, mixed with nature’s corruptions and decays. Still something is moving through God’s grace; for nothing will do in India but grace. Semi-Popery won’t save; superstition won’t save; all the Fathers won’t save; Oxford tract-men won’t save; churches won’t save; cathedrals won’t save; Christ only, by His blood and atonement, and by the virtue of His Spirit, can save ruined man. And this power of grace is generally exerted most where the means are used with most humility, and man is trampled underfoot.”

TO THE REV. DR. PEARSON, DEAN OF SALISBURY.

“DELHI, NOVEMBER 1840.

“Every step I take becomes more and more important; and I must be so near my great account, that I am most anxious to end well. I find spiritual matters between God and my own heart often at a low ebb. And yet without humility, prayer, love, and simplicity of heart, what are we before God? Dead. Oh for daily visitations of grace! For a reviving again in our bondage! For the union of zeal and love to Christ, with discretion, wisdom, and real spiritual prudence! I have had a very encouraging letter from the Bishop of London (Blomfield). He says he quite agrees with me in my views of the Tractarians; though, as good is ever mingled with evil, he conceives that they may have brought some points into salutary notice which had been forgotten. He adds: ‘You hardly stand in need of counsel, for your proceedings in India appear to me to have been marked throughout with great practical wisdom and sound judgment, as well as by that ardent zeal for the glory of God and the cause of your Saviour, which has distinguished the whole of your ministerial career.’ May God have all the praise. Watch over me; spare me not; ‘if the righteous strikes me, it shall be a kindness; and if he reproves me, it shall be an excellent ointment which shall not break my head.’ This cathedral business is the most anxious, weighty, arduous enterprise I ever ventured on. I knew, if I had not seized the moment when a church of some kind was urgently wanted, and an opportunity for building it occurred, the thing would have been gone forever. I knew that if I did not lead the way, none would follow. I thought, also, the time might have come for a Protestant missionary body to be established, as the beginning of a native church. I had no time for much deliberation. If I had not plunged in, the cathedral would never have been built.

“I will not spoil it, except as the climate compels. The climate forbids the use of stone except as facings; or, rather, the enormous expense of procuring stone forbids. The climate forbids large clustered pillars and low side-aisles, and requires everything to be open, free, and lofty, for ventilation. The climate demands punkahs, and, perhaps, Venetian blinds. Having to build a parish church primarily, and make it a cathedral, I am compelled to make my choir long, and this curtails or rather abolishes my nave for a century. I leave to my successors to erect a nave of one hundred and fifty feet”

TO HIS ELDEST SISTER, MRS. BATEMAN.

“CALCUTTA, JANUARY 1838.

“You asked me to give a kind word of advice to my dear niece on her contemplated marriage. I have been accustomed to say at marriage festivals —

1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 549

¹ Confidently optimistic and cheerful.

“1. Let Christ be a guest spiritually, as he was at Cana; that is, believe in Him, love Him, pray to Him; aim at His glory in all things. If Christ is thus an invited guest, he will turn the water, as it were, into wine — common blessings into heavenly ones.

“2. Show the same attentions and delicacy of regard after marriage as before; the same anxiety to gratify, the same little marks of a desire to please.

“3. Do not both be out of humor together; but if one is disturbed, let the other be more than usually kind and placid.

“4. Let each observe God’s order as to the relations and duties of married persons — the husband to love, honor, cherish, protect the wife; the wife to yield, obey, honor, comfort the husband.

“5. If differences arise, let the wife, as in the inferior relation, yield.

“6. Let the wife consult the interests of her husband — his success in life, his necessary plans of domestic economy, his anxiety to provide things honest in the sight of all men. Married families are ruined by the freaks,¹ caprices,² foolish opposition to frugality, love of show by the wife, as often as by the speculations of the husband.

“7. Aim at making the house agreeable, attractive, and consolatory to your husband — the source of his most pleasing associations.

“8. Pray together daily in secret, as well as in the family worship.

“9. Do not be surprised at failings in either party. You are not angels; but feeble, corrupt, sinful human beings.”

TO THE SAME.

“CALCUTTA, OCTOBER 1839.

“More than forty-three years (March 1796) I have been professing to follow Christ; and more than forty (May 1798) I have been a student of Theology; and over thirty-eight years I have been a minister of God, and seven years a chief pastor of the church. Oh, what responsibility! What shame should cover me while looking back — (1) On decays of love. (2) Mixture of motives. (3) Internal disorders of the heart. (4) Corruption of the will, conscience, and affections. (5) Perverseness and rebellion of spirit. (6) Secularity. (7) Love of ease. (8) Indolence. (9) Errors of judgment. (10) Omissions. Ah! that last word; — what a key it is to the chambers of imagery within! The charge brought by Christ against the Church of Ephesus, which had so many excellent characteristics, was, ‘Nevertheless, I have something against you, because you have left your first love.’ Yes; I am conscious of inward decays in love. What a danger this is! And the more alarming as it is insidious and gradual, like the rot in the foundation of a building. I have been meditating a little on the symptoms of this loss of primary and original fervor of love to Christ. I make allowances for decay of warmth with declining years. I make allowances for the difference between active and passive habits. I make allowances for variety of temperament and disposition. But then I consider such things as the following to be symptoms of spiritual lethargy. (Tell me what you think of them, when you write on July 2d, 1840, if we both live so long.) 1. Lack of delight in religion for its own sake. 2. Abbreviating times for prayer and the private duties of religion. 3. Conformity

550 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

to the world in doubtful matters. 4. Shunning the society and being ashamed of the friendship of devout and spiritual Christians. 5. Unholy tempers, and anger at reproof. 6. Pride and conceit of our attainments or station, and a readiness to listen to flattery. 7. Lack of taste and delight in the simple Bible. 8. A desire to keep up appearances before men when we know Christ sees the decay of love in the heart. 9. Readiness to find fault on account of trifling defects of manner or judgment. 10. Falling

¹ Someone who is so ardently devoted to something that it resembles an addiction.

² A sudden desire.

into the religio-political parties of the secular disputants and candidates for human power and distinction. 11. A proneness to adopt nostrums,¹ quackery, and novelties in religion.

“But what, you ask, is the remedy? Christ is the only physician. Christ is the medicine of the soul. Christ is the restorer of the breach. Christ is the Lord that heals. Christ is the husband to whom we should seek, ‘for it was better then with us than it is now.’ Christ is the only one to bring back the backslider in heart. To Him I commend, my sweet sister, yourself and myself. May we be joined in Christ in life and death, and at the Day of Judgment. Salvation by grace is my theme. None other would meet my case, or encourage my hopes.”

TO HIS BROTHER, GEORGE WILSON.

“JHAKSI, DECEMBER 21ST, 1840.

“I must write you a line to assure you of my continued sympathy under your long, long illness. Among those who have been brought up, my dear brother, as you and I have, in the knowledge of the truth, and who have too long resisted the practical obedience to it, the *grand* point is the subjection of the proud, haughty will to the yoke of Christ — the humiliation of the entire soul under a perception of our lost estate — the silence of the heart under the condemning voice of the Law — the deep *conviction* of our sinfulness; When this is gained, all goes on rapidly. The knowledge of Christ, which before lay barren in the mind, begins to bear fruit. The soul casts itself on the bosom of Omnipotent mercy. The blood of atonement is sprinkled by faith on the conscience. Peace with God gradually ensues by the grace of the Holy Spirit. There is a danger, however, from a religious education not being improved, of getting our head full of vapid objections, idle tales, prejudices against religious persons, battles between different doctrines of the gospel, and blasphemous suppositions about the foreknowledge and purposes of God. *All these are bred in the quagmire of human pride and corruption.* One grain of humility outweighs them. A broken and contrite heart falls at the feet of Almighty God, and pleads for mercy, instead of daring to speculate on infinity.”

TO THE SAME.

“GHAZEEFORE, MARCH 9TH, 1841.

“The answer to all your fears and inquiries is perfectly easy. YOU CANNOT GO WRONG WHILE YOU HUMBLY PRAY AND USE THE MEANS OF GRACE AND INSTRUCTION AFFORDED YOU. Mind that, my beloved George. No soul ever perished at the footstool of Divine mercy. You will not fully understand, nor feel, nor do all you could wish at once. No; it will be the business of years and years. But the plain, primary lessons of repentance

1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 551

towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, are obvious and all-important. These are to be sought for in earnest, fervent, humble prayer. Then come in the other means of grace, such as reading holy Scripture, availing yourself of the blessed rest and worship of the Lord’s day, religious conference with more experienced Christians, and, lastly, the holy Sacrament. In this system of means, my beloved, God will be found. It is His appointed method. Two snares of the devil are especially to be guarded against by persons awakening to religion late in life, after an early, but abused and neglected Christian education. The one is dwelling upon abstract difficulties — difficulties which appear such to corrupted reason, but which are merely trials of our humility, and a part of our probation. The other is mistaking an intellectual acquaintance with the *theory* of the gospel, for the obedience of faith. Mere knowledge puffs up. Barren, moonlight knowledge is quite different from the warm, holy, daylight knowledge of the Holy Ghost. And consider what a wonder it will be if you are received by your heavenly Father, after years of *provocation, proud contempt, trifling with conscience.* Can you expect God to hear you all in a moment, when you have been refusing to hear Him for forty years? And yet do not be discouraged. He *will* hear, but in His own time and way. Remember the exquisite parable of the Prodigal Son. Think of the father’s pity, promptitude, mercy. As soon as he saw the youth, “*a great way off;*” he ran, and fell on his neck and kissed him. There, there is the turning-point, directly after the resolution was formed — ‘I will arise and go to my father.’”

¹ Hypothetical cures for all ills or diseases once sought by alchemists; a cure-all.

TO THE SAME.

“BISHOP’S PALACE, APRIL 21ST, 1841.

“The impression made upon my mind by your last letter is that you are in the right way; only struggle towards the *heavenly city*, and you will gradually make progress, and at length obtain peace of conscience. We have received answer enough to our preceding prayers, if we are enabled to pray again. It is the continuing in Christ’s word which constitutes a disciple indeed. The importunity of the widow with the unjust judge was at last successful in the case of the selfish wretch who feared not God, neither regarded man. And shall not importunity prevail with a Father of mercies who can never be wearied, who has no selfishness to contend with, but is infinitely more ready to hear than we can be to pray? Don’t be in a hurry with God. If God had been in a hurry with you, where would you have been? He waited for you with all long-suffering for these thirty or forty or more years. *Wait now for Him*. You don’t know your own heart yet; you must go deeper into its chambers of imagery. By-and-bye the Lord will shine upon you. To that Lord I commend you.”

TO THE SAME.

“BISHOP’S PALACE, JULY 2D, 1841.

“One grand consolation is, that Satan is a *conquered foe*. The Captain of our salvation has subdued him on the cross, ‘and made a show of him openly.’ Nor can he go beyond the permitted limits. There is a hedge about the servant

552 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

of God, as around Job, which Satan cannot break through. All this you will learn by degrees. God will shine upon your heart as you are able to bear it; for we cannot always bear success. There are three books for your constant study which will answer to each other and illustrate the truth of Christ. (1) The Bible. (2) Your own heart. (3) The state of the world.”

TO THE SAME.

“CALCUTTA, AUGUST 13TH, 1841.

“In spiritual things, the malady of sin sinks so deeply, and infects so thoroughly every power of the soul, that our recovery is never perfect in this world. We are at best like patients under a process of cure. And this is a vast mercy, compared with the desperate state in which the ungodly remain, growing worse and worse till death. But, then, one effect of the partial cure of spiritual disorder is, that we feel the poignancy of the remaining disease more bitterly. For instance, evil thoughts, hardness of heart, perverse reasonings, bad motives, a defiled fancy, worldliness, wanderings in prayer, unbelief, discontent, carking¹ cares. These and similar things are observed and felt in proportion to the *life* which is in the soul. Wherever they are not felt, there all is death and insensibility. Therefore be humbled, my dear George, at infirmities and corruptions, but do not sink into despair. Your spiritual state may, on the whole, be much improved, though your feelings are very gloomy and sorrowful.”

TO THE SAME.

“CALCUTTA, NOVEMBER 25TH, 1841.

“Never look *within*, without also looking *without*. Never pore upon your evil heart without lifting your eyes to Christ at the same time, as the full, perfect, and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. As to ‘the Spirit witnessing with your spirit,’ it does so already, though you may not yet be able to make it out. The sun must shine in order that the gnomon² may point out the hour. Christ must shine into the heart before the witness of the Spirit can be discovered. And you are not to look within for your salvation; you are not to be too much in search of comfort; you are not to look to self. *Christ is the grand object*, and faith in Him is the grand matter. Our subsequent obedience must be the fruit of faith, and not the tree itself. Besides, you have the

¹ Disturb in mind or make uneasy or cause to be worried or alarmed.

² Indicator provided by the stationary arm whose shadow indicates the time on the sundial.

witness of the Spirit thus: — The sacred Scriptures lay down such and such a way of salvation. I humbly acquiesce in that revealed method. I cast myself, as a vile and wretched sinner, on the sacrifice of Christ. I am conscious that I do this not hypocritically, but sincerely. I desire to seek, serve, and obey God, and to mortify my tempers. I take pleasure in the concerns of my soul. I am done with the world, and politics, and literature, and folly. I delight in prayer. I mourn that I cannot love Christ more. I am a most feeble creature, but ‘Christ is all in all.’ Well, here, my beloved George, is the witness of the Spirit testifying, together with the scriptural evidences to which your mind or spirit testifies, that you are a child of God. But it may take years to have this cleared up, and we must humbly wait; we must not dictate to God; we must only wonder if such sinners as we are,

1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 553

can get to heaven at all. The pride of our hearts must not put on a religious garb. Religious self-will is worse than any other. Farewell.”

TO THE ISLINGTON CLERICAL MEETING.

“CALCUTTA, JULY 19TH, 1839.

“You will probably be convening at my beloved son’s when these lines reach the shores of England. More than seven long and most important and swiftly gliding years have passed since I last met you in person, in January 1832, in the same study where you are now assembling. But little did I think that I should ever have the honor and happiness to lay before you so glorious a design for the spiritual good of India, as I now wish to propose.

“I had long been waiting for a favorable moment to give consistency and stability to our missionary efforts. The opportunity has arisen unexpectedly. I was called on urgently to erect a large church in the very heart of our Christian population.

“I immediately resolved to amplify the design, and build a Protestant cathedral church for the bishop, with endowments for five or six missionaries, so as to open a new focus of light and grace, and give permanence to the blessed cause in the sight of the idolatrous hosts of Hinduism at Calcutta.

“For twenty-five years this Protestant diocese has lacked a principal church. I calculate that six lacs, or £60,000, will suffice. Two lacs will provide endowments for five or six prebends¹ to preach the gospel, hold conferences with learned natives, deliver lectures on the evidences, visit the sick, read in bazaars, penetrate the surrounding villages, train up a school of the prophets, catechize catechumens, assist the chaplains in Sunday and daily duties, etc. I propose throwing open these prebends to learning, talents, deep evangelical piety, and adaptation for missionary work in European, Indo-Briton, and native youth. The four other lacs I destine for the buildings themselves, which, though small and modest, like Canterbury in the sixth century under Augustine and his followers, must yet be of some magnitude. Not a foot of room will be wasted, nor a single rupee. No foolish pretence of amplitude or ornament will be allowed. The building is for the Lord, and not for man. If David can only collect the money and prepare the materials, Solomon will be raised up hereafter, in my successor, to complete the sacred plan.

“My honored brethren will judge whether this plan commends itself to them, as it does to me; and if it does, they will aid me in their several circuits. A little from each of their wide parishes would soon fill my coffers.

“And now, brethren, I commend myself to your prayers, and love, and sympathy. God has made me a wonder to many and to myself, but in my sixty-second year I cannot look for prolonged capacity for public duty. May I be found with my lamp burning, and my loins girded, that when my Lord comes, I may open to Him immediately. There is nothing worth living for but Christ, and He is indeed worth living for, and worth dying for too. Nothing but the atonement of Christ for justification; nothing but the Spirit and sanctifying grace of Christ for obedience to the will of God; nothing but the power of Christ for victory over every enemy; nothing but the blessed example of

554 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

¹ The stipend assigned by a cathedral to a canon priest.

Christ for the pattern of lovely and meek holiness; nothing but the mercy of Christ for the hope of everlasting life at last.

“As I grow older, my religion is much more simple. None but Christ. None but Christ. I am weary of novelties in doctrine, morals, discipline, church order. I am of the old school of Romaine (whom I remember as a boy in 1792-5), Newton, Cecil, Foster, Robinson, Venn (the elder, whom I saw once, and once only), and above all, Thomas Scott and Joseph Milner.

“I pray my younger brethren to distrust all the plausible theories and overstatements and exaggerations of the day. I have seen such rise and expire like the ‘crackling of thorns under a pot’ twenty times. Neologism is infidelity under another name. Traditionism is semi-popery, with its usurpation of the place of Almighty God speaking in his inspired Scriptures to man. Claims of miracles, voices, prophecies, are mere ‘smoke in the nostrils, and burning all day.’ Excessive statements or dogmatical details on what is termed the personal reign (the personal advent, the whole church has ever believed in) of our Lord, is a delusion of the great and subtle enemy. However, some of these errors are less pernicious than the controversies, which I can remember, on super-Calvinism and Arminianism in the days of Wesley, Toplady, and Dr. Hawker. But my beloved brethren will forgive an old man who is, perhaps, too cautious sometimes, after all he has witnessed during a long life.”

TO THE REV. JOSIAH PRATT.

“FEBRUARY 1839.

“I do, indeed, receive the gift of a son from my old and honored friend and tutor as a pledge of confidence, and an offering at the altar of our God. The separation is frightful to nature, the prospect of reunion uncertain, the hazard of disease imminent, the distance of place enormous, the change in all respects indescribable. But the sacrifice is therefore all the more striking proof of love to Christ, love to missions, love to souls, love to India. And while all the first families in the three kingdoms are canvassing for appointments in the civil and military services, and despising the attendant dangers and sorrows, we may be sure we are right in doing that for Christ and His redemption which the world does for mammon and ambition.”

TO THE SAME.

“SIMLAH, JUNE 1840.

“My time must soon now come to deliver up the account of my stewardship, and I have scarcely yet begun to learn the real and weighty duties of my office. Indeed, indeed I feel my unworthiness before God and His church. Oh that I might end well! As our Father Scott used to say. I have taken good care to avoid another evil which the same holy man dreaded — that of leaving so much money behind him, that people might say, ‘I wonder where he got it from?’ Do not fail to write to me while you and I are in this tabernacle, knowing that we must soon put it off; and though posthumous fame is an empty name, yet POSTHUMOUS USEFULNESS is what Moses and St. Peter aimed at. Every one of your letters will advance this.”

1838-42. SECOND VISITATION. 555

TO BRIGADIER _____

“SIMLAH, AUGUST 1840.

“Your charitable and candid spirit engages my affectionate confidence. And while you read, as commandant and brigadier of the station, some of the prayers of our apostolic church, and sermons approved by myself during the vacancy of the chaplaincy, you have my best thanks. I shall lose no time in recommending a chaplain, the first moment it may be in my power. And it delights me to think that you will be aiding and assisting him, whenever he may arrive, in his labors and services as the appointed pastor of the flock.

“2. Will you allow me to say that still thinking yourself to be of ‘no church’ is not quite necessary. I hope to see you [become] a steady and consistent member of the Church of England in India. Its Liturgy I know you love; its Thirty-nine Articles I am sure you approve; its Homilies I am persuaded you admire, or would admire when you read them.

“3. Our church government approaches the nearest to the scriptural model. As Timothy and Titus superintended the pastors and the flocks in Ephesus and Crete, so do the chief pastors or bishops, as they are termed, now in their dioceses. A national establishment is in obedience to the divine examples in the case of the Jews, and in agreement with the evangelical duty of Christian governors to be ‘nursing fathers’ to their people.

“4. Nor can baptism stand in your way; if you have a family of dear little ones, you would bring them to the Lord to bless them, even as the pious Jew brought his infants to circumcision, would you not?

“5. We lack no second broad command for (1) one day out of every seven to be a Sabbath; for (2) a national establishment of religion; for (3) the privileges of the children of the faithful extending to the initiatory seal of the covenant; for (4) the inspiration of holy Scripture; for (5) a difference and disparity of names and rank in the ministers of religion; for (6) pious princes supporting and propagating religion in their states, etc.

“6. All these and many other like points, having been once decisively, and by the confession of all, directed by Almighty God, go on of course under the New Testament. Nothing changed under the gospel but ceremonial and judicial rites and usages, and not one of these is ceremonial.

“7. In all our missions, he that believes is baptized, with ‘his house,’ as the jailor and Lydia were. If the children of the faithful grow up in unbelief, they must repent or perish; but on their repentance, the seal of the covenant already received by them, assures them of acceptance and pardon in the blood of Christ.

“8. Nothing else can, I hope, stand in your way as an insurmountable difficulty. The piety of individual ministers must ever depend on the Holy Ghost; and if another form of church government were to be established tomorrow, it would only make matters, upon the whole and in the long run, worse; because the checks and aid of our sublime and scriptural liturgies and articles, and the superintendence of our bishops, would be lacking.

“9. He that expects to see a perfect church, a perfect liturgy, perfect articles, perfect ministers, will wait in vain. There is no church now existing upon

556 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVI.

earth more nearly approaching the apostolic model in all its principles, than our own. Nor is there any which has been so much the bulwark of Protestantism for three centuries in the western world.

“10. That our church is not perfect, I admit; that objections may be made to this or that single expression in her services, I allow; that her ministers vary in talent, piety, learning, and zeal in different ages, I do not dispute. But I would affectionately submit to you whether communion with our church, imperfect as it is, is not more for the glory of Christ and the furtherance of the gospel, than an undecided state of mind which, if universal, would throw everything into doubt, and confusion, and enthusiasm, and disorder.

“11. Therefore, my beloved friend, I shall throw my skirt around you,¹ and claim you as a fellow member of our church, till you can find a purer, a more scriptural, a more edifying liturgy, articles, and services, than our own.”

¹ Ruth 3.9.

CHAPTER 17. FIRST METROPOLITICAL VISITATION. 1842-1845.

BISHOP'S FIRST METROPOLITICAL CHARGE — PENSIONS FOR BISHOPS — MINUTES OF CONFERENCE WITH SUFFRAGAN BISHOPS — MADRAS — BISHOP SPENCER — TANJORE — SWARTZ — TINNEVELLY — PALAMCOTTA — SYRIAN CHURCHES — OPEN MISSION SET UP — BOMBAY — JOURNAL-LETTERS — PUTTEHPORE — NYNEE-THAL — SIMLAH — SERMONS ON EPISTLE TO THE COLOSSIANS — GIFT OF TEN THOUSAND RUPEES TO HIS CATHEDRAL — LODIANAH — UMBALLAH — SEIZED WITH JUNGLE FEVER — HIS DANGEROUS STATE — MR. PRATT'S NARRATIVE — BISHOP'S REFLECTIONS — ORDERED HOME — SAILS FOR ENGLAND — CORRESPONDENCE.

The Bishop's Charge was delivered to the assembled clergy, in the presence of a large congregation, on Wednesday, August 24th. It was of the same uncompromising character as the former, but took a wider range. The supremacy of the holy Scriptures as the sole rule of faith had been before asserted; the whole system of Tractarianism, as teaching "another gospel," was now condemned. After having laid open the statistics of the diocese, and exhorted the clergy to obtain a firm grasp of vital truth, to love and honor the church, to be diligent pastors and habitual students, he enters upon the controverted question, and discusses it at great length. A few extracts may serve to show the line of argument; but the charge itself must be read, if any true idea would be obtained of its clear reasoning and masculine vigor.

He is defending the supremacy of the holy Scriptures, and says:

"We are charged with throwing open the Scriptures to every wild exposition, and laying waste all church polity and order, by this assertion of the supremacy of the Bible. By no means. We protest, at all times, and on all occasions, against enthusiastic abuses of the Scriptures, and wild rejection of due ecclesiastical order.

"When we speak of the Bible, we understand the Bible as soundly interpreted; just as when we speak of any important human work, a Charter of Privileges, or an Act of Parliament, or the last will of a parent, we intend these documents soundly interpreted, and in their real meaning. When we refer to the holy Bible, we mean, of course, the Bible in its own genuine,

558 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVII.

unsophisticated, proper sense. And we assert that it has such a sense, and was not designed to mock by ambiguities, any humble and attentive student, using the due means for understanding it. We mean the Bible subjected — piously and cautiously subjected — to the laws of the languages in which it is written — the Bible studied, as in the case of other books, in its own matter, and according to its own principles gathered from its own statements — the Bible meditated upon, with fervent prayer to the Holy Spirit, on account of its divine mysteries, and our own natural blindness to spiritual things — the Bible illustrated and commented upon by the Fathers of the Primitive Church, and the learned and devout writers of every period, and opened and expounded in each passing age by the duly authorized ministers of Christ — the Bible, in a word, explained, in the present day, just as the works of the writers of any remote age are, by those who are competent to interpret them. And we assert that the Bible, thus used, may be understood, and is understood, in all main points, like other books, according to the talents, diligence, humility, and other advantages of each reader. Here is no pretence for enthusiasm, nor rejection of church order. But the question is, Which shall be uppermost, God or man? Shall all this framework of means be constantly subjected to the Scripture itself, or the Scripture be subjected to this framework of means? Shall we teach the gospel as it lies in the inspired word, and in the very language of the Holy Ghost, or the Bible as remodelled in the language of the Fathers of the first four centuries? Shall man impose a sense on Scripture with a controlling power, or receive a sense from Scripture with simple and childlike docility? Shall the church take the first place, the Scripture being thrust down to the second, as a confirmation of its teaching — or the Bible retain its sublime and proper supremacy as the infallible and inspired word of God, and sole rule of our faith?"

He is showing how Tractarianism assimilates with Romanism, and says:

“The two systems *proceed onwards by many of the same steps*. Beginning with tradition, they go on to justification by infused righteousness; the authority of the Fathers; the Catholic Church as the interpreter of Scripture; salvation by the sacraments, not by faith; the sacrifice of the eucharist; absolution; sin after baptism almost irremissible; apostolic succession, and episcopacy of the essence of the church; prayers for the dead, and invocation of saints; the use of the crucifix; extreme unction; celibacy of the clergy; the infallibility of general councils; the power of the keys; the independence of the church upon the state. Here the steps are traceable in each, though they are carried out in the Roman doctrine to the greater length; and one point our authors have not as yet conceded — the supremacy of the Pope; though his primacy, as a matter of positive and not divine institution, is rather favored.

“The assimilation is evident, also, *in the manner in which the two systems are defended*. Our tract-writers, like the Jesuits, possessed of fine talents, learned, masters of style, practised in debate, constantly resort to distinctions when in danger of being confuted; explain away every particular expression; appeal to the sound parts of their tenets; elude, omit, escape; multiply imperfect quotations;

1842-45. FIRST METROPOLITICAL VISITATION. 559

and at last complain, as the Jesuits have done for three centuries, that they are not understood by their opponents. Everybody understands them except themselves. Theologians of every church, every school of divinity, every country, every color of sentiment, every section, every party, have the same view of the matter of fact, that such and such are their tenets; yet still they themselves complain of misrepresentations, and appeal to certain sentences which may easily be found in their ambiguous writings, in support of their declaration.

“*The calmness of their manner, and the tone of piety which runs through their writings, form a further part of their system, as they did that of the Jesuits before them. But it is useless to speak of their manner of defending themselves, after the incredible attempt of the ninetieth tract, which brought down upon them the merited disapproval of their respected diocesan, the disavowal of the heads of the colleges at Oxford, and the contempt or pity of every Protestant divine. Nothing so dishonorable to a clergyman — the word is strong, but, in my judgment not too strong — has occurred in our church since the time when the blessed Reformation exempted us forever, as we hoped, from these Popish errors.*”

He is describing what may be called the fable of the fly and the spider, and says:

“In a word, the scope of these writers, for the last eight or nine years, has been to *write down* the Reformation and the Church of England, and to *write up* Popery and the Church of Rome. And what is the consequence? A falling away to Popery among our clergy and laity, which has begun, and which will and must go on, till the evil is efficiently checked.

“*And what is the attitude of that subtle Church of Rome herself at this moment towards these writers?* She understands them, if they do not understand themselves. There she sits, on her seven-hilled seat, watching her opportunities — herself unchanged and unchangeable, since Trent has matured and finished off, and consigned to indelible tablets all her corruptions — there she sits, smiling and rejoicing in the advances making towards her by her most formidable opponent, the Reformed Church of England — dissimulating, denying, explaining away, equivocating, concealing her most obnoxious tenets; retiring for a moment if an explosion threatens, then returning to the assault when a calm is restored.”

Words of warning follow:

“Some of you, in the retirement of your stations, have heard little beyond distant rumors of these controversies; and perhaps you have thought, as lovers of peace often do, that too much importance has been given to them. This is not the case. The danger has been, and is, imminent. And if the guardians of truth are silent at such a time, they betray their trust. Our Tractarians ask for nothing better than to be left undisturbed to carry on their designs.

560 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVII.

“If any of you, my reverend brethren, were at first induced, as you easily might be, to listen to the more moderate of these authors, and rather to favor some of their tenets, I entreat you, as a father — no, I enjoin you as a bishop and metropolitan — to be on your guard. Keep at the greatest distance, I pray you, in your several stations, and especially your missions, from the whole system as a system. It will draw you imperceptibly into the vortex. Remember the weakness of our converts’ judgments, and their strong tendency to superstition. You may not perceive all the mischiefs, but they are no less real. I forewarn you of them. With respect to the deacons, catechists, and students of divinity in the diocese of Calcutta, I have stated the course which I shall endeavor invariably to pursue. The reverend presbyters also, knowing their bishop’s mind, will, I am sure, weigh his counsel and act, as far as they conscientiously can, accordingly. In the other dioceses, my right reverend and honored brother bishops will issue their own directions. But, on the other hand, if there are some of my reverend brethren who have conceived a just alarm at these doctrines generally and from the beginning, they have, in my judgment, acted wisely. I partake of their feelings. I would only entreat them to be extremely cautious of erring on the opposite side. In India our church has yet to take root. Nothing is settled. Be consistent, therefore: let no man have any evil thing to say of you. Go straight forward, as sound and enlightened Churchmen.”

The whole is summed up as follows:

“The moment the spell is burst, men will stand amazed, that in a day like the present, and in the fairest of all the Protestant churches, a regular system — I had almost said CONSPIRACY — to bring back Popery should be tolerated for a moment. To have worked back from light into darkness will appear, what it really is, portentous. The deep movement which has been excited will take, as we trust, a higher course, and lead an awakened church to recognize and embrace the real substance of vital religion. The modern Babel will then rush to its fall; and with it the New Testament Babylon itself will sink, as we hope, to rise no more, and the glory of the latter day come in.”

This charge was much enlarged by additions made when it was delivered at Madras, Colombo, Palamcotta, and Bombay. Appendices were also added on various important points, both doctrinal and practical. So that, when finally published in 1843, both in India and England, it had swelled to a pamphlet of a hundred and fifty pages, and took a prominent place in the controversy then being carried on.

The visitation of which it was the precursor, was not a common one. The Act of Parliament constituting the new Indian Dioceses had contemplated a visit by the Metropolitan, as such, every five years; but it was doubtful, for a time, whether effect would be given to this intention. The Indian Government absolutely refused to provide the necessary means; and the Home Government hinted at

1842-45. FIRST METROPOLITICAL VISITATION. 561

withholding the allowance usual on such occasions, “unless strong grounds could be shown for the necessity of it.” The objections urged were twofold: first, that the visit of the Metropolitan was unreasonable, “except on particular emergencies;” and, secondly, that though “authorized by the letters-patent, he was not compelled to make it.” The answer to which, on the part of the bishop, was: first, that he felt bound in conscience to perform the duty assigned to him by law; secondly, that if the provision fell into disuse, it could not without great difficulty be restored; thirdly, that the novelty of the whole episcopate in India required supervision and union; fourthly, that personal reasons made it desirable; and fifthly, that it would involve but little expense, and require but little time — one month at each Presidency being deemed sufficient.

The bishop, knowing the importance of precedents in India, pressed these reasons; and, supported strongly by the Archbishop of Canterbury, he prevailed. In October 1841, he had what he calls “excellent tidings” from Leadenhall Street. They were thus expressed:

“It will be satisfactory to your lordship to know that your repeated and forcible representations of the paucity of chaplains have attracted the attention due to them, and that the court has resolved to complete the establishment to the full number which was prospectively fixed, viz., fifty one; and to

make due provision for the length of time which usually elapses before vacancies are supplied, by allotting twelve assistant chaplains for appointment, in anticipation of vacancies, which it may be hoped will thus be supplied at the moment of the occurrence. This arrangement is officially announced to the Government of India by the present mail; which also conveys our answer to the question regarding your lordship's quinquennial¹ visitations to Madras and Bombay, and which answer your lordship will find to be generally in accordance with the view you have taken of the subject.'

"How can I be thankful enough to Almighty God," the bishop remarks upon this, "for His repeated goodness! What blessings He condescends to give! Everything is granted me one after another. The Court's acknowledgment of my metropolitical duties is very important. If the act is obtained for my visit home, and the due payment of the income assigned me in the letters-patent, another step will be gained."

Here, also, he was partially successful. An Act of Parliament was passed, at his instance, not only enabling him, but the bishops of Madras and Bombay also, to go home on certain conditions and certain allowances, for a period of eighteen months. Provision was also made for the removal of the Bishop of Madras to Calcutta, with adequate remuneration, during the absence of the Metropolitan. This was a great boon to the Indian Episcopate.

562 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVII.

The other application, however, failed; and seven hundred pounds per annum was still deducted from the salary legally allotted to him, by some inexplicable quibble in the manner of exchange, and the meaning of the word "current rupee."

The visitation therefore now commenced, though the third ordinary² was the first metropolitical one; and no pains were spared to render it useful. Unity of action in all the dioceses was manifestly a point of great importance, and to promote it, a long minute was prepared, with forty-two topics for discussion and arrangement, embracing not only common ecclesiastical matters, such as the erection and consecration of churches, the relation between the clergy and the military, the question of marriages, fees, etc., but also unity of doctrine, vigilance in checking error, dealings with missionary committees, correspondence with government, appeals, the preparation of a body of canons for India, etc. The insertion of a few of the points, as they stand in the "minute," will serve to prove the immense importance of such questions to the welfare of the Indian church.

"24. In the native churches, caste to be clearly and irrevocably renounced before baptism, and *a fortiori*,³ before any native is appointed a catechist or schoolmaster.

"25. The missionaries to be separated as much as possible from secular affairs. Mission villages of heathen belonging to the Tanjore Mission, which render the missionary a sort of collector or magistrate, should be sold, and the produce invested as the bishop may approve. Mission villages of Christian converts are most desirable, not being property.

"27. The office of Metropolitan is new in India, and this first visitation is rather to feel the ground. It should seem, however, from the strong terms of the inhibition contained in the letters-patent, that the ordinary visitation of the diocesan should not be fixed at the same time, nor a charge delivered by him. One inconvenience of concurrent visitations would be the occasion taken of foolish and absurd comparison of sentiments and measures, which, published in newspapers, etc., could only do harm.

"33. The Metropolitan is of the opinion, and submits it to his brother bishops for their consideration, that it is a matter of common honesty in a missionary if he changes his sentiments on material points, or his manner of teaching, in a way which is known to be contrary to the views of the

¹ That is, five-year.

² That is, the office of the "Diocesan."

³ With greater reason; for a still stronger, more certain reason.

society by whom he is sent out (as, for instance, as to what is known as Tractarianism in the case of the Church Missionary Society), to resign his connection with the society at once, with the bishop's approval, instead of endangering the peace of the Mission.

“36. That the three bishops should be diligently collecting materials for a code of Indian canons, as matters occur.

“37. The method of selecting chaplains, their number, and the power of

1842-45. FIRST METROPOLITICAL VISITATION. 563

educating and appointing a certain proportion of them in this country, are among the first topics to be considered.

“39. The Metropolitan suggests that a brotherly communication by letters and intercessory prayers between the nine oriental bishops of our church, viz., Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, Ceylon (when appointed), Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, Jerusalem, and Gibraltar (as on the way to India and Jerusalem), should be thought of.”

On the evening of August 24th, after having entertained a party of fifty-four clergy and students at the palace, the bishop embarked in the sailing yacht *Julia*, Captain Tingate, with Mr. Pratt and Dr. Goodeve for his companions, and dropped down the river, bound first for the Straits of Malacca. The steamer *Diana* was sent down after a time to quicken his movements in those narrow seas; and having visited, as in former years, Moulmein, Penang, Malacca, and Singapore, he stretched across to Madras, and landed on the 23d November. The Marquis of Tweedale was the governor, Dr. Spencer the bishop, the Rev. H. Harper the archdeacon, Rev. J. Tucker the secretary of the Church Missionary Society; — with all these he was in immediate communication. Many anxious matters had to be discussed, many difficult questions settled, many wounds healed. He stayed twenty days, delivered his charge, preached many times, performed a modified course of duty, and then departed for Ceylon.

“Never,” he says, “had I a more difficult series of duties to discharge since I came to India. The office of Metropolitan is indeed more important than I could have conceived.”

The Bishop of Madras was himself on visitation, and the ship *Julia* (having landed the Metropolitan at Negapatam, on the coast) carried him on his way to Trincomalee.

From Negapatam, the journey to Tanjore was performed by land; and on December 17th, the Bishop of Calcutta found himself once more received into the same Residency (though, alas! death had entered it, and changed the residents) as in former years.

To animate these missions, and confirm as Metropolitan the decision he had passed as bishop, was his great object. He found the mission much strengthened; but caste was not destroyed. Bishop Corrie dealt gently with it; and Bishop Spencer had to learn its evils. The present visit, therefore, was not ill-timed; for seven years had weakened the impression made by the former one in 1836. The venerable Kohlhoff still survived, in his eighty-first year; and the native priest, Nyanapragasen, in his ninety-third.

564 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVII.

The native Christians flocked in crowds to church from Tanjore and all the surrounding villages, and were startled by the determined and uncompromising condemnation of caste to which they listened. “On its being honestly and irrevocably abolished,” said the bishop, “the life of these missions depends.” On Christmas Day, services were held for both Europeans and natives, and four hundred native communicants assembled round the Lord's table. No confirmation was administered, nor any conference held, because of an unwillingness to interfere in any way with the functions of the diocesan. A miniature of Swartz was presented to the bishop, and he took away one of his inimitable letters, written to young Kohlhoff, then a lad, as follows:

“Nov. 1780. Dear John: I have sent you ten pairs of stockings by Thinappen. I hope you have received them. Hereby I enclose a letter from your father; he wonders that you have not acknowledged the receipt of the biscuits. Yesterday we meditated on Philippians 3.8. What an excellent Christian was Paul! Now he exhorts us to be his followers in renouncing all and choosing Christ, that by him (1) we may be justified, for we have no righteousness of our own, though sin we have indeed; (2) be sanctified, and made conformable to the death of Jesus and the mind that was in Him; (3) be glorified and enter into the joy of our Lord. May the blessed Spirit lead us to that effectual saving knowledge of Christ.

“I am your affectionate friend, C. F. SWARTZ.”

A hasty visit was also paid to Trichinopoly; after five nights travelling, and preaching nine times in sixteen days, the bishop returned to Negapatam; finding his ship ready, he sailed for Trincomalee. “Being almost worn out,” he rested for six days and was refreshed by the communication and friendship of his brother of Madras.

On January 5th, the whole party embarked at Trincomalee, and having narrowly escaped shipwreck, arrived safely at Colombo. Here the charge was again delivered, and a clause introduced interdicting the clergy from coffee plantations and speculations.¹ The several stations having been duly visited, the vessel’s head was turned towards Tutocorin, from where the southern missions of Tinnevely, Palamcotta, and Nazareth (not visited before) were accessible. But wind and weather forbade it; and after much difficulty, a landing was effected at a desolate spot called Poovera, about twenty-five miles from Cape Comorin. No food, no shelter, no means of communication presented themselves for some time. At length a Roman Catholic priest appeared, and a very slender knowledge of Latin enabled him to provide the party with food and

1842-45. FIRST METROPOLITICAL VISITATION. 565

bearers. At each halting-place a friend appeared in the shape of a missionary of the London Society; and at length, after great fatigue, Palamcotta was reached during the night of the 29th of January 1843. Seven missionaries were at hand to welcome the bishop. He at once pronounced the “peace” enjoined by Christ, and then knelt down to return thanks for the preservation and guidance granted.

Most interesting services commenced the next morning. At dawn of day, one hundred catechists and schoolmasters delivered to him a poetic composition in Tamil, congratulating him on his safe arrival, and on the joy caused by the sight of “his noble face.”

Rhenius’ tomb was visited on which appear the words, engraved at his request, “My judgment is with the Lord, and my work with my God.” These words, and the tender feelings excited by the visit, were referred to by the bishop when delivering his charge to twelve missionaries of both the church societies next day. Station after station was then visited — and missionary after missionary conferred with. “There are glorious beginnings here,” he said, “and it is delightful to talk with such calm, well-educated, pious, devoted, sensible men, who know what they are about. I have written to the Bishop of Madras to express my wonder at these blessed missions, and to say that there must be twenty-four more missionaries sent out — twelve from each society; for now the harvest languishes for lack of reapers. What is England about, with her driveling controversies, while India in vain is stretching out her hands to God.” He went about everywhere preaching — now in finished, now in unfinished churches — now in tents, and now in the open air; but he held that his chief work lay with the missionaries themselves; and when, on the last day of his visit, he found ten surrounding him, he made them a farewell address, condensing the advice he had previously and occasionally given them. In the evening, after

¹ By speculations is meant profitable but risky market investments. Wilson may have seen it as gambling, hence speculation.

divine service and a sermon by Mr. Pratt, they presented a touching and beautiful address, acknowledging the bishop's kindness, and entreating his prayers.

He turned now to the Syrian churches; a journey of fourteen hours from Trivandrum brought him first to Quilon, and from there to Cottayam. The reader will not have forgotten what passed at the previous visit. But now he is to learn that all the measures then suggested for the improvement of that ancient church — for the extension of education, the elevation of the clergy, and the eradication of error — had been absolutely rejected. Even the very donation left by the bishop, which was a kind of first-fruits of an endowment for the church, was treated as a bribe, and refused. The moment he

566 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVII.

had retired, the bow returned to its usual bent. The Metran was again in the ascendant, and the church had sunk too low to desire or compel a reformation. This had gone so far that a covenant was entered into to forbid all further communication with the missionaries, and to withdraw all deacons from the college. It was not apparent what sinister influence might have been at work. One unworthy clergyman, a chaplain of the Company, had travelled through the country telling the people that crucifixes and prayers for the dead and all the superstitions learned from Rome, were right; and that the missionaries and their doctrines were all wrong; but his visit had been short, and he had been forbidden to repeat it. This was not needed to unveil the matter. Further acquaintance with the Metran and the leading men had developed deep-seated evils, and explained the distaste for any change. The only course apparently left open was, to set up an open mission. This course had been accordingly adopted by the missionaries, and sanctioned by the Bishop of Madras, under whose license they were now acting. A great change was thus produced. Handsome churches were in the course of erection. The property attached to the college, which had been jointly held, was now divided. The old buildings had been left for the Syrians, and new ones, already containing seventy pupils, had been raised for the missionaries. Primary schools were multiplying on all hands, and about seven hundred children were under instruction. So that there was good promise for the future. But it was still mingled with regret. It was pleasant to see the light shining in a dark place; but it would have been pleasanter to have said of that ancient church, "You have the dew of your youth." This regret, however, was unmingled with self-reproach. Our church had "done what she could." She had held out the right hand of fellowship to the Syrian Church and been refused; and she could do no more.

"I quite concur," said the Bishop of Calcutta in his charge, referring to these matters, "with your excellent bishop in all that he has done. I entirely approve of the principle on which he has recommended to you to carry on your missions, viz.: absolute non-interference with the Syrian Church, as a church, at present. These ancient Christians must now seek us, not we them. We sought them for twenty years, and the separation was at their instance, not ours. As to individual lay persons, our schools and churches cannot be otherwise than open to all, and our clergy will use their discretion as to admitting to our communion such as may desire it, on proper evidences. No question is likely to arise as to presbyters under present circumstances. Doubtless their ordinations are valid, as are those of the Church of Rome; and if any individual presbyter should be convinced of the superstitions, idolatries, and sinfulness of the Syrian communion as it is now, and deliberately wishes to enter our pure

1842-45. FIRST METEOPOLITICAL VISITATION. 567

reformed Anglican Church, it will be for your diocesan to determine what qualifications as to doctrine, morals and learning, what title for maintenance, and what conditions as to his sphere of duty, he will require. For the rest, no attempt at anything like proselytism must be thought of, either as to clergy or laity."

At Cottayam, seven missionaries were assembled to receive the bishop's charge. Divine service was celebrated; holy Sacrament administered; the new college examined; — and then he passed on through Allepie to Cochin, and on February 17th embarked for Bombay.

The voyage was long and weary, and he did not arrive till the 13th of March.

“Hurry, pressure, confusion” — such is the first entry in the journal at Bombay. “The bishop is an ‘angel’ — so sweet, humble, and spiritually minded; “such is the second entry. The charge was once again delivered; a controversy was settled about the erection of a memorial to the troops who fell in Afghanistan; an address was delivered on laying the foundation-stone of a college in memory of Sir Robert Grant; much pleasant communication was held with the governor, Sir George Arthur; all the places endeared by former recollections were revisited; and then on April 3d, the bishop once more embarked. After calling at Goa on his way, reading through a volume of St. Augustine, and suffering from an attack of gout, he reached Calcutta in safety on Saturday, May 12th.

Thus ended a journey, by land and water, of eight thousand seven hundred miles. On Sunday he preached a thanksgiving sermon from Psalm 71.14, 16; and on Monday he writes:

“I have not yet been able to compose my mind. The change is so great. But, oh! may God give me wisdom and understanding to go in and out before this so great people; and especially to stand firm and unmoved in defence of the gospel! I have preached eighty sermons during my absence.”

Journal-letters will, as usual, describe the course of events in Calcutta till the visitation was resumed.

“*June 1st, 1843.* My gout is gone. I have bought a riding-horse to replace my old ghont. He is a fine fellow; two months from England; gentle and sure-footed. I gave a hundred and fifty rupees for my ghont, but this English horse cost me fourteen hundred. He goes on capitally, and the exercise does me a world of good. All the Afghan heroes are calling on me — Major Lawrence, Major Pottinger, Captain Burn. They are all going home. Lord Ellenborough is expected in three or four weeks, and most persons conceive he will resign.

“*July 10th.* On Monday the thirty-eighth meeting of our cathedral committee went off charmingly. We are raising now the walls of the tower. We

568 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVII.

have funds for a year or more from this time. Then our way will, I expect, be dark and boggy; vast supplies required, and everything standing still. A grand effort will be required to raise subscriptions. But I may be called away long before this. God will then provide friends and helpers; and His will. His glory, His providence, His grace, do all. On Tuesday we had our meeting of the Additional Clergy Society. It appears that we have received about twenty-five thousand rupees; and our first clergyman is now at work at Bhaugulpoor. God be pleased to bless. Lord Ellenborough has returned to Barrackpore, where Mr. W. W. Bird went to meet him. The next day he resumed his seat in council, and appointed Mr. Bird Governor of Bengal. His plans will depend on tidings from home. He wrote his Somnauth proclamation entirely himself.

“*July 28th.* The other morning, in my early drive, I met Captain Greene at my cathedral. He was walking up and down in the vault which is being built for me under the communion-table. It will be about thirty feet by eighteen, and six feet high. The descent is simply by steps from a large movable slab within the communion precinct. I could not but think, as I joined Captain Greene, and walked up and down the abode of death with him, how soon I might be called to lay down my pastoral staff, and rest in that bed or grave, as to my mortal frame, till the Resurrection morn. Oh for actual preparation for the midnight cry, ‘Behold the bridegroom comes!’ Oh for affections weaned from earth!

“*August 7th.* Dined on Tuesday with Lord Ellenborough. Thirty were present — ladies as well as gentlemen. Very good-tempered, but...

“August 11th. I have not been well. I have not the strength nor the spirits I had. I have not preached for some time, and I doubt whether I shall ever be myself again. Can I wonder that nature decays at the age of sixty-six? Ought I not rather to wonder that I have been preserved in health for eleven years since I sailed from England? Perhaps a period of silence and infirmity may be allotted me, or I may be carried off, like my beloved friend Mr. Natt, in a moment. Oh for Christ to shine fully with all his glory on my soul! Oh to end well! Blessed Jesus, Saviour, Lord, have mercy upon me! Enable me to stand valiantly for your truth. Wean me from all sublunary [earthly] things, and attract me towards heavenly.

“August 12th. I now have four of my clergy under inquiry or censure; one for a contemptuous ‘minute,’ one for ordering a crucifix, one for preaching transubstantiation, and one for a report filled with Tractarianism. Every case that is brought before me I inquire into.

“September 19th. I have received the first twenty copies of my Charge printed, and have sent them round to the clergy of Calcutta.

“September 18th. I have been holding my twenty-seventh ordination, and I have been delighted in finding four pupils of Bishop’s College free from Tractarianism. This is the effect, under God’s blessing, of the professor being made perfectly aware of my sentiments, and honorably abstaining from inculcating these errors on the students, and also of the youths having right principles.

“October 7th. On Tuesday I held my general confirmation; a larger comparative number than ever. The attention was great, and many of the young people in tears. I pursued my usual course.

1842-45. FIRST METROPOLITICAL VISITATION. 569

“October 8th. I have been preaching my farewell sermon: ‘I take you to record this day that I am pure from the blood of all men, for I have not shunned to declare to you all the counsel of God.’¹

“October 17th. Steamer, bound for Ghazeepoor. Now I shall have a fortnight of exclusion and calm, for self-recollection, penitence, and prayer. I have the utmost need of these exercises. I seem to have been drifted away from my moorings, and carried out by the winds and tide. O blessed Jesus! be my heavenly pilot. Bring back my shattered bark into safe water, and guide me to my desired haven.

“Our course is now upwards, as usual, and involves a retreat to the Hills from April 17th to October 15th, 1844, if the Lord will. To Him be our lives and deaths devoted.”

Thus the visitation was resumed. The recurrence of it may appear frequent, but the bishop merely followed the analogy of the English dioceses, and the direction of his letters-patent, to visit every three years. It was much more necessary than in England; for India is a land of change. The civilians are always rising in position; the military are always moving from station to station; the chaplains are always changing their spheres of duty; hence, though the ministrations may be the same, the parties ministered to are often very different; and a visitation is as useful or necessary every third year as it was the first.

The bishop was now in the Flat, a large flat-bottomed and convenient vessel, towed by a river steamer through the Sunderbunds, and upwards towards Ghazeepore. He had fourteen fellow-passengers, and was accompanied by Mr. Pratt, Captain Philpotts (son of the Bishop of Exeter), and Dr. Bell. The interval was occupied in clearing off the arrears of correspondence, and in reading “Scott’s Comment,” “Wilberforce’s Life,” “Felix Neff,” Garbett’s Lectures,” “St. Augustine,” “The Zurich Letters,” and “Cecil’s Remains.”²

At Ghazeepore he left the river, and abode in tents. “We now once again,” he says, “resemble Abraham and Isaac, who thus dwelt on their way to a city which has foundations, whose builder and maker is God.³ May we consider ourselves more and more as strangers and pilgrims.”

¹ Acts 20.26, 27.

² “Remains” are the remaining writings of an author.

³ Heb 11.10.

Journeying thus, he passed through Gorruckpoor, Benares, Allahabad, and Futtehpoor. At the latter place he paused and closed the year.

“FUTTEHPOOR, *December 31st*, 1843. Eben-Ezer, Jehovah-Jireh. My heart melts within me when I think of God’s pity in bringing me through

570 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVII.

another year. Oh that I could weep as I ought over the sins and provocations of the past! I am persuaded that penitence and contrition are the measure and gauge of our real attainments. We ought, if we know ourselves at all, to lie humbled before our God. As life advances, the deceit and desperate wickedness of the human heart are more and more apparent. I find the vagrancy of the fancy, the corrupt pictures on the tablet of the memory, the old scenes of evil crowding upon the soul, among my sorest conflicts. In truth, I cannot enter upon the subject. The chambers of imagery, one within the other, are so mysterious! I can only open my case to the All-seeing One, and beseech Him to behold me in the person and work of His only-begotten Son, to hide me in His wounds, to plunge me in the fountain of His blood, and to stamp upon me by His renovating Spirit, the blessed image of His own holiness more and more.

“But gratitude for unspeakable benefits should also break out amidst the tears of sorrow. In fact, these benefits are heightened by the unworthiness of the recipient — as the mountains appear loftier, the lower the valleys from which they are beheld. The past year has been filled up with mercies to my family, my public functions, my body, my soul, my clergy, my every relation; especially continued grace and help are cause for praise. And so is the name of Jesus, the blessed Gospel, the Holy Spirit, the honor of working for God, the defeat of error, the triumph of truth, some measure of health and strength, and the kindness of friends.

“Lastly. Vows of new obedience become me; distrust of the future space which may be allotted for repentance; diligence, wisdom, lowliness of heart; deadness of mind to the praise of men; anticipation of judgment and heaven.”

Onwards, through Futtehgur and Bareilly, he passed to a new mountain station, called Nynee-Thal. Concerning it, he writes:

“NYNEE-THAL, 6200 feet above the level of the sea;

“FEBRUARY 23, 1844.

“We came up here yesterday, fourteen miles, by one of those strange, winding, precipitous roads, common to all mountainous countries. The air is keen and penetrating. The spot is one of those beautiful scenes with which the Himalayas abound. Its distinction is an enclosure of rocks, two thousand feet above the spot itself, and covered with hanging woods, protecting, as it were, with their giant forms, the peaceful lake, or ‘thal,’ below. Around this lake the gentry are beginning to erect their houses, as at Simlah and Mussooree. The whole is like the ‘Happy Valley’ of Rasselas.¹ We halt here, on our way to Almorah, longer than we should otherwise do, because of the movement of troops. A site for a church has been chosen; and to lay the foundation is my special business here. Beasts of prey — tigers, leopards, etc. — abound so fearfully, that there is no stirring out without guides, armed with guns and spears.”

The visit to this spot was, however, evidently premature. The season was far too early. Not a single European was in residence. The bishop was compelled to take shelter in a miserable, half-finished,

1842-45. FIRST METROPOLITICAL VISITATION. 571

and totally unfurnished house. He caught a bad cold, and was taken very ill; after removing to Almorah, he kept to his bed for some days. It was not till the 8th of March that he was able to consecrate the little church at Almorah, designed on his former visit. He then passed on to Morabad, Shahjehanpoor, and Meerut; halted for Passion Week and Easter; and then

¹ *Rasselas* is a fable about happiness, written by Samuel Johnson in 1759.

proceeded to Deyrah Dhoon, Landour, and Mussooree. Lack of tents for the hill route delayed him till May 14th; and it was not till June 1st that he arrived at Simlah.

“SIMLAH, JUNE 1ST, 1844.

“Blessed be my God and Saviour for bringing me once more, after four years, and after a journey of seven months, to this station, and to the same comfortable house which I occupied in 1840. May God assist me during the four or five months of repose. I want to print a volume for my diocese, after eight years — experimental,¹ anti-Tractarian, simple, ecclesiastical, Indian, affectionate, final. It is clearly ‘now or never’ with a poor, hurried, overwhelmed bishop like myself Lord, revive your work in the midst of the days. As nature sinks, may grace wax stronger and stronger.”

The preparation of the volume thus referred to, formed the main employment during this year’s retirement at Simlah. During the previous Lent he had delivered in Calcutta a course of lectures on the Epistle to the Colossians. These formed the basis of the work. They were enriched, subdivided, and preached again at Simlah; and finally appeared in an expository form, with the more controversial parts arranged in the form of notes. It was a labor of love, and it was his last serious work — clear, strong, pointed, and admirably adapted to the circumstances of the times, and the state of India. It embraced the whole range of divinity — the deity of Christ, the supremacy of Scripture, justification by faith, sanctification by the Spirit, holy baptism, regeneration, tradition, Romanism, Tractarianism, Judaism. On all these, and many other important points of doctrine and discipline, the bishop’s matured opinions were expressed. The work was published in small *octavo*,² and has gone through several editions. It will ever be accounted a valuable contribution to the sound divinity of the church.

But this was not all which occupied his time. A new church was necessary. The original small building, given by Lady William Bentinck, had been more than once enlarged, and was still inadequate. Hence a committee was formed, a new site found, and a subscription commenced. Complete success crowned the attempt. No less than twelve thousand rupees were raised, and an application to government produced five thousand more. On September 9th, the foundation-stone of a large and handsome church was laid, in

572 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVII.

the presence of Sir Hugh Gough, the commander-in-chief, and the Hon. Mr. Erskine, the sub-commissioner. On that occasion, the bishop delivered a sticking³ address, which was afterwards printed.

Simlah was very full; the bishop found many friends, and enjoyed much pleasant communication with them. He fully appreciated the society of Sir Hugh and Lady Gough, Sir Harry and Lady Smith, and many other distinguished individuals. General Ventura was also there, endeavoring to collect the property he had accumulated by many years’ service under Runjeet Singh.

Among the rest was one aged civilian, named Gorton, who had for some time resigned the Company’s service, and retired to the hills. The bishop had known him in former years, and now naturally resumed his visits. The result of one of them may be best told in his own words.

“SIMLAH, MONDAY, JUNE 10TH.

“O, most blessed and eternal God! who have all hearts in Your hands, and turn them as the rivers of water wherever you will, I humbly praise You for having inclined the heart of your servant, Mr. Gorton (as you did that of Mr. Thomas Natt), to aid in the endowment of the new cathedral in

¹ That is, experiential, *practical*.

² The size of a book whose pages are made by folding a sheet of paper three times to form eight leaves.

³ Presumably it “sticks” in the mind; *memorable*.

Calcutta. To your great name be the praise in your church by Christ Jesus, for this infinite goodness; and may every mercy bind me more closely to the purity of your blessed gospel, and excite me to form all the plans for this sacred edifice and its endowments, with a more direct and single aim at the salvation of India, and the advancement of your glory.

“Would you believe it!” he writes, “I have ten thousand rupees given me by Mr. Gorton, of Simlah, for my cathedral. It was only last August that Mr. Natt made me a like gift, together with three hundred volumes of books. Then in January, the Dean and Chapter of Windsor presented me with the ‘George the Third window,’ of stained glass, which cost five thousand pounds. And now, on June 10th, 1844, Mr. Gorton repeats Mr. Natt’s munificence. He is a retired civilian, who was in 1836 doubting whether he should go home or not. He came out in 1799, and is a bachelor. He has given twenty thousand rupees to the Church Missionary’s Kotghur Mission, and a subscription of a thousand rupees a year during his life. He had given me one thousand rupees in 1840. His health is now fast declining; he has nearly lost his sight by cataract, and never leaves his house. Well, I called on him without the least idea in the whole world of what was in his mind. I read and expounded the thirty-fourth psalm, — for he is a good deal depressed in spirit — and made a prayer. When Mr. Pratt and I rose from our knees, his eyes were running down with tears, and he said to me, ‘Bishop, your letter about your cathedral has been read to me, and I mean to give you ten thousand rupees, as that other gentleman has done.’ ‘Oh,’ I replied, ‘is it possible!’ and I fell on his neck and kissed his cold and shrivelled face. ‘Yes,’ he said; ‘and I shall present two thousand rupees to the Simlah church.’

“So there are twelve thousand rupees in one visit! But it is of the Lord;

1842-45. FIRST METEOPOLITICAL VISITATION. 573

and of Him, and through Him, and to Him are all things in heaven and earth! Such are the fruits of Christianity.”

It may be added that this same gentleman gave to the bishop, before he left Simlah, ten thousand rupees more for the Additional Clergy Society. Upon this the bishop comments as follows:

“It will give the society an amazing lift. I see the London papers have told you about my having given a similar amount to the same society. It is indeed true that I gave ten thousand rupees two years since. Blessed be God! For who am I, and what is my Father’s house, that I should be permitted thus to aid the cause of Christ! What India gives me, I pour out again with joy, as the clouds return in showers what they draw up from the earth.”

His last words before leaving Simlah are as follows:

“SIMLAH, OCTOBER 14TH.

“Blessed be God! I see land. My thirty-fourth lecture on the Colossians is being copied out for the press, and the ‘conclusion,’ lecture thirty-five, is sketched. I deliver it, please God, on Wednesday. May He order and bless.

“I may almost say that for four months I have been doing nothing else, dreaming of nothing else, breathing nothing else, but these lectures. Not a single sermon did I compose for Sundays; but all my reading, thinking, praying, were centered in this one great work. I had my current duties, of course; and I have written sixty-nine letters to my Archdeacon Dealtry alone, since I left Calcutta. I trust and believe a great blessing has attended the delivery of the lectures. Twenty Sundays have I thus passed in the full ministerial flow of heart. This season, and the two of 1836 and 1840, have been the only ones when a course of pastoral labors in preaching the everlasting gospel has been afforded me. I have delighted in them. I could resign my bishopric at any moment with joy, and retire to a country town in England, if my duty would allow.”

On October 17th the bishop left Simlah, to return no more. His route led through Sabbathoo and Lodianah as usual.

“LODIANAH, NOVEMBER 9TH.

“We have been particularly quiet here. A good man’s house is a refuge. We breakfast at nine, and dine at six. I have cleared off all my letters — four to Singapore to settle a grand quarrel, eighteen to diverse persons yesterday — fifty in all, this week. So we get on. The ‘minute’ about the completion of the cathedral, and the constitution of the prebends, weighs much upon my mind. God will help.”

“DOWRA-KE-SERAI, MONDAY, NOVEMBER 11TH.

“Lodianah and its few days have passed like a dream. We are now marching (seventy miles) for Umballah. I sent off four or five sheets with my thoughts about the ‘minute.’ Next month, if life is spared me, I hope to draw up an improved one. On Friday I confirmed nineteen young persons;

574 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVII.

on Saturday I consecrated the colors of the 2d European regiment. I have preached six sermons in eight days.

“From the new Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, I have a charming letter in answer to mine, placing fifteen hundred rupees at my disposal for charity, and promising me all aid.”

“UMBALLAH, NOVEMBER 17TH.

“I have been very poorly with a slight fever and influenza, arising, I fancy, from the fatigue of my journey on roads perfectly frightful, and changes of temperature almost inconceivable. I shivered last night so extremely, that my teeth involuntarily chattered. My feet were cold as a stone, my head burning. I am better today, and was able just to attend church and preach this morning. In 1836, there was at this place a congregation of fifteen in Mr. Edgeworth’s house; now there are three thousand souls in the station. Kurnaul church and its tower are deserted, and the materials [have been] brought here — a distance of fifty-five miles. The church is about to be erected; and, meanwhile, a noble barrack-room is used for divine service. More than one thousand were present this morning, rapt in deep attention.”

Alas! The symptoms enumerated here were the commencement of an illness which brought the bishop to the borders of the grave, and compelled a resort to England. The tidings of it were in due course communicated by his chaplain, the Rev. J. H. Pratt. It appears that on the Sunday morning already mentioned, the bishop had preached a most impressive sermon; but he was evidently unwell, and was forbidden by his medical attendant to leave the house again. The next morning he appeared no worse; but about noon, his servant came running to Mr. Pratt’s tent, which was pitched close by, saying that his master was very ill. Feeling very cold, he had stepped out into the verandah, and then into the sun to warm himself. After walking for a little while, he returned to his room, threw himself upon the bed, and sent for Mr. Pratt. The doctor was immediately summoned, and all proper remedies employed. But, after the alternations of a day or two, fever developed itself, delirium came on, and fits of excitement were followed by such extreme exhaustion, that death seemed to be standing at the door. Further medical advice was called in, and Dr. Dempster rendered his valuable aid. The danger became, however, more and more imminent, and all remedies seemed powerless to avert it. The notes taken by Mr. Pratt under such circumstances will be deeply interesting. He says:

“*Nov. 23d.* I began to get more anxious this evening; for although, in some respects, the bishop appeared to be better, yet there were symptoms which my own experience of fever showed me were bad. He seems to be wearing out. Strength seems to be failing. Lord! God of the spirits of all flesh, prepare him for

1842-45. FIRST METROPOLITICAL VISITATION. 575

his last great change. May he shine like a bright light as he declines, and cast his beams upon us all!

“*Nov. 24th.* The bishop had a bad night. He dreamt much; and seemed, by his wandering talk, to be living past life over again. In the morning he had no fever, but every symptom seemed to portend a constitution worn out. I felt anxious he should know that he was in danger. When I went to him in the

morning, he told me of his dreams, and said he had been for two hours trying to make an exposition of the twenty-third Psalm. He said, 'My dear friend, please to pray with me; and he then enjoyed the recital of several hymns.

"After church I went to him again. He was sitting up at the table with his eyes closed. I went in softly. He opened his eyes, and held out his hand. I found him confused about the morning and evening services. He had 'Cecil's Remains' open before him at the chapter on 'A minister's encouraging animadversion¹ on himself; ' and said, in a wandering and faltering manner, ' I am trying to correct and test certain things.' I felt deeply moved; and desiring to comfort him, repeated a few texts of Scripture, and proposed prayer. 'It will be a great comfort to me,' he said.

"Having to preach soon, I left him. While in my tent, the bishop told his servants to open all the windows, and actually walked out into the verandah. The doctor, on being informed, ran up, and brought him in; and he promised to do so no more. As soon as he was left, however, he did it again; and when both the doctor and myself ran up, we found too surely that his mind was gone. I could not now leave him, and therefore gave up preaching. He said many good things while I remained with him, but in a confused, bewildered manner. Dr. Dempster came three times today, for all were deeply anxious. After his last visit, I went into the next room to hear their opinion; and, on my return, I found the bishop out in the verandah for the third time. After this, the glass doors were shut and fastened. He remembered nothing of all this the next day."

Letters were now written to official persons all round, to inform them of the bishop's imminent danger; a third medical man, Dr. Henderson, of the 3rd dragoons, was called in.

An immediate change of air was now recommended; and he was removed from the Rev. Mr. Whiting's house to Captain Simpson's, where two large rooms were placed at his disposal; the tents of his suite were pitched in the compound. From that day he began to mend slowly. The illness had developed itself as an intermittent fever, doubtless caught in the jungle on descending from Simlah, and it was treated accordingly.

Mr. Pratt's narrative continues:

"The bishop seems now fully aware of his danger. He said he was very glad he had paid all the money for his cathedral, and that his accounts were clear; adding, 'I know, my dearest friend, that my life hangs by a thread. I know what fever is; at least, in others. Things may look well, and improvement may take place; but a change suddenly comes, and the patient slips, as it were, out of life.' 'I am more fully persuaded than ever that Christ is the only hope of salvation. His atoning blood,

576 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVII.

His justifying righteousness, and sanctification by His Spirit are my great subjects.' And then, in reference to the controversy which had so much engaged his attention lately, he added: 'The Tractarian system is eating out all the vitality of the gospel; it is all stuff.' Shortly after, he added: 'I never had much "joy in believing;" that was never in me. It has been with me more a settled conviction, and a hearty reception, of the gospel.'

"He then referred to what he had gone through in India, and the wonderful health he had had. 'I bless God for what He has enabled me to do, and I should be ungrateful if I did not; but as to looking at my works as done in the sight of God — they are nothing — they are miserable. If I recover, I must do less. Up to the present time, I feel that I have been guided by circumstances. No one will accuse me of ceasing to work sooner than I have been obliged; and really, I do not know how I could have done less. However, here is a grand warning. If I recover, I must from now on only superintend the diocese as a father.'"

But the narrative must now be shortened, to give place to his own journal. His letters to his children had never ceased. Each day he seized some moment to commune with them — and often when he had no power to guide his pen aright:

¹ Harsh criticism or disapproval.

“SICK-CHAMBER, NOVEMBER 23D.

“I am still very far from well. A feverish tendency hangs about me. At times I seem better, and then again worse. Dr. Bell has called in the oldest surgeon in the station, Dr. Dempster, and they are doing as they think best. And now let me adore the Divine goodness and mercy in thus chastening me. I needed a pause — a time of retirement, thought, repose. All at Simlah was one drive. Then the month of travelling has been a month of hurry, of course. Now I am pulled up. I am now taught more of myself, more of my own heart’s infinite evils, more of my defective motives. I am now living an interior life like private men. I am called to the meditation of Christ, of death, of heaven, of eternity. I meditate on the uses and designs of afflictions, which we all admit in theory, but are so slow to bow to in practice. Now also, the Holy Spirit and the holy Scriptures are infinitely precious, instructive, consoling.

“UMBALLAH, *first sick Sunday*, NOVEMBER 24TH, 1844.

“O Lord, blessed be your wise and gracious name! that you do not at once cast me away from your presence, nor take, as I have too much deserved, Your Holy Spirit from me; but be pleased to chasten me, that I may not prove a castaway.

“The last day was tolerable; and I foolishly thought, ‘Surely the bitterness of death is past!’ But no. A very trying, weary, sleepless night of twelve hours was the special medicine that you, my all-wise Physician, saw was needed for me. I am tossed about, like a wild bull in a net — as to the incapacity of escape, but not as to the rude resistance of the indignant animal. Now I am as weak as water. I do not doubt for a moment, the ‘strong rock,’ the ‘rock of salvation’; but this is just precisely the way that persons of the heartiest frame slip away from life.

1842-45. FIRST METROPOLITICAL VISITATION. 577

“The London mail came in November 21st, but I have no power to read the letters with any care.

“*Wednesday, November 27th.* Thank God, the doctors consider me to be going on as well as they could expect. I have had no fever since Monday. The first paroxysm of what they call intermittent fever, came on last Friday, the second on Sunday. Such is the medical account. The interior history of God’s designs is quite another thing. My own impression is, and always has been, that I am in imminent peril of life, and may at any moment faint off into the grave. My mind, thank God, is calm and composed. I can make no efforts, but I sink into the arms of Christ, as one of the greatest of sinners. I have nothing to plead — nothing to bring of my own. I am hateful in my own eyes; and all my hope for time and eternity is in the infinite preciousness of a Saviour’s blood.

“*Friday, November 29th.* I am still living to praise my God. The non-recurrence of fever since Sunday is considered favorable; but I don’t appear to get strength. My sleep is perturbed with dreams. I have no power to think or speak, and the least thing would bring back disease. It is now evident, from the doctor’s account, that on Sunday I was in a most alarming state. It was then that the third doctor was called in. The danger of relapse is still great. My mind is calm and composed. I rely on the almighty grace and infinite atonement of the Lord Christ. I humbly pray for more sanctifying grace from the Holy Spirit. I wish to have no will but God’s. I have arranged all my temporal affairs — signed two new codicils to my will, appointed six cathedral canons, paid off the two lacs of rupees subscribed to the cathedral, made a list of the promises of money to churches, etc. — and thus have I set my house in order.

“*Advent Sunday, December 1st.* This is my thirteenth Advent spent in India. Bishop Middleton was, in God’s mysterious will, only permitted to spend eight such. This day week I was in a most dangerous state (as I have since been told); today, by God’s mercy, I have been considered convalescent. Still I am so weak, I can hardly hold my pen. Last evening I felt better and more collected, and was able to spend two hours in reading, meditation, and prayer. But I cannot rise. I sink, sink, sink. I lie at the bottom of the mount groaning, and crying for visitations of grace. I want to get nearer to Christ; to be swallowed up in Him; and to have no will but His, that He may be magnified in my body, whether by life or death. Also, I sigh and pray that I may know my dispensation and yield to it, as Mr. Cecil used to say.

“1. One thing is clear: this is the first fever I have been visited within India.

“2. It is in the eye of the whole of India; for I am stopped eleven hundred miles from Calcutta.

“3. A relapse is the likeliest thing in the world, and would assuredly, humanly speaking, be fatal — as my doctor confesses.

“4. I have every kind of merciful alleviation; excellent doctors (Bell, Dempster, Henderson); an excellent chaplain (Pratt), who loves and waits on me as a son. I have no pain like Job or Hezekiah. I sleep, though with dreams. I have an appetite for my food. What shall I render unto the Lord!

“5. The time is full of instruction. It is on my return to Calcutta, that I

578 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVII.

may go there (D. V.)¹ in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ; emptied of self, dead to everything but Christ, ready to put off my tabernacle, and endeavor that, after my decease, my clergy and flocks may have the truth still in remembrance. Perhaps God may do more by me when thus cut down to the root, than when prospering in leaves and branches, in sermons, addresses, publications, and letters.

“6. I have done, as it were, my laborious work, and set my house in order: fourteen hundred sermons, three charges, two published discourses; a volume of sermons; the Colossian lectures; the cathedral endowment raised to three lacs and a half, and sufficient to support six canons; one canon's house provided; my ‘minute’ nearly ready to go home through Mr. Pratt's immense exertions; the twelve canons fixed on and nominated; an Agra bishopric proposed; a body of sub-assistant native chaplains recommended by me, sanctioned by the Governor-General, and sent home for approval; a great native school projected in connection with the cathedral; the Additional Clergy Society well started, etc. What can your servant, O Lord, say more? For who is he, and what is his father's house, that you should thus bless him; for it is of Your own we give You. But I pause — my head is confused.

“*Tuesday, December 3d.* This is the ninth day without fever. Blessed be God! The doctors now aim at keeping me quiet till I recover my strength, and am in the same state as before the attack on Saturday, November 16th. This they hope to see in ten or twelve days from this time. Then they propose to start me off for Calcutta. May God order, direct, bless, and sanctify.

“*Wednesday, December 11th.* On Thursday, December 5th, I was allowed to go out for an airing for the first time. I had not left my room (except when changing houses) since Sunday, November 17th — eighteen days. I am still very weak, and my reading and meditations are feeble. But my mind is, I hope, serene in faith, penitence, hope, and love. I dwell much on the Divine goodness in chastening me; and earnestly pray for the lesson to be deeply engraven, as by a pen of iron and the point of a diamond, on the tablet of my heart. I compare my light sickness with Hezekiah's, Job's, Baxter's, Robert Hall's, Cecil's, or our Mr. Fisher's, and bless my God and Saviour. Last Sunday week, the 24th, Mr. Pratt now tells me, he gave me over, and on December 5th I was convalescent, and able to go out for an airing. ‘Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me bless His holy name.’ Still I shall never be so strong as I was; and the least cold will turn to fever. So that there is but a step between life and death.

“*December 15th.* I am still very weak, and affected with every change of weather. I returned thanks at church yesterday for having been restored to a state of convalescence, though I was not able to be present. The doctors talk of starting me off sixteen miles to Shahabad, on my way to Kurnaul, tomorrow. From Kurnaul we proceed to Mr. Metcalfe's comfortable house at Delhi. There the question will be determined whether I am to be allowed to pursue my visitation by Agra; or whether I embark on the Ganges at Meerut Ghat, and drop down to Allahabad, abandoning everything. God's will be done. I feel that I have not a day that I can call my own. I am just in that state in which so many in India slip out of life, nobody knows how. Christ is my all. I humbly

1842-45. FIRST METROPOLITICAL VISITATION. 579

trust and hope I have a desire to depart and be with Him, which is ‘far better.’”

¹ *Deo volente* (God willing).

Accordingly, on December 17th, the first march was made, and every precaution was taken to prevent the bad effect of the exposure in tents. Straw was laid upon the grass floor, with matting and carpets; a stove was used; and wherever a bungalow was available, it was resorted to. But the bodily frame was essentially weakened, and susceptible to every change of temperature. On January 16th inflammation of the lungs took place, and the bishop was unable to move till the 20th; when he arrived at Allyghur on the 23d, the path of duty was made plain, and his plans for the future fixed. Thus he relates the matter:

“ALLYGHUR, *January 23d*, 1845. What scenes have I passed through! What visitations of augmented sickness! What discipline of my heavenly Father! What a total change of plans and duties! The sentence is now imperatively pronounced that I cannot safely remain in Calcutta on my return, but must go to sea; that I must not wait to be ill again, but take the present warning. Deliberating upon this, I determined to go home for eighteen months on furlough, agreeable to the act of August 12, 1842.

“I have now, my beloved children, the most exquisite pleasure in looking forward to see you all once more in flesh — a pleasure, purer and of a higher kind, and more unalloyed, than if I had come home two years ago merely to gratify my natural feelings. Now duty commands, and love obeys. I have written to the authorities, both here and at home. I have secured my passage in the 10th of May steamer, from Calcutta to Suez. Thus all is in train, *Deo favente*.”¹

The sanction of home authorities thus sought was readily and instantly granted. It was thus courteously expressed:

“*Ecclesiastical Department, April 1845.*”

“TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

“1. “We join with you in the expression of deep regret that the Lord Bishop of Calcutta should be compelled to solicit a furlough for the recovery of his health; and will only add our earnest hope that his visit to this country may be productive of such benefit as will enable him, at the expiration of the proposed period of absence, to resume his important functions in India.

“2. The only point for our consideration has reference to the permission granted to the Rev. J. H. Pratt, to accompany the bishop, in his capacity of domestic chaplain.

“3. Under the peculiar circumstances of the case, we approve of your having allowed Mr. Pratt to anticipate the period when he would have been entitled to furlough under the regulations, and we shall accordingly issue to him in this country the stipulated furlough allowances from the date of his departure from India.”

580 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVII.

The bishop now rapidly passed down the country — tenderly watched by Mr. Pratt, skilfully treated by Dr. Bell, and hospitably entertained by sympathizing friends. He was able to discharge all indispensable duties. He strengthened the Propagation Mission under Mr. Perkins, at Cawnpore, by ordaining an admirable assistant. He held many small private confirmations. He signed the consecration deeds of several churches. He called the clergy to conference as he passed near their stations. He commissioned his chaplain to visit and report the state of the missions. Thus he effectually completed his third visitation.

On his way down, he had made all arrangements for his contemplated departure, and secured his passage in the steamer; and as if to set his seal to the energy which had characterized his Episcopate for thirteen years, he now fixed days for a confirmation and two ordinations in Calcutta, and set himself to the preparation of a fourth charge for a visitation to be begun before his departure for England, and completed on his return.

¹ *With God's help.*

He arrived in Calcutta on Saturday evening, April 26th, and met Colonel Forbes at the cathedral, which had now received the gilded arrow, nine feet long, on the summit of the spire — “a pledge” he said, “of the arrow of the Lord’s deliverance for India, and of Messiah’s doctrines being like arrows, sharp in the hearts of the King’s enemies, so that the people may fall under it in penitence, faith, and allegiance.” On the spot, he offered humble thanks, and dedicated the cathedral, the architect, and himself to Almighty God. The examination of the candidates, and the ordinations followed. Two hundred young persons were confirmed. Affectionate addresses were presented to him, from both the clergy and laity of Calcutta; and he was requested to sit in England for a marble bust, to be placed in the cathedral library.

His fourth visitation was on hold: a last letter was written to his children, announcing his departure, and laying upon them a solemn charge not to attempt, either by word or deed, to influence his mind, or persuade him to relinquish his conscientious purpose of returning to India; and then, on May 3d, accompanied by his chaplain, he embarked on the *Precursor* steamer for England, via the Red Sea.

He had been in India nearly thirteen years, and every power of body and mind had been consecrated to God’s service there. Fourteen hundred times he had borne witness publicly to Christ. His substance had been laid upon the altar of sacrifice. He had done much to give the extension of the Episcopate a right bias, and three bishops were now in the field. The control of the Metropolitan was recognized. His relation with the government was far better

1842-45. FIRST METROPOLITICAL VISITATION. 581

understood. Nothing of an ecclesiastical character was done without his cognizance and approval. His recommendations were acted upon with respect to the chaplains, both as to appointments and removals.

The number of the clergy also was greatly increased. In 1838, the whole number was sixty-nine; it was now one hundred and six. Fifty-one chaplains were actually on the field of labor; a few years back there were only twenty-four.

The missions in his diocese were full of life. The number of stations was twenty-three; the native Christians numbered six thousand; the communicants nearly two thousand; the children in schools above four thousand.

A spirit of church-building had been thoroughly aroused. Upwards of fifty thousand rupees had been dispensed by the Church-building Fund, and this had elicited from government and private benevolence, at least three lacs of rupees, and had led to the erection of thirty-five churches.

The cathedral was rising like the top-stone of the arch: preparing, by its erection and endowment, to hold the ground gained by the church from heathenism.

The Additional Clergy Society was supplying men to preach the truth, and pointing to a permanent ministry.

The caste question was removed from debatable to firm ground.

All over India the Lord’s Day was observed, and little companies assembled in almost every station for divine service.

But if the extension of the church had been a great object with him, its purity had been still greater. He had been “instant in season and out of season,” to promote this; and had “contended earnestly for the faith once delivered to the saints.” Many evils had thus been nipped in the bud,

and many errors kept within bounds; so that while England was losing some of her choicest and ablest sons, not an instance was known in India of a single pervert.¹

Doubtless he had been a man much spoken against. He had gone through “evil report and good report,” and had been accused of many things; but he had lived them all down, and his imperfections weighed nothing against the genuineness of his character. Even his exercise of discipline in the diocese had made no permanent enemies. So that one of the very last entries in his journal, before he left India, was: “Strife everywhere has ceased, and all is love.”

The usual portion of correspondence will conclude the chapter.

582 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVII.

TO HIS SISTER, MRS. BATEMAN.

“BARK ‘JULIA,’ SEPTEMBER 14, 1842.

“Once more I address to my dearest sister a line of love and consolation. You have as yet no relief from your extreme degree of suffering. Well, it is the Lord, let Him do what seems good to him. “When the woman of Canaan cried after our Lord, saying, “Son of David, have mercy on me!” the compassionate Jesus did not answer her a word. When the disciples were in the boat, tossed by the storm, Jesus was asleep. Thus now, the delays in the Lord Christ’s answer to your prayers may seem as if He did not heed you. But, as in those cases He proved at last that He knew all that was going on, and only awaited the fit time for communicating the blessing, so He will do for you. He knows every pain you endure; He sees the sufferings of your poor body; He weighs the sorrows and weakness of your mind; He measures every stroke of His blessed hand; and when His time is come, He will appear to your deliverance and His own glory. For Christ designs His glory in all His dealings with us, as well as our good. And in the meantime, He supports and strengthens us in the conflict. He feeds the flame by pouring in secretly (as Bunyan represents it) the oil from a vessel behind; and thus it burns brighter and brighter, notwithstanding the arts of the wicked one, who is trying to quench it by pouring on water.”

TO THE SAME.

“CALCUTTA, MAY 1842,

“My heart is almost broken when I think of the mingling of your extreme sufferings with your joys — when I find that you can truly sometimes say, ‘Where is God my maker that gives songs in the night?’ — when I hear that, wandering up and down your room in the night in intense unrelieved pain, you have such views of the love and grace of Christ, that you forget the anguish, and can lie tranquil in His blessed hands.

“And so, my beloved sister, this tender-hearted Redeemer and Lord will lead you through all the remainder of the valley. Your feet are already in the channel of Jordan; but the waters are restrained, and you are passing, as it were, dry-shod.

“And who knows God’s way, but Himself? Who can fathom His counsel, or say to Him, What are you doing? No; my beloved sister, all is right. Christ is the best physician. ‘He never takes down the wrong bottle,’ as Mr. Cardale once repeated to me from old Mr. Berridge. And how soon will the repose, and joy, and holiness, and bliss of the heavenly state obliterate the preceding storms and tempests of the sea over which we passed to arrive there!”

TO HIS BROTHER, GEORGE WILSON.

“BISHOP’S PALACE, MARCH 12, 1842.

“I write month by month to comfort my dear brother under his sufferings. Religion is a matter of slow growth in our disorderly hearts; we must sink, low, lay ourselves low before our God, wait, expect, be silent. We are not to imagine God is our debtor when we first begin to turn and seek Him with sincerity.

¹ One who has been perverted; one who has turned to error in religious beliefs.

1842-45. FIRST METROPOLITICAL VISITATION. 583

No, no, no. We are miserable sinners; we ought to have turned to Him long ago. He gives no account of His matters. If He hears our prayers, it is of His infinite mercy, and not of our merit. Nothing, my brother, speeds so ill with the Lord as impatience. Therefore, blessed are they that wait for Him. In due time he will appear for us. He will answer us, as our dear Saviour did the Syro-Phoenician woman, when our cries are earnest enough, and humble enough, and when the mercy is prepared for us, and we for it.”

TO THE SAME.

“CALCUTTA, APRIL 8, 1842.

“One constant attendant on an awakened mind is uneasiness, fear, alarm, dissatisfaction. The sinner, on first coming to himself, cannot make out things — cannot understand and feel and do as he would wish. He wants to accomplish everything at once; he is impatient after peace with God; he mistakes his views of his own sinfulness and innate depravity for marks of hypocrisy; he is dejected, when he ought to be cheerful. However, God thus leads him to more stable peace at last — prepares him for it by humility, and renders the blessing, when it arrives, doubly and trebly precious.”

TO THE SAME.

“CALCUTTA, OCTOBER 14, 1843.

“Just in the extreme hurry of setting off, my dearest brother, on a long visitation journey of seventeen or eighteen months, I must write you a brief letter. A longer journey is before me — the journey into eternity — to this I may be summoned at any moment; and, prepared or unprepared, I must go. Oh for the true passport into the heavenly country! — the atoning blood of Jesus sprinkled upon the heart — and the sanctifying Spirit of Jesus imparted and infused into the understanding, will, and affections! Then we shall enter in through the gates into the city. We shall then have the title to the inheritance through the infinite merits of our Redeemer, and the qualifications for enjoying it in the gracious transformations of the Holy Spirit. These are the epistles of Christ, written, not with ink, but by the Spirit of the living God; not on tablets of stone, but in the fleshly tablets of the heart. Oh for more of that celestial INK! of that divine writing produced by it; and of the almighty hand which guides the pen.”

TO THE SAME.

“CAMP, DECEMBER 20, 1843.

“However I may be hurried, and hurried indeed I am, I must write a word of love and sympathy to my beloved George, of whose sickness and weakness I have lately heard so much. Indeed the ways of our heavenly Father are most mysterious, and to us incomprehensible; but hereafter we shall see the wisdom, the mercy, and necessity of every one. When your mind and spirits sink within you from pain and weakness, then resign yourself to your Father’s almighty hand. If you cannot do or say anything, nor make an effort, float down the stream, as Mrs. Hawkes used to say. Your gracious High Priest can be touched with a feeling of your infirmities; and your heavenly Father pities

584 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVII.

those who fear Him, even as an earthly father pities his own children. Cling to Christ’s most precious blood by faith; hang upon it; plunge, as it were, into that purple fountain, and hide yourself under its blessed streams. And pray for the Holy Spirit to lift and carry you above the dead level of this miserable world, and to enable you to look beyond and over death to the bright and glorious country which lies beyond; and, as Hopeful said to Christian, when passing the River of Death, ‘Hold up, brother, I feel the bottom,’ so may you rely on divine aid and grace.”

TO THE SAME.

“LODIANAH, MAY 2, 1844.

“I hear with much concern, my dear George, of your increased illness, and especially of the morbid gloom cast upon you. When the mind and spirits thus suffer, the burden, dear brother, is hard

to bear. And here the difficulty is for the sufferer to distinguish between the workings of disease and the spontaneous operations of his own mind. Still he may distinguish. His medical attendant will tell him that an irritability upon the brain will produce something of the nature of an aberration of mind, especially as to religion and his own state before God. So the poor poet Cowper was afflicted for years. Then you may distinguish in this way. You know what God has done for you; you know the delight you have in the Bible; you know even now the sure persuasion you have that Christ is the Saviour, the only Saviour, the all-sufficient Saviour of those who come to Him; — then cling to this hope though your sensible comfort is gone. Throw yourself upon undeserved mercy; wait at mercy's gate; say, 'If I perish, I will perish at the feet of Christ.' Remember, unbelief is one thing, and mere diseased judgment quite another. Try also to pray, and to let and get others to pray with you. Turn over your Bible for the promises made to those in darkness and anguish, such as Isaiah, 1.10; 54.11-13, and thousands of others. Remember, none ever were lost that cried unto the Lord and called upon His name."

TO THE SAME.

"LODIANAH, NOVEMBER 10, 1844.

"Well, and how fares it this month with my dear suffering George? It is long to nature to wait in pain, distraction, deafness, depressing maladies; but it is short to grace, because grace has another measure of things than nature. Grace compares time with eternity — Christ's agonies with our sufferings — heaven with hell. Grace compares our Saviour with our sins and deservings. Grace looks to the will and love of God. Grace bows to the wisdom which makes all things work together for good. Grace finds sweetness while lying passive in God's hands. Grace resists Satan's blasphemous suggestions and temptations. Grace reads the inspired word, and finds all the saints treading the same valley of humiliation — a procession of dying, suffering pilgrims. But then you say, 'Oh for more *grace!*' There you are right; and God bears this among other characters, '*The God of all grace.*' Will that not do? Well, but there is another word, 'I have chosen you' (or made you a choice one), 'in the furnace of affliction.' That suits exactly. But here is yet more: 'He sits as a refiner and purifier of silver, to purify the sons of Levi,

1842-45. FIRST METROPOLITICAL VISITATION. 585

that they may offer unto the Lord an offering in righteousness.' Once more: our Lord himself teaches us, that we may pray both for the removal of sufferings, and for resignation under them — 'Father, if it is possible, let this cup depart from me; *nevertheless*, not as I will, but as you will.' I commend you, my beloved George, to the divine Saviour, who 'knows our frame, and remembers that we are but dust.' He is 'the Lord that *heals*' both body and soul. And how SWEET will be the song of those 'who have come out of *great* tribulation, and have washed their robes, and made them white in the blood of the Lamb!'"

TO THE SAME.

"SIMLAH, JULY 1, 1844.

"Poor dear brother: You are frequently, frequently in my thoughts; for I might have been the afflicted one, and You the healthy brother, if God our Saviour had so pleased. I leave you with humble confidence in the blessed care of the Lord Jesus, who knows all you are and all you want, and who not only knows, but can supply all your need, according to His riches in glory. He is 'Jehovah our Shepherd.' He has 'laid down His life for the sheep; and now 'ever lives to save to the *uttermost* (you cannot be beyond that) all that come to God by Him.' Cling to him, dear George, though with an aching head and a trembling heart. Never was a poor sinner rejected by this gracious Shepherd. 'Him that comes to me,' He says, 'I will in no way cast out.'"

TO A MISSIONARY OF THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY.

"CALCUTTA, APRIL 1842.

"Afflictions such as you are suffering under are designed to draw us nearer in prayer to the fountain of life in Christ Jesus, and to take us off from an excessive dependence on moans and sacraments and the external church. They bring eternity and judgment near to the soul; and then

nothing but the old-fashioned doctrines of the Reformation — faith in Christ, love to Christ, the name and grace of Christ — will sustain our hopes.

“No man loves the church more than myself — venerates means of grace more — honors the sacraments more — consults the Fathers more — shuns schism and divisions more — loves the unity of the faith more. But I abhor all this new semi-Popery, which makes tradition a subordinate rule of faith with Scripture; (2) which sets up the interpretation of the Fathers as authoritative; (3) which teaches reserve in preaching the gospel; (4) which holds a sort of transubstantiation and *opus-operatum*¹ effect in the sacraments; (5) which calls them life-giving; (6) which talks of the church and church principles, and the Catholic Church, without knowing what they mean; (7) which presents the church, instead of Christ, to the penitent sinner; (8) which condemns other forms of church government and order as entirely incompatible with the favor of God, and the grace of the covenant; (9) which depreciates and hates Jewell and the first reformers; (10) which condemns Protestantism; (11) which undervalues the evidences of Christianity; (12) which flirts with Popery; (13) which apologizes for prayers for the dead; (14) which closes by inventing

586 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVII.

a new sense for the Thirty-nine Articles, in direct contradiction to the design of our reformers in compiling them.

“I mention these features of the new schism, that your brother and your catechist may read my letter, and perfectly understand that I will admit no candidate for the office of a catechist or a deacon who cannot pass my examination relating to them.

“I write as a father, to caution you. When severe sorrows break in upon us, it is a softening time, a time of grace, a time of spiritual gifts, which I most earnestly pray God may be the means of blessing abundantly all your souls.”

TO A CHAPLAIN WHO HAD ORDERED A CRUCIFIX.

“BISHOP’S PALACE, AUGUST 12, 1843.

“My immediate object in writing is to mention to you, frankly and most respectfully, a report which has reached the archdeacon, that you had sent up to Calcutta for a crucifix; that you had directed the native workman not to mention the circumstance; and that you had further said, if the figure could not be obtained here, you would have it made elsewhere — the size to be about eighteen inches in height. When you favor me with a reply, as to the truth or otherwise of this rumor, I will offer you that paternal and friendly advice which the case may require.”

TO THE SAME.

“BISHOP’S PALACE, AUGUST 23, 1843.

“I am afflicted beyond measure at your letter. The fact has taken wind. Others besides the archdeacon have been informed of it by the native artist, and Calcutta will be filled with the scandal. For a scandal it unquestionably is, for a Protestant clergyman, in days of controversy and semi-Popish errors like the present, with his bishop known to be decidedly opposed, to order from a native workman, in the very metropolis, the symbol and mark of papal idolatry and superstition to be transmitted to him for private use. The plea that you use it only for private devotion, and ‘without superstition,’ affords no relief to my paternal anxiety. For the superstition inevitably follows; and your public discourses will savor of your private sentiments. I have no power that I am aware of, or I would instantly exert it, to prevent the private use of the crucifix, any more than I should have as respects the Mass Book, and images of the Virgin; but the effect of all this upon your public doctrine comes within my cognizance, and therefore I will request you to send me the last six sermons you have composed and delivered. If the pastors get astray, what can we expect of the flock?”

TO A CHAPLAIN, WHO HAD APPEALED SUCCESSFULLY AGAINST A COMMANDING OFFICER.

“SHIP ‘JULIA,’ FEBRUARY 1843.

¹ *Work-operated: that is, the sacraments themselves are operative and causative, rather than our faith.*

“After the decision of the commander-in-chief and the government in your favor, I have written to them to say that I do not wish for anything further. I have also written privately to the commanding officer to state the same, and to

1842-45. FIRST METEOPOLITICAL VISITATION. 587

express my assurance that neither did he mean any discourtesy to you, nor did you intend to be lacking in respect to him. Generally it is advisable not to write much to commanding officers, but to call and talk affectionately with them, if any misunderstanding arises. This I give as a general hint only. I think if you had called on the colonel, after the appearance of the station order fixing the time of divine service without consulting you, you would have smoothed all down. I trust you and your lady are getting on well this cold weather. India is India. But Christ and His promises remain. Life is brief. Heaven is our goal; love to souls our motive; the gospel of the grace of God our instrument; the Holy Ghost our comforter; the Bible our polar star; the glory of God our end.”

TO THE COMMANDING OFFICER APPEALED AGAINST

“SHIP ‘JULIA,’ FEBRUARY 1843.

“I am sure you will be glad to hear that I have advised the government to let the matter drop concerning the appeal made to me. I know you so well that I am sure the omission of consulting the chaplain arose from ignorance of the orders of February 1834, and that you never intended any discourtesy. And as the commander-in-chief has so fully admitted the chaplain’s right, I do not think there is any reason for pressing the matter. Mr. _____ was far from intending any disrespect in the manner of writing to you. So I pray you to forget the whole petty affair.”

TO THE CHAPLAIN OF A LARGE STATION, WHICH HAD BEEN DISTURBED

BY A STRONG SERMON AGAINST SECTARIANISM.

“CALCUTTA, SEPTEMBER 1843.

“The vague language of the sermon, which for your own justification you have sent me, about sectarianism, omits the main cause of schisms — viz., the delivery of such discourses as that on which, with sorrow, I am animadverting.¹ The remedy for sectarianism is, (1) the sound, full, simple gospel of Christ, as embodied in our glorious Articles and Homilies; (2) accompanied by a due inculcation of church order; (3) with the religious education of our people; (4) and with an adequate number of churches and clergy to meet our swelling populations. You will forgive my freedom. I earnestly beseech you, by humble prayer to the divine Spirit, to seek for more correct apprehensions of the real bearing of the gospel which is committed to your trust. This I do for myself continually after forty-seven years of daily theological studies; and this I commend to my honored younger brethren. I would recommend you to study the doctrine of Justification, as it is set forth in our Article, and in Hooker’s noble sermon.”

TO THE VICE-CHANCELLOR OF THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

“BOMBAY, MARCH 1843.

“I acknowledge, with unfeigned gratitude, your letter of December 30th, in which you inform me that, on the last day of Michaelmas² term, it was unanimously agreed, by vote of Convocation, that a sum not exceeding £200 should

588 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVII.

be contributed from the University chest to the use of the library which is about to be established in the cathedral of Calcutta; the said sum to be expended in books printed at the University Press; and

¹ That is, criticizing.

² Honoring the archangel Michael; a quarter day in England, Wales, and Ireland.

that you will be happy to give effect to any directions which I may propose with regard to the selection of the books.

“Allow me to assure the Heads of Houses, and the other members of the Convocation, through you, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, that India in all her extent returns her best thanks to your ancient and venerable University for this opportune and most valuable gift. It will be one link to connect the western and eastern branches of our Protestant Reformed Church, and will lead the future missionary lecturers and prebends of the first cathedral ever founded in British India, to regard with reverence and gratitude the great religious institutions of our Protestant land

“As I have no catalogue of the books printed at the University Press by me, I will request of you to allow the Rev. the Warden of Wadman, and the Principal and Vice-Principal of St. Edmund’s Hall to select the works which, under your advice, Mr. Vice-Chancellor, may appear most suitable to a new cathedral library.

“The theological works of Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Jewell; the documents, especially Strype’s, connected with the Reformation; the works of Hooker (not Mr. Keble’s edition), of Bishop Pearson, Bishop Stillingfleet, Dr. Barrow, Dr. South, etc., will be most acceptable. Classical works also will be of great service.

“It would be gratifying to me to have the books plainly and strongly bound in calf (Russia is not necessary), and stamped with the University arms.”

TO THE REV. DR. MILL.

“TRINCOMALEE, JANUARY 1843.

“Long before this letter arrives at home, I presume that His Grace will have determined the case referred to him. To that decision I shall humbly conform myself On one thing you may rely, that I shall never desert the beloved and honored institution, so far as I can in sincerity support it. But what reflections should I expose myself to, if I rejected catechists and students, without doing all in my power previously to prevent a strong bias being given to their studies.”

TO ARCHDEACON HOARE.

“OCTOBER 21, 1842.

“Your letter only reached me last Monday. No; this lady will not do. I object from the experience of my Indian life, and, indeed, upon principle to single ladies coming out unprotected to so distant a place, with a climate so unfriendly, and with the almost certainty of their marrying within a month of their arrival. I believe there is scarcely an exception in all the cases, and they are numerous, of this kind. Ladies don’t know their own minds; and no one can, nor ought, in our Protestant church, to deprive them of a natural right. I give them all credit for sincerity of intention; but no single lady remains such in India, from the rarity of such persons, and the opulence of our services.

“But I object on principle (unless, indeed, she could support herself then

1842-45. FIRST METROPOLITICAL VISITATION. 589

it would be open to her to act as she pleased). Without a husband, or brother, under one of our great societies, what can a single lady be, but a wandering star? Human nature is too feeble. Even our gentlemen, without societies to rule them, are unmanageable and useless. I imagine the beloved Persis, Tryphena and Tryphosa, Julia, Nereus, and his sister, and others who ‘labored much in the Lord,’ remained in their own neighborhoods and families, and that no unmarried female would have thought of a voyage of fourteen thousand miles to find a scene of duty. The whole thing is against the apostolic maxim, ‘I do not permit a woman to speak in the church.’”

CHAPTER 18. FOURTH VISITATION. 1845-1848.

FOURTH AND FAREWELL CHARGE — LEAVES CALCUTTA — ARRIVAL IN ENGLAND — OLD FRIENDS — PROPOSED PLANS — ADDRESS FROM THE PROPAGATION SOCIETY. AND REPLY — RETURN OF FEVER — VISIT TO ADDINGTON AND HUDDERSFIELD — ELLAND SOCIETY — DURHAM — SHERBURN — RIPON — YORK — LORD METCALFE — DINNER BY EAST INDIA COMPANY — PRESENTED AT COURT — PRIVATE AUDIENCE — VISIT TO MILK STREET — DINNER AT THE MANSION HOUSE — CHURCH MISSIONARY ANNIVERSARY SERMON — JOURNALS — RADCLIFFE INFIRMARY SERMON — JERUSALEM CONSECRATION SERMON — CHOBHAM — BRIGHTON — EXETER — TORQUAY — QUEEN'S COMMUNION PLATE — FAREWELL SERMON — LEAVES ENGLAND — VOYAGE — ARRIVAL IN CALCUTTA — JOURNALS — CONSECRATION OF CATHEDRAL — REPORT — LORD HARDINGE — JOURNALS — CORRESPONDENCE.

The Bishop was too feeble to deliver his "Fourth or Farewell Charge" himself; it was, therefore, read to the assembled clergy, in the private chapel of the palace, by the archdeacon and his domestic chaplain. There was no feebleness, however, in the charge itself. It was gentle, faithful, and yet firm. It dealt little in controversy; but a few words sufficed to show that his sentiments were unaltered, and his purpose fixed. He wished all present farewell, with deep affection, and promised to return as his health allowed.

It is unnecessary to enter into the details of the voyage which followed. The route by the Red Sea is well known; and, although the inconveniences were greater then than now, nothing occurred to call for special notice. In the prospect of his arrival in England, he wrote from Aden as follows:

"MAY 27, 1845.

"I have no duties out of my diocese, nor do I mean to be drawn into any; no sermons — no committees — no public meetings — no dinners — no visits but an invalid bishop in retirement and silence. If I do this, I humbly hope I may come back to India a better man than ever. I feel heart-whole. I have no organic disease. I may be spared, perhaps, to be threescore and ten, and to die, where I ought, in my diocese. But — hush! the future is with God. Palsy, fever, gout, diarrhea, cholera, may be at the door — or insensible decay. I speak, therefore, with St. James 4.15 full in view."

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 591

And again, when approaching the shores of England:

"O, my Saviour! I desire to commit myself into your Almighty hands. Grant me wisdom and grace during my stay in England. Direct your servant how to proceed in putting forward his various designs, and grant such success as may seem fit to your divine Majesty. And then, take all the glory; and may man and the creature be nothing before You.

"And as to my soul, be pleased to refresh it with 'the river' which 'makes glad the city of God.' May 'mutual faith' be mutually animating and reviving! May I get up, as it were, the tone and habit of my mind, and rise higher in habitual holiness and devotion! And may I go back to my diocese renovated and strengthened in the divine life, to die in and amidst my own flock! The Lord's will be done. Amen."

All his immediate family, and many of his friends, were anxiously awaiting in the Isle of Wight, the arrival of the *Great Liverpool* steamer from Suez; the instant it was announced, on June 24th, his two sons hastened on board. He stood to receive them at the gangway on the lower deck — worn, pale, thin; the hollow eyes buried in the brows, the knees feeble, the nerves shaken, and the whole frame agitated. He embraced them tenderly, and then "lifted up his voice and wept."

The vessel held on its way; and on the evening of Thursday, the 25th of June, he was once more surrounded by his loving family, and sheltered in his home at Islington. To pass the summer quietly in England, to see a few old friends, and then to retire to the continent for the winter —

such was his wise resolve. But to resolve is one thing, and to perform, another. Friends instantly flocked around him. He himself names, in a daily journal which he now began to keep (since his journal-letters had necessarily ceased), the Bishop of London, the Bishop of Winchester (from whom he gained much valuable information). Dean Pearson, Sir Thomas Acland, Lord Glenelg, the Archbishop of Armagh; Rev. J. W. Cunningham, Rev. Mr. Vaughan, of Harrow; Mr. Ambrose Moore, Lord Bexley, Dr. Chapman, the new Bishop of Colombo (who knelt to receive his blessing), Mr. Melville, of the India House; Mr. Cattley, Mr. W. Wilberforce Bird, Lord Harrowby, Lady Grey, Lady Frances Cole, Dr. Steinkopff, Pasteur F. Monod, Merle d'Aubigne, Rev. S. C. Wilks, Rev. Mr. Tyler, of St. Giles; Rev. Mr. Watkins (eighty-one years old). Rev. Mr. Burgess, Rev. Ernest Hawkins, Sir R. H. Inglis, Rev. H. Venn, Rev. W. Brandram. A deputation from the Church Missionary Society, with Lord Chichester at its head, waited on him. The Archbishop of Canterbury informed him that the Propagation Society was prepared with an address, to be presented on

592 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVIII.

any day he might appoint. The inhabitants of Islington congratulated him on his safe return; and the students of the Church Missionary College followed the example. All this occupied the first fortnight. Then other duties beckoned, and he obeyed. Three points of importance pressed upon his attention — the Charter of Incorporation for his cathedral, the establishment of a bishopric at Agra, and the appointment of a class of uncovenanted chaplains for India. The last of these had been approved in India, and only lacked the sanction of the Court of Directors; but the two former pertained to government, and both were supposed to require the authority of an Act of Parliament. Some steps in advance, therefore, were deemed expedient before the ministers separated, and the session closed. Hence frequent visits to Canon Row and Leadenhall Street, and constant communications with the president, chairman, and secretaries. He was received by all official persons with the utmost courtesy, and was invited by the East India Company to one of their sumptuous entertainments. Though unable to attend, his health was proposed, and the chairman, Sir Henry Willock, said, “he was an instance of the impulse one single man of energy could give to Christianity; and while others went out to India to collect fortunes and then retire, the bishop had devoted all his fortune, after paying his expenses, to the good of India, and especially the erection of the cathedral.”

The proposed address from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, first called him before the public. It was an important occasion for maintaining the cause of truth, and repeating in England what he had said in India. Yet from the statement already made respecting Bishop's College (and made then only as introductory to what is to be narrated now, and necessary for its elucidation), it must be evident that the duty to be discharged was both delicate and difficult. Courtesy required courtesy. Absent persons were necessarily implicated. The Society itself was much divided. Its friends wanted his suffrage; its opponents his protest. He himself wished to do good and not harm; and the gratitude he felt for kindness shown by the Society to his diocese and to himself, mingled with a desire to promote what appeared to be its highest interests. All these considerations weighed much upon his mind, and troubled him. He might have contented himself with a mere complimentary “reply” to a complimentary “address;” but he felt that it would be losing a great occasion of usefulness. And hence he set himself seriously to work, and was ready on the appointed day, July 23d.

The bishop was accompanied by his son and son-in-law; on arriving at the Society's house in Pall-Mall, he was most courteously

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 593

received by Dr. Stanley, Bishop of Norwich, with the officials, and conducted to the boardroom, where the Archbishop of Canterbury (Howley), Bishop of London (Blorafield), Bishop of

Rochester (Murray), and about one hundred dignitaries of the church, and laymen of high repute, were assembled, and welcomed him with affectionate cordiality.

The business of the day was opened by the Bishop of London, who addressed him in the name and on behalf of the Society. He expressed the pleasure they felt in welcoming him home once more; how a sad presentiment had pervaded all minds when he left them in the year 1832; how highly his thirteen years of service had been valued; how delighted they were to see him again; how fully the plan for erecting his cathedral was appreciated; and how he wished it to be clearly understood that the Bishop of Calcutta possessed their fullest confidence, and that his views and feelings harmonized with their own.

All this was quite unexpected, and perhaps unpremeditated. It was immediately followed by the reading of the address by the secretary. When he had ended, the bishop drew out his reply. Being in manuscript, and of considerable length, its bulky appearance seemed to create a sensation; and all was hushed to silence when, in a voice somewhat feeble, he began to read it. He tendered his best thanks for the address, and acknowledged with gratitude the goodness of God in lengthening his period of service. He spoke of the uniform kindness he had received from the archbishop, and thanked him for his support. He said that the Society's Missions, and especially Bishop's College, had been always very near his heart. He referred to the liberal grant made for his new cathedral, detailed the plans proposed for its future management, and dwelt hopefully upon the bearing it would have on Native Missions. Then, leaving these pleasing reminiscences and hopes, he enumerated the difficulties of his position, and the many things lacking before the gospel could have "free course and be glorified." From a general description of these, he descended to particulars, and dwelt upon the dangers with which he conceived the church was threatened in the present day.

The interest of his auditors had never slackened; but now every head was bent, and every ear inclined, all down the long table stretching before the chairman.

The bishop himself was necessarily seated in consideration of his weak state of health, so that his voice scarcely reached the lower part of the room. In order to remedy this, it was suggested to him

594 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVIII.

at this moment that his seat should be raised. He assented; and when a higher cushion had been brought, he resumed his reply, and begged permission to open his whole mind, and speak honestly as became him. He proposed to give only his own views; and not in any way to involve or embarrass the Society. He referred to the few but zealous clergy in his diocese who were imbued with the new views of Tractarianism, and who consequently had done, and were doing, incalculable mischief in their several spheres of duty. "I respect, individually," he said, "the talents, learning, activity, and amiable character of these, as well as of all my clergy. There are no personal disagreements whatever. They perfectly know my opinions as both publicly and privately expressed. No change for the better appears to have taken place in the minds of the clergy once possessed with the extreme views, distorted and extravagant as they are, of this system. They have yielded, indeed, as I believe, conscientiously to my authority, to a certain extent; but the negative influence goes on; and the mighty void thus left, I will not attempt to fathom. Among other consequences of this, your Missions in and around Calcutta have unquestionably been injured. A blight — a temporary one only — mars the harvest." He then concluded by offering various suggestions for the future — all weighty — all savoring of vital and life-giving truth; — and summed up by assuring his grace that in carrying these out, or furthering in any way the great objects of the Society, his services, so far as health would permit, might be commanded.

A dead silence followed. Many years have since elapsed; but no one who was present will forget the effect produced — an effect the more decided, perhaps, because all outward manifestation of it was suppressed. No thanks were tendered, no objections made. None attempted to deprecate the sentiments expressed, none to request their publication. After a pause, the archbishop rose, and with his gentle voice pronounced the benediction, and dismissed the assembly. Then all were at once mingled together; and courteous greetings introduced common topics of discourse.

Of course the transactions of the day got wind, and great “searchings of heart” followed. Some loudly called for the publication of the reply; some strongly deprecated it. The decision was referred to the archbishop and, after some delay, his grace requested the bishop to prepare it for publication; and directed both address and reply to be inserted in the forthcoming Report of the Society. His grace’s letter was as follows:

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 595

“I have transmitted to Mr. Hawkins the copy of your lordship’s reply to the Address of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, in order to its being printed, if there is no objection on your part, with the Report of the proceedings of the Society, which is on the point of coming out. The printer will, of course, be directed to send the proof-sheets to your lordship.”

The bishop complied with this request, and the documents appeared accordingly. It will not be necessary to pursue the subject much further. The bishop had reason to expect that the changes he deemed necessary would be effected, and the Society seemed ready to act on his advice. He attended at the board several times; and the East India committee of the Society met at his house. In the following year two important questions, bearing on the subject, were submitted to him categorically, in order to form a basis for decided action. One question was: Whether anything unfavorable to the cause of Missions had appeared in any of the professors of Bishop’s College? To which his reply was: “There had.” The second question, touching upon the remedy to be applied, met with a reply equally short and equally decided. But no result followed: and no further steps were taken on the plea that a case had been submitted to counsel to learn whether the Society could legally recall a professor who was untried and uncondemned by his bishop. The time for action had long passed, and the bishop had been in India again for four years, before the “opinion” on the case which had been submitted to counsel, met his eye, and taught him the full extent of his own powers. But if other bishops of Calcutta ever wish to know how far their powers extend over the professors of Bishop’s College, let them call for the case submitted to Sir Fitzroy Kelly and Mr. Turner, on March 30th, 1846, and the opinion founded on it.

Before the subject is dismissed, it may be stated generally, however, that on his return to India, the bishop found things much in the same state as he left them; and for some time he continued his correspondence with the Society as usual. But in the year 1850, he writes as follows:

“Noticing a gradual decay of that confidence which the principles of the Society involve, and which for ten years and more had been extended to me, I have not felt encouraged to write for the last two years. My correspondence has accordingly dropped, or nearly so, of itself.”

Justice to the bishop’s consistency of character has compelled the introduction of these matters, as well as of those already narrated in connection with the Church Missionary Society. The importance of both these great societies was fully appreciated; and they were justly regarded by him as the glory of the church in these latter days.

696 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVIII.

But as in the one case, when evangelical truth was not endangered, he contended earnestly for church order; so in the other, when church order was not endangered, he contended earnestly for evangelical truth. The combination of the two — the combination of evangelical truth and church order — was always deemed by him an object of primary importance.

But the terrible jungle fever! Was it really eradicated from the system, or was it to be roused to fresh life by these anxieties and exertions? Alas! This question, proposed by many anxious friends, was soon answered. On July 28th the bishop went down to Cheltenham on a visit to his highly esteemed sister-in-law, Mrs. Greaves (now with God), hoping for rest and refreshment in her society, when the fever returned, with symptoms scarcely recognized at first by English doctors, and very alarming to surrounding friends. Indian experience, however, was speedily called in; and after an anxious interval, the bishop once more returned to Islington. His own reflections appear in his journal.

“August 9th, 1845. Eben-Ezer. Up to here the Lord has helped me. I left Cheltenham at ten o’clock yesterday morning, and reached Islington at six in the evening, much fatigued, but without fever. I slept well, and am this morning pronounced free from fever — being the third day. Blessed be the name of my heavenly Father! The reflections which occur to me on the new and unexpected return of my Umballah fever, are (1) reliance on God alone for India and its interests. (2) A check to rising confidence and apparent success. (3) Simplicity of aim and of dependence. (4) The spirit of Ezra and Nehemiah in ecclesiastical business. (5) Gratitude to God for what He has already wrought, etc., etc.”

Health gradually returned, and he began to enjoy communication with friends, and to engage in public business. On his application, the Lord Mayor of London allowed the use of the Egyptian Hall for the exhibition of a magnificent organ, built by Messrs. Gray, for the cathedral at Calcutta. The admission was by tickets, and the profits went towards the increase of the cathedral fund.

A few days were at this time spent at Addington Park, in most agreeable communication with Dr. Howley, the Archbishop of Canterbury. His journal notes it thus:

“Was most kindly and affectionately received by the venerable archbishop, now in his eightieth year. He is benevolence itself. The conversation was most pleasant. May it please You, O my Saviour! to direct, guide, prosper, and bless! To You only would I look up; on You depend.”

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 597

Important discussions on the three Indian topics are thus referred to. The archbishop was interested in them all — glad to advise, ready to help. The communication seemed pleasant to His Grace also; for when writing to the bishop afterwards about something he had forgotten, he says: “I am not likely to forget the pleasure which we all have derived from your lordship’s visit to this place.”

“Thus mercifully,” is the bishop’s comment, “God helps me on. To Him be all the glory.”

After Addington Park, he paid a visit to Huddersfield, in Yorkshire, where his son-in-law was vicar.

“Sept. 10th, 1843. May God bless my entrance into this vast place, and my communication with my children here. I have been too much in the external world of late — journeys, hurries, and too much business. May I now enter the internal sanctuary of religion.

“Sept. 16th. I have been reading, after an interval of eighteen years, the account of my dear wife, who died May 10th, 1827, contained in a letter I wrote to my daughter at the time, and to which I have had no access during my thirteen years of absence. I could scarcely bear the perusal. Three times I was compelled to lay it down, from excessive tears. Still I must read it again before I leave Huddersfield.”

He now corrected the proof-sheets for a second edition of his “Lectures on the Colossians,” and had much pleasant communication with friends. The “Elland Society,” originally formed in Huddersfield eighty years back by the Rev. Henry Venn and other worthies of that day, and for a time transferred to Elland (whence the name), had now returned to its birthplace; and, on one of their days of meeting, the members presented him with an affectionate address, which was read by Archdeacon Musgrave, as chairman for the day. He was so much affected by it as to be

incapable of reply; but the address itself was carefully preserved to the day of his death, and found marked among his papers. "The Elland Society met here," he says, "for discussion — Archdeacon Musgrave, Reverends Bull, Knight, Gratrix, Redhead, Tripp, Sinclair, Crosthwaite, Meek, Haigh, Hope, Bateman, etc. I was much edified and comforted." And again, in a letter after his return to India: "Present my tenderest love to the Elland Society, my introduction to which I consider one of the many blessings of my visit home. I trust I shall continue to have their prayers. The prayers I collected in England are like a covering cloud distilling showers of blessings on me in the heat of India. Yes; I remember the dear archdeacon and the clergy present; to all of whom, and more especially to Archdeacon Musgrave, my love."

598 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVIII.

A retrospect of his own ministry follows:

"HUDDERSFIELD, *Sept. 21st*, 1845. I enter this day, by God's infinite mercy, on the forty-fifth year of my ministry. I have been reading over the three services for deacons, priests, and bishops, in our Ordinal.

"I have the greatest need for humiliation before Christ my Saviour on looking back almost half a century. Oh, cleanse me from my faults! Cast me not away from your presence. Take not your Holy Spirit from me. Create in me a clean heart, O God! and renew a right spirit within me.

"II. And surely I have the greatest cause for gratitude to Christ (1) for upholding, pardoning, recovering grace; (2) for all the blessings of His providence and mercy at Chobham, Oxford, Worton, St. John's, Islington, and Calcutta; (3) for chastening me with sickness and raising me up again; (4) for giving me a measure of help in my four charges, my volumes of 1836 and 1844, my Reply to the Propagation Society's Address, etc.; (5) for giving me two sons and daughters in such important stations as Islington and Huddersfield; (6) for bringing me to England to see my beloved family and the church at home; (7) for the openings of success in the Propagation Society, the cathedral incorporation, the Agra Bishopric, and the uncovenanted chaplains; (8) or the favor of the East India chairman and secretary; (9) for my two domestic chaplains from 1832 to 1845; (10) for the measure of health granted me all life long; (11) and for all the divine mercies.

"III. May it please Christ my Lord to give me grace for the few remaining days of my pilgrimage. Many of my contemporaries have gone to rest, and I must soon put off my tabernacle. May I be helped to do a little good at home! May I derive much quickening to my own dull heart! May I be permitted to return to India! May I hold on and hold out to the end of my appointed course! O Christ, my Lord! grant me dying grace for dying hours whenever they may come. Amen.

"And now I close this sacred day with the patriarch Jacob's prayer.

"1. 'O God of my father Abraham, and God of my father Isaac' (the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ).

"2. 'The Lord which said to me, Return to your country and your kindred' (by smiting me with sickness).

"3. 'And I will deal well with you' (in Christ Jesus, and according to the tenor of my covenant in Him, and your necessities).

"4. 'I am not worthy of the least of all the mercies and of all the truth which you have showed to your servant' (but am the chief of sinners, and less than the least of all saints).

"5. 'For with my staff I passed over this Jordan' (I was a 'prentice boy in 1792, counting weaver's bobbins, and a rebel and sinner beyond all others).

"6. 'And now I am become two bands' (with my two sons, and their one hundred thousand people, and all India under your servant, and my two children's fine families).

"7. 'Deliver me, I pray you, from the hand of my brother,' etc. (from my spiritual foe, Satan, and from the world and the sin that dwells

in me, and from all besetting iniquities, and from the opponents of India's salvation).

“8. ‘And you said I -will surely do you good’ (You have promised to give your servants ‘grace and glory,’ and to withhold no good thing from them; and also that ‘your word’ spoken by your ministers shall not return to you void). Amen. Amen.”

Again the fever suddenly returned. The malaria evidently remained in the system, and the slightest cause developed it. Each attack, however, was slighter than the preceding, and this, happily, proved to be the last. When recovered, the bishop went to Harrogate, and spent some time there quietly and pleasantly. From there he visited Durham, Sherburn-House, Ripon, and Bishopsthorpe — entertained most courteously by the present Archbishop of Canterbury, then Prebendary of Durham; by the Rev. Dr. Faber, Master of Sherburn Hospital; by Dr. Longley, then Bishop of Ripon; and by Dr. Vernon Harcourt, late Archbishop of York.

At this latter place he stayed some days, much interested by converse with the archbishop — “a superb old gentleman, tall, stout, with a most vigorous, healthy countenance, a little lame from having strained a tendon of his right ankle,” — who had entered his ninetieth year. Among other distinguished company, he met there William Wordsworth. But the poet sat silent, and all were disappointed. “Let me try to draw him out,” said the bishop; and, taking a seat beside him, he began to talk about India, and the varied scenes through which he had passed. Wordsworth inclined his ear, and the heavy look passed away. But their minds were cast in different moulds. The conversation did not flow, and the attempt did not succeed.

With deans and dignitaries of the church he had better success. The erection of his cathedral had given great interest to his inspection of the noble buildings entrusted to them, and he was anxious to obtain their advice as to the best constitution for his own proposed chapter at Calcutta. His communication with them was pleasant and cheerful, and, added to constant change of scene, proved beneficial both to body and mind. Health seemed to return, and duties were gradually resumed. His first public appeal on behalf of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was made in Huddersfield; and sanguine¹ about the improvement he had recommended, he spoke strongly in its favor. The second appeal was made at York, and few who were present will forget his allusion to William Wilberforce, and his animated charge to the

600 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVIII.

then Archdeacon of York, who was present, to tread in his father's steps.

He also began to collect on behalf of his cathedral fund, and on his return to London was so far restored as to be able to press on vigorously his Indian projects.

His correspondence, however, with influential personages in this behalf, the aid rendered him by the archbishop, the frequent interviews with the President of the Board of Control and the Chairman of the Court of Directors, were all in vain. At first his hopes of success had been sanguine; for none who thought upon his long service, looked upon his worn countenance, or listened to his earnest words, could find the heart to discourage or refuse him. But time passed on, difficulties were suggested, precedents were lacking, delay was interposed, and finally all his plans were frustrated. The uncovenanted chaplains were not appointed, the Agra Bishopric was not instituted, the Charter of Incorporation was not granted. Such was the will of God; such the answer to his prayer that he might have just the measure of success “that might seem fit to the Divine Majesty.”

The opening of the year 1846 found him in Islington. On the 5th of January, a carriage drove up, and Lord Metcalfe was announced. He entered with the same stout frame as usual, but with an

¹ Confidently optimistic and cheerful.

enfeebled step, and a face swathed in flannel. For a moment, old times seemed to have returned; for there sat the Governor-General, and there the bishop, with his first chaplain — the persons were the same, though the scene was changed. But it was only for a moment that reminiscences displaced realities. The bishop had been raised from the grave; the Governor-General was sinking into it. He spoke quite calmly of his state. The springs of life were drying up, and he had no hope of its prolongation. The past was like “a tale that is told,” or a “dream when one awakes.” The vision of India bearing testimony to his high integrity; of Jamaica, grateful for its restored tranquility; of Canada, bending under his firm hand and fixed purpose; the approval of his sovereign; the respect of his country; the title ennobling his name; — all these were vanishing away as death drew near, and the realities of the eternal world were becoming distinct and vivid. The bishop spoke earnestly of Jesus Christ, and of “the things that accompany salvation;” and Lord Metcalfe responded humbly and reverently. All then knelt in prayer; the benediction was given; and they parted, to meet no more on earth.

The next day he wrote with something of his old impulsive

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 601

energy to the archbishop, suggesting a pastoral letter from his grace, condemnatory of doctrines and practices tending to Popery; adding that “it was generally thought that the bishops had not been decisive enough; and that Christ honored a bold and open confession of his name.” The archbishop replied immediately and kindly. He said that he had had such a pastoral letter in his mind for some time past, but things were not yet ripe for it.

On the following day, the Annual Clerical Meeting, to which reference has more than once been made, was held in Islington. The bishop had been accustomed, for some years, to write a letter from India, which was read at the meeting; but now he was present himself. His own account is as follows:

“JANUARY 7, 1846.

“It is about nineteen or twenty years since I began this annual meeting for prayer and conference; and it is fourteen years since I last met the brethren, in January 1832. What mercies I have received! What sins, alas! I have committed! What large measures of grace I need! Lord, supply me out of the riches of your glory in Christ Jesus!

“8.30 P.M. Blessed be God for this most cheering and holy meeting. The number assembled was one hundred and thirty-three, all of one heart and one mind. The subject was “The present position and prospects of Protestant Missions.” Chancellor Eaikes and Mr. Venn spoke with the greatest effect for about an hour each. Mr. J. W. Cunningham, Mr. Bickersteth, and Mr. Brandram made most excellent prayers. At about two o'clock I retired. May God grant that the impression may long continue on every heart.”

He was now able to accept a renewed invitation to dinner, sent by the East India Company, and to respond when his health was proposed. After dwelling on several religious topics, he availed himself of the opportunity to bear glad testimony to their beneficent and just rule in India.

Several chaplaincies were placed at his disposal; he had the opportunity to see and converse with all chaplains who were appointed, before they left England. He prized this greatly; for no point was nearer his heart than the selection of fit men to serve the Church of Christ in India.

For sixty-one Sundays he had been silent. On the 8th of February this long silence was broken; and he began his pulpit ministrations by preaching, from Psalm 71.14-19, in the parish church at Islington.

On the 11th he was presented at Court by Lord Ripon, with whom he afterwards dined in private, and had some interesting conversation concerning the cathedral and the communion-plate, which it was hoped Her Majesty would present as an offering to it.

Those hopes were soon afterwards realized; and his own account is as follows:

“On Wednesday, March 19th, I was honored with a private audience by the Queen, and submitted the plans of the cathedral, with a petition that Her Majesty would give the communion-plate.

“I was introduced also to Sir Robert Peel, who inquired how my designs for India were proceeding, and wished me heartily success.

“Her Majesty, Prince Albert, and Sir Robert Peel much admired the views of the cathedral.

“I was also introduced to the Duke, who said he was in better health than he had been for twenty years. Lord Ellenborough also was very kind to me.

“For all these mercies, blessed be your holy name, O Lord.”

An entry in his journal following this interview, presents an interesting contrast:

“March 29th. Went to No. 31 Milk Street, where, in 1792, I was an apprentice. I visited the warehouse, counting-house, parlor, kitchen, bedroom — where ‘I passed with my staff over Jordan,’ in my boyhood. Humiliation — thanksgiving — joy!”

A Strange sight to a Calcutta eye is noticed at this time:

“Yesterday, when I rose, about six o’clock, I saw the whole surface of the ground covered with snow; the branches of all the trees were decked with this white mantle.”

The success of the petition, customary in all such cases, to Her Majesty is thus recorded:

“The Bishop of Oxford has written me word that Her Majesty will give the communion-plate. *Deo laus!*”¹

As soon as the weather permitted, he began to travel in response to many invitations he had received. His object was to inspire interest on Indian subjects, and to obtain contributions, now urgently needed, for the completion of his cathedral. Churches were opened for him wherever he went, and public meetings held. One of the first of these meetings was at Islington, concerning which he says, “The extreme love of the people was remarkable.” He thus visited Waltharastow, Clifton, Bristol, Orleton, Stafford; and subsequently many other places.

On April 23d, he received a card for the dinner given to Her Majesty’s Ministers at the Mansion House. Two hundred of the nobility and gentry were present, with most of the Cabinet Ministers. Sir Robert Peel was there, with Lords Ripon and Mahon of

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 603

the India Board, and Lord Dalhousie, soon afterwards Governor-General of India, The bishop sat next but one to Sir Robert Peel, and thus describes the part he was called to take:

“After the ‘Health of the Queen,’ etc., had been given, ‘The Church and the Bishops of St. David’s and Calcutta’ was proposed, to my great surprise. While the Bishop of St. David’s was speaking, I asked Sir Robert Peel whether I should say anything. He said ‘Yes.’ But finding that the Bishop of St. David’s had replied for both of us, I asked Sir Robert again whether I should speak. He again replied in the affirmative.”

A pretty long address was the consequence, in which he referred to the recent victories gained in India, the reestablishment of peace, and the gratitude due to God. He expressed an earnest hope that the extension of our territory would lead to an extension of Christianity, and to the division of the unwieldy diocese of Calcutta. He suggested that the foundation of the Bishopric of Agra, at

¹ Praise God! (lit. God be lauded).

this crisis, would be a fitting token of thanksgiving to God; and then commended India, and the cause of Christ, to the prayers and sympathy of all present.

“I believe God helped me,” he says, “for I was perfectly calm and self-possessed. I asked Sir Robert afterwards whether he approved of what I had said. He answered warmly that he did, and that it would be well received. I begged him then, when his turn came to speak, to assure the company that what I had asked for would be granted, and the new Bishopric of Agra founded. He laughed, and said, ‘No, no; the East India Company must do that.’ May this my appeal be answered by success being granted by Him who alone can grant it — the Lord Christ.”

The May meetings were now at hand, and he had consented to preach the annual sermon at St. Bride’s before the friends of the Church Missionary Society. He retired to Beckenham Rectory a few days previous for quiet and preparation; on his return home he wrote:

“*Saturday, May 2d.* I have returned this morning from Beckenham, having had three uninterrupted days for writing my anniversary sermon. I am much exhausted by over-application in preparing it. May it please You, O Lord, to assist your servant in correcting what is amiss, and in delivering it with a humble, contrite, believing heart; simply relying on your grace and Holy Spirit for any, the least blessing at the church and afterwards. Amen.”

This prayer was heard, and abundantly answered. Few anniversary sermons of this excellent society have been attended with a larger blessing, and none, before or since, have met with so liberal a response. The text itself, “They overcame by the blood of the

604 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVIII.

Lamb,”¹ at once arrested attention, and the sermon riveted it. His demeanor in the pulpit was calm and grave; his delivery animated and impressive: and when, in the middle of the discourse, he paused and asked for a glass of water, appealing to his audience to “forgive the infirmities of an old man,” many a heart was touched, and many an eye filled with tears. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the discourse itself, since it was not only published in the annual report, but printed at the time by the society, and widely circulated. It sealed the testimony delivered twenty-nine years before.

“It took me,” he says, “eighty-five minutes in the delivery; and the heat was so intense that I thought I should have broken down more than once. The committee is printing the sermon for immediate publication. *Deo soli per Jesum Christum sit gloria!*² I am now done with public duties, and shall turn myself to preparation for re-embarking, on August 26th, for dear India. Amen.”

He had, however, many other calls to meet. He attended the anniversary sermon before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in St. Paul’s Cathedral. He says: “The service was sublime. Most of the older bishop’s knew me, and were very friendly — Murray of Rochester, Copleston of Llandaff, Kaye of Lincoln, Bethel of Bangor. I had to make an address in the evening.”

“He dined with the Goldsmith’s Company, who had given one hundred guineas to his cathedral fund; and with the Merchant Tailors’ and Mercers’ Company, whom he wished to interest in the same cause.

He had much pleasant communication with Sir Robert Harry Inglis, and told him he repented of the approval he had given to the Act of Roman Catholic Emancipation in 1829, because he “considered that the Roman Catholics had violated all the oaths and promises then made.”

“Sir R. H. Inglis,” he adds, “went on Tuesday last to Sir Robert Peel in the House of Commons, sat down with him on the treasury bench, and showed him a Delhi Gazette requiring more chaplains,

¹ Rev. 12.11.

² Through Jesus Christ, to God alone be glory given!

with a bishop for Agra. Sir Robert Peel, of his own accord, said, 'It would be a fitting testimony of our gratitude to Almighty God, and the new bishop might have the territories of the Sutlej under his jurisdiction.' Sir. R. H. Inglis then asked him if he should put the question to him publicly in the House, as Premier. He, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who sat at his side, both said, 'No, no! it would put up the backs of the East India Directors.'"

On Ascension Day, he dined with the archbishop, and met about twenty-two bishops.

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 605

"Nothing," he says, "could be more grave and becoming. The dinner was the usual one given on state occasions. After coffee, the Bishop of London read the fifth Report of the Colonial Bishop's Fund. It was most encouraging; nine sees erected, and several more determined on. May God bless. Prayers were read in chapel before dinner, the communion service for the day being all that was used."

He mentions that on May 24th, Dr. Marsh had sent him two texts:

"I will keep you in all the way that you go, and will not leave you till I have done all which I have spoken to you of.' This, he says, is 'for my encouragement.' 'Be faithful unto death.' This is 'for my direction.'"

On June 2d, he was at Winchester.

"Being at Archdeacon Hoare's," he says, "I have preached, for the first time in my life, in one of our ancient and magnificent cathedrals — collection £78. At luncheon, afterwards, more than fifty were present, half of them clergy, to whom I trust the sermon may have been useful. There is an unsettledness and agitation in the minds of the younger clergy. O Lord! have mercy on me, and on the church; and enable me to bear my testimony aright to the gospel."

On June 14th, he says:

"I have preached this morning in one of the very largest churches in London — St. Andrew's, Holborn, in which parish I was minister of St. John's from 1808 to 1824. Yesterday I had a delightful evening with Bishop Gobat of Jerusalem, Mr. Pratt, and my two sons. We prayed together. The bishop asked me to preach his consecration sermon, which I shall be happy to do, if it is in my power."

He was also engaged to preach the annual sermon for the Radcliffe Infirmary at Oxford. Preparatory to this, he went down to Worton and spent a few days in that quiet spot, endeared to him by so many associations. Some extracts from his journal will follow:

"WORTON, *June 18th*. I have been preaching once again in Lower Worton church. Here I came as curate forty-three years ago. Blessed be your name, O my tender-hearted Saviour! for another Sabbath in this most peaceful spot.

"WADHAM COLLEGE, OXFORD, *June 25th*. To You, O Lord, be the glory and the praise, for your assistance and goodness to your servant in carrying me through the Tuesday sermon before the University. May it tend to promote your glory and the good of souls. Praised be Your name for Oxford — for the kindness of the vice-chancellor and Mrs. Symons — for assistance in finishing and delivering the sermon — for the extraordinary favor with which it seems to have been received — for the very considerable number of devoted youth now here. I was persuaded at once to commit the sermon to the press.

606 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVIII.

"FARNHAM CASTLE, BISHOP OF WINCHESTER'S, *July 4th*. Thank God, I have preached the Farnham Ordination Sermon, as I promised. It was in the Palace Chapel. There were about thirty candidates. I have also completed the sketch for the consecration sermon for tomorrow."

"CLAPHAM, *July 5th*. I have now gone through the four difficult public duties of my residence in England. (1) The "Reply" of July 23d, 1845. (2) The Church Missionary Sermon. (3) The Oxford Radcliffe Sermon. (4) The Jerusalem Consecration Sermon of this morning. Of this last I had

extremely short notice, and it involved a variety of matters of dispute. I took all the pains I could, working upon the substance of a sermon begun in 1812, and preached twenty-seven times. It took an hour in the delivery. The Archbishop and Bishops of London and Lichfield were present. The service was most solemnly conducted. It lasted three hours and a half; and as the heat was excessive, I was overcome with weariness. The body of the chapel was crowded with gentlemen, and the gallery and archbishop's pew with ladies.

"HAMPSTEAD, *July 8th*. At one o'clock yesterday, I attended the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge. The Archbishop and the Bishop of London were present. I thanked the society most sincerely for their gift of £5000 towards the cathedral, and their undertaking to print an improved edition of the Hindustani prayer-book. I mentioned Her Majesty's gift of communion plate, the Rev. Mr. Craig's (of Leamington) gift of the lectern eagle, Mr. T. Natt's gift of £750 for a canon's residence, and the grant of £300 from the University of Oxford. I also went through the general estimates. All was received and replied to in the kindest manner possible."

"FULHAM PALACE, *July 14th*. On Sunday last, I preached my fortieth sermon since February 8th. It was at Christ Church, Spitalfields, the parish of my birth. There was an immense congregation, and deep attention.

"I was struck with the fleeting tenure of life, as I sat here in Bishop Porteus' library, with the portraits of Ridley, Sherlock, Lowth, and others around me. The collection is complete. The land on which the palace stands was given to the Bishop of London, A. D. 693.

"CHOBHAM, *July 16th*. I have once more been permitted to preach in Mr. Cecil's pulpit at Chobham, after forty-five years from my first coming here in 1801, as curate. Blessed be God for what He has done in this parish by Mr. Cecil and the two Jerrams.

"A little leisure fills me with confusion and shame, as I meditate on my own heart. Every evil is ready to rise up. The fancy, memory, imagination, are Satan's workshop in advanced life. O Lord, cleanse the thoughts of my heart by the inspiration of your holy Spirit! Grant me that purity of heart which prepares for seeing You.

"BRIGHTON, REV. H. V. ELLIOTT'S, *July 24th*. Another Sunday's mercies. There were a thousand people in church on Sunday morning. Collection for the cathedral, £79 — since made up to £100. Attention deep and solemn. I have been reading here, tranquilly and pleasantly, a volume of Hervey's Letters, discovered sixty years after his death, and published in 1811, full of that thorough devotedness of heart, deadness to all earthly things, and longings after grace and holiness, which characterized the leaders of the revival in our church. He writes, in 1739, to Mr. Wesley and Whitefield and a Mr. Kindine, to

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 607

dissuade from itinerating and leaving the church. Oh that the spirit of Hervey might pervade our younger clergy and myself! To walk with God is the only spring of happiness and usefulness.

"Twenty were at breakfast this morning, and among them Dr. Wordsworth, late of Harrow. I visited St. Mary's Hall, for educating one hundred daughters of the poorer clergy; admirable; cost £20,000."

From Brighton, he complied with the earnest invitation of the Bishop of Exeter. He had been very friendly in India with his son, an officer of escort, and visited him at Bishopstoke, his villa near Torquay.

On July 24th he preached in the cathedral at Exeter, a sermon which was afterwards printed. "I preached," he says, "more strongly and clearly than at Winchester. The cathedral was crammed. The bishop thanked me expressly for the discourse, without any qualification. A public meeting was held afterwards, and £100 contributed for the Calcutta cathedral."

After visiting J. Garratt, Esq., at Bishop's Court, Torquay, and Sir T. D. Acland, where he preached in the private chapel, and met a distinguished and pleasant party, he left Devonshire, and returned to Islington — but not to rest. Huddersfield was again visited — and Manchester,

Hull, Ripon, Sheffield — he preached at all of these places, inspiring great interest, and making large collections.

“HUDDERSFIELD, *August 10th*. I finished and preached yesterday the sermon I mean to make my ‘farewell’ one, from Psalm 79.10, ‘Why should the heathen say, ‘Where is their God?’ It is a great relief to have the foundation of a discourse laid. One or two repetitions will prepare it better for August 30th. The collection last night was £78. I have had a most happy and blessed visit to my beloved children here.

“ISLINGTON, *August 15th*. After an absence of almost three weeks, and collecting rather more than £600 for my cathedral, I returned in safety to this dear home, and found all well.”

Engagements now crowded on him. On August 12th he dined with the East India Company, and wished them farewell, entreating a favorable judgment of his proceedings, and a calm consideration of the different plans he had proposed for the good of the church in India. Changes in the Board of Control had taken place, and Sir J. C. Hobhouse, now Lord Broughton, was president. The bishop, when paying his respects, had found him personally friendly, but hopeless on the matters which had been so frequently discussed. “Thus it has pleased God,” he says, returning from the interview, “that I should fail for the present in all three of my objects. His

608 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVIII.

holy will be done. I must wait for better times, and go on as well as I can. Two most unexpected gifts, however, have come in. One, of £500, from J. Hardy, Esq., M. P., and one, of £1000, from Mrs. Oakely, of Orleton. God forever be praised! “

He went over the new Houses of Parliament at Westminster, conducted by Sir Charles Barry. He visited Westminster Abbey, which he had not seen for fifty years. He made a hurried journey to Cambridge, and preached in Professor Scholefield’s church, which was crowded with university men of all ranks. Various benevolent institutions in London were visited; among them the Jews’ Society in Palestine Place, and Bethnal Green with its churches. On August 25th he took leave of the Church Missionary Committee at Salisbury Square. Sixty gentlemen were present, and Lord Calthorpe presided. The Rev. H. Venn, the honorary secretary, read an admirable address; and after his reply, the Bishop of Oxford wished him farewell in a speech “subdued, affectionate, dignified, and full of heart.”

Now the queen’s magnificent present for his cathedral came in. It consisted of ten pieces of silver plate, richly gilded, and bearing suitable inscriptions. Having deposited these carefully in a case, he bore them with him to India, with unmixed pleasure and feelings of grateful loyalty.

On Thursday, August 27th, accompanied by his two sons, he paid a farewell visit to the archbishop at Addington Park, meeting many distinguished guests, and spending two very pleasant days.

The prominent features of his visit to England have thus been noticed; but it has been impossible to describe all the social communication with his old friends, and all the communion of saints, which constituted its great charm. These may be readily supposed, and must be supplied by the imagination of the reader.

His passage to India had been already secured in a fine sailing vessel, called *The Prince of Wales*; for he dreaded the fatigue and exposure still attendant upon the overland route. He now returned to Islington to preach his last sermon, and bid farewell to his family and friends. The following are his reflections:

“ISLINGTON, *August 30th, Sunday*. Enable me, O my God, on this my last Sunday, and while preaching my last sermon in England, to honor your great name. Inspire, strengthen, guide, bless me, O you Saviour, Redeemer, and Sanctifier of my soul! ¹

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 609

“*August 31st*. I am now leaving this dear abode which I entered on Thursday, June 25th, 1845. Health recovered; children well; sixty-one sermons and addresses delivered. Blessed be God, even the God of salvation. Yesterday I was hurried to the very last moment of going up into the pulpit, and had been at work from half-past five in the morning. God helped me, however. The collection was noble: £92 8s. 5d.

“Now O my Master! I commend myself and all I have and am to You. I commend to You India, Indian governors, Bishop’s College, archbishop, bishops. Your will be done. .

“OFF PORTSMOUTH, ‘*Prince of Wales,*’ 1350 tons, Captain Hopkins, *August 31st*, 9 P.M. Into your blessed hands I commit my body and soul this night on coming on board this vessel. My children and twenty-two friends sat down with me today at the Portsmouth Inn. An address was presented by twenty-four of the neighboring clergy. The Bishop of Oxford called, and Dr. Dealtry joined the party. The Lord now direct and bless.”

Viewed after a lapse of years, there is surely something of the self-devotion of an earlier and better day, in this second departure from his country, his kindred, and his father’s house. The romance of India had long since passed away. He knew the afflictions which awaited him. He had felt the strife of tongues. The sun had struck him. Life was waning. The communion of the church at home, the sympathy of friends, the love of children — all had to be relinquished. Yet none of these things moved him. The grace of Christ never failed, and his purpose never faltered. He called his chaplain to his side, and steadfastly set his face towards India, not counting his “life dear to himself, so that he might finish his course with joy, and the ministry he had received of the Lord Jesus, to testify the gospel of the grace of God.”² Not a word was said to dissuade him. The charge so solemnly laid upon his children, before he left India, was strictly kept; and whatever had been their hopes, their grief was silent. They felt that they should see his face no more.

The second voyage to India, now commenced, is sufficiently described in a letter written by the bishop when the voyage was about to terminate:

“DECEMBER 12TH. 1846.

“We are now in sight of the pilot-vessel, and I must just give you the general feelings I have of the voyage. The little chart enclosed will give you the idea of the progress:

610 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON-. CHAP. XVIII.

“1. Blessed be God for a most pleasant, safe, and rapid voyage of ninety-four days up to the neighborhood of the Sandheads.

“2. Blessed be God for a constantly improving state of health. No seasickness; no illness. I am better than when I came out in 1832. Still, the sands of life are fast running out, O my soul!

“3. Blessed be God for moderate weather. The highest temperature has been 83°; the lowest, 49°. No storms, no calms, no calamities; though somewhat light and contrary winds.

¹ This farewell sermon, with the sermons preached before the Church Missionary Society, before the University of Oxford, at the consecration of Bishop Gobat, and in the Cathedral at Exeter, were printed in a small volume “for private circulation only,” and distributed as presents among the bishop’s wide circle of friends after his departure: the Reply to the Address of the Propagation Society being added as an Appendix. This was done partly because the bishop thought he had published enough, and partly because the archbishop feared the controversy which might have disturbed the church by the publication of the Jerusalem sermon.

² [Act 20.24](#).

“4. Blessed be God for two full services every Sunday, with a single exception; and for a little party of about twenty-five to my morning cabin prayers daily. Also for twenty-eight at the holy Communion, twenty-two in a Bible class, and twenty confirmed, numbers of books lent and given among the sailors, and great impression made.

“5. Blessed be God that there have been no quarrels, no parties among the passengers. All has been love.

“6. Blessed be God for leisure to read a good deal of the Hebrew Bible, Greek, Hindustani, and German Testament, and to compose twelve sermons for India.

“7. Blessed be God for some solid, valuable books perused — Elliott’s *Horae Apocalypticae*, Bishop Jewell, Milner and Mosheim’s *Church History*, Bishop Wilberforce’s *America* (twice read through).¹ Archdeacon Robert Wilberforce’s ‘Five Empires,’² three hundred of ‘Luther’s Letters,’ Archdeacon Hare’s ‘Mission of the Comforter,’ Ranke’s ‘Lives of the Popes,’ and the dishonest, vainglorious, skeptical, scoffing Gibbon.

“8. Blessed be God for having had time to brush up my rusty Latin and Greek. I have read twelve books of the *Iliad*, eight of *Euclid*, many portions of Cicero, and the splendid ‘De Falsi Legatione’ of Demosthenes.

“9. Blessed be God for many private memoirs of eminent Christians — ‘Paterson,’ by Archdeacon Hoare; ‘Whaley,’ by Mr. Harford; Mrs. Vivian; Mrs. Howells; and Charles of Bala.

“10. Blessed be God for the politico-religio instruction of Guizot’s ‘Lectures on Civilization,’ and Father P. Sarpi’s ‘Trent.’

“11. Blessed be God for the accounts in the record of anniversary speeches which I have preserved. They are most admirable. I give the preference to the Bishop of Chester and Hugh Stowell. The worst meeting is the Trinitarian Bible Society; for the Congregational Union was a mere angry outburst against the church.

“In these book topics you will make large allowances for confusion of brain, uniformity of employment, and the lack of interchange of scene. What could I do with myself from six o’clock in the morning to ten in the evening, daily, for fourteen weeks, with no family, no newspapers, no calls, no visits? Badly, therefore, as I read everything, still I would bless God for the mercies granted to me as to books; *aliquid hoerebit*.³

“May I watch now against constitutional infirmities and tendencies.

“May I mortify the whole body of sin.

“May I be wise to rule in the house of God with St. Paul’s discretion and holy prudence.

“Lord give what you command, and command what you will.”

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 611

He landed on Monday morning, December 14th, 1846, and accompanied by the archdeacon, Colonel Forbes, Dr. Webb, and Mr. Pratt, drove round at once to his cathedral. He found there an assembly of all the clergy in and around Calcutta, and at once offered up with them a prayer of “thanksgiving to God.” The first view of the cathedral delighted him, though the progress had scarcely kept pace with his anticipations. He considered the whole edifice, thus far, “a grand

¹ Samuel Wilberforce (1805-1873) Bishop of Winchester and Oxford; third son of William Wilberforce; known as “Soapy Sam.” He was one of the greatest public speakers of his day. He opposed Charles Darwin’s theory of evolution. The title ‘America’ refers to ‘A History of the Protestant Episcopal Church in America.’

² Robert Isaac Wilberforce (1802-1857). The second son of abolitionist William Wilberforce was active in the Oxford Movement. In 1841, he was appointed archdeacon of the East Riding of Yorkshire. He became close with Henry Manning, and they exchanged many letters on theological and ecclesiastical questions. They were deeply involved in re-examining the relationship between the Church of England and Roman Catholicism. In 1851, Manning joined the Roman Catholic Church; three years later Robert Wilberforce did the same.

³ ‘Something of Horeb’ – the rock from which God caused water to flow when Moses struck it (Exo 17.6).

success.” He was received and entertained for a few days by the archdeacon. He finally entered the palace, and resumed his long-suspended duties on Friday, December 18th.

The reader will not expect such incessant labors, and decided action in the time to come, as have been described in the time past. The bishop himself felt that it could not be. “I must go softly,” he said. “I must take in sail.” And so he did. But still the gradual lessening of effort, the contentment with daily duties, and the general superintendence of the church were varied by many novel incidents and vigorous movements; so that, with chastened expectations, the sunset will be found the pleasantest part of the day.

At first, all was confusion. On the Sunday after Christmas, he says:

“Oh, blessed calm! How gracious is the institution of the Lord’s Day! Yesterday, from ten till three o’clock, I was engaged incessantly, without a moment’s intermission, talking, consulting, and receiving the clergy. Tomorrow I shall have to begin again. But interjected is the repose of Sunday; and, as I do not preach today, I have only to turn to You, my God and Saviour, for comfort and grace. I am not yet settled. I do not yet have possession of the state of things. Furniture, books, correspondence old and new, are not yet arranged. I think with much tenderness of Islington and Huddersfield, and the many places where I have sojourned during my magical visit home.”

He had written to the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, on his arrival, and soon received the following letter from him:

“CAMP INDIALA, NEAR UMRITSUR,
“DECEMBER 28, 1846.

“I have had great pleasure in receiving your letter, which assures me of your cordial congratulations; and I value such expressions very highly as proceeding from a prelate whose good opinion we all respect and venerate. I am truly rejoiced that your lordship returns to the country which you have adopted, in good health.

“Since we separated, I have visited many of the quarters which had the benefit of your presence, and I find, throughout the whole Christian community, one prevailing

612 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVIII.

sentiment of affectionate attachment towards you, and a great desire to have you once more among them.

“I am on my way to Lahore, having concluded a new agreement with that government, by which the little Maharajah is to be under British protection for the next eight years; our garrison remaining in Lahore, and the civil as well as military administration of the country being under the guidance of our British Resident, a most able officer, excellent man, and good Christian.”

The bishop was delighted with this “charming letter;” and he was equally pleased to find that Sir Frederick Currie, “a first-rate man and excellent Christian,” was about to enter council. He augured well for India from these things.

His journal-letters to his children were now resumed; and while he remains in Calcutta, extracts from them will carry on the narrative as before:

“*January 14th*, 1847. The chimes of Vulliamy’s clock in the cathedral are beginning to delight all Calcutta. The inscription on the great bell — ‘Its sound is gone out into all lands’ — is to be gilded. This, with the gilded arrow ‘of the Lord’s deliverance’ will, I hope, prove an augury¹ and pledge of the salvation of India.

“*January 6th*. Archdeacon Dealtry is going up the country for a year. His health is materially impaired, and he would certainly be driven home if he did not take this tour. It is a great loss to us in Calcutta.

¹ An event that is experienced as indicating important things to come; from which we get ‘inauguration.’

“January 23d. Who should call on me this morning but Sir Harry Smith, the hero of Aliwal!¹ He was as simple and entertaining as ever. He escaped unhurt himself, through God’s goodness. His dispatch was struck off in the middle of the first night, after the engagement. On the night of the engagement itself, he fell fast asleep with fatigue. On the next he awoke about twelve o’clock, and started from his iron bed to write. He then called all his officers, that they might suggest any corrections, or add any names. About twenty words were altered.”

“January 28th. I have had a melancholy day at Bishop’s College. I had not visited it for three years. Nothing could exceed the personal kindness and respect of the principal and professors. The buildings are in excellent order. My visitor’s room was ready. The number of students greater than ever. But when I came to examine the youth in divinity, their ignorance was deplorable. They seemed to have no love to Christ and their missionary work. The most common questions puzzled them. I made an address, and referred to three matters which had been reported to me. First, that two students had called on Dr. Carew, the Popish Archbishop, and one of them had kissed the ring on his finger, which is the common token of allegiance. Secondly, that another youth had declared he was ready to go and join the Romanists. Thirdly, that the head mistress of the Military Orphan Asylum had professed herself a nun.

“We had a long talk afterwards with the principal and professors. It is quite clear to me that things have been going on for three years as I feared. I really came away, after seven or eight hours spent at the college, sick at heart.

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 613

“February 5th. The Rev. K. M. Banerjea resigns my Cathedral Mission, because I make a difference in the salaries assigned to Europeans and natives.

“February 7th. I have had more general depression, inaptitude to cope with my duties, and disturbance of health (without positive illness) during the last eight weeks than I ever remember. But all is WELL; for God is LOVE.

“February 20th. Last evening I delivered my first Lent lecture. The subject of the course this year is, The nature and importance of habitual penitence of heart before God — not to the exclusion of joy and peace, but as associated with them, and the means of preparing for them. There were six hundred and sixty-seven present.

“March 3d. I have just returned from my morning drive. The triumphal reception of the troops, and of the Sikh guns is preparing. A temporary arch is reared, with the words Aliwal, Moodkee, Sohraon, and Ferozeshur, on the four sides. The fields of the Esplanade are crowded with natives, and at one extremity of it stand two hundred and fifty-two Sikh guns. Elephants and camels are crowding in. I had the utmost difficulty in getting through the dense crowd.

“April 14th. I called on Sir Frederick Currie, and he accompanied me to the cathedral, where Sir. H. Maddock, Mr. Millett, Mr. Cameron, and Sir J. P. Grant met us. The stalls, communion-rails and table, eagle, and pews, were all put up in a temporary manner. Everything seemed to be excellently well. God’s name be praised! In a few months all will be completed. Oh that the spiritual building may rise to the glory of Christ, and the salvation of the heathen!

“May 2d. In June next I hold my general confirmation. Wrestle for me, O my children! in prayer, that God may guide, sanctify, and prosper me, in all my arduous work. I daily pray for you all. Eternity! O, Eternity! What are you? How near! how absorbing! I can only contemplate it in and through Christ. Then I can leave myself both body and soul; for I know that He is ‘able to keep that which I have committed unto Him against that day.’

“May 13th. To my surprise and delight, ‘Bishop Corrie’s Life’ came in on Tuesday. It is a marvellous work. The interior soul of a Christian of the highest grade was never more exquisitely portrayed. There is not a page which does not have some of the ‘gold of Ophir.’ The biographer has

¹ Lieutenant General Sir Henry George Wakelyn Smith, 1st Baronet of Aliwal GCB (1787-1860). A veteran of the Napoleonic Wars and the War of 1812 in the United States. On 28 January 1846 he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Sikhs at Aliwal on the Sutlej.

done little more than arrange the inimitable series of letters and journals. So far it is defective. It will not be generally read. But to the pious mind, which can appreciate spiritual religion, it will be a treasure. It humbles me in the dust. I felt just as I did in reading 'Venn's Life,' and 'Henry Martyn.' At what a low ebb my Christianity has been for the fifteen years of my Indian life!

"June 6th. On Sunday next our four dioceses will be called to humiliation and intercession before Almighty God for our personal and national sins. The solemn and devout manner in which this fast was kept at home, is surely an encouragement to us; and the Governor-General's acceptance of my proposal is no small blessing. The similar attempt I made with Lord Ellenborough was pointedly refused.

"*September 11th.* The sermon for the opening of the cathedral, and the 'final report,' are both in hand. I go twice each day to the building. The pulpit is nearly finished. The lectern is in position. The statue of Bishop

614 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVIII.

Heber is ready to adorn the northern transept. It was finished by Chantrey in 1835. It is colossal, and in a kneeling posture, with the right hand on the breast, and the left supported by the Bible. The likeness is not striking; but the countenance is full of benignity. I put my hand on the left hand of the figure, and it was as a pigmy's to a giant's.

"I have need of tenfold watchfulness and humility, now that the excitement of the approaching consecration is coming on like a flood. Friday three weeks is the day fixed on. The Lord bless! It is the 'contrite spirit' which He makes His abode; and not the 'temple made with hands.' May this be the frame of my soul before Him. Amen.

"*September 14th.* We had our last 'building committee' meeting yesterday — the fiftieth. I dissolved it; and then formed the members into a cathedral vestry, to meet for the first time on October 4th, just before the consecration. I have invited sixty persons to the consecration dinner.

"*October 2d.* The time draws near. The Governor of Bengal and the Members of Council came to inspect the cathedral fittings last evening. We had pushed on everything, so that, to the unpractised eye, all seemed complete. The superb organ struck up as Sir H. Maddock entered the choir. The slips of matting carried the eye along two hundred and thirty-one feet from the west door to the steps of the communion railing. The governor sat in his magnificent chair, which Colonel Forbes declares is a more classical one than the queen's in the House of Lords. The bell tolled for the first time. The whole appearance exceeded the expectations of all present. Thus far, thank God, it is well that no failure has taken place. Now for the humble heart, and the spiritual ends!

"*October 3d, Sunday.* O Lord Jesus! you are the light of my blinded mind. Shine inwardly by your Spirit. Dispel my darkness of soul. Feed me at your blessed table, as 'with marrow and fatness.' Preserve me in patience and equanimity this week, when the consecration is designed to be performed and the sermon preached. May all be done in contrition of spirit, and with a single eye to your glory."

The day at length arrived when the object of so many anxious cares, so many waiting years, so many bright anticipations, so many liberal contributions, so many earnest prayers was to be attained, and St. Paul's Cathedral dedicated to the service of Christ and His church. Eight years had elapsed since the first stone was laid, on October 8th, 1839. The estimated cost then was £40,000; and the real expenditure was found now to be nearly £50,000. The length of the whole building was two hundred and forty-eight feet; the width eighty-three feet; the length of the transepts across the lantern tower one hundred and sixteen feet; the height of the spire from the ground two hundred and six feet; and it stood upon a precinct of seven acres, surrounded with a dwarf wall and iron palisades. It was designed to answer a threefold purpose: First, it was to be a parish church for a large district of Calcutta; secondly, it was to

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 615

be served by a body of clergy, who, under the designation of a Dean and Chapter, were to bear a missionary character and to carry out missionary objects; thirdly, it was to be the cathedral of

the Metropolitan See of Calcutta — the bishop's seat being transferred to it, and all episcopal functions performed in it. For the commencement of the second of these designs a large endowment fund, amounting to nearly £30,000, had been raised, and for the completion of it a similar amount was still required. The annual income thus accruing would have sufficed for the maintenance of six missionary canons who, with the addition of the archdeacon and six honorary canons, would have constituted the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral. But the failure to obtain the Act of Incorporation frustrated this part of the design; and the funds were eventually disposed of in a way which will be told in its proper place. The bishop was in no way responsible for this failure, and the disappointment consequent upon it. He had done what he could. But the reluctance of the East India Company was not to be overcome. The "better times," for which he waited are still future.

On the whole about £75,000 was raised. Of this amount, the bishop himself gave £20,000, or two lacs of rupees — one for the building, and the other for the endowment. The Honorable East India Company appointed two additional chaplains, gave the site, and contributed £15,000 towards the building; being careful, in doing so, to avoid any connection with its avowed and well-understood missionary character. The subscriptions raised in India, including the benefaction from Mr. Gorton, which has been already mentioned, amounted to £12,000. The subscriptions in England, originating with the Archbishop of Canterbury, who called a meeting in Lambeth Palace, and headed the list with £200, and including nearly £7,000 raised by the bishop himself when in England, reached £13,000. The University of Oxford contributed £300 in money, and £200 in books for the cathedral library. The Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel made a grant of nearly £5000 for the foundation of a native canonry. The venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge presented £5000 in five annual payments, and a superb Bible and prayer-book. Mr. Thomas Natt, of London, gave £4000, and £750 for a canon's house.

But, besides these direct contributions, various offerings were made to the cathedral. The superb set of communion-plates offered by Queen Victoria has been already mentioned. Her Majesty also sanctioned the offering of a large stained-glass window by the Dean and Chapter of Windsor. The subject was "The Crucifixion,"

616 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVIII.

after a design by West; the tone of coloring was quiet and subdued. It was executed at a cost of £4000, and was originally intended as a present from King George the Third to St. George's Chapel, Windsor. From some unknown cause, it had never been completed, nor erected in the place designed; and it was now, on the bishop's application, transferred to Calcutta and placed in the east window of the cathedral. The British and Foreign Bible Society granted twelve beautifully bound quarto Bibles. The Rev. Mr. Craig, of Leamington, presented a brazen eagle for the lectern, and Captain Kittoe a handsome stone font, wrought from his own design, and measuring eight feet square at the base. Mr. Llewellyn, of Calcutta, procured to be made in Italy a large alabaster model of the cathedral, and presented it to the bishop, who eventually deposited it in the picture gallery of the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

All these details, and an accurate statement of accounts, were published in a "Final Report," drawn up by the bishop himself, and widely circulated both in India and England. It also contained the sermon preached at the consecration, an account of the ceremonial observed, etchings of the exterior and interior of the building, and important original documents connected with the bishop's designs and the government grants.

Power had been retained to transfer to the building fund, in case of need, some part of the bishop's own benefaction to the endowment fund; and with the partial application of this resource, no debt of any kind remained; so that the offertory collection made on the

consecration day, amounting to £200, was bestowed upon the Calcutta Additional Clergy Society. It is rarely that so great a scheme sees so happy a termination. The bishop always attributed it mainly to the gratuitous and most able assistance of Col. Forbes who superintended the work for eight years with a zeal and perseverance almost unequalled. "His services," says the bishop, "fully met all our warmest desires, and surpassed all the highest anticipations we had formed."

And now the consecration day has dawned. The whole area is crowded, every seat occupied, every aisle filled. For the first time the voice of prayer and praise ascends. Then all is hushed, and the venerable bishop's voice is heard repeating, as his text, the sublime words of inspiration: "Will God in very deed dwell with men on earth? Behold the heaven and the heaven of heavens cannot contain You, how much less this house which I have

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 619

built." ¹ The discourse founded on these words lasted for an hour; and then forty Indian clergy, with twenty students of divinity, and eighty of the laity, knelt before the Lord's table and partook of His Supper. The service, which had commenced at half-past ten, was not ended till half-past three. Then followed the assembling at the palace, and all the kind congratulations and addresses incidental to such occasions. The bishop had borne up well through all the excitement and fatigue; but, about nine o'clock, exhaustion became apparent. At the suggestion of his medical adviser, he left the company, and retired to rest. He had felt poorly for two days — he had not slept for two nights — and now he was laid aside: "I am a prisoner of the Lord," he says next day; "as Jacob halted on his thigh at Penuel, so it was at the consecration of my cathedral. But how merciful that I was just able to go through the duties of the day! And now God has laid me low, to chasten and humble me, to empty me of self, to make my religion more real, to allure me and bring me into the wilderness, and there 'speak comfortably to me,' to prepare me for my last remove, to quicken me in prayer, faith, resignation, love."

His illness did not last long. On October 19th he recalled the events of the day, and wrote as follows:

"You will want me to give you a further account of the consecration. It was a wonderful sight, for India. As I drove to the cathedral at ten o'clock, the whole space around it was filled with carriages of all descriptions, in the most picturesque groups. The clergy and laity were awaiting my arrival, surrounded with multitudes of spectators. I made my way through them with verger and pastoral staff, and then proceeded up the middle aisle to the communion-rails. The petition for consecration was then read. I assented; and then the procession began, repeating, as usual, the twenty-fourth Psalm. The other forms having been gone through, the morning service commenced, the organ leading superbly in the chants. Colonel Forbes was sitting near me. I turned to him and said, 'How beautifully the voice is heard.' When I ascended the pulpit, there was all around me a sea of heads, reaching to the doorway and outer steps. At the communion, the thirty-five-clergy kneeling at the rails, and the five ministering within, presented to my mind an overwhelming sight. We retired at half-past three o'clock, praising and blessing God for all we had heard and seen. The dinner subsequently went off admirably well. The governor, members of council, secretaries, clergy, etc., were full of kindness and love. Can I wonder that the Lord sent me a 'thorn in the flesh,' a 'messenger of Satan to buffet me?' No: I rejoice in His chastening hand."

620 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVIII.

On December 12th, the Governor-General, Viscount Hardinge, attended the cathedral in state, accompanied by all his staff having arrived in Calcutta at a late hour the preceding evening.

"Immediately after service he called, and came running up to me," says the bishop, "just as freely as Lord William Bentinck used to do. I took his hand affectionately in both mine, and said, 'How

¹ 2Chronicles 6.18.

different, my lord, are your circumstances now from those of December 12th, 1845. You have been absent from Calcutta more than two years, and no such important period has passed since the time of Clive, Wellesley, and Lord Hastings.’

“I can confidently assure you,’ said the Governor-General, ‘of what, as a man of peace and love, will give you pleasure, that the tranquility of India is safe for many years to come.¹ But a soldier’s victories are attended with pain and grief at the loss of human life. Your achievement in building so beautiful a cathedral, my dear bishop, has immortalized your name, and left no regret at the manner of accomplishing it.’

“I replied. It is to God alone I humbly give the glory; and then, as the instrument, to the unexampled skill and devotion of Colonel Forbes.

“Oh,’ he rejoined, ‘I was delighted with it, both as to its exterior and interior. It far exceeds my expectations. I shall inform Her Majesty of it. The noble picture of the Crucifixion was her gift, I understand, and it has a fine effect. You wanted some land, did you not, for schools? I shall be most happy to grant you some. Your attack of gout is nothing. It is a sign of a vigorous constitution. Bishop Barrington had the gout at eighty; and you are looking the picture of health.’ He then rose and turned to the whole-length portrait of the Duke of Wellington on the wall, and afterwards stood for a minute gazing on the ‘Waterloo Banquet,’ and pointed to himself and many of his old friends. He then took leave, saying that he should attend the cathedral on Christmas Day. He is of the middle size; a fine head; hair quite gray; eye full, and very vivacious; fair complexion; much sunburnt; speaks quick and good-temperedly.”

The communication with Lord Hardinge, for the remainder of his stay, was very pleasant to the bishop. He dined at Government House on Christmas Eve, and had much interesting conversation. Soon after, an aid-de-camp was sent to ask whether cards of invitation should be issued to the bishop and clergy for the great ball to be given to Lady Dalhousie on her arrival. The bishop said “No,” but he felt the attention. Though unable to attend the public meeting called to honor to the departing Governor-General, he wrote a letter giving his suffrage and his subscription towards an equestrian statue. He thought Lord Hardinge ranked among our best governors-general “for experience, talent, wisdom, courage, moderation and success, combined with a regard to religion and the worship of God;” and he regretted his departure.

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 621

Though suffering from the failure of a Calcutta bank, and threatened with heavier liabilities, he still ventured to engage a house at Cossipore, near Calcutta, to which he might occasionally retire for air and rest. He called it Bishopstoke, and took much delight in the grounds by the river side.

His journal-letters may now be resumed.

“CALCUTTA, *January 13th*. We have come to Calcutta to dine with the fifth Governor-General whom I have known — Lord W. C. Bentinck, Lord Auckland, Lord Ellenborough, Lord Hardinge, and now Lord Dalhousie. Indeed, the short administrations of Lord Metcalfe and Mr. W. W. Bird, raise the number of these temporary kings to seven in fifteen years. May the Christian faith be the foundation of the new government.

“*January 16th*. I have been delivering a sermon from “Be kindly affectioned one to another with brotherly love, in honor preferring one another.’² The late and the present Governor-General were both present, and sat in the two chairs provided for Lord and Lady Dalhousie in the Governor-General’s stall. It is the first time, I believe, since England put her foot in India, that two governors-general appeared together in church.

¹ Alas for human anticipations! These words were spoken on the eve of the terrible battles of Bannugger, Chillianwallah, and Guzerat.

² Rom. 12.10.

“January 22d. Yesterday I attended Lord Dalhousie’s first levee.¹ He sent me, most kindly, a note, saying I should have the entree.² And accordingly the members of council, commander of the division, and myself, were admitted beforehand, and took our stations in a semi-circle on one hand of the Governor-General, while his staff was arranged on the other. Four or five hundred presentations took place, after the manner of St. James. Lord Dalhousie said he had no idea the society of Calcutta was so large. I was myself glad to see so many of my old friends, and to make many new ones. Lady Dalhousie will, I suppose, hold a drawing-room; and then all will fall into its ordinary course.

“March 17th. I took the archdeacon, who has returned to Calcutta, to introduce him to Lord and Lady Dalhousie. Lord D. does not look well. I had a great many matters to lay before him. Nothing could exceed his kindness, and readiness to do all I propose. He is far more disposed to build churches than Lord Hardinge, who has a strange idea that in military stations, however large, it was not worthwhile to erect any, because it was possible the troops might be differently posted afterward. My answer is — that if your stations induce you to build barracks, storehouses, hospitals, and long rows of bungalows, then you may at least erect at the same time a ‘house of prayer.’

“March 20th. Yesterday the mail came in. The death of Dr. Howley, Archbishop of Canterbury, whom I have known for thirty-six years, deeply affects me. I wrote above the line of the letter which communicated the intelligence, these words: ‘I hope the Bishop of Chester (Dr. J. B. Sumner) will succeed. No appointment could be so good.’ The Court of Directors has given us six more chaplains, making fifty-nine and, with the usual supernumeraries, sixty-five. This is an immense boon.

622 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVIII.

“Easter Day, April 13th. I have been enabled to preach my sixteenth Easter sermon. Oh for a Resurrection blessing! On Good Friday evening I was so exhausted with my hour’s sermon (concluding the series of Lent lectures on The Temptation), that I totally forgot to give the benediction. We have need to pray for our bodies as well as our souls.

“May 2d. I have finished reading the incomparable Maclaurin, and made progress in Hooker’s fifth book on Confirmation and the Lord’s Supper. Lord Campbell’s first volume I have gone through. It is capital in its way; pretty fair towards men of all parties; but lacking, perhaps, in a just standard of religion and morals. It is too lenient to the Papists. Dear, noble Cranmer and all the Reformers are mangled and trampled on in a terrible manner. Lord Brougham’s ‘Statesmen of the time of George III.’ is beautiful; the style splendid, vigorous, overwhelming. I never saw Burke, Fox, or Pitt in so bright a light before — Burke especially. Beloved Wilberforce is also well sketched out. Poor George the Fourth is held up to utter contempt, and with a fierceness which betrays itself; while his lawyer-like defence of the profligate Queen Caroline is a disgrace to the writer.

“These books I take up, for half an hour at a time, in the languor and imbecility of April and May afternoons; that is, between the close of my siesta at three o’clock and my drive out at six.

“May 5th. I have had an audience with the Governor-General. There is a kindness and friendliness in him which is most attractive. The Court of Directors has sent out a fierce letter prohibiting any more churches being built. Such is still the anti-Christianity of these worldly-wise merchants. The Governor-General says we must build large schoolrooms. And my notion is to add a little ecclesiastical appearance to them. Thank God I got my cathedral!

“Sunday, May 7th. It is seven o’clock in the evening, and I am sitting, exhausted, in my verandah, incapable of anything mental or bodily. I have been dragged twice to church — ‘faint yet pursuing,’ — and preached once from 1Peter, 2.19-25. O you good Shepherd and Bishop of souls! Be pleased to bless it to the salvation of many. And be the Bishop of my soul — my inspector — my guardian — my overseer — my watchful, gracious protector. May this be my comfort, as an under shepherd, that you, the great and good Shepherd, are the Bishop and Ruler of souls in your church.

“July 10th. Sir T. F. Buxton’s ‘Life,’ which has just come in, has roused me, I hope, to an earnest desire to imitate his most exalted character. What a delightful example does he hold out! — the

¹ Levee: a formal reception of visitors or guests (as at a royal court).

² Entrée: the right to enter.

interior of his soul all devotedness, his earnestness never relaxing, his growth in the knowledge of Christ manifest, his acute, manly eloquence supported by faith and prayer irresistible. I am mightily taken by the work. His letters are most admirable; but his deep piety, his referring everything to God in fervent prayer, his singleness of purpose, are most deserving of imitation. His tender affection for his family is very touching. I cannot help thinking the book will do great good, in the highest sense.

“*July 28th.* I was very poorly on Sunday, Monday, and Tuesday. Dr. Webb says it is the chills and heats of the rainy season, and inevitable. He

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 623

wants me to leave Bengal after October, and proceed to the milder winter of Madras, Bombay, and Ceylon. I have therefore spoken to the Governor-General, and sent in the usual public letter. My plan is to hold a confirmation on November 28th; an ordination on St. Andrew’s day, November 30th; a visitation on December 5th; then to embark on December 6th, arrive at Madras December 13th, and stay twenty-one days; arrive at Colombo January 8th, 1848, and stay twenty-one days; arrive at Bombay February 8th, and stay twenty-one days; arrive again at Calcutta March 19th. I am very old, very peevish, very fractious, very touchy; and though I strive against these infirmities, yet they pervade my conversation and letters, I fear more than I am aware of. Forgive me. They are the old man’s whims and snares. Dr. Webb is not sorry to see a touch of the gout as a safety-valve. I have my great chair with four staves, to be carried about the house — a hand carriage to be drawn about the grounds — my flannel shoe to enable me to walk from room to room.”

It is singular to hear of the “great chair,” the “hand carriage,” and the “flannel shoe,” in connection with a contemplated journey by land and sea of five thousand miles. But the mind mastered the body now, as in times past; and the plan proposed for a fifth visitation was, in the good providence of God, effectually carried out. The confirmation and ordination were held as proposed; on November 3d the bishop delivered his fifth general charge, and second metropolitical charge. Its consideration belongs to a new chapter; meanwhile, the present one will be concluded as before, by a few extracts from his correspondence.

TO HIS SISTER, MRS. PERCIVAL WHITE.

“CALCUTTA, OCTOBER 6TH, 1847.

“Again a mail is about to leave for England, and another is expected to arrive from England. My heart desires to learn how my brother is, and how you bear up yourself. All affliction is designed to draw us nearer to God; to keep us nearer; to wean our affections from earth; to endear the Bible; to kindle new love to Christ; to quicken our prayers; to urge us to do what is to be done with all our might; to sweeten the repose of heaven; — these are the blessed fruits of affliction under the Holy Spirit’s teaching.

“I am wonderfully well for one in his seventieth year, and am now much occupied in preparing my consecration sermon. Oh that Christ may condescend to fill the house with His glory, and may a crowd of black converts hereafter sing in it, ‘You are the King of glory, O Christ!’”¹

¹ A most interesting account, extracted prayer from the Calcutta *Christian Intelligencer* for August 1869, will serve to show how this has been heard and answered. On the occasion of the General Thanksgiving, after the mutinies, to which all India was called by the highest authority on Thursday, July 28, 1859, we read as follows:

“In Calcutta, the day was commenced by an early service in the Church Missionary Church, Amherst Street, at 7 o’clock a.m., for the Mission families and other persons in the neighborhood. It was conducted by the Rev. J. Vaughan; and while it was going on there was also divine service in the cathedral, in the Bengali language, at 7.30 A.M. The native Christians of the Church Missionary Society, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in and about Calcutta were invited; and though the hour was rather too early, the distance of the cathedral from many of them too great, and the calling of them away from their own churches on an occasion of such a public solemnity, objected to by some of the missionaries, about two hundred and fifty native Christians assembled in the spacious transepts of the cathedral (thus realizing one of the prophetic visions of its founder, Daniel Wilson), and joined in the public service of Thanksgiving. The prayers were read by the Rev. Hurry Hur Sandel, native minister attached to the cathedral, and the sermon preached, at Bishop Cotton’s request, by the Rev. T. Sandys, senior missionary to the Church Missionary Society. There were no others of the clergy present, besides those just named, nor indeed any

TO DR. WILBERFORCE, BISHOP OF OXFORD.

“CALCUTTA, OCTOBER 23, 1847.

“Will you allow me to tender through you to Her Most Gracious Majesty a ‘final report’ of St. Paul’s Cathedral, to which Her Majesty has so munificently contributed.

“The service of communion-plates was placed on the sacred table on the day of consecration, October 8th, and was universally admired. The great eastern window, with West’s superb picture of the ‘Crucifixion,’ which Her Majesty sanctioned the gift of, on the part of the Dean and Canons of Windsor, was immediately over the holy table.

“The Appendix to the Report contains the chief correspondence which took place during the eight years that the cathedral was in building.

“It would have been most gratifying to the queen’s religious and benevolent heart, could Her Majesty have honored the consecration with her presence.

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 625

Such a sight had never been seen in India. A crowded audience filled the sacred edifice, pressed around the doors, and in the lantern and transept, to obtain a sight of what was taking place, and hear the Divine word. The impression made on the minds of the Christian community and the native population, was electric. I trust a permanent blessing will follow, if God condescends to give us His grace in Christ Jesus.

“Daily prayers have been celebrated since, and a steady congregation is being collected.

“The Native Cathedral Mission will be begun wisely and gradually, as the one missionary now appointed acquires the Bengali language.

“In a word, I may venture to assure Her Majesty that all the ends proposed in erecting a Protestant cathedral in heathen India appear likely to be effected, under God’s blessing.

“I commend myself to my gracious sovereign’s favorable consideration, and am, etc. etc.

“P. S. — I send an aged bishop’s blessing to the royal house and family, for whom my prayers are continually put up in this distant land.”

other Europeans, except Mr. Sandys and the Revs. G. G. Cuthbert and H. C. Milward. All was, of course, in the Bengali language. A hymn, or chant, composed for the occasion by one of the native Christians, was sung. The following is a translation of it:

- I. O gracious God, your people spare, Who humbly trust in you; You mercy up to now has spared, Or here we should not be.
- II. What terror did our minds assail. When bloody strife prevailed! But now we praise your glorious name That you the strife have quelled.
- III. Then let us raise, in Jesu’s name, A loud triumphant cry; And let it reach to every land Beneath the vaulted sky.
- IV. But hear us. Lord, we humbly pray; Show mercy, we entreat; And bring the Hindu, bring the Turk, To worship at your feet.
- V. This promise in your Word appears, “My foes I will subdue.” Your foes are humbled in the dust, And thus your Word is true.
- VI. But, O, you righteous King! we crave A victory more than this; Let all the erring sons of men Be conquered by your grace.
- VII. Let all the teachers of your Word Be taught, O Lord! of you; And may your people only learn The truth as ‘tis in you.
- VIII. And last, we pray, most mighty God, Our gracious queen defend; Her life through many years prolong, Her happy rule extend.

TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

“CALCUTTA, OCTOBER 28TH, 1847.

“I have the honor to submit a copy of the ‘final report’ of St. Paul’s Cathedral, to which is prefixed the sermon I preached at the consecration, and an appendix of documents.

“Everything has succeeded to admiration as to external matters, and we hope that the internal blessing, as regards the salvation of souls, will follow; nor have we any reason to doubt it, if the bishop and clergy preserve the simple, pure, evangelical spirit of our Protestant Church.

“The service lasted five hours; and, in the evening, between sixty and seventy sat down to a consecration dinner at the palace.

“Your Grace will not be surprised to hear that my strength broke down after all the excitement of the long previous preparation, and the duties of the day. I am, however, recovering, through God’s mercy; and hope to use all diligence to make my ‘calling and election sure.’ I commend myself to your Grace’s prayers, and trust to secure your confidence and affection during my few remaining days.”

To this letter the following reply was received. It was written just one month before the venerable archbishop’s death, and would be among the last he wrote. The trembling hand tells of the effort made.

“LAMBETH, JANUARY 8TH, 1848.

“I cannot sufficiently express my acknowledgments of your kindness in sending me an account of that most interesting solemnity, the Consecration of the Cathedral Church of St. Paul’s, Calcutta. I have received it with those feelings which are naturally excited by the occasion, and are called forth in the highest degree by your lordship’s description of the ceremonial, and the deep interest felt by the multitudes

626 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVIII.

assembled to witness a sight, the first of the kind which has been ever exhibited in the British dominions in India.

“This edifice, which your lordship has seen completed will, I trust, be preserved by the merciful care of God’s providential goodness, to the end of the world, a monument of your zeal and munificence, conspicuous alike for its architectural beauty, and for the application of wealth to the noblest of purposes, in a country where, for a length of years, the public attention has been almost solely directed to mercantile and political objects.

“Our satisfaction is only abated by the effect which your lordship’s exertions have had on your health. We trust that your recovery will be complete, and that you will not fail to guard against a relapse by all the precautions requisite in an Indian climate.

“I have for some time hardly answered a letter; nor would anything have prompted such an exertion, but the fear of losing a fortnight in expressing the pleasure derived from your recent communication. Commending you heartily to the mercies of God, I am,” etc. etc.

TO COLONEL (THE LATE SIR HENRY) LAWRENCE.

“CALCUTTA, APRIL 14TH, 1847.

“I am greatly obliged to you for your letter, and for filling up the ‘title’ for Mr. Parker.

“I beg to add my name to your subscription list (on behalf of the ‘Lawrence Asylum,’ in the hills near Simlah, for the education of the children of English soldiers) for two hundred rupees annually, to date from May 1847.

“The single point for Mr. Parker to attend to is, to leave the children whose parents object to our Protestant forms of church government, quite free to receive instruction from their parents’ ministers at proper times. But, in truth, the privilege will not often be claimed if no irritation is excited. It is a noble institution, and will do you infinite honor. And may God bless it abundantly!

“I am glad your sketch of rules is only experimental. It is better to wait and consider things well, before final arrangements are determined on.”

TO DR. WITHERS, PRINCIPAL OF BISHOP’S COLLEGE.

“JANUARY 1ST, 1848.

“Allow me, in return for your affectionate note, to assure you that I feel deeply indebted to you for all the regard and attention which, for above fifteen years, you have had the goodness to pay to my sacred office and to my person. You may rely upon your prayers being reciprocated. Bishop’s College has ever been one of my grand objects in India. Its principal, professors, and pupils will be still much upon my heart. I must soon appear before the bar of God, and answer for any omissions I may have been guilty of in promoting that purely evangelical truth which our martyred reformers labored to infuse into our thirty-nine articles, offices, and homilies, and on which all missionary success must depend. In whatever respects I have erred in this duty, either in

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 627

defect or in excess, I pray God, for Christ’s sake, and also you, my beloved friend, to forgive me.

“The sands of life are running out, and my grand concern is to have a ‘conscience void of offence towards God and towards man.’ I have still the strongest possible conviction that the late movement in our church has been a movement towards the fundamental errors and superstitions of Popery, as the numerous apostasies taking place every month too sadly testify. May God be pleased, of His continual pity, to cleanse and defend His church!

“Whether you have health to return to India (which I earnestly desire) or not, is with God. I am not likely to meet you here, should you revisit the college. But I send you my apostolical benediction, and pray God that we may both of us be ‘found in Christ’ in that day.”

TO HIS GRANDCHILD, LUCY ANN WILSON.

“COSSIPORE, DECEMBER 8TH, 1847.

“I am now sitting at my window at Cossipore, in the drawing-room, which opens upon a verandah. The Hooghly is flowing by with its turbid waters. The opposite shore is all jungle, rice-fields, and bamboos. The river is crowded with boats, with their tiny, ragged sails. The baggage heavy boats are of the same construction as in the time of Alexander the Great, and the shouts of the coolies, loading and unloading the vessels, give a liveliness to the scene. This is the fifteenth letter I have written this mail, and I endeavor to transport myself in imagination to Huddersfield and Islington, and meditate on what I was doing December 8th, 1845, surrounded by my children and grandchildren. I pray God to bless you all, so that when I lay low in the dust, my grandchildren may arise and call Jesus blessed, and thus one generation declare Christ’s praises to another.”

TO HIS SISTER, MRS. PERCIVAL WHITE.

“MARCH 6TH, 1848.

“God is exercising me with an indifferent state of health, which may be the taking down of this frail tabernacle. I am endeavoring, therefore, to gather up my affections; to detach myself from this world, and all its concerns; to lower my sails, and go softly towards the haven of rest.

“I have no hope but Christ. All my doings are of His grace, and all unspeakably imperfect, and defiled with original and actual sin. The merit of Christ is the rock on which I build more and more. Religion is with me a very simple thing. I am a sinner, Christ is a Saviour. My faith, I hope, brings forth fruit to prove its sincerity, and distinguish it from hypocrisy and formality. But the fruit does not bear the tree — the tree bears it.

“Evil thoughts are among the assaults which Satan makes, I find upon old age. Our collect for the second Sunday in Lent, and at the commencement of the communion service, suit well my state of mind. So also the words of the Psalmist, ‘I hate vain thoughts; but your law I love.’

“Another temptation of old age arises from familiarity with the theory and language of religion, and the lack of reality and meaning in the terms we commonly use in conversation, social exposition, and prayer.

628 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XVIII

“A third temptation is the acting from habit, and not from love.

“A fourth, the depression of natural spirits, pulling down the soul in duty.

“But Christ is my all. There I hope to cling, living and dying.”

TO THE REV. C. JERRAM.

“CALCUTTA, JULY 1848.

“You, my beloved friend, are before me in the vale of life. I was reading my notes of our interview at the vice-chancellor’s in June 1846, and I found your age marked at seventy-seven. Well, we are in God’s hands: ‘We are immortal,’ said one of the Fathers, ‘till our work is done.’ Dealtry is gone to his rest. Archbishop Howley is removed. Simeon, Cecil, Scott, Newton, Foster, Venn, Buchanan, Robinson — almost all our contemporaries have gone to sit down with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob in the kingdom of God. Soon the time of our departure must arrive. I am most anxious to end well, as Bible Scott used to say. I feel nature sinking. I do not have the spirits nor strength which I used to have. And my spiritual feelings sympathize with my natural. I never had much joy. I was always too conscious of the holiness of God, and the obligations of the law and the gospel, and too sensible of my inward corruptions, to be very high in joy. No; if I can creep into heaven as the poorest and vilest of sinners, I shall then be prepared to sing with an angel’s voice, ‘Blessing, and glory, and honor, and power to Him that sits upon the throne, and to the Lamb forever.’ I have a hope, but it is a faint one, in the Lord Jesus. But I am quite clear I have no other hope. I pray God that I may die with two Scripture sentences in my heart and on my lips — ‘God be merciful to me a sinner,’ and ‘Lord Jesus receive my spirit.’”

TO HIS BROTHER-IN-LAW, WILLIAM BATEMAN, ESQ.

“BISHOPSTOKE, JULY 1ST, 1848.

“I used to write regularly to my beloved sister while alive, on my birthday, which falls tomorrow. I write, therefore, today to assure you of my affectionate love, and to beg the benefit of your continued prayers for me. Entering tomorrow on the seventy-first year of my age, I feel that my work is done, and that I may daily expect my Lord to be calling me to himself. His longsuffering to me is wonderful. I have been preserved in this mortal climate for a year and seven months since my return. Truly I may say, ‘Goodness and mercy have followed me all the days of my life,’ and I hope I may add, ‘I shall dwell,’ through a Saviour’s infinite merits, ‘in the house,’ the upper house, ‘of the Lord forever.’

“Few things encourage me more in looking forward to the near approach of death than the remembrance of the most remarkable consolation and support which my beloved sister experienced under bodily sufferings so exquisite and long-continued previously to her departure. Blessed be God! The love and power of Christ remain the same. His covenant is ordered in all things and sure. His Word is the food of the new life. His Holy Spirit can sustain, sanctify, and cheer, in the dark valley of the shadow of death.

“My dear brother, let us stand fast in the Lord, and examine ourselves, and

1845-48. FOURTH VISITATION. 629

see how we may more glorify our God while we remain here among a world of sinners.

“My dear nieces, do make sure work for eternity. A mother’s, a father’s religion cannot save you. Each must individually give herself to the Lord in sincerity of soul.

TO THE CHAPLAIN AT LUCKNOW.

“CALCUTTA, JULY 24TH, 1848.

“I have duly received your letter inquiring how far it is allowable for a lay gentleman to perform divine services in a station where there is a resident chaplain.

“2. The answer is clear. No lay gentleman can lawfully perform divine services of any sort, in any church consecrated by the diocesan, without his permission.

“3. In stations where there are no resident chaplains, the bishop requests the favor of some pious lay member of our church to read a portion of the prayers, and such a sermon as the bishop approves, to the Christian flock.

“4. This is a case of necessity, and ceases when a chaplain resides.

“5. At Lucknow it appears that the chaplain gives one full service in the cantonment church every Sunday. No lay gentleman can, therefore, have the least right to perform any services there. The Christian flock can edify themselves during the hours before and after divine service in private devotions and meditations.

“I beg of you to communicate this letter to the parties concerned.”

CHAPTER 19. FIFTH VISITATION. 1848-1851.

BISHOP'S FIFTH CHARGE — VOYAGE TO BOMBAY — ACCIDENT — CEYLON — MADRAS — CALCUTTA — JOURNALS — CHANGE OF RESIDENCE — THANKSGIVING SERMONS — VALIDITY OF ECCLESIASTICAL LAW IN INDIA — SIR CHARLES NAPIER — NEW PALACE — MR. PRATT MADE ARCHDEACON — PRINCIPAL KAY, OF BISHOP'S COLLEGE — LORD DALHOUSIE — JOURNALS — VISITATION — CHURCH BUILT FROM "ILLUSTRATED LONDON NEWS" — REV. J. BLOOMFIELD, DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN — RAJAH BROOKE — VOYAGE TO BORNEO — RETURN TO CALCUTTA — JOURNAL — PROFESSOR STREET'S ILLNESS AND DEATH — CATHEDRAL MISSION CONVERTS — DANGEROUS ILLNESS — CORRESPONDENCE.

The charge with which the bishop commenced his second metropolitical and fifth general visitation was inferior to none of its predecessors. He called it his "dying charge;" and it was written under the impression that it would be so. Firmness and decision are mingled with gentleness and affection. The style is simple, and the things brought out of the treasury are both new and old. He first dwelt upon the peculiar duties pertaining to the clergy in the stirring times in which they lived; and then entered upon the encouraging statistics of the diocese, and events of recent occurrence in India. He spoke of the cathedral — of its completion, its daily prayers, the extent of its design, and its bearing upon Missions:

"An Indian cathedral," he said, "must be for future generations. It will then be seen to have given a status to Christianity in a vast Heathen and Mohammedan population. It has at present no charter of incorporation, no canons, no dean, no chapter. We have, however, two cathedral missionary clergy preparing for their holy labors. I trust the time will come when its canonries shall be established and thrown open without distinction to all our dioceses, for such as by their talents, general learning, and the acquisition of the Bengali, shall be found qualified for discharging the required duties. I rejoice to think that in some future period an Indian bishop may preside over an Indian chapter, and administer divine offices to a crowd of Indian converts in this first Protestant cathedral of our Eastern possessions."

The promising condition of the Missions everywhere was then pointed out; various topics were suggested as fraught with

1848-51. FIFTH VISITATION. 631

good promise for India; especially the order emanating from the late Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, prohibiting the continuance of public works upon the Lord's Day.

From these important matters he turns for a moment to himself, and describes the sensible effect of increasing years upon his mental and bodily powers:

"As time has been passing on, I can most unfeignedly say that I shrink more and more from the trials and temptations, and from the responsibility, also, of the heavy charge committed to me. Increasing age has disabled me from performing with regularity many of the active duties which I formerly delighted to engage in. My powers of body and mind begin to fail. I feel also more and more the extreme difficulty of maintaining the true spirit of the gospel, and holding that just medium between remissness and particularity which that gospel breathes. I see how little can be done by mere authority, and how entirely success depends on the divine grace and mercy. I am persuaded that the secret spring of blessedness in a diocese is in the bishop and clergy living near to God, and acting under the impression of 'the powers of the world to come.' The early years of my episcopacy I see to have been mingled, in a large measure, with human motives. And I can only beg of you to cast yourselves, while I endeavor to do the same, on the mighty grace of the Holy Ghost, to assist us in the better discharge of our several ministries, for the few remaining days of our connection with each other. That grace I know is most conspicuously magnified in man's infirmity. 'When I am weak' — I would desire to say with the great Apostle of the Gentiles — 'then am I strong.'"

He then proceeds to dwell on three controversial topics, at some length, and with great force — the Church, the Lord’s Supper, and holy Baptism.

As touching the Church, he says:

“Whatever a visible church can do, ours has done for us. But there is one thing which she cannot do, and yet which she supposes in all her ministers — she cannot infuse THE LIFE OF GOD INTO THE SOUL; she cannot give that spiritual perception and love to Christ, and the peculiar truths of His glorious gospel on which all real efficiency depends. God keeps these, His choicest blessings, in His own hands. There is something higher than any forms can reach. No church can give life.

“We must be most careful not to use ambiguous language, as if our own church was THE CHURCH, and there was no other; or as if men might be saved by it in a sort of corporate capacity, while others are left to the uncovenanted mercies of God.”

As touching the Lord’s Supper, he says:

“To apply terms to the holy Communion, as if it were a sacrifice for the sins of the living and dead — as if there was a superhuman change of the elements

632 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIX.

of bread and wine, though we avoid the use of the term transubstantiation — as if it were valid by the mere *opus operatum*, and there was scarcely any union and communion with Christ except by this means — is to fatally deceive the souls of our hearers.”

As touching holy Baptism, he quotes Archbishop Cranmer and Bishop Latimer:

“Archbishop Cranmer says: ‘In Baptism those that come feignedly, and those that come unfeignedly, are both washed with the sacramental water, but both are not washed with the Holy Ghost, and clothed with Christ.’ — ‘Simon Magus,’ says Bishop Latimer, ‘came out of the water as great a blackamoor¹ as he went in.’”

And after arguing at some length that its efficacy is not absolute, but conditional, he goes on to say:

“It has always appeared to me that the only safe course is not to argue forwards but backwards; not to suppose that external privileges and the reception of the sacrament will prove our individual possession at any subsequent moment, of the grace and blessings it represents and seals, which they will not and cannot do; but to argue back, humbly and cautiously, from the present actual state of our hearts and affections before God, to the sacrament, which is the sign and pledge of them. Let us first ascertain by the scriptural marks laid down by St. John, and other inspired writers, that we are really ‘born of God, and love God,’ and then we may infer, with holy joy and gratitude, that we possess all the blessings which the church and her ordinances have pronounced. Salvation depends on our personal faith, not on the reception of the sacraments.”

The charge concluded by pointing out — what he did not “consider it safe to omit from any charge” — the real nature of the gospel, and those specific doctrines involved in it, which men in general are “so reluctant to embrace.”

Certain additions, rendered necessary by local circumstances, were made at Bombay, Ceylon, and Madras; and the charge, when printed, was dedicated to the bishops of those dioceses. A second and improved adaptation of the “Prayer for the High Court of Parliament” to the circumstances of India, was added as an appendix. The alteration was only slight, and it was sanctioned, so far as possible, by the archbishop. The first clause ran as follows; the remainder was as in the prayer-book:

¹ That is, as dark a heathen afterwards (i.e. someone living in spiritual darkness) as he was before.

“Most gracious God, we humbly beseech You, as for the Empire in general, so especially for the High Court of Parliament, assembled under our most religious and gracious Queen; for British India, for the Governor-General, the

1848-51. FIFTH VISITATION. 633

Governors, the Supreme Courts of Judicature, the Councils, and all who are entrusted with any authority in it: That you,” etc.

After the delivery of the charge, and the usual entertainment given to the clergy, the bishop at once embarked in the pilot-brig *Tavoy*, Captain Hand, and proceeded to sea with a fair wind — bound first for Bombay. Mr. Pratt accompanied him; and, after a pleasant voyage, they reached the desired haven on December 4th, 1848. Dr. Carr, the excellent bishop, and Mr. Pigott were soon at the ship’s side, and in a few hours he was occupying the same comfortable suite of rooms as in March 1843.

Lord Falkland, the Governor of Bombay, welcomed him very kindly, and Dr. Carr and the clergy presented him with an affectionate address. He said he was “a good deal whirled about,” and had “no Doctor Webb to look after him,” but was still able to perform all required duties, to deliver his charge, and preach as usual. The “dear Bishop Carr,” he remarks on leaving, “is goodness itself. He has been thirty-three years in India — longer than any of his clergy.”

The brig *Tavoy* having been previously dispatched, he hastened to overtake her in a small steamer on December 16th, and met with what nearly proved a very dangerous accident. Walking after the captain on the lower deck, and not perceiving an open hatchway, he was precipitated down it. Had he fallen on his head, the shock might have been fatal. “As I was walking boldly on,” he says, describing what took place, “it was on my feet I fell, and I am only now suffering from a livid bruise all down the thigh. God be praised for safety. I must learn not only to look to my guide, but also to the road on which I am walking.”

After a short stay at Cottayam and Allepie, he arrived at Colombo, in Ceylon, on 29th December. Here, for the first time, he found a bishop, and was “overwhelmed with kindness.” There were many local matters full of embarrassment, but he declined entering into them — confining himself to his duties as Metropolitan. On the last day of the year he writes:

“I have been preaching in the cathedral before the governor, Lord Torrington, and a very large audience. My voice rather recovers itself. Thus ends the year 1848, crowned with mercies.”

On January 5th, 1849, he delivered his charge, and the Bishop of Colombo preached the visitation sermon. On Sunday, January 7th, he preached again, bidding the congregation farewell; and in

634 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIX.

the evening describes himself as sitting calmly in the beautiful grounds surrounding the house, “meditating on the past, the present, and the future of the visitation.”

On Monday he sailed for Madras, and arrived on February 1st. There were one hundred and sixty-three letters and papers awaiting him, and he was at once immersed in business. No bishop was in Madras. Bishop Spencer, after long struggling with the climate, had been compelled to leave; and anxious matters of all kinds had accumulated. Sir Henry Pottinger, the governor, sent an aide-de-camp to see him safely across the surf, and when landed, received him with courtesy, and treated him with confidence. He found a home with Archdeacon Shortland, whom he had long known and much esteemed. The Rev. Mr. Ragland had succeeded Mr. Tucker as secretary to the Church Missionary Society; Mr. Evans and Mr. Alcock were at the cathedral; Mr. Lugard at Vepery; Mr. Richards at Black Town; Mr. Symonds at St. Thome; Mr. Powell at the Mount. “These,” he says, “are all good men and true; so that I almost think Madras surpasses Calcutta, though that is well off.” He entered at once into the duties required of him

— presided at the anniversaries of the various religious societies, delivered nine sermons and addresses in fourteen days, held an ordination, repeated his charge, and then at once broke down. What might have been done with impunity in former days, proved now too much for his strength. He was attacked with low fever, and even while begging for a short respite in order to administer confirmation to some hundreds of young persons, all prepared and longing to receive it at his hands, was hurried on board the vessel, and sent to sea. His medical advisers were right in anticipating good effects from the sea air. His recovery was rapid; and when he arrived in Calcutta, on March 2d, Dr. Webb said he was looking “very well.”

With his residence being in Calcutta for awhile, the extracts from his journal-letters will be resumed:

“CALCUTTA, *March* 1849. Let me say a few words on affliction.

“1. The benefit of a great affliction must come from the same hand that sent it. Afflictions in themselves harden and drive from God, as in the case of the ungodly; but in the case of the righteous, they draw us to God, and unite us with him.

“2. This effect will be gradual, secret, between God and the soul, and not loquacious and prominent.

“3. It must be sought for in earnest prayer, and by the grace of the Holy Spirit.

“4. The Psalms are the afflicted soul’s cordial, guide, and model.

1848-51. FIFTH VISITATION. 635

“5. A new covenant should be made with God, and written out in secret, and kept unseen by all but God.

“6. There is no need to look out for any special and tangible reason for the divine chastisement. It is God’s discipline with all His children, and most with those whom He most loves.

“7. A public station, though honorable and useful, is yet like the pinnacle in our Lord’s temptation, from which Satan tries to persuade us to throw ourselves down — to be presumptuous, to make a figure, to aim at display.

“8. A mighty affliction is like the purifier’s furnace, to purge away the dross, that we may come out as gold; but to come out as gold, in Gods estimate and in man’s, are quite different things.

“9. Foolish books and foolish reading should be renounced, and a check put upon all general reading, lest it swallow up too much of the thoughts.

“10. Duties of all kinds must still be actively pursued.

“11. The sensible impression of the affliction will fade, by lapse of time, but the sanctified effect will remain to the end of life.

“12. Cecil’s or Adam’s Thoughts are excellent books for affliction.

“13. Backsliding in heart from God is more or less, alas! too common with us all; afflictions are bitter medicines, designed to deplete the soul of the world and sin.

“14. Meditate on eternity — that will swallow up time.

“15. Realize the agonies of Gethsemane and the Cross.

“16. Fix a time for public thanksgiving and receiving the Supper of the Lord.

“17. Write to wise friends for advice.

“*March 12th.* A gentleman has brought me a letter from the Bishop of Exeter, who says: ‘No difference of sentiment on points even of grave importance can impair my regard for you. May it please God that we meet hereafter in a world where there will be no difference of opinion, no question who is right, no doubt what is truth; but where we shall know even as we are also known.’ Is not this

kind? I have a still better letter from the Bishop of Oxford, in answer to mine, forwarding the 'Final Report' of the cathedral. He at once applied for an audience of the queen; and when he had read my letter and exhibited the engravings, 'the liveliest interest was expressed,' he says, 'in all that I was doing, and the most earnest desire that all my plans for the good of India might prosper.' — 'I trust,' the bishop says, 'that from the other end of the earth you will sometimes think of the son of your old friend, laboring under a burden here at home, the weight of which you can appreciate, on whom rests the Metropolitan Episcopalate of India, and aid him by your effectual prayers to God.'

"*March 15th.* Mr. Macaulay's history gains on me as I read, with the one very serious exception of a lack of consistent and grave moral and religious principle. Philosophical liberalism will never have God's blessing. But what a marvellous writer! What memory! what power of description! what nice delineation of character! His account of the death of Charles II. — his sketch of the Jesuits — his estimate of Burnet — are capital. But all fades before his masterly development of the character, talents, and views of William. I never clearly understood the grounds of the Revolution before. And

636 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIX.

the conduct of Mary — how sweet, when she first learned her future position as queen! I almost forgot to mention the incomparable opening up of Irish affairs in the second volume. I don't wonder that twenty-five thousand copies were sold off (as we are told here) in four or five days.

"*March 23d.* "We have been to inspect Mr. Wilberforce Bird's late house in the Chowringhee Road, which I am advised to make the Bishop's Palace, instead of the one which they have inhabited here for eighteen years. The advantages are its immediate vicinity to the cathedral, a more airy situation, and ground nearby which suitable for schools and missionaries' houses. The disadvantages are the moving of an old man after sixteen years, the inferiority in appearance, and the accommodation not being so great. The design is merely in embryo. With God are the issues of small as well as great concerns. If it is His will, and for His glory, and the good of my successor, it will take place. Otherwise, I would not wish it to succeed for a moment. I am looking daily, I hope, for 'a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.'"

The new arrangement thus referred to was, after some delay, accomplished, and the old palace exchanged for the new one. No risk was incurred by government. The bishop took all that upon himself. Government purchased the new house; the old one was sold. The difference in value (for the old one was the larger and much more valuable) was to go towards the enlargement and improvement of the new building. In the result, the bishop expended far more than the "difference" amounted to; and he retained the old palace in his own hands. The moment that the assent of the government was expressed, he wrote to the builder who was charged with the alterations and improvements, as follows:

"*April 25th.* Now is the time. From April 25th to December 25th are eight months. You must have all finished by the latter day. Let not the sun go down before you have made a beginning."

This characteristic note, sent at six o'clock in the morning, elicited a corresponding answer the same evening, as follows:

"Agreeable to your orders, both men and materials were sent to the new palace, and the work was commenced within a few hours after I received your lordship's favor of this day.

— C. Macintosh."

"*March 31st.* The war is over, and the Punjaub is annexed. It will be placed under Sir Henry Lawrence, a most admirable and pious man, with E. Thornton, Macleod, Montgomery, Pearson, and other men under him — all able and well-disposed. Surely I shall soon have a Bishop of Agra; for chaplains will be planted all over the newly acquired territories with the army and civilians. Oh that God would turn British India to Himself, on the footing of

1848-51. FIFTH VISITATION. 637

these his 'marvellous loving kindnesses!' I must do what I can to help on this mighty change. I want India, as with the heart of one man, hand joining in hand, to enter into covenant with God in Christ Jesus."

He did his best to carry out the idea thus expressed in his journal-letter, by preaching two thanksgiving sermons on the victory of Guzerat and the consequent peace.

Lord Dalhousie was absent with the camp at Ferozepore; and in his "general order" announcing the successful termination of the war, he said: "While thus congratulating the array and British subjects in India on the triumphant success which has been achieved, the Governor-General desires humbly to acknowledge the Hand by which alone victory is given. He has, accordingly, intimated to the lord bishop his wish that on the first Sunday in May, thanksgivings shall be offered to Almighty God for the successful termination of the war in which we have been engaged, and for the restoration to the people of the blessings of peace."

The result of this was a circular, addressed to all the clergy in the diocese, containing an arrangement for morning and evening services, and a form of thanksgiving to be used in all churches on the sixth of May. The bishop himself preached in the cathedral, from Psalm 107.43; and both this, and the discourse preached for the victory of Guzerat, on "the deliverance granted to King Asa," were printed and circulated throughout India. The sermons were admirable, and the effect good. "The second of these sermons," he says, "has led me to meditate much on the love of God. "What proofs I have had of this 'darling attribute,' as Bishop Home calls it, daily, in providence and grace! How has God led and fed me all life long! How He has blessed me, and my children, and my grandchildren! What honor He has put upon my hoary hairs by my household's walking in the way of righteousness! And looking back upon the forty-eight years of my ministry, how can I bless God enough for Chobham, Oxford, Worton, St. John's, Islington, and Calcutta! May my few remaining days be Love to my ever-blessed God in Christ Jesus. I feel quite relieved now that these sermons are done. I fully resolve to print no more."

A question now arose which from small beginnings became great, and it demands consideration. It had been customary in India to apply to the chaplain at each station when permission was required to erect a mural tablet in the church, or a monument in the churchyard; and on such permission being granted, a form of application to the registrar in Calcutta was signed, and a fee of fifty rupees paid.

638 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIX

This usage was now resisted simultaneously at Allahabad and Mhow; and the matter, being taken up by government, grew into formidable dimensions. The status of the chaplain; the custody of the church and churchyard; the validity of ecclesiastical law in India; the authority inherent in the bishop's office, and recognized in his letters-patent which assigned to him "all functions peculiar and appropriated to the office of bishop," — all these questions were raised; all these rights were doubted, and in some measure denied.

This roused the spirit of the aged bishop, and he came forth as in former times, to defend the rights of the church. "I have been writing," he says, "a long letter to the governor, in reply to one addressed to me, cutting up all my powers as bishop, root and branch. I must for conscience' sake, for religion's sake, and for the sake of my successors, weak and old as I am, maintain the inherent rights of my office. If I fail in my remonstrance, I must appeal home." And again, a week after, he says: "O Lord, from whom all blessing proceeds! condescend to prosper the long and anxious remonstrance which your servant has now prepared for the government. Whatever the result, may your servant rejoice in it as your will. Such is the aspiration with which I sent off, this morning, the third copy, with my own hand, of my letter about my spiritual duties. I was six hours at work yesterday, and two this morning. I am quite worn out."

The correspondence was carried on with the Governor-General, who was absent; but the local authorities in Calcutta, with whom the bishop communicated personally, deemed it altogether a question of law, which must be decided at home. The bishop was quite prepared for this; but it was not eventually found necessary. The discussion ended in something like the following arrangement, so far as the practical part of the matter was concerned: That in accordance with the bishop's inherent rights, and in subordination to his authority, the charge of the church was to be considered as vested in the chaplain for the time being, to whom also pertained the control over the erection of mural tablets. The form of application for permission to erect them was to be the same as before, but the process was to be simplified. The fee of fifty rupees was also to be paid, but not to either registrar or chaplain. Three quarters of it was to go towards the payment of church expenses, and one quarter was to be placed in the hands of the chaplain for charitable purposes.

The general control over the churchyard was to be exercised, as before, by the chaplain, and the key of the entrance gate was to be kept by him. But he was not to be at liberty to give or withhold

1848-51. FIFTH VISITATION. 639

it at his pleasure. It was always to be given when applied for, for purposes of interment; and no fee, in any case, was to be demanded for the erection of monuments or tombstones. In places where the whole of the ground was already consecrated, more ground (unconsecrated) was to be added; and in places where the ground was not yet consecrated, some portion was to be reserved for the use of Roman Catholics, and others dissenting from the Church of England.

The difficulty connected with these practical matters was thus gotten over. But the validity of ecclesiastical law, and the admission of the bishop's inherent rights, was a different and much wider question. The government for a time repudiated what the bishop strenuously claimed. They were inclined to deny that either episcopal authority or ecclesiastical law were binding upon any persons but the clergy: he asserted that in *spiritual matters* they were binding upon all alike. His words were very moderate, but very clear, as expressed in a letter to government, dated May 2d, 1849:

“The bishop and clergy are doubtless the proper and only direct objects of the ecclesiastical laws, as they all come out under the solemn and express bond of them. Not so the laity and government, who are merely concerned in them occasionally and incidentally — the government as they are enjoined in the letters-patent to be aiding and assisting to the bishop in the discharge of his functions — the laity, generally, when they are pleased to apply for the bishop's spiritual and ecclesiastical help. They then, of course, conform for the moment to those terms which are necessary, according to the ecclesiastical laws, for the exercise of the bishop's jurisdiction in granting the indulgences and privileges sought for.”

The result, however, of the whole matter was, that the government, which had raised the question, dropped it. From the council chamber he received the following letter, dated May 12th, 1849:

“I am desired to acknowledge your lordship's letter, dated May 2d; and, in reply, to state that the President in Council had no intention, by the observations conveyed in the concluding paragraph of my letter, dated March 24th, to suggest any restriction to the exercise of your lordship's spiritual functions. With this assurance on the part of the Government, his Honor in Council doubts not that your lordship will be satisfied.”

“Blessed be God,” says the bishop, on the receipt of this letter, “who has all hearts in his hands! The government has yielded the two grand points — mural tablets, and the ecclesiastical laws.” And in his reply he stated that he should continue to act, in all respects, as he had done before.

640 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIX

“I need scarcely repeat,” he says, “what I stated in my letter of May 2d, that it is my intention to exercise my proper functions as prescribed in the letters-patent, and followed by all my predecessors, until the due ecclesiastical authorities at home should see fit, in solemn form, to revoke or modify the correctional and spiritual jurisdiction entrusted to me. I have only to add, that, as everything is now satisfactorily settled, I have thought it proper to direct that copies of this correspondence should be sent to the suffragan bishops, for their guidance; and also to the Archbishop of Canterbury.”

Silence gives consent; the matter ended; and the journal-letters may be again resumed.

“*May 8th.* My ninety-second clerical meeting was peaceful, holy, and edifying, last evening; subject, The Ascension of Christ. It was one of our best and sweetest meetings.

“*May 9th.* Mr. Bethune has taken a good step by opening a native female school for the higher classes. Mrs. Wilson’s schools were for the lower classes. Christianity is not included; but this is a step in advance, considering the totally neglected state of the female sex in India.

“*May 12th.* Called on Sir Charles Napier, the commander-in-chief. He is thin and pallid, with very prominent aquiline nose, and a long, shaggy beard. Very little passed. He said he should go up the country as soon as he had inspected Dum-Dum and Barrackpore. His aide-de-camp said that their party of six had but forty-one packages altogether. Sir Charles responded, when I referred to his recognition of Divine Providence in the after-dinner speech he made in England before he left: ‘Yes,’ he said, ‘upon Divine Providence we must trust, in small things as well as great.’ He thought the waves in the Punjaub must still be ruffled after the storm.

“When I met him afterwards at dinner, his beard was adjusted under his cravat. He talked well; said that he had heard at Aden of the battle of Guzorat, and bitterly repented his coming out. The Duke was quite peremptory on the subject — Either you must go or I. The Duke’s health and powers of mind he considered as clear and vigorous as ever. The speech made by him at the India House was delivered with hesitation, and without modulation, but was manly and convincing.

“BISHOP’S COLLEGE, *May 26th.* I have come over here to my tower-room. Nothing can be more beautiful than this place — the foliage so rich, the river so wide, the lawn so verdant, the chapel so exquisite, the whole edifice so noble. But it lacks ‘the river of the water of life’ flowing from the throne of God and the Lamb; and this is the main defect. I have nothing personally to complain of, nor have I had for several years. Mr. Street and Mr. Weidemann (now second professor) are most truly kind and respectful. My complaint is not this. I had all the students assembled in the dining-room yesterday, and made them an address of forty minutes; and this morning I am to address them again after chapel. I asked Mr. Street what was meant by a young native sitting on a bench outside the chapel door. ‘He is doing penance,’ was the reply.

“*June 3d.* I have been able to preach at the cathedral. But two things are perfectly clear to me — that my *voice* is gone, and my *hearing* affected. Thus

1848-51. FIFTH VISITATION. 641

the earthly ‘house of this tabernacle’ is being dissolved. The ‘three warnings’ only lack one, my *sight*. This at present remains good.

“COSSIPORE, *June 8th.* Sir “William and Lady Gomm were at morning prayers yesterday at the cathedral, and I showed them around. He called afterwards, and they both dined with me in the evening. He is a very amiable and pleasing person. Five days after his commission had been signed, the panic about Chillianwallah threw all England into terrors, and Sir Charles Napier was hurried off, and arrived in India before Sir William Gomm. The Duke wrote to him to apologize most amply for the unexpected change. Sir William takes it extremely well, and says the Duke was perfectly right.

“*June 30th.* I think Mr. Goode’s book incomparable.¹ I read also with attention the whole report of the Propagation Society for 1848. It strikes me that prodigious good must be doing on the whole. There may be some formality and High-churchism; but the framework is set up. Look at the Bishop of

¹ William Goode’s anti-Tractarian work, “The Divine Rule of Faith and Practice,” 1842, 3vols.

Cape Town, for example. What energy! What enterprise! What zeal for souls! And then the entire number of Society's missionaries, four hundred and thirteen — prodigious indeed!

“NEW PALACE, CALCUTTA, *September 1st.* This is the first day I have come over to study, and write, and meditate. I sit in the third story. The prospect is exquisite. The cathedral adjoins the compound; the esplanade stretches unobstructed to the south and south-east; the air is delicious. We shall not come to live here, most likely, till our return from visitation; for we start again, please God, on September 21st. Now I desire to dedicate this new abode to your glory, O Lord! May every succeeding bishop live and preach your gospel more and more clearly; may every room have its altar of prayer and praise; and may this change be for the comfort and usefulness of your servant's successors, and the glory of your great and holy name.”

On September 21st, as thus proposed, the visitation was resumed; and in the usual accommodation-boat, the bishop ascended the river to Allahabad, and then dropped down, stopping at the various stations, and performing the required duties. The reader is now familiar with these stations and duties, so that it will be sufficient to state that the journey was performed in safety, and Calcutta regained on January 22d, 1850. A few important events, however, require notice. The period of this visitation was marked by the arrival of Dr. Kay, the new Principal of Bishop's College; by the appointment of Archdeacon Dealtry, while in England for health, to the See of Madras, void by the resignation of Bishop Spencer; and by the immediate nomination of Mr. Pratt to the vacant Archdeaconry of Calcutta. The bishop rejoiced at being able to thus mark his sense of the unwearied and valuable services rendered by Mr. Pratt to himself and India for the space of ten years. The new archdeacon found also at Bhagulpore, in the daughter of George Brown, Esq., of the Civil Service, one to share his happy prospects,

642 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIX.

to promote his domestic happiness, and to walk with him as an heir “of the grace of life.”

On the bishop's arrival in Calcutta, he took up his abode in the new palace. The journal-letter will tell the particulars:

“*February 2d.* I came here to breakfast this morning, and had family prayers for the first time in the new chapel, when we devoted it and ourselves to God our Saviour.

“*February 4th.* I found the nearness of the cathedral most convenient this morning. You might have seen me walking from my house, well wrapped up, at a quarter to seven, and returning in the warmth of the early sun at a quarter to eight. I also like the chimes which even my dull cars can follow out distinctly, and which guide my servants day and night. The accommodation will fully answer my expectations when the three new rooms are habitable. The only regret I have is the money I have expended, and the trouble of getting habituated to a new state of things.

“*February 22d.* I have been dreadfully hurried since my return; and the Lent Lectures, preached in the Old Church this year, give me a great deal of work. The subject is, ‘The Christian Armor.’ One incident last evening was very affecting to me. The Bishop's College students and catechists have been used to sitting about the communion rails, and often became mingled and confused with the congregation. Last night, whom should I see humbly sitting among them but the new principal, Dr. Kay. I pressed him to take a seat in a pew, but he declined. There he remained, like a father with his children. In a proud, aristocratic city like Calcutta, this was a bold, but most commendable innovation — like everything else he does — and it endears him to his pupils prodigiously.

“*March 3d.* In the beginning of March I always endeavor to look back with humble thankfulness to March 1796, when the infinite mercy of Christ first touched my heart, and led me to serious thoughtfulness about my soul. Different saints are brought into the fold in different ways. Many gradually and imperceptibly, as my late dearest wife; others by alarming sickness; others by the preaching of the Word; and many, like myself, by some brief admonition addressed in common conversation, and brought home to the conscience by the Spirit of God. But I have never committed the great error of resting my evidences for heaven on the supposed date of this impression. No. I

thank God with adoring gratitude for that call; but my evidences of adoption must be sought for in the habitual penitence, faith, love, and obedience of my heart and life. Christ must be to me 'all in all;' my 'wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption.'¹ May He be so to me in my dying hour. Alas! what am I in His sight as to myself? I enter the fifty-fifth year, lower and deeper, I hope, in self-abasement than in any one that has preceded it. I quite agree with dear Mr. Simeon, 'that no human eye can ever detect the infinite depravity of the heart, nor any person form the least conjecture of what we have been and are.'

"*March 13th.* I met Lord and Lady Dalhousie at our Deputy-Governor's last week. Both have recovered their health. Lord Dalhousie chatted pleasantly

1848-51. FIFTH VISITATION. 643

with me before and after dinner. I attacked him for not answering my private letters. 'How ungrateful you are!' he said; 'I answered all, except when you sent me your charge, when I thought you were the person to teach, and not I.'

"*March 15th.* There is nothing like a large dinner-party for getting a new house finished. I had not given one for seven years; that is, since October 1843, when I entertained Lord Auckland. I therefore engaged Lord and Lady Dalhousie for the only day they could spare before going up the country. We sat down at eight o'clock, thirty-four in company, and broke up before ten. All went off well: and Lord Dalhousie told me afterwards he had never spent a more pleasant evening. There is the end, as well as the beginning, of my large parties for this year.

"*March 20th.* My cathedral missionary, Mr. Davis, has been twice to the bazaars, preaching the 'glorious gospel;' so that his three divisions of missionary labor are begun — 1. Study with his Pundit.² 2. The Allypore School. 3. Bazaar preaching, and all within fourteen months from his first arrival.

"*March 25th.* I am delighted with reading the 'Life of Bishop Shirley.' He was truly a first-rate person — so sensible, amiable, and diligent. His remarks on the 'Trinitarian Bible Society,' and 'Irvingism,' are incomparable. I learned one important lesson from his most just fear at my appointment in 1832, that my 'impetuosity of character' would endanger my usefulness. I pray still that I may be enabled to guard against it. The bishop's opposition to Tractarianism is noble, and his views of its poison original. His piety, sweetness, influence, and tact are wonderful.

"*April 1st.* I have finished my Lent Lectures. Sketches of them have appeared in *The Christian Intelligencer*. It has been a great effort for me altogether. My voice was stronger while delivering the last two than when I began. The numbers attending I do not know — for they do not count numbers in the Old Church; but on Good Friday evening the church was crammed from end to end, and many were sitting on benches in the verandah outside.

"*April 12th.* The reading of Dr. Chalmers has succeeded Bishop Shirley. I have finished, with wonder and admiration, the first volume. A great man he was — raised up to do a great work. No one, perhaps, has done more. The disclosures of his inmost soul in his journal are the most touching I ever read.

"*April 19th.* The act for the establishment of liberty of conscience here, passed on April 11th. This will be as memorable a day as December 4th, 1829, when Lord William Bentinck abolished the rite of Suttee.³ Now, the Hindu or Mohammedan who may embrace the Christian faith will no longer forfeit his inheritance. He will stand, as to civil rights, exactly where he did before. This, with the new plan of education proposed by Mr. Thomason, is a grand step in the right direction. On Wednesday last I had a few friends to dinner. We sat in our new western verandah, with the moon, five days old, beaming upon us, and retired at eight to Mrs. Pratt's drawing-room, who always gives us a hymn at evening prayers. I was in my own room before nine.

¹ Eph 1.23; 1Cor 1.30.

² An honorary title in India given to a Hindu scholar.

³ The act of a Hindu widow willingly cremating herself on the funeral pyre of her dead husband.

“*April 20th.* The removal of dear Bickersteth, in his sixty-fourth year, much affects me. He is a remarkable instance how love and diligence, with very moderate learning, and no conspicuous talents, carry it against more brilliant

644 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIX.

parts. Everybody venerated his sincerity and tenderness of heart. His usefulness, by his early practical writings, continued for thirty or forty years, and will long continue. And he has now safely landed in the heavenly Canaan, leaving a sweet savor of Christ behind him. Mr. Cecil used to say, that it is not by men of great powers God did his work, but by men of holy love. Some exceptions there are [found] in St. Augustine, Luther, Calvin, Jewell, Hooker, Cecil, who were raised up for special work and rough times; but generally the quiet, indefatigable, holy minister, accomplishes most good.

“*June 11th.* Experiments are about to be made of an electric telegraph. This will shorten, by seven days, our news from England, and bring it down from thirty-five days, to twenty-eight. How wonderful, compared with the four, five, or six months of 1832! A committee is also appointed to prepare a plan for a *one anna* postage, similar to your one penny postage, which has so admirably succeeded. Our railroad is also to begin at Howrah, and run to Burdwân.

“*June 12th.* I am arranging for the resumption of my visitation in the autumn; and have sent in my public letter to government. I propose to divide it into two parts, beginning in August, with Archdeacon Pratt as my acting chaplain; and ending it in February, with my new domestic chaplain, the Rev. J. Bloomfield.

“*July 2d.* My nineteenth birthday since I left England in 1832. Surely I am a wonder to many, as well as to myself! “Surely I have to bless God, who has permitted me to enter my seventy-third year. Calvin died in his fifty-fifth, Doddridge in his fiftieth, Baxter in his fifty-seventh. Bishop Ryder in his fifty-eighth. Bishop Middleton in his fifty-fourth, Heber in his forty-third, Bickersteth in his sixty-fourth. Wherefore am I, a cumberer¹ of the ground, so long spared? I dare not, cannot tell you, nor any human being, the real sense of unprofitableness I have, or ought to have. Oh that I may end well! May my sun set without a cloud! May I go on consistently, humbly, tenderly! May I leave tomorrow with God! May I improve the few days which remain, to the divine honor! May grace be granted to me for dying hours! Oh for joy, faith, love, hope, resignation, heaven! Christ is ‘all and in all.’ I have no other trust — none. His atoning blood and Holy Spirit are all I want for eternity.”

In this spirit he prepared for his usual confirmations and ordination; and then, on August 5th, he embarked on board the *Damouda* steamer, on his return to Dacca. He was soon on entirely new ground; for, after four days’ stay at Dacca, and the performance of a busy round of duties, he entered Assam, and made for the station of Gowhatti. Ascending the Brahmaputra River, the vast ranges of mountains which divide Assam from Thibet on the north, and from the Burman Empire on the south, soon came in sight. The rains were only slight, and the temperature was agreeable; so that the change from Calcutta at its bad season was very advantageous.

“We reached Goalpara,” says the bishop, “on Tuesday, August 20th. The view was very pleasing. Its brilliant verdure, its hanging woods,

1848-51. FIFTH VISITATION. 645

the background of dim mountains, the tranquil river, smooth as a lake, quite enchanted us. We determined to stay the night, so that we might mount the hill with the aid of elephants, and give divine service to the few scattered gentry. But no one came to welcome and invite us on shore. A kind of clownish negligence (which I never met with before) and indifference, left us to ourselves, and we had no opportunity of landing. Such is this wild place. One passenger, a lieutenant, has joined us, being ordered up the hills beyond Gowhatti, to quiet the restless native tribes.”

Gowhatti was reached on the 23d, and the whole population was delighted with the visit, and warm in their welcome. The bishop having determined to stay over three Sundays, all duties were systematically arranged with Mr. Bland, the chaplain, and in due course satisfactorily

¹ An encumbrance or burden.

performed. A handsome church, recently erected, was consecrated, confirmation was administered, and several sermons were preached. At the holy Sacrament there were but twelve communicants; but the whole congregation begged permission to be present during the administration. "Perhaps this may be a step onwards," said the bishop.

They next touched at Tezpore (the city of blood), and then passed up to Dibroghur.

"It came into our possession," he says, "in 1835; and a Captain Gordon, the devout Resident, began instantly to build a church and found a mission. Colonel Wheeler, so well known and highly esteemed, subscribed five hundred rupees a month to assist the Rev. Mr. Hoeberlin in supporting it. Gordon and Hoeberlin have both fallen in early life, and in the midst of usefulness; and the missions here and at Dacca are paralyzed. The Church Missionary Society has adopted three out of the seven missionaries, but has not taken up the mission for lack of those funds which rich, but selfish, England might so easily supply."

The arrival of the steamer at Dibroghur caused an immense sensation. No one had ever seen the like. Thousands of natives came flocking down each hour to the river side, "making poojali"¹ to the engines; and the native pilots, when called to take charge of the vessel, and guide her through the intricacies of the channel, prostrated themselves, in turn, before they took the helm.

Among the residents, the bishop mentions Captains Vetch and Reid, with a Mr. Shurlock, the son of the very gentleman at Farnham Hants, who received and entertained him when he went to receive priest's orders in 1801.

646 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIX.

Greatly to the honor of the few Christian residents, a very handsome church was being erected. The architect was Capt. Reid. He had never built a church before, but took the plan from an engraving in the *Illustrated London News*; and, for eight thousand rupees, had so nearly completed the structure, that the bishop was able to perform divine service in it.

Diverging from the upward track, and following a winding stream for thirty miles, the steamer reached and anchored off Seib Saugor: a remote spot, but noted by the very successful cultivation of the tea-plant. A congregation of nineteen was assembled for divine service, including some pious American missionaries who had been located here for nine years, and had gathered both converts and schools; the bishop preached. This was the extreme point of the visitation, and the steamer's head was now turned homewards. Each station was again visited in passing; Mymensing, Burrissaul, and Culneah had a "word in season;" and Calcutta was regained on the 20th of September.

"In thirty-six days," says the bishop, "I have preached eighteen tunes. The good seed sown in these visitations is of the last importance. I am satisfied a bishop does nothing more useful. The tone of religion is raised. Individuals are touched. The gospel is better understood. The clergy are roused. But I shall be glad of rest now, after a journey of two thousand miles, and eight stations, with about a thousand Christians altogether. Most of these have never been visited before. Besides preaching, I have held four confirmations, consecrated one church and cemetery, and opened two others. Eben-Ezer! Up to here the Lord has helped us. Fine weather, a favorable entrance among the people, grace sufficient, good health, our beloved church strengthened, Tractarianism denounced, Christ alone exalted, many souls, I hope, blessed forever — these have been the characteristics of this visitation."

In Calcutta he found his new domestic chaplain, the Rev. J. Bloomfield. "His arrival will form a new era," says the bishop, "a fresh starting-post in life." But while rejoicing in this new helper, he was thunderstruck by receiving a letter from the Bishop of London bearing the following direction: "Bishop of Calcutta, Sarawak, Borneo: care of the Rev. Mr. Church at Singapore."

¹ A religious spectacle.

The object was to request him to visit the island of Borneo which, being included in none of the Eastern dioceses, fell under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London; and while there, to consecrate the new church recently erected by Sir James Brooke, the Rajah of Sarawak.¹ A voyage of fourteen weeks, and a journey of four thousand miles was thus suggested by the stroke of a pen, to a bishop in his seventy-third year! For a moment his heart

1848-51. FIFTH VISITATION. 647

sunk within him; but he had never yet declined the call of duty, and his courage soon revived. He communicated with the government, and no obstacle presenting itself, he resolved to go. "On the whole," he says, "I believe it to be my duty; and my concern is only to 'die daily,' leaving results with sovereign faithfulness, love, and power." The archdeacon and Mrs. Pratt readily and willingly accompanied him. The reader need not be told the history of Rajah Brooke, of his settlement at Borneo, and of the bright hopes once attaching to that beautiful island of the Chinese Archipelago. These hopes have been somewhat dimmed; and they rest now rather on the progress and stability of the church than on the aid and protection of the state. But at the time, they were surrounded with something of the halo of romance, and Labuan and Sarawak had become household words.

The bishop no doubt felt the influence of this and, since the next part of his visitation allowed expansion, he resolved to include Borneo in it. Accordingly, on November 11th, he set sail in the *Tavoy* pilot-brig, with Captain Ransom, bound for Chittagong, Akyab, Moulmeiu, Penang, Malacca, Singapore, and Borneo.

Sermons, discussions, addresses, family prayers, conferences, confirmations, consecrations at the various stations above enumerated — with the alternations of calms and storms at sea — may be passed over: it will suffice to say, that the vessel anchored in safety off Singapore on January 11th, 1852. Only a short stay there was contemplated, but embarrassments arose from the absence of the *Nemesis* steamer, which was to have taken the party on to Borneo; and also from some uncertainty about the movements of Rajah Brooke. A large steamer, the *Semiramis*, was at Singapore; but there was no accommodation for passengers; and unless the bishop himself assumed the responsibility, his own little brig, the *Tavoy*, had no orders to proceed beyond Singapore. The arrival, however, of a larger man-of-war, the *Amazon*, soon put all to rights. Captain Barker, who was in command, had run in to Singapore in order to meet the bishop, and to afford his young midshipmen and ship boys the opportunity of confirmation; and in the exercise of his authority as senior officer, he directed the *Semiramis* to comply with the bishop's wishes, and take the *Tavoy* in tow — thus at once hastening the voyage to Borneo, and continuing the accommodation. A violent gale, however, frustrated the arrangement, broke the towing hawsers, and compelled both vessels to run for shelter to the nearest bay. It was then agreed that the bishop and his party should be taken on board the *Semiramis*, though the defective accommodation

648 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIX.

had previously forbidden the idea. When this was effected, the vessel sped on her way to Borneo against the monsoon, and through an adverse and stormy sea, and arrived at the mouth of the Sarawak River on the 18th of January. Here they remained beating about for fifteen hours, receiving neither letters, messengers, nor pilot. They then pushed on cautiously and found, on arriving at Sarawak, that Sir James Brooke, being ill with fever, and not expecting them, had left

¹ In the 1840s the previously uninhabited island of Labuan was proposed as a base for British operations against piracy in the South China Sea. In 1846, the Sultan of Brunei, Omar Ali Saifuddin II, signed a treaty and ceded Labuan to Britain in the same year. The island became a Crown Colony in 1848. The first White Rajah of Sarawak, James Brooke was appointed first commander-in-chief and Governor of the territory. In 1849 the Eastern Archipelago Company was formed to tap the island's coal deposits, and establish it as a coaling station for the China trade.

in the *Nemesis* the night before! The Rev. Mr. Macdougall, however, who was then at the head of the mission, and afterwards became Bishop of Labuan, received them most gladly.

“A splendid region is this Borneo,” writes the bishop, after landing. “It is the largest island in the world, abounding with rivers and harbors, and the richest productions of every kind. In 1520 it was visited by the Portuguese, and raised by commerce to a state of unexampled prosperity. But it was subsequently reduced to a state of misery by the Malays settling on the coast, engaging in piratical enterprises, and enslaving the aborigines. Sir J. Brooke, struck with admiration at the capabilities of the island, arrives in the year 1838 on a visit of inquiry. He finds Mudo Hassim, the chief of Sarawak, unable to subdue the Dyaks, who had risen in rebellion against their oppressors. Sir James is about to quit the country, when Mudo Hassim, in order to retain his invaluable services, makes over to him a large tract of land. The grant is confirmed by the Sultan of Borneo. Sir James then builds houses of wood and mud, calls on the British Government to aid him in suppressing piracy, and with the help of Admiral Cochrane and captains Keppel and Mundy, accomplishes his object. The China sea from Singapore to Brund is thus thrown open to European enterprise. The island of Labuan, which is about three hundred miles from Sarawak, is made over to Her Majesty’s Government. Sir James is nominated first governor, and Sarawak remains as his private estate. This generous Englishman devotes his time, fortune, health, body, and soul, to the welfare of the people. He joins the commencement of a Christian mission to his other designs; but, until he can produce a general security of person and property, the Borneo Mission Committee¹ confines itself to sending out a missionary, and building a church, a dwelling-house, and a school. Sir James is sending young Mr. Brereton² and Mr. Leet to reside at Sakarran, the former centre of piracy. He places one hundred thousand souls under their charge. He has, moreover, just given a glebe³ of forty acres to the Sarawak church. I ask, then, was there ever a more inviting field for usefulness since the ascension of our Lord? If England does not answer to the duties of such an opening, it will reflect indelible disgrace upon her Christian character. The statesman is as much interested as the Christian.

1848-51. FIFTH VISITATION. 649

And the mission will lay the foundation of that faith toward God, which will assist the progress of civilization, and sanctify its benefits.”

The *Semiramis* could only remain a few days at Borneo; but as much edification was condensed into that short period as possible. Pleasant and profitable communication of all kinds took place. A little company of sixteen assembled each day for social converse and family prayers. Divine service was celebrated in Mr. Macdougall’s house with a congregation of fifty-five. The church, though not quite covered, was consecrated amidst an immense assemblage of Chinese, Malays, and Dyaks from all parts of the island. It was built of ironwood and the palm-tree, and was a handsome structure. “Never,” said the bishop, “did I feel such delight in consecrating a church. The site of it, two years ago, was covered with thick jungle: and Sarawak itself, ten years ago, was desolated by pirates. The whole is next to miraculous; and if the evangelical spirit governs the mission, and strong heroic men can be sent forth, full of faith and love, glorious things may be anticipated in future years.”

Having thus accomplished his object, the bishop embarked in the *Semiramis*, on January 23d, and arrived at Singapore on the 25th, “exhausted, and pale as ashes.” Sir James Brooke, though still ill, at once waited on him.

“We had a good deal of chat,” says the bishop. “There is evident sweetness, and yet firmness, in his countenance. He must have great qualities to have done what he has. I understand he is languid in disposition, till aroused; but then full of energy. He has great tact in the management of the natives,

¹ Since transferred to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

² This promising young gentleman, a son of the Rev. C. D. Brereton, Hoorlor of Little Mossingham, Norfolk, who was one of the earliest and most devoted friends of the Borneo Mission, died in the midst of his career of usefulness and gallantry.

³ [Plot of land belonging to an English parish church or an ecclesiastical office.](#)

and a beneficial influence on them, acquired by mildness, disinterestedness, courage, and decision. The very smell of war awakens his whole soul, and he fights like a true hero as he is; but, after a victory, he sinks back into silence, meditation, theories, metaphysics.

“When he dined with the queen at Windsor in 1847, Her Majesty asked him how he could govern so many thousand people without troops. He said, in reply, that he managed the natives easily enough; but that the four or five English he had with him gave him much more trouble. The queen laughed heartily, and replied, ‘I understand that.’”

From Singapore the bishop set sail on January 30th, calling at all the stations before visited, in order that they might have a double benefit; and then making a long fatiguing journey of fifty miles from Pooree on the coast, to Kuttack in the interior, which was “more than old seventy-three could well bear,” he arrived safely at Calcutta on the 14th of March.

“Jehovah Jireh!” he says, “The Lord will provide! Surely, goodness and mercy have followed me all through this visitation. Kind friends have

650 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIX.

appeared at every station; thirty-five sermons have been delivered; Borneo has for the first time been reached by a bishop; five thousand one hundred miles have been traversed; my own health, with Archdeacon and Mrs. Pratt’s, preserved; the clergy stirred up; love, peace, truth, zeal promoted; the church upheld; ten confirmations administered; three churches and cemeteries consecrated; congregations of three thousand two hundred people addressed; and one hundred and fifty letters written.”

With such words the bishop entered once more on the duties of Calcutta; and his journal-letters will tell, as before, the narrative of events in the year 1851.

“*March 23d.* I lie by on Sundays during Lent, that I may see how I get on with my Friday evening lectures on the fifty-first Psalm. What praise and gratitude I owe to the Lord Jesus for bringing me back again to Calcutta! May it be for some great spiritual good to souls! I am trying to search out my spirit and learn the special duty of old age in such a world as this Indian diocese is. Prayer, faith, humiliation, love, joy, peace, hope of a glorious resurrection, mortality swallowed up by life. Such are my desires.

“*March 31st.* Mr. Bloomfield preached such a masterly sermon yesterday that I am quite in spirits about him. But I fear for his health.

“*April 10th.* I received a Sydney newspaper yesterday giving a really wonderful account of a ‘Board of Church of England Missions for Australia, and the western islands of the Pacific,’ which was formed by the six bishops of Sydney, Adelaide, Melbourne, Tasmania, New Zealand, and Newcastle (which dioceses were all parts of Calcutta when I came out, and until 1836). There was good speaking, good feeling, and good resolutions. Why can we not have a meeting of our five bishops, and form a Board in India? For six reasons. 1. The Court of Directors. 2. The distance of our dioceses. 3. The small number of our Christians. 4. Their floating, changing character. 5. The heat of the climate. 6. And chiefly, the lack of a commanding mind in the aged and worn-out Metropolitan.

“*April 11th.* Our April northwesterners have begun. We have been refreshed by three rain-storms last week. The thermometer instantly fell 10°; and my new little garden at the palace looks vivid and gay; ὀλίγον, φίλον, δε...¹

“*April 22d.* I was astounded this morning by an alarming account from Dr. Kay, that Professor Street was seized with fever, the result of a cold caught by crossing the river as he went to Geon-Kali for Palm Sunday services. Dr. Kay considers him to be in a dangerous state and that, even if he is spared, he will be sent immediately to England. How sudden! I have been praying for him morning and evening since I heard of it.

¹ Christ, friend, but...

“April 24th. I truly rejoice to say that Professor Street is better. He said to a young catechist yesterday, ‘Be of good courage; go up and possess the land in the length of it, and in the breadth of it;’ and to Dr. Kay, who asked him if he felt peace, ‘Whom have I in heaven but You, and there is none upon earth I desire in comparison of You.’ There is still fever, however, and the depletion is awful. What lessons these are! Eternity presses upon us on all hands.

1848-51. FIFTH VISITATION. 651

“April 26th. At half-past eleven, Dr. Kay wrote as follows: ‘May I solicit your prayers on behalf of our dear friend? A change has come over him. I fear he will not last long.’ I received this at half-past two (for we are five miles on the other side of the river), and Pratt and I determined at once to go over to the college. We arrived before five o’clock. The three doctors were there, and reported a possibility of recovery; but that the medicines had not touched the disease. He wished to see me, and we immediately went up. His appearance was death-like; and though, from the spasmodic action of the throat, he could not speak, yet his intellect was clear. I simply directed him to the bleeding Lamb, and his one offering for sin, in a few strong words; and then made a short prayer to the same effect — mentioning the righteousness of Christ alone for justification, and the influences of the Holy Spirit for sanctification. I then kissed him, pronounced the benediction, and retired.”

As the bishop, after thus affectionately ministering to him, was retiring, the dying man raised himself in his bed, and with an effort which taxed all his powers, said, “God bless your lordship.” This proved the last interview. The disease prevailed over all the powers of life, and all the resources of medicine. The bishop went again the following day, but a change had taken place, and he was not permitted to see him. With some anxious friends, however, who were gathered in an adjoining room, he held communion, reading Psalm 130, and praying for the departing soul.

Professor Street died on April 29th, and was interred the following evening in the beautiful little chapel of Bishop’s College. The bishop read the funeral service, and a large assembly gathered to show respect to his memory.

The extracts from the journal, interrupted by this sad event, may be now resumed.

“May 16th. The first fruits of our Cathedral Mission have appeared. One of the boys in the school, the son of a high Coolin Brahmin, seventeen years old, has for some months been convinced of the truth of Christianity, and he was baptized in the cathedral last Sunday by the name of ‘Paul.’ A second lad has also declared himself, and after a due interval, he will be admitted into the visible church. He has some property which the new *Lex loci*¹ will secure to him. The family would carry him off if they dared. They have already charged him before the sheriff with a pretended debt of five thousand rupees, for which Archdeacon Pratt and Mr. Davis have been obliged to become bail.

The school is reduced from mere fright in consequence of these things, but it will soon recover. Indian heathenism in the nineteenth century can no more stop the work of Christianity than Roman heathenism in the first.”

“May 26th. I am negotiating for a country house at Serampore; fine air; overhangs the river; accessible by water; opposite Barrackpore; seventeen miles from the palace; good road. Dr. Webb insists on my having some place out of town, and I thought, by living on the spot, I might encourage and help

652 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIX.

the newly-appointed chaplain. I dined with John Marshman last night, and found him very friendly. He is full of information — was brought up in India, and knows everybody.

“June 3d. Last night the formal resignation of the dear Bishop of Bombay (Dr. Carr) came in, and my acceptance must be given before the vacancy can be declared and acted on. May God direct Lord Broughton’s choice.

¹ Local law.

“June 3d. I baptized Mr. Davis’ second convert this morning at the cathedral. His name is John. Blessed be God for this great mercy.”

The very next day the *bishop* was attacked with an illness which assumed a most serious form, and finally became chronic, rendering him liable to dangerous seizures at any moment, and requiring occasional surgical relief to the end of his life. Referring to this, he says:

“My dear Saviour knows and orders all. My times are in His hands. I trust, no, I am persuaded that He will give me grace to meet whatever He may see good to appoint. All the days of my appointed time, I hope to await, till my change comes. Pratt and Boswell visit and pray with me. I endeavor as much as extreme weakness will allow, to meditate on the prospects, and joys, and rest, and holiness of heaven. My only reliance is in the atoning blood of my great High Priest — mind that, my children! Christ, and Christ only, is my hope. If I look to myself, I see nothing but imperfection, sin, defilement, insincerity, worldliness, pride, rebellion, guilt. It is only as I look out of myself to Christ, that I have a single ray of light. All I have written and said against Popery and Tractarianism I stand to. I do not retract a sentiment. With my dying breath I proclaim the fatal seduction of what is called the sacramental system. The only point in the controversy which I regret, and have regretted from the beginning, is dear Mr. Gorham’s theory of prevenient grace in the case of infants. This will never stand.”

Again, on June 22d, he writes:

“I am weakness itself, and can hardly command mind enough to scrawl these lines. But Dr. Webb pronounces me well. Of course this is only a respite at my time of life, and so I regard it. But I do not the less love the Lord because He has heard my voice and my supplication.”

“But I cannot write. My soul is swallowed up in wonder and praise; and Dr. Webb says I do not know the twentieth part of the mercy God has bestowed on me.”

It was a long time before he regained his accustomed strength, and then the time had come round which required him to prepare for the delivery of another charge; for such is the extent of the diocese of Calcutta that, before one visitation is ended, the three years which render another one necessary have very nearly expired.

It was, however, deemed inexpedient that, in the critical state of the bishop’s health, he should encounter the risks and fatigue

1848-51. FIFTH VISITATION. 653

of a long land-journey to the upper provinces; and he resolved that, after the preparation and delivery of his charge, he would remain quietly at Calcutta or Serampore, and give a commission to the archdeacon to visit the upper provinces in his stead. This arrangement was in due time carried out; and on the 1st of October, the clergy in and around Calcutta were assembled to listen to his sixth charge. Before, however, it is introduced to the notice of the reader, a small portion of the correspondence of 1848-51 will be interposed.

TO ARCHDEACON DEALTRY.¹

“BISHOPSTOKE, CALCUTTA, MARCH 1849.

“I assure you of my love and constant prayers. The dear ‘Old Church’ has been shut up for repairs, but reopens next Sunday.

“I have written to the secretary at the India House, to propose, first, that the Bishop of Calcutta should be honestly paid the £5000, or 50,000 rupees, assigned to him by Act of Parliament; secondly, that £3000, or 30,000 rupees, should remain as the Bishop of Calcutta’s stipend; and thirdly, that £2000, or 20,000 rupees, should go to the salary of a new bishop for Agra. To this the Court of Directors ought to agree, and do it at once. But — but — but — .

¹ When the Hon. and Rev. Baptist Noel seceded from the church. Archdeacon Dealtry, then at home for health, was appointed to the temporary charge of St. John’s Chapel, Bedford Row.

“Let me affectionately remind you, my most truly beloved Dealtry, how Mr. Cecil, for twenty-eight years, and I for sixteen, got on at St. John’s. (1) It was by steady and diligent preparation; (2) hard study; (3) texts chosen on Sunday night, and sermons begun on Monday morning; (4) matter collected from all our great authors during the early days of the week; (5) sermons finished on Friday; (6) Saturdays left for the refreshment of the body by country air; (7) Saturday night’s assurances obtained by meditation and prayer on the preparation made for the following day.

“An immense congregation of acute lawyers and busy, curious merchants, amounting to nearly two thousand, can only be kept together, as a means under God, by such a course of solid, well-digested food, carefully prepared. I would also recommend to you a good church spirit (without extravagance or tract follies, of course) to pervade your doctrine, as sugar flavors tea, in order to restore the taste and feeling of the flock.”

CONGRATULATORY ADDRESS, ON THE QUEEN’S BIRTHDAY, MAY 24TH, 1849.¹

“We, the Bishop and Clergy of Calcutta, beg permission to present through your Honor to the Right Honorable, the Governor-General of India, our sincere

654 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIX.

and heartfelt congratulations on the auspicious return of the birthday of our most gracious sovereign QUEEN VICTORIA.

“We venture to assure you that the reverend clergy of Calcutta are animated, as their religion teaches them to be, with a steady and conscientious loyalty to the sacred person and throne of our illustrious Protestant queen.

“We cannot but warmly congratulate Her Majesty, and his Lordship, on the signal mercies of Almighty God, granted to Her Majesty in the victories of the Punjaub, and the restoration to the people of the blessings of peace.

“Never had British India a fiercer and more formidable foe to contend with; never was a war more manifestly forced upon us by an unprovoked insurrection; never was the moderation of our councils more apparent to the whole world; and never has more complete success, for a second time, crowned our just arms.

“We do not doubt that the incorporation of the country of the ‘five rivers’ into the empire of Her Majesty in British India, will not only conduce to the security and consolidation of Her Majesty’s power, but also to the highest benefit of the population thus subjected to her mild and equitable government.

“It is our earnest prayer to Almighty God, that Her Majesty may be preserved for many years to reign over us, and dispense those blessings of the Protestant faith, of social order, and of a moderate and enlightened civil liberty which are the fruits, under Providence, of the constitution in Church and State, which our ancestors have handed down to us, and which we hope will be transmitted unimpaired to future generations, and which the convulsions in the other states of Europe only the more endear to our affections at the present time.”

TO THE REV. CHARLES JERRAM.

“‘TAVOY,’ PILOT-BRIG, FEBRUARY 1850.

“I seem not to have heard from you for a long time. The wilderness is nearly passed to both of us, dear brother; Canaan is in view; and the Lord will be with us in passing Jordan, as he was with the Israelites. Whether that river overflows its banks previously or not, he will carry us over safely if we fix our eyes on the ark which goes before us. On looking back on the nearly fifty years of our intimate friendship in the wilderness, what God has wrought for us! How mercifully He has borne with us!

¹ On Her Majesty’s birthday, the bishop, surrounded by his clergy, was accustomed to appear for a short time at Government House, and deliver to the Governor-General, or, in his absence, to the president, an address of congratulation, which he had previously prepared. The above short extract is presented as one specimen of these annual addresses.

What blessings He has showered down upon us! What miracles of grace are we! Oh! We shall sing as loudly as any of the chosen company, to Him that has loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood! To Him be the glory forever and ever. Amen.

“How has the Lord punished England for her leanings to the apostate Babel, by permitting this insolent aggression of the Pope! We read our sin in the judgments which have followed it. Lord John Russell’s letter, however, and the unanimous voice of Protestant England, are tokens for good; and if

1818-51. FIFTH VISITATION. 655

truth is established more firmly by means of this aggression, we may yet be saved as a church and nation.”

TO THE SAME.

“JUNE 1850.

“I find, as life flows on, that the evils of the heart seem to be more and more apparent — defects in motives, feebleness of faith, decays of love. The Psalmist’s prayer suits me: ‘My soul clings to the dust; revive me according to your word.’¹ Farewell, my beloved friend. Which of us may enter eternity first, who can tell? God knows; and may He be with us in the dark valley.

“I hope Chobham is doing well. It is forty-nine years since I first went there. Prayer — prayer — prayer!”

TO MR. AND MRS. PERCIVAL WHITE.

“CALCUTTA, MAY 1850.

“How consoling is it to think of Infinite wisdom, love, and power, managing for us! And what an assurance of all this have we in the condescension and grace of an incarnate Saviour — His sacrifice — His ascension — His high priesthood — and His sympathy with every sickness and trouble which he sees necessary for us!

“My children and grandchildren, and the honorable and important posts which my two sons occupy, are topics of wonder and praise to their aged father. May Islington and Huddersfield know their day of visitation!

“I have been reading lately ‘Mr. Nottidge’s Letters,’ and the ‘Life of Mr. Dykes, of Hull.’ The first is a choice collection of the most touching experience I almost ever read. Mr. Dykes’ character was soft and gentle as the ‘former rain.’ He was fifty-four years at St. John’s Church, Hull, and died at Mr. Terry’s, in his eighty-sixth year, in the very room where John Scott spent his last days, and which I occupied in 1846, when I preached at Hull. There is a mild, sweet tone of domestic love and sympathy, with devoted piety and simplicity of heart, which is very edifying. But the volume does not equal Nottidge’s.”

TO THE SAME.

“MAY 1850.

“A visitation; two months of building, repairing, and removing; and increasing infirmities, have cut off almost all my correspondence, but leave me quite as keen an appetite for letters such as yours, as before.

“Mr. Bickersteth’s two sermons seem to me sound, scriptural, and opportune. There appears to me nothing fanciful in them; and the heresies now afloat on what is called ‘universal final salvation,’ involve a direct denial of the scriptural doctrine of the eternity of future punishments, and blunt the sharpest arrows of conviction. ‘Universal redemption’ — that is, the sufficiency of the sacrifice of Christ, and the offers of its blessings to the whole race of mankind — is quite another topic, and clearly scriptural and necessary.

656 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XIX.

¹ Psa 119.25

“I do not agree with Mr. _____. It is going beyond the written Word, to determine that the sins of the righteous will not be remembered at the judgment-day. It is enough that (1) the fruit of their faith will be produced; (2) their final and complete justification be pronounced; (3) and the origin of their blessedness be referred to their being ‘the children’ of their Father, called to an inheritance ‘prepared for them before the foundation of the world.’”

TO MRS. PERCIVAL WHITE.

“TAVOY’ BRIG, FEBRUARY 1851.

“Your Maker is your husband, my dear, bereaved sister: the Lord of Hosts is His name. Yes; this is the consolation of the widowed and the desolate. He does all things well, whether in providence or in the operation of grace. To lie passive in His hands is our wisdom, our interest, our duty, and our happiness. ‘If we try to carve for ourselves,’ says an old writer, ‘we are sure to cut our fingers.’ The spiritual ties are drawn closer when the temporal are unloosed; and these temporal ties were from the first designed to be temporal, and nothing more. The Lord *lends* our comforts to us with the condition of withdrawing them at His pleasure.

“The ‘pillar of the cloud by day, and of fire by night,’ will now direct you. Your ‘shoes shall be iron and brass,’ notwithstanding your age and infirmities, ‘and as your days, so shall your strength be.’”

TO THE ISLINGTON CLERICAL MEETING.

“CALCUTTA, NOVEMBER 6TH, 1860.

“Our state in India is certainly, through God’s mercy, on the improving hand. We have more chaplains, and more missionaries, and a brighter prospect of success. Nothing, however, of a striking and wide-spread work of grace is at present apparent; but the preparatory steps have been, and are being taken, which may lead at any moment to an outburst of glory in every part of the East, and the rapid conversion of souls to Christ.

“The movement follies are confined to very few, and are much modified and restrained where they are theoretically held. At the same time, the tendency of human nature is so strong, and so insidious towards forms and the authority of man, that it is impossible to be too watchful against it.

“Nor are the opposite errors less agreeable, under certain circumstances, to our fallen hearts. The Sadducee is sometimes more seductive than the Pharisee. Both are among the abortions of human pride and self-righteousness; and they are to be met by that holy and undoubting faith which we place in the full inspiration of the Scriptures; and by the blessed, interior, experiential efficacy of the truth of those Scriptures in our own hearts. Truth stamps holiness; error, rebellion and every evil work. And that error is more fatal which is built on some great truth. All the heresies in the world have been owing to taking unconnected texts, and making them speak whatever the critic pleased. And no one error is ever solitary, as Mr. Cecil said; it is always attended by a thousand others. We have, therefore, as much to watch against Neological fancies, metaphysical subtleties, skeptical doubts on the entire inspiration of the holy Word, and a rhetorical sort of religion, as we have against what is termed the Sacramental system. The remedy or preventive of

1848-51. FIFTH VISITATION. 657

both is the experience of Christ’s grace, daily gathered from doctrines well distinguished and applied as they lie in the divine Book, and precepts and warnings devoutly received and obeyed. The moment the heart breaks off from Christ, Satan comes in with a Bible under his arm, as Bishop Hall says, and deludes us by some plausible error.

“You will observe that in speaking of the inspiration of the Scriptures, I have used the strongest language. It is a vital point If the Bible is not the perfect, unadulterated, adequate revelation of God’s will, we have no chart to surely direct our course. The Tractarian system springs from a distrust of the sufficiency of holy Scripture. Fathers, church decrees, canons of Popish synods, the abominations of Trent, even the Protestant offices of our own church, and the writings of our commentators — all these are called in to supply the deficiency of the inspired Word.

“Still, dear brethren, let us ‘look up,’ and lift up our heads, for the day of our redemption draws near. The worst state of a church is a dead calm. Better these evils and tumults known, than concealed.”

CHAPTER 20. SIXTH VISITATION. 1851-1855.

CHARGE — JOURNALS — SUDDEN DEATHS OF MR. WEITBRECHT AND PROFESSOR WEIDEMANN — VOLUME OF SERMONS ON “THE GREAT ATONEMENT” — BISHOP OF VICTORIA — IMPRESSION MADE UPON HIM — LOVE OF FLOWERS — VISITATION — ELECTRIC TELEGRAPH — MRS. ELLERTON AT THE PALACE — GATHERING OF THE BISHOPS — CONSECRATION OF THE BISHOP OF LABUAN — CORRESPONDENCE.

The charge already referred to as preceding the sixth visitation of the diocese, was dedicated to the three suffragan bishops, as before, and congratulated two of them — Dr. Dealtry and Dr. Harding — on their appointments to the respective sees of Madras and Bombay. It bears the same character as those which preceded it, and takes the same wide range of doctrines and duties. The plain speaking, which had now become habitual to him, is very manifest, and breaks through the reserve common on such occasions. Names are mentioned, books are denounced, and systems condemned without reserve; and he seemed more than ever resolved that the last notes of the trumpet should give no uncertain sound. “Don’t tinker it,” he said to his son, when an edition was called for in England — “don’t leave out plain words, such as ‘shuffle.’ The only real word to be altered is pardon for person.”

After the delivery of the charge, the clergy were invited, not to dinner as usual, but to breakfast, at the palace, on the following morning. All met in the chapel at nine o’clock, and after the devotional services were ended, they had “a most loving, comfortable breakfast.” Both sermon and charge were to be printed “by request,” and in an hour the archdeacon set off on his visitation, and the clergy retired each one to his own home.

The first entry in the bishop’s journal-letter for the year 1852, is as follows:

“Time by moments steals away — First the hour, and then the day; Small the daily loss appears, Yet it soon amounts to years.”

1851-55. SIXTH VISITATION. 659

“I have been preaching my New Year’s Sermon. My six candidates for ordination were at church. May I be enabled to begin the new year with a larger measure of the true circumcision of the Spirit, that my heart and all my members being mortified from all carnal and worldly lusts, I may in all things obey His blessed will, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

“*January 24th.* I have been exceedingly interested with a chance book I bought yesterday — ‘Lord Dudley’s Letters.’ The volume was published in 1841, but had not attracted my notice. There are seventy-nine letters, almost equal to Cicero’s, Sevigne’s, or Cowper’s. They run from 1814 to 1831, with such brilliant sketches of home politics, persons, and books, and such masterly and original descriptions of Rome and the other chief cities of Italy, Germany, France, and Switzerland, that I have been charmed. The lively impressions of the events of these eighteen years, as the facts occurred, and by a man of first-rate talents, are to an old fellow like me, who remembers the first outburst of the French Revolution in 1789, to the last of 1848 and 1851, a source of the highest gratification.

“*January 26th.* I am thinking of the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah for the Lent Lectures this year, which are to be held in St. John’s Church. It is an easy subject, and yet a most rich and important one. May the Lord, if it seems to Him good, preserve me to fulfill this duty once more.

“*February 4th.* The Governor-General has arrived in Calcutta, and I had my first audience yesterday. He is in fine health, and very kind. He granted all I asked, and will write home in favor of the Agra bishopric. He thinks there will be no Burmese war; expects they will submit; gets on very well with the Court of Directors; will not let them behave uncivilly; has written home a stringent minute to enforce the building of more churches; wants fifty thousand troops in the Punjaub, and ten chaplains.

“SERAMPORE, *February 20th.* I have had ten friends to breakfast with me this morning. By this means I am able to keep up a little hospitality. I have been laying out my little compound. The Agricultural Society has given me a hundred and fifty flowering shrubs, and by lattice work of bamboo against the walls, I shall, after the rains, have an ornamental kind of look. The larger garden at the palace has wonderfully succeeded, and is universally admired.

“*February 28th.* Bedroom! For my gracious Saviour has again in His mercy and loving kindness laid His hand upon me; blessed be His name! On the day before yesterday, after breakfast, I felt a shivering come upon me — the same as at Umballah in 1845. I knew what it was at once, and went to bed instantly. Dr. Webb was with me in a few minutes, though my hand shook so I could scarcely write to him intelligibly. I had the cold fit of a fever; and the hot fit soon came on. All evening I was delirious. Strong remedies were administered, and about midnight I came to myself. The moment the case allowed it, quinine was administered, and today I am free from fever.

“*March 3d.* My progress towards recovery has been very slow; but, what then? This is a part of the heavenly chastisement; and shall I not rejoice to lie in my Saviour’s arms? What am I that I should look for miracles?

“An astounding event has happened — the sudden death of Mr. Weitbrecht. Yes; it is too true. He preached on Sunday evening for Mr. Boswell, and on

660 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XX.

Monday, March 1st, at 10 a. m., he was a lifeless corpse! Cholera was the disease, which Jesus sent as a messenger to call him to Himself. He had come up to attend a Church Missionary Conference. A presentiment of death was upon him. On last Wednesday he preached an admirable sermon to the missionaries from the words, ‘Be faithful unto death, and I will give you a crown of life.’ He said he thought he was near to Canaan. On Sunday his text was ‘Behold I come quickly; even so, come, Lord Jesus.’ Mr. Boswell says it was such a sublime and heavenly discourse that it made him long to be with Jesus himself. He was not well when he went to church; and on his return he was seized with this mysterious disease. Dr. Webb was with him almost all night — but in vain. God’s time had come. We have lost in him one of our best missionaries. I looked on him and Leupolt as our first men. They resemble Swartz, Henry Martyn, Bishop Corrie — such sweetness, such capital sense, such talent, and such indefatigable toil. With a mind well stored, with long experience in India, with influence widely spread, he combined true spirituality and deep love to the Saviour. There was a brightness, a halo of holiness around him, which is indescribable. He was only fifty years old. God’s will be done. Amen.

“*March 30th.* I had an unexpected blessing on Friday. I had been turning in my mind for some days whether I should write to a gentleman of Calcutta who is well disposed, and ask him to help our laboring ‘Additional Clergy Society.’ At last I thought I would call. I did so. And when I had stated my case, he replied, ‘Providence has sent you. I had been intending to make a donation to that institution; but you must promise me not to disclose my name to any human being — not even to your chaplain.’ I promised. He then intimated that next month he would send me three thousand rupees in banknotes. I quite started with joy.

“*April 7th.* A most melancholy and distressing event happened on Saturday afternoon. Professor Weidemann was drowned by the boat in which he was returning from Howrah to Bishop’s College being in one moment upset. The suddenness and violence of the northwester was almost unprecedented. Weidemann was generally very cautious, quiet, prudent, and never ventured on the river in dangerous or threatening weather. The native boatmen warned him of a coming storm; but he thought he could safely make his way by keeping close to the banks of the river. He was mistaken. The wind raised a thick dust-cloud, and, with a violence scarcely ever remembered, the boat was overset. He received some blow on the head, and rose twice; but the boatmen saw him sink at last. They escaped by clinging to the boat. The sad tidings came to me in a note from Dr. Kay on Sunday morning. We all clung to the hope that he might have struggled to the shore; but, after two days, the body was found, and at six o’clock last night I read over him the last solemn service. He was a good man and true. I have endeavored to console the weeping widow and friends. Such a thing has never before happened, in my time, to any clergyman.

“April 10th. I have finished the last of my Lent Lectures, thank God. I do not think I shall undertake another course even if I live; but I may have a few copies of this struck off for my diocese.”

1851-55. SIXTH VISITATION. 661

The intention thus signified was, in due time, carried out. In the following August a small volume, containing this series of lectures, somewhat altered, under the title of “The Great Atonement,” was published, and circulated by himself, as “The Silent Preacher,” throughout India. “I am doing it at once,” he said, “or I should never do it at all. There will be nothing new. It is only a digest of Vitranga, Michaelis the Good, Calvin, Scott, Henry, Barnes, Hambleton, Gill, Poll Synopsis, Berthier, Poole, Adam Clarke, Venn, Diodati, Simeon, the two Louths, Daillé, Pye Smith, etc.; and, curious to say, I have my notes of Dr. Blayney’s lectures on this portion of Isaiah, taken down in March 1801.”

“April 26th. Rangoon and Martaban were taken on the 5th and 15th. Every one’s mind is full of it. Further dispatches are daily and hourly expected. The electric telegraph has been so successful that the Governor-General has presented Dr. O’Shaughnessy, the head of the enterprise, with 20,000 rupees and a free passage home to lay his plans before the Court of Directors. This is one of the best things the Governor-General has done. When Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay are united by this mysterious intercommunication, the whole aspect of things in India will be changed.

“November 19th. I was the first person in India to ride on the Serampore railway. On Thursday Mr. Hunt took me in a truck impelled by coolies for a couple of miles. The carriages will not be here before February or March next year.

“December 1st. The Bishop of Victoria arrived this morning. He impressed me at once with love — such a mild, gentle countenance. This morning I introduced him to all my clergy, and he made an address of twenty-five minutes. After the close of the meeting, he arranged his plans for visiting the Propagation Society and Church Missionary stations. He will confirm for me at Burdwân, Krishnaghur, and Barripore. This will relieve me of these (to me) hazardous journeys. He leaves on the 3d of January. I have invited two parties to meet him at breakfast.

“December 6th. ‘Uncle Tom’s Cabin’ I have read and wept over. The genius, talent at description, choice of scenes, contrasts, are all admirable. The religion is not clear; the conversations are enthusiastic; the character of Cassy¹ ought to have been suppressed.

“January 1st, 1853. How many mercies have followed me in 1852. (1) Health; (2) Recovery; (3) Comfort of my two families at home; (4) Seventy-eight sermons; (5) Two ordinations; (6) Peace and love among all the clergy; (7) Arrival of four holy and able chaplains; (8) Vestry and societies going on well. Bless the Lord, O my soul, and all that is within me, bless His holy name! Oh to be ready! to end well! My motto for 1853 is, ‘This year you shall die.’

“January 7th. The dear Bishop of Victoria was present at my hundred and twenty-second clerical meeting. There were thirty-three present — the largest number we have ever had. He gave us a charming farewell address. His

662 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XX.

visit to the Governor-General has been very satisfactory. He sailed yesterday, having highly gratified us all.”

The Bishop of Victoria himself describes the impression made upon his own mind by this visit, in a letter dated January 8th, 1853. The following is an extract; it was addressed to the Rev. Daniel Wilson, at Islington:

¹ The female slave used for sex by the fictional slave dealer, Simon Legree. Nearly ten years after *Uncle Tom’s Cabin* was published, former slave Harriet Jacobs wrote her autobiography, exposing the scope of sexual abuse of black women by white slave owners. When the book was published in 1852, this wasn’t usually talked about, but it wasn’t unknown.

“Three days ago, at Calcutta, I took leave of your honored father, and my dear and reverend friend, the Bishop of Calcutta. Even now I feel almost sad at not having formally bidden him farewell. He gave me a fatherly kiss, and a few kind words with an affectionate and full heart, and was soon out of the room and in his private study. I thought I should see him again; but his chaplain told me that his pain at parting made him unwilling to have a more formal leave-taking.

“And how can I express the full feelings of my heart in the remembrances of my month’s visit to him! How to describe his rich flow of wisdom — his powerful expositions of Scripture — his affectionate love — his energy — and his glorious anticipations of dying in India at his post! It is one of the most noble, as well as one of the most affecting spectacles I have ever witnessed, to see an aged man like him, voluntarily separated in his last years from his beloved family (and my presence when he read his last letters from his children enabled me to perceive how greatly he loved them), and waiting for his summons in humble faith and love. I never saw him before. I should imagine that he is getting feeble in body, but he retains a wonderful amount of mental energy and vigor, and sits up many hours in the day to his desk, reading or writing. The voice fails him most, so that he does not preach so often now, but gives most powerful expositions at morning and evening family devotions. It has been a great privilege and event in my life to visit India, and enjoy communication with the venerable Bishop of Calcutta.”

His journal-letters will again carry on the narrative.

“*February 9th.* I preach my Lent Lectures this year at the cathedral, at early morning prayers (seven o’clock), for several reasons. First, crowded churches in the evening now fatigue me too much. Secondly, my own congregation is entitled to lectures. Thirdly, the cathedral is the bishop’s proper place. Fourthly, many can come to early service who have no health for evening service. Fifthly, it is but a trial. Sixthly, the other churches will be set at liberty to begin their own lectures.

“I have chosen the seven Epistles of our Lord to the Seven Churches of Asia, as the subject.

“SERAMPORE, *March 14th.* There is a new superintendent of the gardens at Barrackpore Park. He comes over and looks at my flowers. The roof of all my hot-houses is on the level of my drawing-room, where I live when here, and study. I walk out, therefore, continually, morning and evening, and watch the glorious hues of the flowers in their pots. The roofs are flat, of course, with a low parapet wall on each side. On these parapets are all the finest flowering shrubs India produces. Think of five thousand five hundred

1851-55. SIXTH VISITATION. 663

species of flowers in our Indian Hortus alone, and each full of exquisite grace! My knowledge of botany is nothing. Still I have in it a new field of wonder and adoration opened to me.”

His love of flowers was the solace of his old age: and a walk round the garden, with the Mâlee (or native gardener) a few steps behind him, answering his questions and delighted with his notice, was the general termination of his morning drive, and sometimes its substitute. He bought botanical books of all kinds, and his grounds were well supplied with the choicest plants. A bouquet of flowers was brought each morning, and placed on his study table. When the flowers of which it was composed were more choice than usual, the Mâlee was sent for after dinner, and the bishop, pen in hand, would point out each flower in succession, and ask its name. The botanical Latin name was always given; but strange liberties were taken with it. After many vain repetitions, the bishop, throwing himself back in his chair, and laughing heartily, would appeal to his guests: “What does he say? What does he mean?” — while the man, with folded hands and glancing eyes, seemed to wonder at his master’s mirth or ignorance. At length the name of each flower in the nosegay was written down, as near the sound as could be, with the date affixed; and a whole book was eventually filled with these memoranda of the “Bishop and the Mâlee.”

“*April 4th.* The archdeacon and Mrs. Pratt’s return to me, after an absence of eighteen months, is as life from the dead. I shall now arrange everything I can for my departure from her, for I have the sentence of death in myself.

“*April 10th.* The commissioners of Ava have arrived at Prome, but it remains to be seen whether they will submit to the treaty which will be proposed to them. Oh that God would order the sword to be returned to the scabbard!

“*May 24th.* I presented an address at eleven o'clock today, on the Queen's birthday. The Governor-General was very courteous, and told me, in a joke, that I was the 'Grand Inquisitor,' alluding to my strictures on the government plan of education.

“*July 26th.* I had an audience of the Governor-General yesterday. It is true that his letter decided the ministry. It was the Duke of Argyle who asked him about putting off the Indian question. The Governor-General replied, 'Do what you will with India. Sweep away the Governor-General if you like. But don't postpone.'

“*August 6th.* I have been running through the two volumes of Lord John Russell's 'Life of Fox.' It is a first-rate book of its kind — quite superior to the 'Memoirs of Thomas Moore,' which are a disgrace to Lord John. The interest Fox's life has awakened is quite thrilling. I have always been fond of Demosthenes, Pericles, Cicero, Chatham, Pitt, Fox, and all great orators. I remember buying, in December 1792, the *Morning Chronicle*, and almost

664 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XX.

getting Fox's wonderful speech by heart. To read, therefore his interior history, his letters, the secret negotiations, George the Third's notes, the progress of the peace of 1783, the coalition, the India bill, the regency question — all this was so fresh, that I confess it gratified me not a little. Lord John has done his duty well, honestly, candidly, and with great judgment. The work is awkwardly made up. The moral of it is mournful. Such a display of chicane, craft, depravity of private character, and absence of all reference to religion, is quite disgusting. Bad as public men may be now, they are infinitely better than they were seventy years ago.

“*August 27th.* I am busy changing my house at Serampore. The owners (Baboos) would not repair it. I am going into a larger and much better dwelling.”

In the month of October, the bishop's eldest grandson, Daniel Frederick Wilson (with his wife), arrived in Calcutta. He was gladly received, admitted into holy orders, and during the short period of his visit, attached to the cathedral.

At the commencement of the year 1854, a short visit was paid to the missionary stations of Krishnaghur and Burdwan; but the more lengthened visitation was reserved for the autumn when, with Mr. and Mrs. Bloomfield as his companions, the bishop ascended the river to Allahabad, as in former times. Here he stayed a week, performing the customary duties, and holding an ordination for three missionary candidates, one of whom was Daoud Singh, of Umritsir, who had maintained a steady Christian character for nine years. Then dropping down the river quietly, he performed without fatigue the duties of each successive station, and having “set in order the things that were lacking,” he arrived in Calcutta at the close of the year 1854. His journal-letters will tell the history of 1855.

“CALCUTTA, *January 25th*, 1855. Who should come in yesterday, about noon, but Mr. Macdougall, of Borneo, now the Bishop-elect of Labuan. He landed last evening, with wife and child. He had only received Sir George Grey's notice of his appointment, and had come here with the anticipation of being consecrated by my suffragan bishops and myself. Many things, however, must be cleared up before I can act; and some months probably must elapse.

“*January 27th.* Mrs. Ellerton has informed me that Dr. Jackson, with whom she has lived eight years, is going home,¹ as soon as he can settle her in a comfortable residence. 'Would I take her in?' —

¹ Mrs., Ellerton was the mother-in-law of Bishop Corrie, and universally respected for her genuine piety, unaffected simplicity, and extensive usefulness.

'Yes, and rejoice to do it,' was my reply. When the archdeacon has embarked, she will come and see what accommodation I can give her.¹ The Bloomfields have four rooms. If Mrs. Ellerton

1851-55. SIXTH VISITATION. 665

comes, it will be like the ark at Obed-Edom's — a blessing to my house and family, my guests and clergy.

"*January 28th.* Bishop Carr was perfectly right, I think, in taking the rectory of Bath — perfectly. To wait for an English bishopric, would be pride and folly combined in an Indian bishop.

"*February 5th.* On Saturday the East Indian Railway was publicly inaugurated by the Governor-General. Alcoves with flowers formed a covered way from the Ghat to an ornamented steamer; and other alcoves led up to the stationhouse. At nine o'clock the Governor-General arrived, and I read a prayer, in my church robes, before the train started. Mr. Fisher, who was acting as archdeacon, and Mr. Bloomfield, in their surplices, read some portions of holy Scripture. Twenty-four carriages then carried six or seven hundred gentlemen to Burdwân, a distance of sixty-seven miles, in three hours. There a breakfast was prepared; and a number of excellent speeches were afterwards delivered. I reached home by half-past seven, after eleven hours of great heat and fatigue.

"*February 7th.* The hundred and fortieth clerical meeting was held today. There were twenty-seven present. My exhortation in chapel, before breakfast was on the 'Christian Race;' and after breakfast I asked Dr. Macdougall to address the clergy, and give an account of the Sarawak mission.

"*February 23d.* Yesterday I received a telegraphic dispatch from Madras. It was as follows:

"'The Bishop of Madras has returned in safety to the hills, and would be glad if the Bishop of Calcutta would come and spend three months of the hot weather with him. An answer is requested.'

"My answer is:

"'Prepare to come here in October, to assist in consecrating the Bishop of Labuan. I cannot go to you.'

"Now, to write by the dâk, I could not have heard and replied under twenty-eight days: as it is, it has taken twelve hours. What changes are taking place in India! This is almost miraculous.

"Dr. Macdougall has gone back to Sarawak, and it is arranged that he shall return for consecration in October, if all be well and right.

"*March 31st.* Mrs. Ellerton came to reside with me on the 27th. She enters her eighty-fourth year on May 30th. She is very chatty and pleasant, and punctual in coming to meals. Many useful remarks fall from her in conversation. She has a turn for humor, and tells anecdotes of former times. There is a savor of downright piety and simplicity of heart in all she says. Her faculties are perfect. She loves authority and obedience. She jokes with me, and calls me 'twice seven' (77). I keep four bearers for her exclusive use. We sit round our tea-table at a little before eight — Mrs. Ellerton, Mr. and Mrs. Bloomfield, Mr. and Mrs. Yate, myself, Margaret (a schoolgirl, waiting on Mrs. Ellerton), and Andrew, my writer; and then I expound briefly, have a hymn read, and close the day with prayer."

The picture thus drawn of the family group is surely very interesting, and has something in it of primitive simplicity.

666 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XX.

The arrangement by which Mrs. Ellerton was received into the palace, proved permanent. Her only relatives being absent, and her little property settled on them by will, she spent her last days there in peace. Their social intercourse was very pleasant, though chequered with frequent and serious attacks of illness. When she was well, the bishop would go and sit in her room after

¹ Archdeacon Pratt had been compelled, by serious and long continued illness, to resort to England.

dinner for conversation. When ill, he would visit her twice each day, or oftener, for reading and prayer. She survived the bishop just three weeks.

“April 12th. My last journey certainly did me good, as I hope it may have done spiritual good to my clergy and their flocks. My next plans lie thus, *Deo volente*. In October, my charge, ordination, confirmation, consecration. Then from November to February the visitation down the Straits, all by steamers — no sailing — no dâk travelling. It will be five years since I visited the Straits, and it will be my first visit to Burma. But the heavenly visit and transfer may come first.

“October 11th. I have nearly written out a rough longhand copy of my poor charge. I hope to bring it within fifty minutes, which is short for me.

“October 13th. Things are moving on. The Bishop-elect of Labuan arrived last week; Bishop Smith (Victoria) on the 10th; Bishop and Mrs. Dealtry (Madras) are expected tomorrow. Dr. Macdougall, with his buoyant spirits, fine health, and romantic zeal, is very much liked. All the gentry are asking him to dinner. I have promised him the offertory on Thursday, and a sermon on the 28th, for the benefit of his Sarawak mission.

“October 15th. Yesterday and today have almost overset me. I have been in a whirl. I have three bishops in my house. I have not been able to look at my charge. A party of forty are invited to breakfast on Friday, and on Saturday and Monday a hundred and twenty more. This morning we sent out two hundred letters of invitation to all the gentry to attend the consecration. It is the first time such a service has taken place out of England, since the Reformation. We fear a crush. But I endeavor to keep all in a calm, holy, waiting spirit. It is difficult amidst so much unavoidable distraction.

“Monday, October 22d. The consecration took place with wonderful success on Thursday. Bishops Dealtry and Smith arrived only just in time. Dealtry preached a glorious sermon, which will be printed. The cathedral was crowded. Hundreds crammed themselves into every corner; but hundreds could get no admission. The sight of the two assistant bishops conducting the bishop-elect in his rochet from the distant vestry, and presenting him to me, was most affecting; and when, having returned to robe himself, he kneeled at the communion rails, the congregation seemed overwhelmed. The presence of three bishops in the heart of heathen India, setting apart a Missionary Bishop for the immense field of Borneo, was an event almost miraculous. Bishops Dealtry and Smith preached yesterday at the cathedral, and the ‘Old Church.’ But I had fallen sick, and was unable to be present at my breakfast this morning. How I shall get on tomorrow with my charge, I know not. But I am in God’s hands, and have only to commit myself to Him in humble penitence, faith, and prayer.

1851-55. SIXTH VISITATION. 667

“Tuesday, October 23d. I have had a great deliverance from my fears. I thought ‘I shall never be well enough to hold my visitation and deliver my charge.’ But I have held it; and with the help of my chaplain, and leaving out some parts, the charge did not take much more than an hour. Thus an anxiety of four years, and a close application of six months is terminated. But I was not fit for the duty, as you will easily judge when you read the charge.”

This charge will introduce, as usual, a new chapter. The correspondence which intervenes, and which in this case will run beyond the proper date, shows a pen as vigorous, and a mind as clear as ever.

TO MRS. PERCIVAL WHITE.

“CALCUTTA, JULY 1851.

“You will have heard how ill I have been. I was seized with a chill, which produced internal inflammation, and at one time threatened my life. I thank God I was more calm in the prospect, than I could have thought. I was enabled, and am enabled, to trust myself simply and without reserve on the infinite atonement and propitiation of the Son of God, and on his equally boundless wisdom, love, and power. This is enough. I stand to all I have said and taught for twenty years. I do not retract a word. I only mourn over the mixture of human infirmity in the manner of my defence of the ‘truth as it is in Jesus.’ Farewell, perhaps forever, in this dying world; but in the hope of a reunion and recognition in the world above.”

TO HIS GRANDCHILD, LUCY ANN WILSON.

“Calcutta, May 1851.

“God’s love is as much seen in chastisements as in the blessings of prosperity. We soon forget ourselves if everything goes smooth. The ‘hill of difficulty,’ and the ‘valley of humiliation,’ are to be passed, as it were, alternately by the Christian pilgrim; and both conspire to make the views from the ‘delectable mountains’ brighter and more attractive. I am looking forward, dearest Lucy, to the River, and whether Christian’s fears may be mine, or Hopeful’s more cheerful confidence,¹ if I do but pass safely over to the heavenly Canaan, all will be well. The grand thing is to stand prepared when the Master calls. If He is with me, I need fear no evil.”

TO MISS CECIL.

“CALCUTTA, MAY 1852.

“I received, a few days since, my eight copies of your venerable father’s *Thoughts*, and I shall be glad for twelve more copies being sent for me. The work is invaluable. The intertwining of the mysteries of Christ with the feelings and practice of daily life is unequalled. I know nothing like it in the

668 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XX.

compass of theology. I lent a copy of the first edition to a young clergyman in sickness, exacting a promise that he would read one a day. I have given a copy of my second edition to one of my cathedral missionaries under the same condition. Thus I disperse the invaluable blessing far and wide in this dry and desolate land. How does my friend Miss Cecil do? Does she still play the organ in St. John’s, Bedford Row? How is that dear old church going on after the earthquake of B. Noel’s secession? Seventy years has that ‘well of salvation’ been now open! And how many, many, like Mrs. Hawkes, have been born there! Farewell, till we meet around the throne; and then, which of us will sing loudest, ‘Worthy is the Lamb that was slain’?”

TO THE CHAPLAIN IN THE UPPER PROVINCES.

“CALCUTTA, FEBRUARY 1852.

“Knowing that your own mind privately is fixed, and has been for years, I did not choose to enter into communication with you except in an official manner.

“2. I have now only to state that you are hereby required to abstain from all the customs and habits to which the venerable archdeacon, knowing my mind, objected so properly.

“3. You are not to turn your back on the people when reciting the creeds. You are to preach in your black gown, and not in your surplice. You have an organ and singers who chant the *Te Deum*, etc., and sing a psalm or hymn between the litany and communion service — you will direct them to sing a psalm or hymn between the communion service and the sermon also. You are not to use the prayer for the church militant except when the blessed communion is administered. You are not to call the communion-table an ‘altar.’

“4. The practice of this diocese is not to be broken in upon by an individual clergyman or his private opinion.

“5. The late archbishop’s circular-letter expressly recommends that no old usage, though in strictness rubrical, is to be revived, nor any new usages introduced in times like the present.

“6. But I take the higher ground — my authority as bishop, to regulate what usages may be retained, and what omitted in the climate of India, keeping to the practice for a hundred and fifty years at home, as nearly as possible, and to that of my episcopacy for nearly twenty years.”

TO THE REV. J. W. CUNNINGHAM.

“CALCUTTA, MAY. 1853.

¹ Two characters in John Bunyan’s *Pilgrim’s Progress*, 1678.

“Thanks for your kindest, dearest letter, which is most precious to my soul.

“‘Hippolytus’ is a monstrous congeries¹ of wild, unscriptural vagaries, which need to be well sifted. I never read four volumes of such stuff — mystical, pantheistic, subject to no law, no creed, no church; subversive of all doctrine, all national piety, all intelligible exposition of Scripture. Inspiration is virtually given up. The three creeds are cashiered. Even the heathens are allowed to be a sort of precursors of Christianity. His Christian sacrifice annihilates the actual vicarious sacrifice of Christ’s atonement and satisfaction. No doubt

1851-55. SIXTH VISITATION. 669

he has proved Hippolytus to have been the author, and not Origen, of the work on the Thirty-two Heresies; and has brought forward some curious matter. But even this Hippolytus seems to me an Arian at best. His disquisitions on the Logos would be disgusting if they were not unintelligible.”

TO J. HARFORD, ESQ., BLAISE CASTLE.

“CALCUTTA, MAY 1853.

“I find, among my unanswered letters, one or two from Mrs. and Mr. (Blaise Castle) Harford. I am rather afraid they must have been long in my possession, if there are no mistakes in the dates. However this may be, the day with me is so fast declining to eventide, that I am obliged to cast myself on the compassion of my friends, for innumerable omissions and delays.

“I well remember the very pleasant visit I paid to you in 1846, and the restoration from a troublesome cough which your fine air gave me. God still enables me to do a little. I entered on the twenty-second year of my appointment last Sunday, and my text was, ‘I die daily.’ I am expecting hour by hour the summons of the great Master. I am so surrounded with the precursors of death, that I seem to live a dying life, having a desire to depart (not in itself, for nature has a dread of dissolution), but in order to be with Christ, which is far better than a life of conflict, temptation, sorrow, and change.”

TO A CHAPLAIN IN THE PUNJAUB.

“CALCUTTA, MAY 1853.

“The question you propose has been long settled in this diocese, as well as in most dioceses at home. The encouragement of piety in the well-disposed soldiers in our larger stations, by a weekly meeting under the direction of the chaplain, has ever been an object of my ardent wishes.

“In those meetings I require (1) that the chaplain should be present and direct the proceedings; (2) that no layman should engage in any part of the service; (3) that a few prayers from the Liturgy, and the second lesson from the New Testament, should be read; (4) that the chaplain should give a short and familiar address, or exposition of part of the lesson; (5) that a hymn should be sung.

“These rules being observed, such weekly meetings resemble cottage lectures in our large English parishes, and are approved by our bishops.

“The objection from one person being a Baptist, and others not attending church, is of no weight. Nothing can tend to conciliate their minds, and bring them back to our Protestant apostolical church, so much as the kindness and charity you would thus show them. Repulsion never does good; attraction, always. These weekly meetings would benefit your own soul, draw out your love to Christ and His sheep, and accustom to an easy and intelligible exposition of the gospel your habits of thought and meditation.”

TO ARCHDEACON PRATT, AT THE CAPE.

“CALCUTTA, JUNE 1854.

“I have been very poorly for eight days with the same complaint as laid me low in 1851. Dr. Webb does not anticipate a speedy recovery. Can I wonder

¹ A sum total of many heterogenous things taken together.

that, just completing my seventy-sixth year, I should be 'going the way of all the earth?' And ought I not to praise the Lord that the alleviations of my complaint are so great that I can read and write letters, and attend to indispensable business? And shall I not trust His love who has borne with me during a ministry of fifty-three years? Yes, my beloved friends, praise becomes me continually. Mr. Boswell sat with me an hour yesterday; he rejoices in the promise, 'At eventide it shall be light;' he says Baxter's last words were, 'Almost well,' and that Mrs. Frye said, 'The brooks of refreshment were more abundant as she drew near her end.' He also gave me some Latin lines said to have been hung round the neck of Mary Queen of Scots at her execution:

"Care mi Jesu,
In dura catenû,
In misera poenû,
Flendo, gemendo,
Et genu flectendo,
Adore, imploro,
Ut liboras me!"

"All Calcutta is quiet, and going on well. Bishop Carr has taken the Abbey Church, Bath, which Mr. Brodrick resigned from ill-health. Mr. _____ has come out with a prophetic volume which quite chokes me. But it is in a grave and evangelical spirit, and worth reading. The Governor-General has gazetted the notice for a day of humiliation. 'Christ is all' to D. C."

TO THE REV. DR. STEINKOPFE.

"CALCUTTA, FEBRUARY 1854.

"Your varied and long-continued trials, my beloved friend, have been ordered by Infinite wisdom and love. In one lesson which you speak of having learned, I can fully sympathize with you — the secret evils of the heart. Yes, the recesses of corruption, the undiscovered territories laid open — this is indeed the lesson I also have been taught by the Divine dealings with me. The government of the thoughts is an especial difficulty with me. The association of ideas, the recurrence of old sins, the defilement of the fancy and imagination — these are my burden and grief. But the infinite atonement of the eternal Son of God is our refuge. There we hide our confusion of face, and look to our heavenly Father with humble confidence. To this blessed Saviour I commend you, my beloved friend, and beg the continuance of your prayers."

TO THE MOST NOBLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

"CALCUTTA, MARCH 1854.

"I have the honor of acknowledging the letter of government enclosing a dispatch from the Honorable the Court of Directors regarding a munificent bequest of the late Mr. Mackenzie for the erection, repair, and endowment of churches in India, and requesting me to state what would appear to me the best mode of applying the bequest.

1851-55. SIXTH VISITATION. 671

"2. I would first submit, that as the bequest is designed for the whole of India, subject to the East India Company, the entire sum should be divided among the three dioceses in proportion to their extent. For instance, one-half of the 80,000 rupees to Calcutta, one-third to Madras, and one-sixth to Bombay.

"5. With regard to the sum (40,000 rupees) thus allotted to the diocese of Calcutta, I observe that there is a very proper limit assigned — that it should be appropriated to such places and objects as would not in ordinary cases receive assistance from the public revenues.

"6. This will direct the distribution to the numerous small stations where there are no resident chaplains. Churches are provided by the Honorable Company for all the stations where chaplains are located, and only for them.

“7. The mode of appropriating the money to these small stations might, perhaps, best be arranged by the trustees of the ‘Church-building Fund for India.’

“10. The bequest speaks not only of the erection of churches, but also of repairs and endowments.

“11. As to ‘endowments,’ I fear the whole sum is too limited for such a design. But there is one church where the ‘repairs’ are not borne by the government, and which, therefore, would come within the limitation laid down by the honorable court The Cathedral of St. Paul’s, Calcutta, is repaired by the vestry and the gentry attending divine worship. There is a small fund, which has been raised by subscription, but which is utterly inadequate for the end in view. Any portion of the 40,000 rupees which your lordship should judge right to give, would fall under one of the main heads specified in the bequest, and not violate the condition of the Honorable Company’s letter.

TO HIS HONOR THE GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WEST PROVINCES.

“CALCUTTA, MARCH 1854.

“I beg leave to submit to your consideration whether, on the great and joyful occasion next month of opening the ‘Ganges Canal,’ a religious ceremony, of a brief and simple character, would not be an appropriate acknowledgment of the Divine Providence.

“2. It is a fruit of Christianity, performed by a Christian government, and executed after many difficulties, and at an immense, but most wisely arranged, expense.

“6. I would myself attend the noble occasion if my health and immediate duties would allow; but the reverend chaplain will, under my direction, prepare a short office.

“8. I will furnish him with specific directions when I have had the pleasure of hearing from you.”

TO HIS HONOR THE PRESIDENT OF THE SUPREME COUNCIL.

“CALCUTTA, JUNE 20TH, 1855.

“The extreme emergency of our ecclesiastical establishment in this vast diocese induces me to address you on the subject of the ‘Diocesan Additional Clergy Society,’ which has now been at work for fourteen years.

“2. The Court has declined acceding, at present, to a proposal which I had the honor to make for the creation of a class of uncovenanted assistant or curate

672 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XX.

chaplains. They have, however, expressed a determination to receive favorably any definite proposal for a further increase of the regular establishment. They further give permission for the uncovenanted clergymen, approved of by the bishop, to be employed in visiting out-stations.

“3. I feel considerable confidence, therefore, in submitting to the government the facilities afforded for lessening the difficulties now pressing on us, by public aid being afforded to a well-known and admirable society, struggling in its finances, but capable of extension in the most easy manner.”

FROM C. BRADON, ESQ., SECRETARY TO THE GOVERNMENT
OF INDIA, IN REPLY TO THE ABOVE.

“JULY 20, 1855.

“I am directed to acknowledge the receipt of your letter, dated 20th ult., requesting the government to afford some support to the ‘Calcutta Diocesan Additional Clergy Society,’ now that the Honorable Court of Directors has refused to sanction the formation of a class of uncovenanted chaplains.

“2. In reply, I am desired to state that the Hon. the President in Council is not at liberty to subscribe public money for indefinite purposes to a private society of this kind, however laudable the work may be in which it is engaged. But his Honor in Council will be prepared in any case in which the services of a chaplain of the regular establishment may be required, but not be available for a particular station, to sanction the grant of an allowance of one hundred rupees per mensem to a

clergyman of the undermentioned, or any other society whom your lordship may appoint for the performance of the duties of such a station, and whom the local governments may recommend for such allowance.”

TO ARCHDEACON PRATT.

“CALCUTTA, AUGUST 1855.

“Your account of your own health and Mrs. Pratt’s is most gratifying. I look on you both as well — God blessing the fine air of dear old England. To Him we belong, who has redeemed us by His only begotten Son, our Lord — and His will should in everything be ours.

“The educational provisional rules on the footing of the Court’s dispatch, create uneasiness and fear in the minds of all our good missionaries. They dislike the neutrality on the subject of religion and the secular inspectors. They dislike their insisting on the children paying fees, and the grants being limited to the amount locally raised. There is also no provision for founding and maintaining schools in the numerous spots where no zeal exists, nor any friends are found. I believe they are too sensitive. The plan is a vast step in advance. Neutrality is a point gained instead of prohibition. The feeling excited at home and in Parliament will compel the Court to supply or modify as may be found necessary. No steps have as yet been taken.”

TO HIS GRANDCHILD, ALICE W. BATEMAN, ON CONFIRMATION.

“SERAMPORE, JUNE 1855.

“As I hear that you have just been confirmed, I force myself to find strength and spirits to write you a word of love and counsel on the important engagement

1851-55. SIXTH VISITATION. 673

you have entered into. All depends on yourself, under God. Confirmation will of itself do you little good unless you meant what you solemnly promised — that is, to take on you, now that you have come to age, the vows made in your name at your baptism. You were then dedicated and made over by your pious parents to God your Saviour, to renounce the devil and the miserable slavery and bondage of sin, to believe from your heart all the great truths of the gospel made known in the Bible, and to walk in the pleasant path of God’s blessed commandments.

“To this end you must pray, my love, for God’s Holy Spirit to teach, to illuminate, to strengthen and guide you.

“When you begin to pray from your heart, you will soon feel the reluctance of your nature. This reluctance you must overcome by God’s Spirit helping you.

“So when you would shut out the vanities of the world, the same opposition will arise, and must be conquered in the same way.

“Religion is a very gradual thing, imperceptible almost (except in the case of very extraordinary conversions), and only to be discerned (like the wind) in its effects. Therefore, go on and form good habits, and obey the voice of conscience. Consider all religious duties not as an end, but as a means towards an end. Perform all your obligations as a scholar, a daughter, a young lady in society, with diligence and simplicity, relying on God for help, and seeking pardon for all your sins and shortcomings. Don’t be discouraged because you cannot altogether do the things you aim at. You never will, as long as you live. But Christ will wash you in His blood, and comfort you, if you are sincere.”

TO HIS NIECES, AUGUSTA AND EMILY BATEMAN.

“CALCUTTA, AUGUST 1866.

“My love to all my relatives is as warm as ever; and you, the dear daughters of my own eldest sister, that suffering but happy saint, are doubly interesting to me.

“You ask me, my loves, for my advice; but I have nothing to offer but what the best of books contains, both in principle and in detail. (1) The more you meditate upon it day and night, the brighter

will be the light that shines from it, through the grace of the blessed Spirit of God. (2) Pray without ceasing, like the widow with the unjust judge. (3) In everything give thanks. (4) Watch over your heart, for out of it are the issues of life. (5) Keep near to Christ as your all. (6) Govern your tempers, and the current of your thoughts.

“The Lord be with you and all friends.”

TO HIS GRANDCHILD, LOUISA WILSON.

“SERAMPORE, MARCH 1857.

“Follow, my dear grandchild, the steps of your beloved parents in the faith and love of our blessed Redeemer, and you will be happy in time and eternity. Be earnest in your secret prayers. Commit to memory passages of the holy Bible. Thus you will learn what a sinner you are by nature and practice

674 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XX.

— and what a great atonement our Lord Christ has made on the cross. He will give you His grace if you seek it, and by His holy Spirit will make you a new creature.”

TO THE REV. HENRY VENN.

“CALCUTTA, DECEMBER 24TH, 1856.

“A few words with my faithful and beloved friend Henry Venn, with whom I seem more than ever conjoined, by having in daily reading the touching life and letters of his honored grandfather. That incomparable volume ought to be far more extensively circulated than it is. I remember well seeing him led into the pew next my own, to hear Mr. Romaine, in 1796 or 1797. He was very feeble, and I was too young to observe his features. The union of singular attainments of joy and spirituality, with comprehensiveness of judgment, and soundness of decision on moral questions, is quite unequalled. From his extreme warmth of feeling, you would expect him to break down on practical questions; but no, nothing so wonderful as his insight into difficulties, whether in Scripture or in his ministry. Mr. Cecil knew him well, and used to tell me of his manners and way of going on. There was no escaping him. He meets an old and determined opponent, and takes him by the arm with all the affection of a brother, and talks to him about Christ and eternity. His preaching was very unequal; for he would sometimes go exhausted into the pulpit, after two hours eager conversation in private. I remember Mr. J. Pearson mentioned to me, what you notice in his life, that his joy at the approach of death, delayed for a time that (to him) wished-for event.

“I have just been passing through the gentle chastisement of my tenderhearted Redeemer, and my life hangs by a thread. I have been endeavoring to wind up all my matters personal, ecclesiastical, and domestic, aided by the incomparable talent and love of my returned archdeacon. Oh that I could secure to him the succession to this bishopric! And also a See at Agra for some like-minded person. But I leave it with the great Head of the Church, and shall wonder at nothing after the noble appointments at home and in the colonies. Never, since the Reformation, has such an era been granted to England.

“I relish Mr. Foster’s remarks in the ‘Eclectic Notes’ (I knew him well, and preached for him in 1803), more than those of the other members. I go along with him fully in his confessions. Mr. Scott is also most excellent, and Mr. Venn, and J. Clayton also — while, of course, Mr. Cecil sparkles. And ‘now to Him that can keep us from falling, the only wise God, be glory and dominion for ever and ever.’”

TO A CHAPLAIN IN THE PUNJAUB.

“Calcutta, May 1856.

“Nothing can be more honorable to you than the high sentiments you entertain of the dignity and responsibility of your office; and I have the less difficulty in answering the question you propose, because it has been decided again and again by the Supreme Government, and by myself, during the course of my episcopate.

“3. The Roman Catholics are not committed to your care. Your office, as

1851-55. SIXTH VISITATION. 675

a chaplain to the Hon. Company, is confined to the Protestants in the regiments at your station.

“4. You are expressly prohibited by the government from provoking the displeasure of the brigadier, the jealousy of the Romanist priest, and the possible discontent of the soldiers themselves, by attempting to instruct that division of the troops who are Roman Catholics, and have duly salaried priests for their spiritual guidance.

“5. Your ordination vows direct you to minister the holy sacraments ‘in the congregation when you are lawfully appointed to it.’

“6. At home, the limits of the parish where a priest is located and licensed form the boundaries of his calling; and to proceed into other parishes would be an irregularity which would incur spiritual admonition.

“7. The limits of the chaplain in India are the Protestants in the stations where he is licensed to serve; and even among the Protestants he would not be authorized to attempt the proselytism of Presbyterians or Baptists.

“8. The universal method of Indian chaplains is to hold divine service twice a week with the Protestants in hospital — collecting the convalescents in some convenient verandah, or other place.

“9. The bed-ridden Protestants are instructed individually by a few words affectionately directed to them in their beds.

“10. If the sick are too numerous for one visit, they are divided by the chaplain into classes, and he visits first one class and then another, as his time and strength allow.

“11. In case of any voluntary application to the chaplain on the part of the Romanist, it will be the chaplain’s happiness to comply with it in a mild and unobserved manner.

“12. It removes all responsibility from your own conscience when you are thus told that you must confine your ministrations to those to whom you are legally appointed and licensed.”

TO THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, ON ASSISTANT CHAPLAINS.

“OCTOBER 1866.

“I have the honor of submitting to your lordship’s favorable consideration the enclosed petition of the body of Assistant Chaplains.

“The object is to obtain a settled period when all assistant chaplains will be entitled to the higher remuneration of the chaplains on full pay.

“The present uncertainty of the period of their promotion is depressing to the last degree, and prevents that careful forethought and arrangement for the support of their perhaps growing families, which a fixed prospect would enable them to form.

“The larger number of assistant chaplains will, indeed, never reach the higher grade till the whole of their period of service has expired; that is, they will never enjoy it at all.

“At the same time, the moment they come out they are liable to be appointed, from the exigencies of the service, to the most weighty and responsible stations; three have been recently marched off to Peshawur — to cite one example — and another placed in Calcutta.

676 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XX.

“They seem entitled, therefore, to the hope of advancement within some fair and moderate period.

“Nor do I doubt that our honorable masters will cheerfully take the case into their favorable consideration, if only your Lordship in Council would make the warm and urgent representations I am persuaded you will.

“It is my firm opinion that, taking the circumstances of India into consideration, and the contingent afflictions, separations, and expenses which invariably attend all chaplains, that the ecclesiastical establishment, as respects the assistant chaplains, are underpaid.

“The indisposition of the Honorable Court to changes I well know. But India is not what it was when the plan of a double remuneration was first devised. The relative position of the assistants has been becoming worse and worse for years. I feel a considerable confidence, therefore, that the petition I now enclose will be conceded to the reverend chaplains who address it, through me, to your lordship.”

CHAPTER 21. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 1855-1857.

LAST CHARGE — VISITATION TO BURMAH — MEETS LORD DALHOUSIE — SUCCESSFUL APPLICATIONS — PROMPT ACTION — AMERICAN MISSIONARIES — PRIMITIVE ABODE — MODEL FARM — TAKES SPIRITUAL POSSESSION OF BURMAH — SERMONS — CONFIRMATIONS — VOYAGE TO MADRAS — BISHOP DEALTRY — VISIT TO CEYLON — PEARL SERMON — LORD AND LADY CANNING — CALCUTTA JOURNALS — THANKSGIVING SERMON FOR PEACE — CATHEDRAL IMPROVEMENTS — DONATION — TERRIBLE ACCIDENT — TENDERNESS OF SPIRIT — REARRANGEMENT OF CATHEDRAL ENDOWMENT FUND — PLAN FOR A COADJUTOR BISHOP — INDIAN MUTINIES — SERMON ON "PRAYER, THE REFUGE OF THE AFFLICTED CHURCH" — THE BISHOP ENTERS HIS EIGHTIETH YEAR — REFLECTIONS — MEETING FOR PRAYER — HUMILIATION SERMON — CAPTAIN PEEL AND THE "SHANNON" — TRIP TO SAND-HEADS — CAPTAIN KEY AND THE "SANSPAREIL" — FIVE LETTERS — RECEIVING-SHIP — REFLECTIONS — RETURN TO CALCUTTA — HIS DEATH — FUNERAL SERMONS IN ISLINGTON — NARRATIVE OF ARCHDEACON PRATT, DR. WEBB, AND MR. WALTERS — RESPECT PAID TO THE BISHOP'S MEMORY — TESTIMONIES TO HIS WORTH.

The charge which the bishop delivered on October 23d, 1855, was HIS LAST. It was based on the address of St. Paul, at Miletus, to the elders of the church at Ephesus. All the parts of that address were carefully expounded and applied to the condition of the church, and the characters of the clergy in the present day. This was followed by honorable mention of Colonel Forbes, the architect of the cathedral, of Mr. Weitbrecht, the church missionary, and Mr. D. Jones, the propagation missionary, all of whom had departed to their rest. The recent minute of government, for making "grants in aid" for the promotion of education, after the plan of the Privy Council at home, was discussed and approved. The progress of the missions, and the statistics of the diocese, with other incidental topics of interest, were introduced. All was gentle, quiet, and subdued; and the last words ever addressed by him to the assembled clergy were as follows:

"And now, brethren, I most affectionately commend you to God *and to the word of His grace.* This is a guardianship under which we may comfortably leave each other. The *inheritance of the Saints in light* is before us. The

678 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

more we study the word of God's grace, the better we shall be prepared for that unspeakable blessedness — an inheritance *incorruptible and undefiled, and which does not fade away*, as all earthly possessions do, and must — an inheritance *purchased for the Church of God by His own blood*, to which *repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ*, are the means of conducting us — an inheritance for which they only who are sanctified and prepared will be admitted.

"The time will come on earth when the dearest friends must be torn one from another; but we look forward to a state where nothing shall separate us, nothing give occasion to the words which St. Paul spoke, and which were above all grievous to his flock, *that they should see his face no more*; but where a blessed reunion with those whom we have loved here below in Christ, will efface every preceding sorrow and trouble, and all the past will be swallowed up in the eternal fruition, and joy, and holiness, and mutual love, and the transport of seeing Jesus our Master as He is, and being with him forever and ever."

The whole spirit and tone of the charge was what it professed to be, paternal and affectionate; and it bore the same relation to the preceding ones that the calm and tranquil evening does to the early dawn and sultry day. The church in India should ask for the republication of these seven (or if the missionary charge at Tanjore, and the local charge at Bombay, are added, these nine) charges. No topic of interest was omitted in them. No labor was ever spared. The statistics are most valuable, and the narrative of events most important. While they bear testimony to the bishop's faithfulness as a ruler in the house of God, so they furnish materials for a history of the

church in India. Collected into a small volume, they would prove a valuable deposit for the one, and a lasting memorial of the other.

When the charge had been delivered, and the usual duties performed, the bishop and his chaplain embarked on the *Tenasserim*, a large armed steamer, purposing to visit Chittagong, Akyab, Rangoon, Prome, Thyat-moo, Moulmein, Penang, Singapore, Point-de-Galle, and Madras. It will not be necessary to follow him over ground already trodden; but the last Burmese war had brought large accessions of territory to British India, and these will require notice. A whole district had been annexed; important places were occupied; large military cantonments were fixed on; a new town (to be called "Dalhousie") was in contemplation; the magnificent Irrawaddy was commanded; commerce was rapidly developing itself; four European and thirteen native regiments kept the peace; and everything betokened, at the time, a permanent and profitable occupation of the annexed provinces. The bishop's course was directed to these, in the hope that he might be enabled to give things a

1R35-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 679

right bias and a strong impulse. Lord Dalhousie, also, was expected for a final visit before he resigned that authority which he had held with so firm a hand and so clear a head, but with such short prescience.

After stopping at Akyab, and performing all required duties there, the bishop pushed on for Rangoon, part of the newly acquired territory, and situated on a navigable river forming part of the network of the Irrawaddy. He arrived on November 14th, and was most kindly received by the commissioner, Major Phayre, the brigadier, Colonel Russel, and the chaplain, Mr. Bull. There was much to be done — chaplains to settle, churches to build, sites to choose, sermons to preach, hospitals and schools to visit. Old times seemed to have returned, and the approach of the Governor-General stimulated him to have all his requests in readiness. Lord Dalhousie landed on November 20th, and fixed the next day to see the bishop. The result may be best told in his own words:

"His lordship has granted everything I asked. First, three churches, to cost thirty-five thousand rupees each, in the cantonments. Secondly, one church in the town. Thirdly, an order to the executive engineer to begin them at once. Fourthly, burial-grounds to be set apart and consecrated. Fifthly, all I asked for Akyab was also granted. Blessed, then, be you, O God! for these fresh and undeserved mercies. I never had a larger budget of requests to make, and I obtained them all. The Governor-General asked me to dine with him tomorrow. He embarks for England from Calcutta on the 1st of March."

On the morning of the very next day the foundation-stone of the church in the town was laid. The bishop made a long address on the occasion, and called the church "St. Andrew's," in reverence and gratitude for "Andrew, Marquis Dalhousie." In the evening he held pleasant communication with his lordship. Large parties were no longer desired by him, for his voice was feeble and his hearing dull; but a small party like this when, as he says, "Lord Dalhousie chatted with all freedom and kindness," he thoroughly enjoyed. The talk was of Sebastopol and the Duke. Our commanders were freely criticized, and their errors as pointed out at home, openly condemned. "Veteran soldiers should have been sent to storm the Redan, and not raw recruits." "Reserves ought to have been in hand to ensure, or to complete success." Had the Duke been alive, the Russian war would never have taken place, nor would the Russian army ever have crossed the Pruth. The Emperor of Russia had a most profound awe for Wellington. When one of the Grand Dukes, his son, came over to England some time back, he had

680 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

orders to call first upon the duke, and tender his respects; but the duke came up at once from Walmer Castle, in his green uniform, as a Russian Field Marshal, to anticipate him.

In such racy converse as this the evening passed, away, and the bishop retired at nine o'clock. The next day the Governor-General and Lady Susan Ramsay, his daughter, embarked for Calcutta; but the bishop's duties were not completed, and he remained. He staked out the ground for another church, preached several times, held confirmations, re-visited hospitals and schools. He also went to Kemmendine, in the jungle, to see the American missionaries among the Karens, and found there twelve thousand converts, with four thousand catechumens. The converts not only maintained themselves, but cultivated the land, and were becoming rich. All this excited deep interest.

He then embarked on another steamer, called the *Nerbuddah*, and went four hundred miles up the Irrawaddy, passing Donabew and Prome, to Thyat-moo, the most advanced European station on our side of the river. Here he arrived on Saturday, the 1st of December, and was received by Brigadier Lane into a most primitive abode. It consisted of a few upright wooden posts and beams, supporting a house of matting — the roof matting, the floor matting, the walls matting, the partitions matting — through all of which the rather chilly wind had free and full circulation. "It is far worse than a tent," he said. On Sunday, divine services were performed. On Monday, the site of the new church was selected, the ground staked out, and the adjacent cemetery consecrated. The military officers gathered round him when the service was ended, and begged him to consecrate the old ground, in which many of their comrades, who had fallen in battle, lay at rest. He hesitated, lest he should give offence to the Roman Catholics, many of whom had been interred there. Finally, however, he consented to walk through the ground, blessing, or consecrating, as he passed, the graves of the Protestants.

The model farm established by the Governor-General attracted his notice. Five hundred sheep, purchased at two rupees a head, or about four shillings, had increased a hundred-fold in a single year. Seven hundred bullocks and sixty elephants did the farm work. The object was to breed stock for native farms, and to give an impulse to an improved species of agriculture.

He was then invited to visit the frontier line. It was about ten miles from Thyat-moo, and four miles from Meaday, the extreme

1855-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 681

Station on the opposite shore, and was marked by a lofty pillar. The steamer bore the party up the river to the nearest landing-place, and all then pushed through thick jungle, for about a mile, to the pillar of demarcation. It stood before them, built of brick or stone, and with a flagstaff on the summit. Three steps constituted the basement. The bishop ascended them, and looking towards the Burmese side, he said, "We bless You and praise You, O Lord, for the peace and tranquility granted to this land, and we pray that the light of your blessed gospel may be diffused throughout it." The doxology was then given out, and all present united in singing it.

"Thus," says the bishop, "I dedicated Burma by faith to Christ our Lord; as I did the Punjaub, when on my way to Lodianah in 1836 or 1840. May the prayer be answered."

The officers of the Native regiments entertained him at dinner. He dined also at the mess of Her Majesty's 29th Regiment. Long conferences also were held as to the propriety of building the new church of iron or brick — the decision being in favor of iron. In due time the foundation was laid by the bishop, the troops being all paraded, and thousands of natives assembled.

All this, with sermons and confirmations, wore him out, and he "was quite glad to escape on board his steamer." "I leave this beautiful station," were his parting words; "may the Lord Jesus be pleased to establish His own words in many hearts."

"Speeding on to Huzadah, the steamer grounded on a sandbank, and remained fixed for two days. Divine service had been announced, and the congregation had assembled in due time; but no steamer and no bishop appeared. "Some accident has happened," they said, "or he would

certainly have been here at the appointed time." "See," says the bishop, commenting upon their words, "the advantage of a good character for punctuality."

Hence he passed on to Amherst and Moulmein; and, falling into the usual track, performed the usual duties. The 27th of December found him again in Calcutta, not very well, but waiting for the Peninsular and Oriental Company's steamer *Bengal* to take him as a passenger to Madras. On his arrival there, he was welcomed by Bishop Dealtry, his old friend, and Lord Harris, the new governor. His stay was limited by the steamer to twenty-four hours; so that he could not do much. At a public evening meeting, he renewed his friendship with all the clergy and a large body of the influential

682 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

laity. At a morning breakfast, the next day, the governor and all the authorities were invited to meet him. On both occasions he made addresses. After the second. Bishop Dealtry said to him, "Now, my lord, you need do no more. You have delivered your 'charge' last evening and this morning."

"So good is God," adds the bishop, "so wonderful are his dealings. Nothing more than this was or could be required of the Metropolitan with such an admirable bishop in the diocese. I cannot bless God enough for my two suffragans."

The absence of the Bishop of Colombo from Ceylon, in consequence of ill-health, made a visit to that island expedient; and on January 30th, he was on his way there. But he was now again deprived of the services of his chaplain, for the Rev. J. Bloomfield had found it necessary to accompany his wife and family to England. For this part of the visitation, therefore, the bishop was happy to secure the aid of Mr. Tarleton, his "curate at Serampore." He arrived at Ceylon on the first of February, and was received gladly by Archdeacon Matthias and the clergy. Purposing to stay four days, he was detained, by the delay of the mail steamer from England, for eighteen. This time was divided between Colombo and Point-de-Galle, and fully occupied. He was struck with the general progress of things, and greatly admired the new cathedral and college reared by the liberality and labors of Bishop Chapman. He found, however, that daily prayers in the cathedral were gradually superseding prayers in the family. This did not please him, and he resolved to have a short exposition and prayer, "in his own way," each day during his short stay. Every Sunday he also preached; and on one occasion, having selected for his subject the "pearl of great price," he covered his table with books on the subject of the pearl fishery in the Gulf of Manaar; and thus, as in former times, discoursed upon, 1st, the Pearl; 2ndly, the Search; 3rdly, the Purchase, in a manner familiar and very interesting to a Ceylon auditory.

He was delighted also to welcome Lord and Lady Canning, who touched at Point-de-Galle, on their way to Calcutta; and then stretching across the Bay of Bengal, so often traversed, he visited Singapore, Malacca, and Penang; but having now, for the first time, no vessel at his own command, he did not reach Calcutta himself till the 17th of April.

Surely no one can read even this sketch of the bishop's last visitation without astonishment at his vigor, decision, and success. He was seventy-eight years old, and compassed about with infirmities.

1835-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 683

Yet he travelled thousands of miles, penetrated new countries, shrunk from no labors; and, while God gave health, used it all to his glory.

The return to Calcutta brings forward once more his journal-letters.

"*April 23d.* I had my first audience of the new Governor-General on Monday. He was kindness itself; and Lady Canning is the sweetest of ladies. When I had done my business with the Governor-

General, I rang the little bell I had with me in my cabinet-box (for I now always go with all my papers in a box), and he smiled at finding I brought everything with me. In the evening I took Lady Canning in to dinner, and had much pleasant conversation about the dear queen and the royal children. She gave me Caird's sermon, preached before the queen, which I read both with pleasure and displeasure. It is a Scotch sermon, and sound at bottom; but all is put, not simply and evangelically, but abstractedly. There being no light of Christ shining in the discourse, I fear it will do little good.

"I have been deep in Thiers' History 1809-10. He surpasses Alison. He is striking, elegant, laborious, lucid; and as fair to The Duke as perhaps a Frenchman can be. Napoleon he condemns without reserve. His account of the battle of Busaco is superb; Massena graphically described; Torres Vedras minutely pictured; style beautiful.

"On board the steamer, also, as it brought me to Calcutta, I found Macaulay's third and fourth volumes. I was asking casually at the breakfast-table if any of the passengers from England had seen it, when Mr. Parkes, our consul at Siam, said his wife would lend it to me with pleasure. I was overjoyed. I lent him my 'Thiers,' and 'the Quarterly,' instantly, and gave him my little volume on 'the Atonement.' I put aside all books, and in four days had read through the sixteen hundred pages. My admiration is increased. The faults are still glaring. There is (1) a skeptical, unsettled mind; (2) irreverence in quoting Scripture; (3) a morality too loose and worldly; (4) unfairness to the Church of England; (5) language too positive and sweeping. But, on the whole, it is a most important addition to our knowledge of James, William, and their times. The style is purely English. There is no mere finery, no balance of sentences like Gibbon, no affected aim at eloquence. Then there is an engaging, fascinating, and almost romantic story, told with a carelessness at times which marks the rapid penman full of his subject. Next, the light thrown on the theory of our Constitution is to me very instructive. The fine development of the great statesman, William, is charming. The characters, minute and graphical, of the great men of the day, are excellent. And the new facts crown the just praises of these wonderful volumes.

"*May 8th.* Last evening Mrs. Ellerton and I went to see the Misses Suter, at their normal school for providing and training teachers for the females of India. They are now in a temporary home near Mr. Sandy's, in Calcutta. The institution flourishes under these dear ladies. Nineteen females are being educated. Three have gone out to respectable native gentlemen's families, two of whom have admittance into the Zenana. Miss Sophy Suter marries my Mr. Tarleton;

684 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

and I have agreed to let her and her husband live with me till he obtains his chaplaincy. My spirits and strength are low, my digestion weak, my sleep full of dreams.

"*June 2d.* I am deep in Elliott's 'Warburton Lectures.' The style is rather obscure, but the plan very good. The 'Christian Observer' for April has an excellent article against the fripperies of Godwin. The 'Quarterly,' and 'Edinburgh,' are capital. The 'Life of Wardlaw,' is very heavy. I can't get on with it. I have written to Mr. Mangles and Sir P. Melville about my applications for chaplaincies — with thanks for eight good men arrived, and three more expected. Bishop Dealtry is to be here the end of October to spend five months in visiting for me the upper provinces. It is twelve years since my last visit.

"*June 14th.* On Thursday I had the wonderful young editor of the 'Friend of India,' to breakfast, with Mr. Hunt the great railway man, and Mr. Wylie, who is one of those noble, kind-hearted, thoroughly good men, of whom there are so few in the world. On Friday I had a very different breakfast party — Dr. and Mrs. Duff. I had not seen him for some years. He is indeed a marked man in his generation — like Dr. Chalmers. But he has worn himself out at the age of forty-eight. Still he is as well here as in England. He visits his magnificent schools, and has built a schoolhouse at an expense of eighty thousand rupees. A lady in England has sent him sixteen thousand rupees to build a church. I have finished Elliott's 'Warburton Lectures,' with great approval on the whole. His scheme is at least consistent and comprehensive. I look on two points as clear, almost to demonstration — the meaning of the term Antichrist, and the year-day theory.

"SERAMPORE, *July 10th.* At length, after sixteen months residence at the palace, Mrs. Ellerton has accompanied me to this place. I have fitted up spare rooms for her and her little maid, and very happy

she seems. She has not been at Serampore for fifty years. She made me take her to Henry Martyn's Pagoda. She remembers the neighborhood, and Gharett Ghat and House, in Sir Eyre Coote's time (1783). At the distance of seventy-four years she recalls everything. 'The ancient Governor of Chinsurah, with his fat Dutch wife, is full in her mind. When she visited him with her first husband (she was then sixteen), the old Dutchman cried out, 'Oh, if you would find me such a nice little wife, I would give you ten thousand rupees!'

"Mr. and Mrs. Tarleton have joined us after their marriage and rustication. I am at the middle of 'Dr. Kitto's Life,' a most marvellous life of a deaf man attaining the elevation of a literary character. He was with Groves, the Dentist, Preacher, Missionary, Plymouth Brother, Baptist, etc., whom I saw here twenty years since, and who disturbed the minds of some unstable professors. I have his 'Pictorial Bible,' but have not much consulted it. I disliked the title.

"July 20171. I have been preaching, and shall probably print, my 'Thanksgiving Sermon,' on the peace with Russia. I was anxious to pour out my whole mind as to what the government should do here as a mark of thanksgiving to Almighty God. The Governor-General and Lady Canning were at the cathedral.

1833-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 685

On leaving, the Governor-General said to his aid-de-camp, 'The bishop has given us plenty to do.'¹

"BARRACKPORE, *August 17th*. I came over here to preach, after five years' absence, for the 'Additional Clergy Society.' Colonel Wheeler put a hundred rupees into the collection, and a few days ago he gave a thousand rupees to the Malta College collection. He is an excellent man. I am reading Blunt's three first Centuries. It is a capital book in its way, and shows a most acute mind. I heard one of the lectures at Cambridge, in 1846.

"Mr. Tyng, Dr. Milner's successor at New York, has sent me a kind letter and one of his works. American affairs seem to be very alarming. But the American missionaries are full of life in India and Pegu.

"I have finished 'Alison's' last volume, and my indignation is kindled at his absurd and wicked condemnation of Wilberforce. And yet I like the instruction he conveys. Much is new to me; and the documents he has dug up are authentic and valuable.

"*August 25th*. I am in correspondence with Dr. Oliffe, the vicar-apostolic. He is a true Italian priest. He called some time ago. I was very civil, of course, but did not return the call. However, I sent him a copy of my 'Prince of Peace' sermon. He returned it the next day, with some warmth,² as if having given him personal offence by ascribing corruption of doctrine and morals to the greater part of Christendom. I replied offhand, that I had no intention of offending him individually. He answered, and sent me 'Dr. Wiseman on the Rule of Faith,' and entreated me to 'consult my salvation,' by submitting to Peter and the Pope. Whether I shall send him Goode's incomparable 'Divine Rule,' I do not know; or whether I shall let him drop.

"*October 6th*. I have been led to begin the seventh and eighth volumes of Lord John Russell's 'Life of Thomas Moore.' It is very amusing, and lets the eye penetrate into the recesses of the world's life. And what a vapid, heartless, irreligious life! I am contrasting it with the 'Life of Venn,' of Huddersfield.'

¹ This sermon was printed and circulated throughout the length and breadth of India. The suggestions offered in it had respect (1) to the desired increase of true religion and piety among all classes of Christians, as the ruling power in India; (2) to the continuance and extension of that humane policy which had abolished Suttees, Thuggism, Infanticide, and the gross abominations of heathenism; (3) to the discountenancing of the prevalent gambling spirit, whether in the form of pleasure or commerce — the race-course or the opium traffic; (4) to the discontinuance of the favor shown to the system of Mohammedanism; (5) to the better observance of the Lord's Day; (6) to the imperative duty of permitting religious instruction to be added to secular learning in Government Schools, whenever the opportunity occurred and the wish was expressed; (7) to the increase of national piety by the increase of individual piety.

² That is, a little angry — 'warmth' is a euphemism for 'heated,' not a synonym for 'affectionate.'

“October 4th. I met, the other day, Prescott’s ‘Histories.’ I am delighted. His style is simple, pure, and attractive; his research unwearied; his selection of topics full of tact. I wish he was a Christian man; but he is nearly as good as Robertson and Tytler.

“October 22d. I am half through Milman’s sixth volume. He is as industrious and prying as Prescott, and has read everything, except Dean Milner. He has done the great Wickliffe justice. John Huss is brought out nobly. Æneas Sylvius (afterwards Pius H.) is exposed in his vileness. Indeed, Dean Milman

686 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

excels in describing the private characters of the Popes, which are often a compound of every vice. His sixth volume will do immense good against Popery; but he sadly fails in spiritual and evangelical views, as all the ecclesiastical historians do, except Milner.

“October 29th. On Sunday I was very poorly; but this morning I had all my Calcutta clergy and their wives to breakfast to meet Bishop Dealtry, who has arrived. There were forty-six present. Dr. Dealtry expounded in chapel the 139th Psalm, and after breakfast addressed our friends excellently for half an hour. We then sang ‘We thank You, Lord; for this our food,’ etc., and the Doxology; and the whole house was filled with the resounding notes of nearly fifty voices, like Mary’s ointment, the odor of which filled all the house where our Lord and his disciples were assembled. My ‘Thoughts of Peace,’ which I read each morning in common with you, my children, was mislaid, but it has been recovered. I read this morning ‘Number 300.’

“November 5th. I have received twenty-five copies of Archdeacon Pratt’s ‘Eclectic Notes.’ I go through two or three pages every day for devotional reading. They delight and edify me.

“November 7th. I have read straight through ‘Dred.’ It is admirable; equal, I think, to ‘Uncle Tom.’ I look upon ‘Dred’s’ character as a fine conception of the fanaticism engendered by Scripture phrases in an oppressed and powerful mind.

“November 25th. Hurried, hurried with the dear Archdeacon Pratt’s arrival, and the transfer of three years’ arrears from dearest Fisher; with service thrice a day with poor Mrs. Ellerton, and with current duties. The archdeacon is full of love, and is putting his shoulders to the wheel with all his heart. He preached on Sunday at the cathedral, after an interval of three years. Bishop Dealtry has gone on his visitation of the upper provinces for me, on one side of India, and Bishop Harding is going on the other.

“December 8th. I have begun the delicious ‘Life of J. Haldane Stewart,’ my friend of fifty-two years. There have been few such men.

“December 10th. We have settled a noble series of finishings for the cathedral. There are to be four porches to the side doors, a pent roof over the flat one, the eastern window is to be defended by an outer covering, and a handsome screen to be placed behind the communion-table. For all this our repairing fund must suffice. I give to it what economy and giving up other objects will enable me to do; and thus, after twenty years, this oriental cathedral, which gives the first status to our church in India, will I trust be finished, while the grand spiritual ends are made more prominent than ever. Then, if my endowment fund is settled wisely, I shall indeed be ready to sing my *Nunc dimittis*.¹

He speaks thus of a donation of twelve thousand rupees. These last repairs and improvements of his cathedral, including a raised and pointed roof, “light, strong, and not expensive,” to use the words of the engineer officer, were estimated at twenty thousand rupees. Towards this amount he resolved to give himself twelve thousand rupees, though he had but three thousand at the time to give.

¹ Song of Simeon, a song of dismissal – “now dismiss me”: (Luke 2:29–32).



St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, in 1859, with Bishop's Palace.

Finding, on inquiry, however, that cheques signed during his lifetime would be valid after his death, he sent the archdeacon all the money he had, and added nine signed cheques for one thousand rupees each, in order to ensure the payment of his benefaction, and to prevent the necessity of a codicil to his will. While these sheets were passing through the press, the suggested improvements were completed, and a view of the cathedral, in connection with the Bishop's Palace, arrived from India in time to be engraven for this work. The archdeacon, who kindly sent it, reports that the change has called forth "universal expressions of approval in Calcutta." And surely all the helpers and well-wishers in England will reciprocate the feeling, when they look upon a print which charms the eye, and satisfies the taste, and upon which photography has affixed the stamp of truth.

Thus the year 1856 drew towards its close. It had been checkered with many attacks of illness, more or less severe, though not requiring specific enumeration, but had been characterized, on the whole, by great energy and success. From the journal-extracts just given, it will be seen how fresh and healthy his mind was, and how he kept up with all the current literature of the day. His criticism from India was oftentimes the first announcement to his children of the publication of some work in England. His love of home and country never faded. His interest in what was going on never ceased. No one cut the leaves of the Quarterly and Edinburgh, of Blackwood's Magazine and the Christian Observer, with more eagerness than he did; no one ever rejoiced more over good articles, or mourned more over bad. It was not indifference to English associations that made him cleave to India; for his recollections were as vivid, his friends as dear, his family affections as strong as ever. But his great and oftentimes expressed desire was to END WELL; and where should a bishop end his course so well as in his own diocese? where rest so calmly as in his own cathedral? This conviction and determination removed all uncertainty from his mind. He felt that he was in his proper place, and doing his proper work; and hence he waited God's time for deliverance, and gratefully recognized God's mercies.

But with the opening of the year 1857 the narrative must be resumed. One of the attacks to which he was now frequently subject, had prostrated him, towards the close of the year, and kept him from church and duty.

"I have just crawled out of bed," he says, referring to it on December 17th, "for an hour or two. I am in St. Peter's Epistles, in my annual journey

690 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

through the Bible, to be finished, if God pleases, on December 31st. Very, very instructive are these Epistles, commending, as they do, (1) precious faith, (2) precious promises, (3) precious Jesus. May I have more of the first, that I may lay more firmly hold of the second, in order to attain through all eternity the fruition of the third."

He was recovering from this attack, and was able to go out, when a terrible accident happened to him, intelligence of which was conveyed to his family by Archdeacon Pratt, who was now happily again domesticated at the palace. The bishop was walking alone in the verandah of the palace, when, looking at his watch, he found that it was four o'clock. This was his dinner hour; and urged by his habits of punctuality, he suddenly and hastily turned round to enter the room, and thus came into violent collision with a sunshade, or wooden screen, fixed to the wall to divert the rays of the sun without excluding the air. The shock brought him to the ground, and he fell violently upon the right hip. His chief Sirdar, a faithful old servant, entering the room at the moment, rushed to his help, raised him up, and, with assistance, led him downstairs. Not feeling much pain, he sat down to dinner as usual, with Mr. and Mrs. Leupolt, who were on a visit. In the middle of the dinner, however, he turned faint and giddy, and was borne in a chair to bed. An accurate examination at first was impossible; but the next day, under the action of chloroform. Dr. Webb discovered that the great trochanter, or upper part of the thighbone, was

fractured in the socket: the bone itself also was displaced. With great skill this was replaced — splints and bandages were applied — and then nature, assisted, was left to work. Permanent lameness was not anticipated; but the effects of confinement to the bed, and a continuance in one posture, were much dreaded. Even here, however, God showed mercy, and, by his blessing upon the means employed, the danger was averted. The fracture closed, the wounds healed, the lameness gradually passed away, and the measure of health previously enjoyed was regained. It was a wonderful cure for one nearly entering his eightieth year, and showed vast constitutional vigor. The state of his mind, while thus lying helpless, is portrayed in his own letters. Some have thought him lacking in tenderness: can they read the touching expressions he makes use of, and see how his abiding still in India was the result of self-control and mastery over his own will, without arriving at a very different conclusion?

“On the whole,” he says, “I believe I am doing well. I was able to pray a good deal in the night, and to cast myself simply upon Christ, just as I am.

1855-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 691

Sins come with awe to my remembrance — secret sins — sins of the heart. The glory of that God I have so often provoked strikes me through and through!

“I consider His great mercies. I contrast the comforts and alleviations of my case with those of others. I have kind friends, good servants, nice house, bed, and every relief of an external kind; spared to the age of seventy-eight; twenty-five years’ residence in India; five thousand seven hundred and sixty-five sermons preached from 1801, and two thousand two hundred and twenty-three of them in India; my will signed; public accounts all straight; no debts; finishing of the cathedral settled; clergy all love!

“One thing I could have wished for, if it had been God’s will — that I might have died in the midst of my beloved family; that Eliza and Lucy might have closed my eyes, and Daniel and Josiah comforted me in my dying moments. I should have loved to have urged my grandchildren to stand fast and be decided for THE LORD! But we shall soon meet in heaven, never to part again, if we are indeed born of God, and led by the Spirit of Christ.”

To the earnest request of his children, called forth by this event, that he would retire from his scene of labor, return home, and rest in the bosom of his family, his reply, in due course, was as follows:

“Your letters, my beloved ones, convinced me, by the abundant love with which they are filled, of the deep impression which the account of my fractured limb made on you. But it is gone by. I walk, though not as firmly, yet as really as ever. Your tears, however, are dear to a father’s heart, especially yours, my sweet Eliza. They will be returned into your own bosom. Your passionate wishes that I should at once come home, would be all disappointed if I complied. No; I hope to leave my bones in India whenever God may call me from this miserable world to the blessedness of being forever with Him in heaven.”

The gradual progress towards the recovery thus announced is given in his previous journal-letters.

“*January 1st, 1857.* A happy new year to all my beloved ones, in that true circumcision of the Spirit which we this day pray for. Thank God, I am somewhat better. The wind couch is a great relief I slept somewhat, and can move my limb, and am free from pain. I finished the glorious book of the Revelation last night, and am beginning with Genesis today; the ‘seed of the woman’¹ is thus connected with ‘the bright and morning star.’²

¹ Gen. 3.15.

² Rev. 22.16.

“January 3d. Blessed be God, last night, the eleventh since the accident, I was enabled really to close my eyes in sleep. The refreshment, from contrast, was most lively. The first time I awoke I could not believe I had been sleeping. I burst out into praises to the God of my mercies.

“January 7th. Dr. Webb considers me to be improving still. I have found four jewels in my search from Genesis the fifteenth to the eighteenth.

692 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

“1. ‘I am your shield and your exceeding great reward.’

“2. ‘Abraham believed God, and he counted it to him for righteousness.’

“3. The giving of circumcision.

“4. ‘I am the Almighty God: walk before me, and be perfect’

“January 26th. I have taken drives for four days, and am to have a warm bath today. I may hope to walk in a fortnight. My chief difficulty is lack of sleep, and a teasing cough, which, however, are in God’s hands, as every part of this gracious visitation is.

“February 2d. I still sleep very indifferently, but in the measure God pleases. And what mercies have I received in the six weeks which have elapsed since the fracture took place! They have been new every morning. Oh for spiritual blessings above all!

“February 6th. I have returned thanks at church this morning, after nine Sundays’ absence. Dr. Webb told me, as we came from church, that at one time he thought I would never have entered it again; nor, indeed, that my life would have been preserved. May gratitude and love fill my whole heart!

“March 11th. Last Sunday I preached at Serampore, after a silence of thirteen Sundays. Yesterday I confirmed one hundred and ninety young persons in the cathedral. I addressed them for half an hour from the pulpit; and then, by walking to and fro within the communion-rails, I was much exhausted, and my lame limb wearied.

“I have offered my domestic chaplaincy to the Rev. Mr. Walters, and he has accepted it. I have resolved never to let any of my privileges remain in abeyance in this new and anomalous diocese.”

His attention was seriously directed at this time to the state of his “Cathedral Endowment Fund.” The original design had contemplated a body of canons, partly honorary, partly missionary, to whom this fund was to be entrusted, and by whom the interest of it was to be dispensed. But the failure to obtain a charter had thrown the whole burden upon the bishop and archdeacon, and they were unable to bear it in addition to all their other duties. They found, by an experience of ten years, that it was impossible to obtain men of sufficient energy and ability in India; that it was equally impossible to obtain a continuous supply of such men from England; that the difficulty of raising special funds annually for the support of the necessary schools, schoolmasters, and catechists, was very great; and that the inability to provide an outfit when the missionary was coming into the field of labor, or a pension when he was retiring from it, constituted a serious drawback; so that, on the whole, a change in the “declaration of trust” which had been appended to the bishop’s will, and would have proved legally binding on his successors, was deemed imperative. Arrangements were accordingly made with the representatives of the “Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel,” and the “Church Missionary Society,”

1855-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 693

to transfer to them the management of the funds. The capital, amounting to about three lacs of rupees, or thirty thousand pounds, could not be touched; this, therefore, remained vested in the Bishop and Archdeacon of Calcutta for the time being. But the interest accruing from it, year by year, could be divided at the bishop’s pleasure. He accordingly returned to the Incorporated Society what they had so generously bestowed. They had consented to maintain a “canon” for his cathedral — he now resolved to maintain a “missionary” on their establishment. This is

explained in the following letter to Dr. Kay, who, as the Principal of Bishop's College, represented the Society in India.

“CALCUTTA, JULY 2D, 1857.

“Having found it impracticable to carry on an independent mission in connection with the cathedral, from various causes, I have resolved to carry out the purpose I had in view in raising the ‘Endowment Fund for Missions,’ by employing the agency of the two great missionary societies already in operation in Calcutta, as in other parts.

“The ‘Society for the Propagation of the Gospel’ subscribed towards the Endowment Fund on its first formation, for the support of a ‘native canon.’ I altogether failed in obtaining a charter for the foundation of a chapter, and therefore have no canonries. As the nearest approximation to this, I wish to devote a portion of the interest of the fund for a native missionary of your society, laboring in Calcutta; and am glad to know that there is one, the Rev. Hurry Hur Sandel, who is eligible for this appointment. His aggregate monthly salary of one hundred and fifty rupees will be paid by the trustees in half-yearly installments.

“A further sum of fifty rupees a month I propose to set apart for a ‘Reader of daily morning prayers at the Cathedral,’ and shall be glad to know whether you can propose any candidate for this appointment.”

The following reply was received from Dr. Kay:

“JULY 2D, 1857.

“I return my best acknowledgments on the part of the ‘Propagation Society’ for (he consideration shown to the Society in your lordship’s recent arrangements for taking one of its native missionaries upon the ‘Cathedral Endowment Fund.’ I have every reason to think that Mr. Sandel has been laboring with great steadiness and conscientiousness.

‘I feel much confidence in recommending a student of the College, Mr. Bell, for the work of ‘Cathedral Reader,’ and believe that I shall be acting rightly, if I advise the Society to adopt him as an assistant in the Hindustan Mission. He is fairly read in both Urdu and Persian.

“I shall have much pleasure in sending home a copy of your lordship’s letter.”

Mr. Bell was accordingly received as a candidate by the bishop, and in due time he was ordained and placed partially, as to his salary, on

694 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

the “Cathedral Fund;” and this arrangement remained unaltered at the bishop’s death.

The remainder of the interest of the fund was placed at the disposal of the “Church Missionary Society;” and the accompanying resolution of the parent committee in London shows the terms on which they accepted the trust: “Resolved, that the committee is prepared thankfully to accept the management of such part of the ‘Cathedral Endowment Fund Mission,’ as the Bishop and Archdeacon of Calcutta may transfer to them, provided that so long as the society has such management, the missionaries shall, in all respects, be upon the same footing, as to their appointment, control, and removal, as the other missionaries of the society.”

A separate account was accordingly opened with the Bank of Bengal, entitled, the “St. Paul’s Cathedral Church Mission Account,” to which this part of the fund was transferred. The bishop and archdeacon were trustees, as before; and they paid over such part of the interest as was required, to the Church Missionary Society, on the understanding that the money was to be laid out solely on the salaries of the missionaries, and providing them with dwellings; that they were to be called “Cathedral Missionaries,” as being supported by the fund; that they were to be employed in Calcutta; but in all other respects to be considered and treated as missionaries in the society’s employment.

This arrangement was signed by the bishop, and duly carried out to his great satisfaction, and the composure of his mind; and it is dwelt upon with some particularity, because of the public character of the trust committed to him, and of his scrupulous exactness in all pecuniary transactions.

About this time, also, another matter of importance engaged his attention. Hearing from the Rev. Henry Venn, with whom he held constant and most friendly communication, that a plan had been devised for relieving the Bishop of Jamaica from part of the labors of his diocese, he at once attempted to adapt the precedent thus set to his own case. It simply involved the appointment of a coadjutor, and the assignment to him of part of the bishop's salary. Thus the bishop was not superseded, nor the diocese neglected. This exactly coincided with his own desires. He had no wish to leave his post, and yet he felt personally inadequate to the performance of its active duties. He proposed, therefore, that £1500 per annum should be deducted from his own salary, and assigned to Archdeacon Pratt as a coadjutor bishop. He himself would continue to reside at Calcutta, visiting Madras, Bombay, Ceylon, the Straits, and as far north as Allahabad, when occasion required; while his coadjutor

1855-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 695

bishop would reside at Agra, and have charge of the upper provinces and the Punjaub. The experience of one bishop would thus combine with the activity of the other, and both would work, without any extra cost, for the welfare of the diocese.

He earnestly pressed this scheme and wrote many letters, mail after mail, to various influential persons, entreating their cooperation; but it was deemed liable to misconstruction, and was certainly encompassed with difficulties. The authority of the queen in India was not the same as in a crown colony, like Jamaica. A coadjutor would naturally expect to succeed his principal, and could not easily be overlooked. When a vacancy really occurred, therefore, the minister in office at the time would find himself virtually despoiled of his patronage. The plan finally came to nothing, and passed away, leaving no great cause for permanent regret. For the time was close at hand, though as yet unforeseen, when all visitations necessarily ceased; and when the sympathies, prayers, and exhortations of a bishop of eighty years, were more valuable than all the activity and energy of a younger man.

The Indian mutiny had begun.

This terrible event, inviting narration at least, if not discussion, must not, however, be allowed to turn aside the course of this biography. When the intelligence first arrived, the bishop felt, as all old Indians did, bewildered and incredulous. It was a thing unknown, unheard of, difficult to be believed, impossible to be realized. But soon his sympathies were roused, and his heart touched. Valued friends, whom he had known and loved, were cut down in all parts of India. His own clergy and missionaries were falling. — Mr. Jennings, the Chaplain of Delhi; Mr. Hubbard, the propagation missionary; Mr. Sandys, the son of his church missionary friend, were among the first victims. "Thus," he said, commemorating them, "the noble army of martyrs is being increased." Soon the danger drew near. The conspiracy was matured among three native regiments, and on Sunday morning, June 14th, all Barrackpore and Serampore were to have been given up to murder and rapine. The plot was discovered just in time; and on Saturday night a Highland regiment entered the cantonments from Chinsurah. Their gallant bearing, and a battery of guns, prevented the outbreak; and the mutineers gave up their arms. At the very moment the disarmament was taking place on one side the river, the bishop, all unconscious, was preaching at the little church at Serampore from the words of Scripture, "Peter was kept in the prison, but prayer

696 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

was made without ceasing unto God for him.”¹ The imminence of the danger, even when known, produced no personal alarm. Some of his guests took themselves to Calcutta, but he remained unmoved for another fortnight. “I have my servants about me,” was his only reply to all remonstrances.

But when a conspiracy was imagined or detected in Calcutta itself; when the King of Oude was arrested and confined in Fort William; when the native gentry at Serampore took refuge each night within the walls of the college; when the festival of the Ruth Jattrra was at hand, and a gathering of eighty thousand Mohammedans was anticipated — he took the advice seriously tendered, and returned to the seat of government.

“I am advised,” he says, writing to Archdeacon Pratt, on June 20th, “not to stay here over Tuesday, when the ordinary crowds of the Ruth Jattrra will be in a state of dangerous excitement by the admixture of the mutineers. I have the fullest confidence that all will be put down, under God’s good providence, and also that a new plan of government in India will be adopted, as it respects (1) the Mohammedans, (2) the Hindus, (3) the native army, (4) the proper avowal of our Christianity. It is a crisis, but not a catastrophe.”

He now set himself to enlarge the sermon just referred to, and to point out in it the duty which seemed to him to be required by the present crisis — the duty of “UNITED PRAYER AS THE REFUGE OF A DISTRESSED CHURCH.” In the sermon, which was preached in Calcutta, and afterwards printed and widely circulated, he dwelt upon the *occasion* for such prayers, the *character* of the prayers, and the temporal and spiritual blessings which might be expected as their *result*. Being anxious neither to exaggerate, nor to lessen unduly the surrounding perils, he had collected information with great care and caution. For this purpose he had an interview with the Governor-General, and called on Sir Patrick Grant, General Lowe, Dr. Duff, and others. His great object was “to express sympathy, and err by excess, rather than defect in meeting the incredible occurrences of the passing moment.” His end was answered, and his suggestion of UNITED PRAYER met with a response from every true Christian heart. It was the call of one just entering his eightieth year.

“CALCUTTA, *July 2d*, 1857. Is it possible? Have I, a poor weak creature, been preserved to enter my eightieth year? Well, it is the Lord, let Him do what seems Him good. But think only of last December, when, all in a moment, I fractured my thigh, and was for three months hanging between life

1855-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 697

and death! The chief public duty I have performed since (and for which, perhaps, I have been in part preserved) is this “Refuge” sermon. And now I believe I have done. Tottering limbs, exhausted strength, giddy head, stomach past work, waking from disturbed sleep at the ‘voice of the bird,’ and feeble appetite, are warnings more than enough to remind me that ‘man goes to his long home, and the mourners go about the streets.’ I enter, however, on this year with gratitude, humiliation, faith, hope, love, anticipations of heaven.”

All Calcutta was now crowded with fugitives from the upper provinces, and large funds were raised (the bishop gladly joining) to meet their immediate necessities. The press had been put under restraint. A special Council had been held at Government House, and dispatches sent to Madras for guns, tents, and reinforcements. When preaching himself on a public occasion at Barrackpore, General Hearsey had surrounded the church with a guard of soldiers as a precautionary measure. Rumors of all kinds were afloat. Men’s hearts almost everywhere were failing them for fear.

“At this critical moment,” says the bishop, “WE SEE ALL PASSENGERS TOGETHER IN A SINKING SHIP;” and he applied to the Governor-General for a day of humiliation, and invited all the

¹ Acts 12.5.

ministers and missionaries of every name and denomination in Calcutta to meet and unite with him in prayer.

The Governor-General declined acceding to his request in any official and authoritative manner, but left him at liberty to pursue his own course in his own way. Prompt action followed. Notice of a special sermon in the cathedral on Friday, July 24th, was given, and divine service was fixed at an hour when all public functionaries and mercantile men could attend. Proper psalms and lessons were also selected and printed; and every chaplain throughout India received a copy, and was *recommended* to use it. "It is all illegal, I know," says the bishop; "but I trust it will be passed over and forgiven, and that the extraordinary circumstances of the insurrection will warrant my taking these unusual steps."

These notices being issued, the meeting for united prayer was held. Thirty-five assembled at the palace. The bishop began, and Dr. Duff, Mr. Herdman, and Mr. Sandys, in succession, followed. Portions of holy Scripture were interposed. Psalm 27, 2Chronicles 20.1-19, and Psalm 46, were read, and then all rose to sing:

"The Lord of Glory is my light.
And my salvation too," etc.
"From all that dwell below the skies.
Let the Creator's praise arise," etc.

698 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

Slight refreshments were handed round, and then everyone went to his own home. "A true spirit of prayer and humiliation seemed to prevail;" such was the bishop's comment on the meeting.

He now set himself to prepare for his "humiliation sermon;" and while doing so, the clouds grew darker and darker. Sir Henry Wheeler was killed, and the horrible massacre at Cawnpore consummated. Lucknow was besieged, and Sir Henry Lawrence dead. Disbanded Sepoys were prowling about everywhere, and none could tell "to what all this would grow." It was truly a time to humble the soul before God; and to this, in default of public authority, the bishop called all India in a noble sermon preached on July 24th, from the words, "Are you not from everlasting, Lord my God, my Holy One? We shall not die, O Lord: you have ordained them for judgment; and, O mighty God, you have established them for correction."¹ "There was encouragement as well as humiliation in these words, and such was the object proposed by the sermon founded on them. Strength was granted equal to the day. The words spoken were such as Elijah or Jonah might address to a land over which God's judgment was impending; while, at the same time, they conveyed encouragement and inspired hope. The sins most prevalent in India were pointed out — the close connection with idolatry, the accumulating guilt resulting from it, the opium traffic, the recognition of caste, the neglect of the Lord's day, the prevalence of licentiousness, the deadly slumber of infidelity, and the short-comings of "the sanctuary."

Many grounds of hope were then suggested, if God's people should be brought to humble themselves before Him, and to put away the evil of their doings; and the whole address concluded with the following striking appeal to "all sorts and conditions of men":

"But I hasten to conclude.

"Is it possible that any professed Christian can harden himself against the gracious designs of the everlasting God, the Holy One, now that his judgments are in the earth; and not only in the earth, but in our neighborhood, in our houses, our families, among our brethren, our relatives, our children?

"Did any ever harden himself against God, and prosper? Did Pharaoh? Did the King of Assyria? Did Nebuchadnezzar, or Belshazzar, or Herod Agrippa? Did the generation of Israel, which rejected

¹ Hab. 1.12.

their Messiah, and whose descendants, continuing in their forefathers' unbelief, have been wandering for eighteen centuries over the face of the earth?

"No, sinner; when God contends, He *will* overcome.

"Today, then, I pray you, hear His voice, and *harden not your hearts*; yield to His merciful designs, I beseech you, in your afflictions.

1855-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 699

"Scorner, bow before the Creator of *the ends of the earth*.

"Vain reasoner, prostrate yourself before the wisdom of God in his revealed Word.

"Self-confident boaster, humble yourself under the merciful hand of the Lord Christ.

"False religionist, tremble before the Omniscient Jehovah, who searches the heart.

"Dead and sleepy professor, awake from your fatal slumber; the sun is up; the true light now shines.

"Captive of Satan and of your lusts, break from your chains; liberty is proclaimed in Jesus Christ.

"Procrastinating worldling, remember that at such an hour as you think not, the Son of Man comes; tomorrow is not yours.

"Evangelical controversialist, examine the real amount of your self-knowledge, humility, and love. Examine how far you practically believe in Christ, and obey Him.

"Intellectual listener and approver of the gospel, linger no longer in a critical hearing of truth, but seek for holy affections, and a new heart.

"Humble inquirer, fear not; Christ will not break 'the bruised reed.'

"Sincere Christians, renew your covenant with your God on the footing of our sublime text. Do all in your power to promote HUMILIATION, REPENTANCE, AND HOPE in your own hearts, and in all around you. If India turns a deaf ear to the voice of mercy, she is doomed.

"Hasten, then, by earnest and united prayer, the promised hour, when the mountain of the Lord's house shall be established in the top of the mountains, and shall be exalted above the hills; and all nations shall flow unto it.

"When the Jews shall acknowledge their divine Messiah, and, with India and China, and the remotest islands of the sea, shall worship the EVERLASTING God in Christ, as THEIR OWN and THEIR HOLY ONE.

"When all national and individual sufferings and sorrows, ORDAINED FOR JUDGMENT, and ESTABLISHED FOR CORRECTION, shall have ceased.

"When men shall beat their swords into ploughshares, and their spears into pruning-hooks; when nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war anymore.

"Finally, when HOPE ITSELF shall give place to fruition; and Christ the Lord, with the Father and the Holy Spirit, the One and only God of Salvation, shall be known, adored, and glorified throughout the earth. Amen."

This was the last sermon, and these the last words publicly addressed to India by the bishop. The flame burnt brightly — then flickered — and went out. When printed, it was dedicated to Lord Canning, and accompanied by a short pastoral address, conveying the assurance that the day was so seriously and devoutly observed that the act of humiliation before God might well be considered national.

700 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

"We must wait, however," he says, "God's time for our deliverance. His providential dealings are far above, out of our sight. But we may be humbly assured that He will overrule at length all these dark

and unparalleled visitations of His chastening hand, to the ultimate furtherance of that blessed gospel of salvation, which can alone lay the firm and lasting foundations of loyal and cheerful obedience to lawful authority, in all classes of society, in India or elsewhere. Satan now reigns, and works upon the idolatrous and superstitious minds of an ignorant and bigoted population, to bring forth fruit unto death. But the same grace which has made Britain what she is, can subdue the hearts of Hindus and Mohammedans, and turn them as one man unto the Lord Christ, whose atoning blood and sanctifying Spirit can bring the blessing of pardon, and infuse new and holy affections into the minds and habits of the fierce rebels and unbelievers who are now raging around us.

“To the grace and mercy of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, the only true God and Saviour, I commend you all; begging the benefit of your fervent prayers for myself and India.”

The arrival of Lord Elgin, Sir Colin Campbell, and Captain Peel excited the bishop’s lively attention at this time. He saw them all, and was invited by Captain Peel to visit his noble vessel, the *Shannon*. This invitation he at once accepted, and went on board, accompanied by the archdeacon and his chaplain. Captain Peel received him on the quarter-deck, and the moment he set foot on it, the band struck up its liveliest notes of welcome. The officers were then introduced, and among them the young midshipman, with the Victoria Cross upon his breast, who had bound up his captain’s wounded arm under a heavy fire at the siege of Sebastopol. The sight of the sixty-eight pounders, constituting the *Shannon’s* armament, excited great interest; and, while the bishop was viewing them with wonder, the shrill sound of the whistle called the four hundred men comprising the naval brigade, and preparing for active service in India, upon deck. Each man passed before the bishop, cap in hand, and a “noble body of men,” he said, “they were.” He addressed a few words to them, recommending religion as the “one thing needed,” and encouraging them to go forth and do their part in the deliverance of India. An allusion in his address to their gallant captain aroused their enthusiasm; and, at the close, three spontaneous and hearty cheers were given “for the bishop.” He returned to Calcutta delighted with the visit.

Now also, when the time seemed passed, a day of public national humiliation, in compliance with a numerously signed memorial, was proclaimed by the government; and the 4th of October fixed for its observance. The bishop gladly prepared the proper forms; but he was too ill on the appointed day to take any public part in the services. Referring to his illness, he says:

1850-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 701

“Perhaps this attack is the last blessed summons to my Master’s presence. At all events it is sent to humble, empty, sanctify; to clear my heart from creature love, and make more room for Christ as the Lord of conscience and the spring of joy. I know the Lord’s main design. It is to bring me back to himself; to humble; to empty me of selfishness and pride; to make me feel the sins of a long life more deeply; to open to me the ‘chambers of imagery’ in the recesses of the heart; to make me more dependent upon Christ; to heighten my view of the praise and glory of His grace, whereby I am ‘accepted in the beloved.’ Christ must now be ‘all in all’ to my soul in His atonement and by His Spirit; entire silence before God is my duty as to the manner and time of my departure hence. And I must be prepared for heaven’s holiness, company, employments, and joy, by increasing sanctification.”

On September 20th, he says:

“I am again the Lord’s prisoner. My attack will not yield to treatment, and what course it may take is with God, the only wise, the Almighty, whose name is Love; and that is enough, and more than enough, for a sinner like me. May I be sanctified in the furnace of the great Refiner and Purifier of silver. This is the anniversary of my ordination as deacon in 1801, at Farnham Castle, where the beloved Charles Sumner has now been bishop for thirty years. What a mercy to the church! All the clergy in my own diocese, except perhaps one, have been born within the period of my ministry. I have been reading over the three services for deacon, priest, and bishop. Humiliation, sorrow, and repentance, mingle with gratitude, praise, and adoration.

“October 4th. This is the day proclaimed for special prayer and humiliation. It is my fifth silent Sunday; nor am I now permitted to attend church, though I so very much desired it. It is quite clear, upon the whole, that I am losing ground every week as to my poor mortal frame. I have been reading the eleventh chapter of St. John this morning, with Scott’s Notes. There Christ says, ‘I am the Resurrection and the Life; he that believes in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live; and whoever lives and believes in me shall never die;’ — that is enough. His weeping at the grave of LAZARUS, assures me of His PITY; His being the Resurrection and the Life, assures me of His POWER. To keep near Christ in submission, dependence, love — this is my duty, interest, happiness. Jehovah Jireh. Amen.”

To stay, if possible, the progress of his malady, a trip to sea was recommended; and on October 30th he embarked on the *Francis Gordon* steamer, accompanied by Dr. Webb, bound for the Sandheads. “Perhaps,” he says, “it may please God to make the trip conducive to my general health; but I do not expect much. The old building may be patched up a little, but it is worn out. The order of nature fixes its speedy dissolution, and the purposes of the ‘only wise God’ will direct the time and the way.”

702 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

Soon after starting, the *Francis Gordon* was recalled, by telegraph, to attend upon the *Sanspareil*, a noble screw three-decker, of seventy-two guns, twelve of them sixty-eight pounders, Captain Astley Cooper Key — the largest man-of-war that ever ventured up the Hooghly — and anchored off Calcutta. Her formidable appearance and tremendous guns had done much to cheer the timid and daunt the mutinous — and she was now on her way to China. While the two vessels were anchored side by side on Saturday evening, the chaplain of the *Sanspareil* came on board the *Francis Gordon*, and begged the bishop to visit and address his men on Sunday morning. He consented; and having breakfasted with Captain Key, divine service was performed on the quarter-deck. One who was present describes the scene as never to be forgotten. The venerable old bishop, so feeble that he was obliged to be hoisted upon deck, and so frail that he seemed unequal to the duty, addressed the men, when prayers were ended, for some time. He sat in his chair, wore no robes, took no text — but dwelt upon four points. The first was, we [would] have all souls to be saved. The second, we are all sinners, and are lost unless we find a Saviour. The third, our great concern is, at once and without delay, to renounce our sins and to believe in Christ with a true and lively faith. The fourth, the Holy Spirit can alone regenerate and change our hearts, and enable us to believe, and walk in the way of God’s commandments from a principle of love; and the grace of this Holy Spirit must be sought in earnest prayer. The day was very sultry; there was not a breath of air; and the bishop was much exhausted. But he spoke with great earnestness and power; and thus the gallant captain and his ship’s company heard what may be called his last words. He returned to Calcutta, appeared in the cathedral, held an ordination, expounded in the pilot-vessel; but these were the last words spoken in the “great congregation,” and they contained the substance of what he had been teaching and preaching for fifty-six years.

Called back once and again, the steamer never reached the sea, and the bishop derived no benefit. He returned to Calcutta to hear of the relief of Lucknow by Sir Colin Campbell, and of the death of the renowned and lamented Havelock; and then, when the weather grew cold, and the disease still remained, he was recommended to leave Calcutta for a time, and establish himself in what was called the “receiving-ship,” a vessel of four hundred tons, cruising around the Sand-heads, within a range of seven miles, to receive on board pilots who have been in charge of vessels to and from Calcutta. The plan was not unusual; and the vessel was provided

1855-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 703

with a skilful surgeon, a good table, and comfortable accommodations for invalids to whom sea air was desirable. This expedient, or a trip to Singapore, was deemed essential. “I am disinclined

to either of these courses,” said the bishop. “At the age of eighty, it seems cowardly and foolish to be going about hunting after health. It is more becoming in a Christian bishop to resign himself to the Lord’s will, and die in his nest; and there is no place for comfort to be compared to home. But I must do what is right, and not follow my own will.”

Accordingly, after some little delay, he prepared for his departure. During the interval, and a little before and after, he wrote a few letters to old friends — kind, gentle letters they wore, breathing piety and humility. The first, to his old friend the Rev. John William Cunningham, is dated Nov. 20th:

“A letter, fallen as it were from the skies, from my old and dear friend, arouses all my torpid feelings; and I am resolved to write to you, whatever else I neglect. I am myself fast sliding off the platform into the dark abyss on either side; but not without a Divine hand bearing me through the gloomy valley of the shadow of death, and Hope gilding the scene on the further shore. Whether I have “Christian’s” or “Hopeful’s” experience at the departing hour, I trust the bright messengers will be waiting for me, as ministering spirits, and under God’s appointment, to waft my spirit to the bosom of Him, ‘whom, not having seen, I love; in whom, though now I see him not, believing, I rejoice.’ I cannot quite finish the text. I have always taken very low ground. It is generally safer than the higher. Well, the truth is, I have now had pressing upon me the native disease of diarrhea, for three months or more; and in my eightieth year, mind and body are effete, incapable of thought and action — only floating down the stream. I have not preached at the cathedral since July 24th — the very sermon on ‘humiliation and hope’ which I desired my son to send to you. Still God is with me, and I cheerfully sink into His paternal arms!

“I am much gratified with the *Christian Observer*. You have evidently raised its tone. God only be praised.

“Farewell, beloved brother. The Lord bless you and yours, and also dear Francis.”

The next letter is to Mrs. Pearson, the widow of his earliest friend, the late Dean of Salisbury, and is dated Nov. 24th:

“I cannot allow your sweet favor just received to remain a single post, without assuring you of the extreme pleasure which the account of my old and endeared friend’s last days afforded me. It was, indeed, a Christian’s end; and must be a source of inexhaustible comfort to you and your family during the remainder of your struggle through this troubled life to another and a better.

704 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

“How rich and endless are the mercies of God in the atoning sacrifice of our Lord Jesus Christ to us, miserable sinners that we are — rebels — traitors in arms against His Sovereign Majesty, deserving nothing but His just wrath! The more His grace shines forth conspicuously in turning us from darkness into light, and from the power of Satan unto God; and the more His upholding and recovering mercy is displayed in restoring our souls, and leading us back into the paths of righteousness for His name’s sake.

“Oh to END WELL! as my beloved friend has indeed done. I shall not be long after him. In my eightieth year the seeds of death are fast maturing, and a long weakening indisposition is laying me so prostrate, mind and body, that even this hasty note is an effort almost beyond my strength. May I follow my dear friend, in his last hours, as he followed Christ. There is no other Saviour. His atoning blood and justifying righteousness. His sanctifying spirit and renewal of the heart are my religion. I have no other. My study is my Bible; and my labor is to cleanse myself from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.

“My love in Christ Jesus to Charles, and all your circle. I beg your prayers, that I may hold out to the end, and not, from any fear of death, fall away from Him.”

The third is an extract from a letter to Dr. Steinkopff, dated November 25th:

“I have your letter of May 11th before me, and write one line of affectionate remembrance, now that you have recovered your health, and resumed your ministerial duties. One thing I must mention

to you, and that is, the humiliating conviction that you vastly overrate the usefulness you think I have been the means of doing. Alas! alas! you do not know my heart — the pride, the corrupt motives, the narrowness, the half-heartedness, the selfishness, the Laodicean lukewarmness there! I have no life but in Christ, as my ‘wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption’ — my ‘all in all.’ I am in my eightieth year, and my strength has been decaying for the last three or four months. I am much emaciated. Such is God’s gentle method of letting me down into the valley *at present*. To Him I commit the unknown tomorrow, where I ought to repose it. What times are passing over India! What a blessing that the Bible Society is at work, and ready with its abundant funds! Surely the Lord has some great things in hand in permitting this awful insurrection! His eternal kingdom will be attended with the convulsion of the nations, as we have reason to believe.”

The fourth is to the Bishop of Madras, dated December 5th:

“You will have heard how impossible it is for me to come to Madras, even privately and as an invalid. Such is God’s will, to which it is, I hope, my desire, as I am sure it is my duty, to bow with filial trust and joy. Dr. Webb’s advice now drives me to the Sand-heads, in order to avoid the bitter cold in December. What the result of this flight may be, is with God; but at my

1855-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 705

extreme age, I don’t expect much. No; I hope I am looking for a city of habitation whose builder and maker is God.”

The last is of the same date, to Dr. Harding, Bishop of Bombay:

“I fear I must say I cannot hope to see Bombay this winter. But to one in his eightieth year, all is gracious and merciful on the part of my adorable God and Saviour. The wonder is that in my twenty-sixth year of residence I am so well. Indeed, God’s blessings are innumerable. My cup runneth over. The burden and shame of my heart is sin, indwelling sin, corruption of motives, the dregs of a long life at the bottom of the cup, defiling the memory and imagination. The atoning blood, however, and the sanctifying grace of my adorable Saviour, are my hope, my trust, my joy, my sure confidence. I am still in the epistle to the Romans (chap. 7.14, to chap. 8.4). My anxiety and prayer is, as good Father Scott used to say, THAT I MAY END WELL, and that Christ may be magnified in my body both in life and death. God be merciful (through a propitiation) to me *the sinner* — this, I hope, will be my last prayer. I beg the benefit of your prayers, and those of all your clergy, for my departing spirit, whenever God may call me to that ‘house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.’”

He now prepared to leave Calcutta for a time, and in the narrative which follows, the words must be all his own, for they are becoming “precious.”

“*December 9th*. My luggage is all going off to the Nubia, which takes me to the ‘receiving vessel.’ I dislike leaving my home, and distrust the remedial virtues of the Sand-heads. But I am in God’s blessed hands for life or for death, and at my age I say, with David, ‘Oh that I had wings like a dove, for then would I flee away, and be at rest.’

“I shall still write on in my journal-letter, which is numbered ‘273,’ and send it as an opportunity may offer; and your letters will reach me in like manner.

“And now to the God of Peace I commend you all and myself. My times are in His hands; that is enough for a poor, guilty, unworthy sinner. I probably may never finish number ‘273.’ But to wake in heaven, and see Jesus as he is — what inconceivable bliss!

“*December 12th*. I hope to be placed this evening on the ‘receiving-ship.’ I have a large cabin allotted to me in the Nubia, and the surgeon has been very kind. I am now approaching my ‘patmos’ at the Sand-heads, not knowing the things that may befall me there. But God knows, and that is enough. My concern is to lie passive in his hands, waiting for the Master, with my loins girded and my lamp burning, that when He comes, I may open to Him immediately. The evils of the heart are my burden and my grief.

“BRIG ‘GUIDE.’ CAPTAIN RANSOM. *December 14th*. The thermometer in my cabin was 76° at five o’clock this morning. In Calcutta it would be 56°, so that the deliverance from the bitter cold is

complete. The air also is fresh and exhilarating. I have the largest cabin I think I ever had. It is about twenty-two feet by fourteen. The brig is of four hundred tons, and the accommodation

706 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

corresponds. It is too early to judge what benefit I may derive; but I have every external help and comfort. It is, however, quite clear to me, that while my complaint is unabated, my general strength, and all the vital powers, are more and more enfeebled. I am sensible of this in a thousand ways, and to my all-wise and all-gracious Saviour I endeavor to commit myself and all that pertains to me for time and for eternity.

“December 16th. Nothing can exceed the kind attentions of my old friend Captain Ransom. Everything is done to consult my accommodation as to food, and every kind of convenience; but, as yet, my complaint, so far as I can judge, is not abated. The doctor agrees with Dr. Webb, that it is better not to go on with medicines, but to hope that the fine mild sea air, and as much exercise as I can take, may be efficacious in restoring me. I retire to rest at nine o'clock, and at five in the morning take a cup of tea. We breakfast at half-past eight, dine at three, have family prayers at five, and then I resort to my cabin, shut the ports, and guard against the night air. After breakfast I have my desk on the cuddy table, and begin my morning reading — Hebrew Bible, Hindustani Testament, Virgil, Horace, Worsley's 'Luther,' etc. This latter I have finished, under the disadvantage of having read the second volume first. It is an admirable work. Luther's fine, noble character is not half understood. The depth of his convictions of sin accompanied him through life, and rendered Christ, simply Christ in His justifying righteousness, his grand theme. Here lay the secret of his success, and his profound personal religion. Then the astonishing combination of natural talents, learning, musical command of Germany, playful humor, and especially common sense, with intimate knowledge of Scripture, qualified him for the rough, coarse work he had to perform against the Pope in all his formidable array. His faults were, (1) a great error in judgment in dispensing with the bigamy of the Landgrave; (2) Consubstantiation: he held, with our famous archdeacon, that both the pious and the wicked equally eat the body of Christ; (3) depreciation of Episcopacy and church order — Erastianism; (4) denial of the obligation of the Christian Sabbath; (5) occasional excess of violent invective; and perhaps some others. But these are mere spots in the sun, compared with his indescribable excellencies.

“December 18th. By the last parcel I have just received the Bishop of Landaffs (Dr. Ollivant) charge. It assaults, most boldly, Jowett, Parker, Maurice, and all the pretended Spiritualists, as they call themselves — because they make their moral sensations, and not inspired Scripture, the standard of truth. But his chief attack is on Mr. Williams, of Lampeter. This Mr. Williams obtained Mr. Muir's prize of £500, offered, through me, to the University of Cambridge, in 1845. How the judges could ever have awarded the prize to such a book, I cannot understand. The Oxford prize, given by the same Mr. Muir, was an equal monster of error and secret infidelity, and yet gained the prize. How different the result of Dr. Buchanan's proceedings in 1805 or 1806! They roused all England to a sense of its duty to prostrate India. The best papers I have read on our present circumstances in India, are those by Mr. Venn, and the Bishop of Oxford in his speech at Chester. *If I had health, which I have not, I should attempt something before I put off this tabernacle.* God's will be done.

1855-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 707

“December 23d. This is the anniversary of God's wonderful deliverance of me from the effects of the fractured hipbone in 1856. Surely goodness and mercy have followed me during the interval, though for the last four or five months I have been brought low indeed. My complaint has exhausted me in body and mind, and left no power of thought. I am scarcely capable of moving about; my nights are disturbed, and now there is an access of fever; so that I am on the narrow edge of existence. I have derived, at present, no benefit from the fine sea air, moderate temperature, excellent food, large cabin, and kind attentions of Captain Ransom and all on board. But I still may have some improved health, if the Lord will; for into His hands I cast myself as the only wise God my Saviour. Probably this will be my last letter, and I wish to make a thank-offering to the God of my mercies: so that I have ordered the Agra Bank to send you £80, to be divided between you. This will, I hope, be a mark of my gratitude to God.

“Christmas Day. The captain says the bag is making up, and he wants my letter. I have been very, very poorly — worse than ever. Indeed, my residence at the Sand-heads for a fortnight has been unfavorable. So it has pleased God. Many, many mercies do I look upon during the past year. One is the failure of the co-adjutorship. Had it succeeded, Pratt would have been for these six months at Lahore and Agra. Now he is in Calcutta, and a more efficient helper than ever. Another mercy seems to be the failure of the charter I desired for my cathedral, and the transfer of my three lacs to the Church Missionary and Propagation Societies. Now unto Him that is able to keep us from falling, and to present us faultless before His presence with exceeding joy — to the only wise God our Saviour — be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever. Amen.

“Saturday, December 26th. About nine o’clock last night the steamer passed us, and took my ‘Number 273’ on to London: so that the captain’s warning at dinner was very opportune. But I was ill able to finish it, and still less able am I this morning to begin ‘Number 274.’ My complaint has so increased, that I get very little sleep at night. My stomach also refuses the medicines prescribed, and my appetite is less active and natural than it was. The result is what I cannot describe — exhaustion, inanition, flesh falling away, clothes hanging loose about me; no strength to think or walk, or support myself when I move; the head also gives way, and I seem as if I might fall at every step. Of course this is an invalid’s report of himself.

“But I have every mercy granted that the Lord sees good for me, and alleviations of various kinds are granted. And I know that ‘He that spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, will, with Him, freely give us all things.’ Oh for anticipations of heaven! I was reading the fourth and fifth chapters of Revelation last night (I have travelled so far, since January 1st, at about eight pages of Scott a day), and the rapturous praises of God and of the Lamb, and the songs ceasing not day nor night of the seraphim and angelic host, fill me with longing to be admitted to their company, ‘and to be made meet to be partaker of the inheritance of the saints in light.’ In this world they are in darkness: but then in light.

“December 28th. I am now led to think it best for me to return to Calcutta at the first moment I have tried the Sand-heads for sixteen days, with no

708 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

benefit, but rather with increased disease. I have no means of communication with Dr. Webb. I believe I should have gone on till my time in January was completed; but fever came on, with hands burning hot, and a perpetual cough, and I thought then that I had better return to Calcutta: and this morning, a vessel called the Harbinger passing by, I was received by the captain with every kindness. He actually gave up his own cabin to me, having none other suitable. My obligation to him is extreme. The cabin is perfectly fitted up for comfort and convenience, the bed is soft and excellent — in fact it is a bijou.

“‘Harbinger,’ Tuesday, December 29th. I came on board at seven o’clock yesterday morning, and soon after lay down in the captain’s luxurious cabin, having first prepared a telegraphic message to be sent off to Archdeacon Pratt from Saugor.

“CALCUTTA. Wednesday, December 30th. Now, by God’s goodness, I have been brought under Dr. Webb once more. Certainly I should have sunk had I continued on the receiving-ship. At three o’clock, the captain and Mr. Walters found me fallen out of bed in my sleep. No bone was broken. I have had two or three falls since. Webb thinks me very ill, with a new disease. There is fever, with a bad cough, and some affection of the left side requiring a blister.

“Thursday, December 31st, 1857. This morning, at eight o’clock, Dr. Webb pronounced my placid pulse much better. I would not for a moment change any one of the Divine dealings with me — ”

A few trembling and unintelligible words followed, respecting an entry made by him in Scott’s Bible; and the above paragraph was closed by the ascription of praise and adoration — “Blessed be God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the God of salvation, now and forever. Amen.”

The pen was then laid down, and the letter left unfinished.

Long before it reached the hands of those for whom it was intended, the electric telegraph had flashed across both land and sea, seven words of mournful import, which, mingled with accounts of rebels overthrown, and victories gained, sufficed to fill many hearts with grief and many eyes with tears. It said that "THE BISHOP OF CALCUTTA DIED JANUARY 2D."

No further intelligence arrived for many days; and full confirmation of the sad tidings was not obtained till February 14th, which was the day fixed for funeral and commemorative services in Islington. On that day the parish church was hung in black, the bells rang muffled peals, the family were assembled, and immense congregations clad in mourning garb came together to listen to three admirable and affecting sermons, preached by the Bishop of Winchester, the Rev. Henry Venn, and the Rev. John Hambleton. These sermons, which bore in turn upon the episcopal, missionary,

1855-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 709

and ministerial character of the deceased prelate, were full of interesting details, and were subsequently printed.

In due time, all further particulars, so anxiously expected, arrived. They had been collected by Archdeacon Pratt, partly from notes made by the Rev. Mr. Walters, when, as chaplain, he accompanied the bishop to the Sand-heads; partly from reminiscences by Dr. Webb; and partly from his own personal observation and communication. They furnish the data upon which the following narrative is founded.

It appears that, for a few days after reaching the receiving-ship, the bishop rallied and gained strength, so that he walked the deck, and mounted the ship's ladder without inconvenience. He read much, and wrote letters. All on board were assembled regularly for prayers at five o'clock, and on the second lesson for the day he made always many striking expository remarks, and many strong appeals to conscience. On Sundays, also, and on Christmas Day, he joined in divine service, and spoke briefly from appropriate texts. The improvement, however, had been rather apparent than real. He was getting weaker; and on December 27th, when addressing the officers present, he told them they would hear his voice no more.

Attacked with fever, and feeling very ill, he held a consultation with the captain and others, and resolved to return at once to Calcutta. On Sunday night he fell out of his cot, though the vessel was at anchor, and the sea calm. The captain heard him, and ran at once to his succor. No bad result followed; nor could he himself account for it. His only remark to his chaplain was, "I wonder how it happened!"

On Monday a steamer appeared in sight; but, not being the one expected, the bishop was asked whether he would avail himself of the opportunity, or wait. "I am in your hands, captain," he replied; "I leave the decision with you." The steamer was signalled for, and proved to be the *Harbinger*, from Madras. The bishop and his chaplain were kindly received at once, and sped on their way to Calcutta. He was very weak. "I feel like a log on the water," was his expression; "I can neither read nor think."

About three o'clock the vessel anchored off the Ghat; and the bishop, in a very helpless state, was lowered down the side, and borne quickly to the palace.

He was thereafter under the care of Archdeacon Pratt and Dr. Webb, and the materials of the subsequent narrative are derived

710 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

from their accounts. Seven letters had been written to the archdeacon during his absence, and the last, dated December 26th, ended as follows:

“I am surrounded with undeserved alleviations. God is very good. I know that all is under His infinitely wise guidance. I have nothing to do but

‘To praise him for all that is past,
And trust him for all that’s to come.’

“But my powers of body and mind fail me; there is no collection of thoughts, no power of meditation. I seem to be waiting for the instant coming of the Lord, for whom I long, to whom alone I look for pardon and guidance, and on whom ONLY I rely for time and eternity.”

His return had been anxiously expected, and it was hoped that the benefit derived from the change would yet appear; but God appointed otherwise. The end was at hand.

He looked very worn, on his arrival. Dr. Webb pronounced him seriously ill, and recognized in the symptoms an attack of pericarditis of a rheumatic or gouty character, which would prove mortal. The probable seat of the disease was mentioned to him; and his attention was called to an attack of a similar character in time past. But he did not recollect it, and said, with one of his peculiar looks and gestures, “I don’t believe, doctor, I have had anything the matter with my heart in my life.”

“I feel,” was his expression afterwards, “as if I could slip out of life at any moment.” — “That feeling is instinctive,” was the reply. “It indicates a real truth. The heart is embarrassed in its movements, and death may take place at any time.”

A blister was applied, and in the morning he was better. And so often had he risen even from the gates of death, that hope was not abandoned.

After breakfast he asked the archdeacon to pray for him, but a fit of coughing so violent and continuous came on, that he was obliged to defer it; and in the course of the morning sent for his chaplain to read the Bible, which, he said, he wished “to get into his heart”

The 31st was a quiet day. He seemed more comfortable, and gave the archdeacon some letters to read. But after a little conversation he turned wearily away from the subject. He was recommended to seek rest in sleep; but, before attempting it, he called for prayer; and the expression “none but Christ,” having been used, he

1855-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 711

Stretched out his feeble arms, and, with deep emotion, exclaimed, “Ah! that is all I want — and all I have.” In the afternoon he sat for some short time in the verandah, conversing quietly with Mrs. Pratt on a variety of subjects. In the evening he remembered that it was the last day of the year, and begged his chaplain to read his portion of Scott’s comment — the last four chapters of the Book of Revelation.

This night he had no sleep; and, the medicine given to induce it having failed, he remained in a dreamy, half-wandering mood for a while, seeming disinclined to speak. On seeing his medical attendant, however, he roused himself, and expressed deep gratitude to God who had so ordered events that the old chronic disease, to which he had been subject, and which was so much to be dreaded, had not appeared. He sat up and wrote an order for two hundred rupees as a donation to the doctor’s Native Hospital, but found it a painful effort. He struck his hand upon his chest, and exclaimed: “These old castle walls are tumbling down.” He then added: “I think last night I was in ‘the valley,’ doctor — the valley of the shadow of death — and I think so still.” Then, after a pause, “I wonder if my Master has any more work for me to do here. Ah, doctor, you cannot tell me that!” He then related a strange dream he had had: “I thought I was going to preach once again; and with more than usual difficulty I mounted to the pulpit; but, when arrived at the top of the stairs, I found it was cut off, and I could not get in. There was more of it; but my memory is gone — gone.”

He expressed a wish this day that all books and letters should be kept from him, and that the servants should have orders accordingly. The archdeacon was surprised; for all business communications had been purposely withheld. But the matter was explained by his turning round and taking from the bedside "Livingstone's Travels," which the bookseller had sent, and the servants delivered. "I cannot read this book," he said; "but it is a first-rate book, by a first-rate man." He had evidently been glancing over, and trying to read it in his old way, and had found the effort too great.

It was the first day of the new year, and he called upon his chaplain to read three chapters of the Book of Genesis. After listening to the account of the Creation, and the Fall of man, he said: "The difficulties raised and felt by some as to the account given of the Creation are nothing to me. But I wish to be deeply humbled by a view of the fallen state of man." — "I thank you," he added, holding out his hand, "for having read; it has been refreshing to me." They parted — and met no more.

712 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

While the archdeacon was attending morning service at the cathedral, the bishop sent a little paper across to him, with these words written on it: "January 1, 1858. Bishop's New Year's offering, 200 rupees. D. C." After service was over, it was explained to him that it had not been usual to administer the holy Communion in the cathedral at the Feast of the Circumcision, and that his alms, therefore, had not been needed. "Give it, then," he said, "as you see best, in whole or in portions; it is my offering to any object you may choose."

In the afternoon, when the doctor called, for the second time, there was "more of the shadow gathering round him." He felt distressed at the failure of memory and loss of power. He asked for the date of the new year. Looking at his watch, he let it fall, broke the glass, and stopped the action of the repeater; this troubled him a good deal. He showed a reluctance to have anything done for him which he had been accustomed to do for himself; and when a cup of tea was held to his mouth, he refused to drink. The sense of his own extreme weakness seemed to agitate him; and when the doctor expressed sympathy, and said he would send for some pomegranates to quench his thirst, he said: "You don't think I care about thirst?"

The very last words written by his dying hand were sent in by a servant to the archdeacon's room about half-past seven o'clock this evening. He had evidently intended to make the usual daily entry in his private notebook; for the words, faintly written on a new page, are as follows: "Frid. Jan. 1, 1858;" but finding, probably, the book too heavy, or his weakness too great, he took a sheet of paper from the table by his side, and wrote the words of which a fac-simile is annexed. It will be perceived that a part, be it one word, or more, is unintelligible; but the most probable rendering is this:

"No. 17. Bishop's private notes. Jan. 1st. Friday evening, 7 1/2 p.m. All going on well; but I am dead almost. D. C. (Daniel Calcutta). Firm in hope."

These words were partially, but not completely, torn from the sheet. Probably, even for this his strength did not suffice; and he sent it as it was into the archdeacon's room to be entered in the book.

714 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

The archdeacon at once went to him; and, about the same time, the doctor arrived for the third visit. He talked to the latter on his large family and private affairs, and prospects of retirement. "Ah, ten children! Well, God bless you — God bless you all!" These were the last words the doctor heard him speak.

Conversation on religious subjects followed, with the archdeacon. The bishop said he had been pondering on these glorious chapters in the Epistle to the Hebrews which he had lately read and

expounded at family prayers; and which, it appears, had not only deeply impressed his own mind, but the minds of all who heard his glowing exposition. Some of the topics then dwelt upon were repeated, in order to save his mind the fatigue of thought and recollection; and sleep was recommended. But he was restless and sleepless; and, about half-past ten, sent for the archdeacon, and resumed the conversation. It lasted for an hour. Several times the bishop said, "Good-night," then called him back, and began to converse again. "I thought I should just like to see you before you went to bed. Therefore I sent for you. You don't seem much interested in those English letters which I lent you to read." — "Indeed I was," said the archdeacon; "but, when I returned them, you were too weary to talk much." — "They were a great delight to me. How graphic Josiah's description of his visit to the dear archbishop, was it not?"

Conversation then turned upon the archbishop, and on the plans recently devised for obtaining a coadjutor bishop; and he alluded to what he had said about it in his last letter home. Through the whole conversation he spoke with difficulty and hesitation, as if something was in his mouth. But his mind was clear and cloudless. Little did the archdeacon, that true friend for nineteen years standing, realize the fact, that he was then talking to a dying man, and that this was the last flickering of the light of former days. He was about to leave once more, when, in a marked and emphatic manner, the bishop said, "My love to you," and gave him his hand to kiss; adding, "My love to Mrs. Pratt, also, ten thousand times heaped up." "We all love you, my lord," was the reply, "and pity you in your weakness, but rejoice in your firm faith." — "Ah! I am like old Father Scott," he said; and added many humiliating remarks about himself, showing that the broken heart and contrite spirit was the sacrifice he was offering to God. He was reminded how much divine grace had done for him, and that "the blood of Christ cleanses from all sin." He seemed to take the comfort; but, referring to former conversations in which he had strongly deprecated the readiness with which some take that text without the context, he said, "Ah,

1855-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 715

yes; but remember it is for those who 'walk in the light.'" — "There is no perfection," said the archdeacon, "on this side of the grave. You have walked 'in the light,' and may claim the promise."

He then with difficulty opened the desk at his side, and made the archdeacon read the last paragraph of his letter to his children at home. He reminded him that Monday next was the day appointed for the vestry meeting. "I fear I cannot be there," he said; "but you will manage it all for me, will you not?" He was asked, "Do you feel any pain?" — "None whatever," was the reply. Occasionally his mouth was moistened with an orange, as it got parched; and some of Dr. Webb's pomegranates were the last things tendered to him. "Now you had better go," he said, as the night drew on; "I only thought I should like to see you once again before you retired." He was asked to send a summons at any time during the night if he wanted anything, and was then recommended to compose himself to sleep. "Sleep," he replied, "I am asleep already. I am talking IN MY SLEEP." Remarkable words! Death in his case was felt without being realized. It was the "sleep of death."

As the archdeacon was rising early in the morning to visit the sickroom, a servant came running to call him. Through the night, it appeared, the bishop had been somewhat restless, as before. At half-past five in the morning he had his usual cup of tea; and the bearer, at his wish, combed the few thin white hairs, which were to him "a crown of glory." He then lay down again, and seemed to fall into a doze. His old and faithful Sirdar, the man who had assisted him when fallen in the verandah the year before, sat with the other servants, just inside the door, waiting and watching. As time passed on, they were all struck with the unusual stillness. Not a sound was heard — not a movement made. All was silent and motionless. At length they became frightened, and one ran for help. The archdeacon hurried to the room, and found the bishop lying calm, and apparently unconscious. Doubtful whether what he saw was life or death, and unwilling to utter a

disturbing word, he instantly knelt down, and offered up the prayer appointed for a departing soul: "Wash it in the blood of that immaculate Lamb that was slain to take away the sins of the world, that whatever defilements it may have contracted in the midst of this miserable and naughty world, through the lusts of the flesh or the wiles of Satan, being purged away, it may be presented pure and without spot before You."

716 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXL

Then rising from his knees, he kissed the pale, cold cheek, and sought for any lingering signs of life. But none appeared. Without a struggle, or a sigh, the soul had left its earthly tenement; and in that hour the Master had fulfilled the oft-repeated prayer that his servant might "end well."

Soon a little group of mourners stood around the lifeless body. It lay upon a couch in the study where so many hours had been passed, surrounded by books and papers — the eyes closed, the features calm, the hands gently crossed upon the breast. On a table by his side stood the desk so lately opened by his trembling hands. There also lay the broken watch, the unfinished letter, and the oft-read Bible. It was a sight inexpressibly affecting to those loving friends, and sent them at once to the throne of grace, and the God of all comfort. Thanksgivings mingled with their prayers. They thanked God for having taken to himself the soul of the departed in such perfect peace, and prayed that they might follow him as he had followed Christ. Then, rising from their knees, they went to duty.

The Governor-General was at once informed of the bishop's death; and on the same day an extraordinary Gazette appeared, containing the following tribute from his own pen:

DEATH OF BISHOP WILSON.

"FORT WILLIAM, HOME DEPARTMENT, ECCLESIASTICAL.

2D JANUARY, 1858.

"NOTIFICATION. With deep sorrow the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council publicly notifies the death, this morning, of the Right Reverend Daniel, Wilson, Lord Bishop of Calcutta.

"After a career of pious Christian usefulness as Metropolitan, extending through a quarter of a century, marked by a zeal which age could not chill, and by an open-handed charity and liberality which have rarely been equalled, this venerable prelate has closed his long life, leaving a name to be remembered and honored throughout British India.

"The Governor-General in Council requests that the principal officers of Government, Civil and Military, and all who may desire to take this opportunity to mark their respect for the memory of the deceased Bishop, will attend the sad ceremony of his interment.

"The flag of Fort William will be hoisted half-mast high at sunrise on the morning of Monday the 4th of January, which will be the day of the funeral.

"By command of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council.

"CECIL BEADON,

"Secretary to the Government of India."

1855-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 719

Funerals in India take place commonly, and of necessity, without delay; and a morning's death requires an evening's burial. But, in the present case it was resolved, with certain precautions, to postpone the interment for two days. It took place, accordingly, on the 4th of January; and the following is the account, as taken chiefly from one of the Calcutta journals:

“The mortal remains of this venerable prelate were consigned to their last resting-place at St. Paul’s Cathedral, which was in deep mourning, on Monday evening last. At about a quarter after four, p.m., the coffin, which was of mahogany, covered with silk velvet, and suitably adorned, was removed from the Bishop’s Palace to the cathedral. It was placed on a large bier, borne by twelve English sailors — picked men of good repute, from H.M.S. *Hotspur*, then lying in the river — and was followed by the Governor-General, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Members of Council, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the secretaries, many civil and military officers, almost all the clergy and missionaries, and a large concourse of people of all classes, male and female. In this order the solemn procession arrived at the gate of the cathedral, where it was preceded by the Reverend Messrs. Moule and Burney, the former reading a portion of the burial-service till they entered the church, when the rest of the service was gone through by both of the clergymen above named. The doleful peals of the organ at the conclusion of the service added to the solemnity of the occasion; and, though the cathedral was crowded to suffocation, the quiet maintained throughout was admirable. Everyone vied with each other to have a last parting look at the place where the venerable divine’s remains were laid, and everyone seemed impressed with deep sorrow for the loss they had sustained. The coffin is laid immediately under the Communion-table, in a vault constructed for the purpose. The bells of all the Established churches sounded their solemn knoll from three o’clock to the hour of burial. Thus ended the career of this pious and faithful servant of Christ. Overwhelmed with the care of his flock, he spared neither health nor comfort, at the advanced age of eighty, to watch over their spiritual interests, even to the last moment of his existence. His charitable disposition and kindness of heart will ever be remembered with feelings of deep and lasting gratitude. His end was peace. Well may he have said, with St. Paul, ‘I have fought a good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith. Hereafter there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me in that day.’”

The organs of public opinion, differing on all other points, agreed in paying tribute to the worth of the departed, and doing honor to his memory.

The following extracts from the *Bengal Hurkaru*, *The Friend of India*, and *The Christian Intelligencer*, may be quoted as specimens of many others, and will be read with interest:

“The grave has closed over what was mortal of Daniel Wilson, Bishop of Calcutta. He died in India, at the age of eighty — a rare occurrence to a European. He made India his home, and for its benefit, all his princely liberalities were bestowed. He was one

720 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

of the last links of a past age. A boy when the first French Revolution broke out, he lived to see wondrous changes in the world. He was the associate of Wilberforce and Clarkson in the abolition of slavery, and a warm advocate of the righteous measure of Catholic emancipation. He was an earnest Christian, without being a bigot. He was devoted to the discharge of his duties, possessed a rare zeal, great liberality of mind, a profuse charity, and an energy and vigor which have left their mark upon his time. His mind was highly cultivated, and he was a great reader to the last. His knowledge of French literature was very extensive, particularly, as may be supposed, that of a theological character. His sermons were masterly, both in matter and delivery. He made constant visitations over his vast diocese, until driven home by sickness in 1845, for eighteen months. After his return, his visitations were resumed, and his active life was continued until within the last few years. His health for many months past had been failing. He had paid a visit to the Sand-heads lately, in the hope of gaining strength, but he returned more feeble than before, on Tuesday last. During the last few days of his life he was getting gradually worse, and considering his advanced age and infirmities, his death could scarcely be said to excite surprise. This event took place on the morning of Saturday, the 2d of January. But though he has departed in peace and in a ripe old age, he cannot but leave to the many who loved and revered his character, a sense of loss and sorrowing.” — *Bengal Hurkaru*.

“Amidst the sorrow which cannot help but be felt at the removal of one so gifted, so faithful, and so eminent as a Christian as was Daniel Wilson, and the many reflections which fill the mind in contemplating the solemn event, perhaps the most prominent feeling is that of thankfulness that our revered bishop was taken away before the wreck of his noble powers, intellectual and physical, and the decay of his eminent gifts and graces of a spiritual character, had become apparent, as from his

advanced age must soon undoubtedly have been the case. Thus was his removal, in this, and perhaps other respects, a gracious instance of 'the righteous' being taken away 'from the evil to come.' What man of God shall be found fit to take up the pastoral staff fallen from the hand of the departed?" — *Christian Intelligencer*.

"The Church of England in India, when Bishop Wilson arrived, had few chaplains, few churches, imperfect organization, and no influence beyond that which had been gained by Heber, Corrie, Martyn, and a few more in a comparatively narrow circle. He saw the whole aspect of things changed, and the energy of the Christian community expanding with the increase of the diocese. His preaching in all parts of India, contributions to religious purposes, the example of his zeal, his firmness in resisting doctrinal error, his growing catholicity of spirit, and his private influence, concurred powerfully with other causes, to strengthen the English Church, to raise the tone of public sentiment, and to attract to India the attention of many who had never thought of her before. We do not purpose to sketch minutely his public or his private character; but none who knew Bishop Wilson can have overlooked the steadfastness of his friendships, the warmth of his piety, the clearness of his views, the keenness of his sagacity, the power of his memory, and the undiminished vigor of his understanding to the close. His acquaintance with many of the best men of bygone years had given him a fund of interesting knowledge, and his extensive experience of life enabled

1855-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 721

him to discern the characters of men with remarkably quick penetration. There have been many who have mistaken both his character and manner; many who have been unable to appreciate his sterling excellences and the difficulties of his position; many who have been offended by his preaching. But his powers were as undoubted as his zeal; and England will cherish his memory. Many such she has given to India for other kinds of public service; and recent intelligence has shown the promptitude of our countrymen to demand for them justice and rewards. But 'peace has her victories no less renowned than war,' and we do not doubt that the finished course of this venerable servant of God will strike a chord in the heart of England, and kindle into life the latent energies of many who will emulate his faith and holiness." — *Friend of India*.

Nor was America lacking in her tribute:

"The news has just reached us that the venerable and apostolic Bishop Wilson has been called to his rest. We have long regarded him as one of the great lights of the church here below. We ought to be devoutly thankful to God that he has been permitted to stay so long, and, now that he is taken away, it is our privilege to mourn his loss, and feel that a great man is fallen in Israel. Upon whom will his mantle fall? Where shall we look for another in whom there is such a combination of everything we might wish to see in a Christian Bishop? He had talents of a high order, extensive learning, and a holy zeal. As a preacher of the gospel, I presume he had no superiors, and but few equals. May the Lord send forth another like-minded, and with equal gifts, to take his place! When such men are taken away, it is a great comfort to feel that all things are in the hands of an Almighty and ever-present Saviour. 'Let not your hearts be troubled,' is the language of this Saviour to his church at this time." — *Record, March 26th. Letter from America, signed "America."*

The BISHOP OF MADRAS preached a funeral sermon which he repeated in Calcutta on the 20th of February 1858, when called to the temporary charge of the vacant diocese. He bears the following eloquent testimony to the deceased:

"I believe, as a clear, simple, and forcible expounder of the Word of God, and an ambassador to enforce its claims upon the hearts and consciences of men, he has hardly left an equal in the Church of Christ, and his popularity never waned. To within a short period of his death, his natural powers were unabated, and the same attractive influence attended his ministry to the last; and in the sermons he has left behind him, published a very short time before his death, there is the same power and vigor as formerly, if not more so; so that 'he being dead yet speaks.'

"I scarcely think it would be modest in me to speak of him in the discharge of his episcopal functions. It would be the less animadverting¹ on the greater, the pupil on the master. I would only

¹ Express one's opinion openly and without hesitation.

observe that I believe, as an authoritative and public teacher, he was seldom, if ever, excelled; as a ruler and governor in the church, he was blessed with a high order of administrative talent, and has done more to enlarge and consolidate the church in India than all his predecessors, and that his moral

722 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

qualifications were such as to commend themselves to the imitation of ministers and people. I could hardly add more, I could not say less.

“Most of the voluntary societies for the promotion of truth which are now at work throughout this country, have either been raised through his unbounded generosity and energy, or had an impulse given to them which has raised them to the efficiency which they possess. The chaplains and missionaries have been more than doubled through his exertions; and the churches throughout the Bengal Presidency multiplied at least tenfold under his watchful care, zeal, and benevolence. But his great work, and that on which his heart was fully bent, and which he believed would give a status to religion in this country which it never yet possessed, was the new cathedral in Calcutta. To that building he devoted, from his own resources, at least two lacs and a quarter of rupees, and more labor and trouble than can be conceived. I believe that his heart was single in what he did, and that God will not wipe out this love and enlarged liberality for His house and the services thereof.

“In a word, his life has been spent in honoring God by manifesting the influence of Christian principles in his own conduct and experience, and by urging the ministers of religion, and all Christian people, to spread the blessings of the gospel to every creature under heaven. For this end, all that God gave him, both of mind and body, of spiritual gifts and graces, of worldly substance and influence of position, have been consecrated to the service of his God and Saviour; and I believe no living man has been, in God’s mercy, more successful in their application. He has been preeminently a blessing to India.”

The Archdeacon of Calcutta, also, and most of the chaplains throughout India, following his example, preached funeral sermons on the occasion.

Individual testimonies, also, were not lacking, and two brief extracts may be admitted from public letters written by Dr. Duff and Mr. Wylie. Both being members of the Free Church of Scotland, their testimony is at least impartial. Dr. Duff says:

“It is not for me to attempt to delineate the character and labors of such a man. And yet I should be false to my own convictions, and a traitor to the great cause of the communion and brotherhood of saints, were I to pass over in silence the departure from among us of such a ‘master in Israel.’ When he arrived here, a quarter of a century ago, he was in the very zenith of his powers of active usefulness; and certainly few men have toiled more, or to more good purpose. Naturally endowed with great energies of mind and body — energies, in his case, happily sanctified and consecrated exclusively to the promotion of God’s glory — he kept all around him in a state of constant friction and glow. About his manner of speech and action there were some peculiarities, and even eccentricities, which might have proved fatal to the credit and influence of a more ordinary man; but in him, like the somewhat corresponding qualities in Rowland Hill, they served only to impart a certain spicy zest to all his appearances, public and private alike. While fondly and conscientiously attached to the government and discipline of his own church, he had a large, catholic

1855-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 723

heart, which eagerly embraced and sympathized with whatever was really good, holy, or excellent in the membership of any other.

“Besides his services in the cause of Christ generally, those which he rendered to the cause of missions must ever be conspicuous. The evangelization of the world at large, and of India in particular, was ever uppermost in his heart, as a subject of prayer and exhortation. Under this head, perhaps, his most notable achievement was the authoritative repudiation and ejection of the caste system from the native churches of Southern India. His task was all the more difficult from its having been tolerated in modified forms by Swartz and his associates, and treated and connived at as a civil rather than a religious institution, by the gentle Heber and his successors in the Indian episcopate. But the principle of caste being evil and heathenish to the very core, and entering into the very

essence of Hinduism, did not fail, however guarded and fenced, gradually to issue in intolerable practical abuses. Bishop Wilson was called upon, at an early period of his career, to officially grapple with these; and it redounds to his eternal credit, that he did so in a Josiah-like style. Having fairly mastered the subject, and satisfied himself of its utterly anti-Christian character, he proposed no mere half-measures — no merely modifying liminary regulations. No; his firm and resolute decree was that the system must be extirpated, root and branch, from the membership of the native churches, or the members of the native churches must be ejected from their bosom, until they heartily abjured and flung out the evil thing from among them. This decree swept through the churches like the blast of a hurricane through an ancient forest. All that was crazy with age, or gnawed into cankers, or crusted with the moss of rottenness, fell before it. But the cause of truth and righteousness was all the better for the clearance. And the future sons and daughters of India's expurgated churches will rise up to bless the memory of Bishop Wilson."

Mr. Wylie says:

"As an expositor of Scripture, I never met his equal. In private life, I am sure that few men ever shone more. It was a great enjoyment to be with him alone, and to listen to the constant flow of wisdom in practical observations on things past and present, intermingled with racy and familiar anecdotes of great men long departed, by which you seemed to be introduced into their very company and friendship... His active mind was continually gathering up fresh materials. He always had his Bible, his hymnbook, some classical author, some of the best periodicals, some old standard writer, and at least one new publication at hand, for daily reading; and I do not think there was a man in all India of equal industry, even when he was within six weeks of his end, and was in his eightieth year... In his last hours, he spoke to Archdeacon Pratt in terms of the most affecting humility and self-condemnation, utterly renouncing every vain hope, and casting himself prostrate before the Cross of Christ. The archdeacon reminded him of the assurance, that 'the blood of Jesus Christ cleanses from all sin.' But he instantly said, 'Ah! but, my dear friend, we have talked of that before. You must take it with the context — it is for those who are "walking in the light."' And justly did Mr. Pratt comfort him with the testimony that *he* had so striven to walk."

724 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

It need scarcely be added, that Bishop's College, and the various committees of religious societies in Calcutta, were prompt in recording the loss they had sustained by the bishop's death; and these sentiments were fully endorsed by the parent societies at home.

The British and Foreign Bible Society, after recording in a "minute" the particulars of his connection with them for almost fifty years, concluded thus:

"The Committee has much satisfaction in placing on record this tribute to the memory of one of the Society's oldest and most valued friends. While they thank God for his long and honorable life, they also reflect with gratitude on its tranquil, happy close; for they are told 'that he expired without pain and in perfect peace, in a profoundly humble view of himself, and in full reliance on the mercy of God in Christ his Saviour.'"

A similar testimony was borne, and with still greater warmth of affection, by the Church Missionary Society. They also passed a special "minute" on the occasion, in which the following passage occurs:

"The Society records the death of the Bishop of Calcutta with mingled feelings of deep sorrow at the loss of one of their oldest and most valued friends and patrons, and of praise and thanksgiving to God that the benefit of his able, zealous, and most effective aid has been continued to the Society for more than fifty-four years, and that he has entered into his rest in the fulness of years, and of the grace which is in Christ Jesus."

After tracing the valuable services rendered by the deceased in the defence of the Society in England, the active furtherance of its objects in India, and the mutual confidence which existed to the very last, they conclude by saying:

“In the review of such a lengthened blessing as the Society has enjoyed in the patronage of Bishop Wilson, the Committee would humbly ascribe all the glory to the great Head of the Church, and earnestly supplicate the same grace to be given to the successor who may be appointed to so responsible a post of labor and authority.”

The venerable Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, in their Annual Report, refers to the event as follows:

“Since the publication of the last Annual Report, It has pleased God to take to Himself the venerable Bishop of Calcutta. He had long been a member of the Board, previously to his elevation to the Bishopric of Calcutta. The Society had been in frequent correspondence with this excellent and energetic prelate from that year up to a short time before his decease.”

1855-57. SEVENTH AND LAST VISITATION. 725

The Archdeacon’s account of his death, and the Governor-General’s “just tribute” to his memory are then recorded, and the Society expresses its sense of the loss sustained by that event.

The Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, noticing the event in their Annual Report, says:

“The most conspicuous figure has disappeared from the Indian mission-field. The Bishop of Calcutta, and Metropolitan of all India, after a long life of faithful service, has been summoned to his rest. With respect to his character, and the estimation in which he was universally held in India, the Society has great satisfaction in putting on record the judgment of those who had the best opportunities of knowing him.

“At a meeting of the Council of Bishop’s College, on January 15th, 1838, the following minute was agreed to:

“Before proceeding with the routine of business, the Council desire to record an expression of their great respect for their late Visitor and Diocesan, who died on the second instant.

“None who have known him can doubt his unceasing zeal for the spiritual welfare of all who have resided in this college, and of his anxiety that the institution should flourish in whatever tends to the glory of God and the good of man.

“As a more special proof of the interest he took in the college, it may be mentioned:

“1. That in 1836, and some subsequent years, he maintained seven students here from the Begum Sumroo’s Fund.

“2. That in 1837 he visited the college every week, renting the adjacent house at Shalimah for that purpose; and in the following years, 1838 and 1839, when the college was left without any resident professor or tutor, he and his chaplain (the present archdeacon) resided in college two or three days a week, and took lectures.

“3. That he made over to the College Foundation, for the establishment of a native Fellowship, a sum of £1000, which had been placed at his absolute disposal by the late Rev. John Natt, of London.

“Although, in recent years, the growing infirmities of age, and repeated attacks of illness made his visits to the college less frequent, and the cathedral scheme, to which he so munificently contributed, naturally occupied the largest share of his attention, the Council have always been well assured of the continuance of his goodwill to them and the college; as one proof of which, they may refer to the message that accompanied the donation of two thousand rupees, made in 1853-4. “I send it for any little purpose in college that may remind you of me when I am gone.”

“Besides joining most cordially in the sentiments of the above minute, the Principal feels that he should be very deficient in his duty if he did not here place on record his deep sense of the paternal kindness he has received from the late Visitor, from the time of his first arrival in India.”

When Bishop Cotton, the successor whom God was pleased to appoint to take up the staff fallen from Bishop Wilson's hands, first touched at Ceylon, on his way to his new diocese, he was met with

726 THE LIFE OF DANIEL -WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

mingled congratulations and regrets. The address which he received from the clergy of that island said:

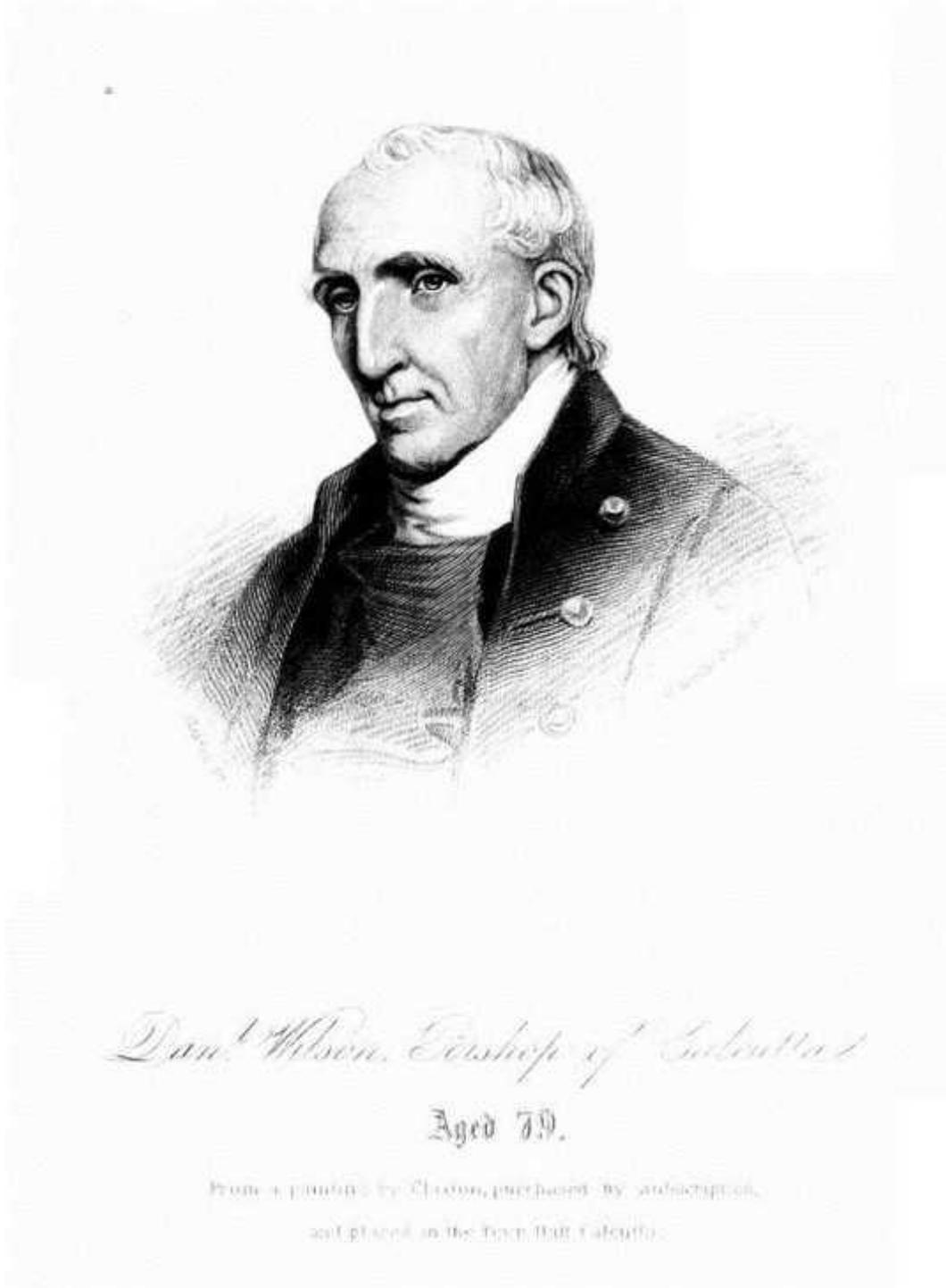
“On the excellence of your predecessor, whom it has pleased God to remove from among us, after a life as remarkable, in such a climate, for its prolonged duration as for its unwearied devotion to the service of his heavenly Master, and in blessing to the church at large, this is neither the time nor place to dwell. His memory will long be cherished by us. He still lives among us by his good works, and has left in his character and example a rich inheritance to all time, which those who follow him, if they may not be able to surpass, will thankfully both reverence and emulate.”

Besides these affectionate tributes to his memory, it was deemed right that some lasting memorial should be raised; and in India steps were immediately taken for placing his portrait in the Town Hall of Calcutta, and for founding four scholarships in the High School. Soon afterwards the idea of a Native Pastorate Fund was suggested by the Rev. Mr. French, of Agra; the object being to raise funds, in commemoration of Bishop Wilson, for the support of a native ministry in connection with Church of England Missions. The archdeacon, who had suggested the first object, warmly patronized the second when proposed. Both are of great importance to the interests of India, and deserving of the support of all to whom the name of Bishop Wilson is dear.

In England, also, a subscription has been opened, and a site purchased for the erection of a Memorial Church in Islington, which shall be free to all, and serve to prove the truth of the inspired word, that “the righteous shall be held in everlasting remembrance.”

Extracts from the bishop's last will and testament will fitly conclude this chapter. It is a striking document, and in perfect harmony with all that has been said in this biography. It sets, as it were, his seal to all those great truths he held and taught through life; manifests unfeigned humility and self-abasement before God, and scatters charity with no sparing hands.

PORTRAIT OF DANIEL WILSON ¹



¹ This portrait was painted by Claxton, when he visited India, shortly before the bishop's death. It was brought home and exhibited in Trafalgar Square. The vessel which carried it back to Calcutta, was lost at the mouth of the Hooghley, and the picture disappeared. But, in some strange way, it appeared again in the Bazaar; and, allowing for entire reparation, now graces the Town Hall, with the portraits of other eminent men. Happily, a single photograph was taken by Claxton before he parted with the original picture; and our engraving was taken from that.

Thus it commences:

“IN THE NAME OF THE HOLY AND UNDIVIDED TRINITY, FATHER, SON, AND HOLY GHOST.

“THIS IS THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT of me, the Right Reverend Father in God, Daniel Wilson, Doctor of Divinity, by divine permission Lord Bishop of Calcutta, and Metropolitan of India. I desire *first* humbly to commend my soul to that most gracious Father of mercies, who has, as I humbly trust, saved me, and called me with a holy calling, not according to my work, but according to his own purpose and grace, which was given me in Christ Jesus before the world began, and I desire and hope, at the day of judgment, to be found in Christ, not having my own righteousness, which is of the law, but that which is through the faith of Christ, the righteousness which is of God by faith. I renounce all the fruits of holiness and good works which I have in any measure produced, as any the least ground of my justification before the tribunal of God, as they have sprung only from the grace of Christ and the operations of his Spirit, and they have been so defiled with sin as to be utterly unworthy in themselves of the divine acceptance, I die, as I have lived from my youth up, in the communion of the Protestant Reformed Episcopal and Apostolical Church of England and Ireland, and I hold and follow now, as I have ever done, the doctrine and discipline of that Church, according to the mind of the first Reformers, and in the plain, grammatical, natural, and full sense of the Articles, Liturgy, and Homilies thereof; and *secondly*, I commend my body to the Almighty hands of my gracious Saviour, in humble hope of a joyful resurrection to eternal life. Next, I appoint as executors to act in the execution of my Will in England or elsewhere, except in India, my dear son, the Reverend Daniel Wilson, Vicar of Islington, in the county of Middlesex; my son-in-law, the Reverend Josiah Bateman, late Vicar of Huddersfield, in the county of York; and John Symes, Esquire, of Fenchurch Street, London, Solicitor. And I appoint as executors of my Will in India, and not elsewhere, the Reverend John Henry Pratt, M. A., and now Archdeacon of Calcutta; Robert Molloy, of Calcutta, Esquire; and Allan Webb, of the Bengal Medical Service, at present resident in Calcutta, Esquire. I desire that if I die in India, my body may be interred in the vault which has been erected under the communion-table of St. Paul’s Cathedral, Calcutta; but if I die in England, then that my body may be interred in my own family vault in Islington Church, where my late most beloved wife, now with God, is interred; and I direct that my funeral be as private as possible, and that a plain mural tablet, without ornament, be placed on the walls of the communion-table in Saint Paul’s Cathedral, and in Bishop’s College Chapel, at Calcutta, and also in the Church of Saint Mary’s, Islington, simply recording my name, time of birth, and period that I was Vicar of Islington, and Bishop of Calcutta, and date of death, and nothing more; and that under this inscription, the following words be engraven.

“Ο Θεός, ἰλάσθητί μοι τῶ ἁμαρτωλῶ.”¹

After various bequests of a private character, he leaves to the Bishop, of Calcutta, and the Archdeacon of Calcutta, for the time being, all his books, deposited in the cathedral and the palace, and numbering more than eight thousand, for the use of St. Paul’s

728 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXI.

Cathedral forever; and also the large clock and inkstand presented to him by the parishioners of Islington.

Also to his successors, bishops of Calcutta, he bequeaths his iron chest, silver plate, plated ware, linen, china, glass, household furniture, carriages, and robes of office, to be used at pleasure, and handed down in succession.

The following legacies are then bequeathed as tokens of his esteem, or in recognition of past services. Partaking thus of a public character, they may fairly be enumerated:

¹ Luke 18.13. ‘God, be merciful to me, a sinner!’ - The Greek was selected, doubtless, because of the stronger emphasis attaching to the confession of sin; and of the propitiation involved in the mercy sought for. — See p. 705.

Rupees.

To the Bishop of Winchester, for the Additional Curates Aid Society,	1000	
To the Incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts,		1000
To the Church Missionary Society for Northern India, ...	2000	
British and Foreign Bible Society for Indian translations, ...	1000	
Church Pastoral Aid Society,	1000	
Calcutta Diocesan Additional Clergy Society,	10,000	
Colonial Church and School Society (Calcutta branch), ...	1000	
Metropolitan Training School in Islington,	1000	
The Poor of Islington,	1000	
New Church-building Fund (Islington),	2000	
Church Missionary's Children's Home,	1000	
John Henry Pratt, the Archdeacon of Calcutta, ...	1000	
Allan Webb, his Medical Attendant,	1000	
The Archbishop of Canterbury (Dr. Sumner), as a token of love and remembrance,		1000
The Earl of Shaftesbury, for religious purposes, ...	1000	
The Bishop of Madras, as a token of love and gratitude, ...	1000	
Dr. Kay, Principal of Bishop's College,	1000	
Captain Young, Member of Cathedral Vestry,	1000	
Mrs. Forbes, Widow of General Forbes the Architect of his Cathedral,	2000	

CHAPTER 22. REFLECTIONS ON THE BISHOP'S CHARACTER.

HIS ENERGY — THE SIMPLICITY OF HIS AIM — HIS DEEP PIETY — SPIRIT OF PRAYER — STUDY OF SCRIPTURE — MORAL COURAGE — UNTIRING INDUSTRY — CONSISTENCY — DEEP SELF-ABASEMENT — FIDELITY TO CHRIST — MISSIONARY ZEAL — GROWING CHARITY — UNBOUNDED LIBERALITY — FEARLESSNESS — PECULIARITIES.

The reader of this biography is now set free; but before the writer lays down his pen, a few remarks upon some of the chief points in the bishop's character may be expected. It is no slight ordeal through which that character has had to pass. The public actions, private journals, familiar letters, and personal habits of a life prolonged through eighty years, have been thrown into the crucible, and tried so as by fire. Nothing but real gold could abide the test.

1. Mark the *energy of his character*. This ran through every phase of life. St. Edmund's Hall, Chobham, Oxford, Worton, St. John's, Islington, India — all were scenes on which it was displayed. To translate and re-translate all Cicero's Epistles in order to acquire a good Latin style; to keep a journal and correspond for years in Latin with familiar friends, in order to retain and improve that style; to act as a pioneer through England, Ireland, and the adjacent isles in order to arouse a missionary spirit and plant associations in fruitful soils; to move reluctant parishioners, and induce them, as one man, to lay a rate and build three churches; to enter Burma at the age of seventy-eight, live in houses made of mats, found churches in Christ's honor, and take spiritual possession of the whole country in God's name — all these are, surely, proofs of the untiring energy which characterized him through life. He wearied others, but was never weary himself.

2. Mark the *simplicity of his aim*. Men said he was ambitious, and loved power. But, if so, it was only as a means to an end. The great end and object of life with him, was to save the souls of men; and to this, time, talents, influence, and property, were all

730 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXII.

devoted. "We may err in administering the diocese," he used to say, "but we cannot err in preaching the gospel." "I have made ten thousand mistakes — but I have preached five thousand sermons." His motto through life might have been — "If that by any means I may save some."

3. Mark his *deep piety*. Religion was never laid aside, never forgotten. It was his comfort, his solace, his delight, his joy. It was entwined about his heart, and wrought into the very fabric of his nature. It constituted his strength. By it he upheld everyone in his house.

4. Mark his *spirit of prayer*. Everything was referred to God, and made matter of prayer. Meet him on business — prayer began the discussion, and followed the decision. Call upon him in sickness, his first and last word was — "My dear friend, please pray with me." Latterly it occupied almost half his day. He prayed in the cathedral, prayed in his private chamber, prayed at the domestic altar, prayed with the sick inmate, prayed with the confidential friend, prayed when the sun was setting, and prayed when the hour of rest arrived. In the decline of life he was not able to kneel down, but he bowed himself on the table with folded hands and uplifted eyes.

Rising from prayer one evening, after having read Ephesians 4th, he said to a lady present: "O, my dear child, if we could but live more in the spirit of Ephesians 4th, we should be much happier. I am quite overwhelmed when I think of what the true tendency of the gospel is, and of what we ought to be."

"See what a poor creature I am," he said, on entering the breakfast-room one morning, "and pity me. I fell asleep last night at my prayers."

5. Mark his *study of Scripture*. It may be doubted whether anyone ever read more of the simple word of God than he did. "Tell me how much time you give to the Bible, and I will tell you what

you are as a Christian,” was a remark he often made to others, and one very applicable to himself. His Bible was read through every year. “The more we read it,” he used to say, “the more we may. It is certain that we shall never exhaust it.” In private, he always read it with Scott’s Notes, whom he revered as a commentator, and loved as a friend. “Thomas Scott was a wonderful man,” he would say, “as wonderful in his way as Milton or Burke. He overcame great difficulties, and lived down great unpopularity. Why, he was at first quite hooted in London for his long sermons.

CHAP. XXII. REFLECTIONS ON THE BISHOP’S CHARACTER. 731

It used to take him nearly fifty minutes to get through his first head — so copious was his mind — so full of matter. And then he would have to hurry over his second and his third. When half-way through his great Commentary, funds failed on the one hand, and subscribers claimed the fulfillment of his engagement on the other, so that he described himself as ‘something like an ass with a heavy load on his back, in a miry lane — he could neither go backwards nor forwards.’”

He never passed a copy of this Commentary, however old the edition, without buying it. His love for books was well known, and he seldom returned home from his morning drive without finding a little bazaar established at his gates. There the various books purchased at book-sales, so frequent in Calcutta, were brought and spread before him. He could not pass without examining the contents of the stalls; and if an old copy of “Scott” appeared, it was at once bought and given away.

His habitual study of a commentary did not, however, make his own exposition of the Scripture timid. On the contrary, he was bold, independent, and most impressive — mingling clear explanations with strong appeals to conscience. A young child would sit motionless before him, gazing on his countenance and listening to his words, while the most experienced Christian would be receiving instruction and godly edifying.

6. Mark his *moral courage*. In this respect the mind controlled and commanded the body. When, halting on his first visitation between Bombay and the Himalayas, he received from Bishop Corrie a letter warning him of danger, and entreating him to return — he paused, reflected, took counsel, saw no real cause for alarm — and then calmly and courageously persevered in his journey.

Who but he, or one like-minded, would have linked his little pilot-brig to a great steamer, and faced the monsoon in the China Seas, in order to carry out his purpose in reaching Borneo?

Who but he would have ventured to grapple with the caste question in the way which has been described? The evil was admitted; the moral courage was exhibited in applying the remedy.

Compare his handling of Tractarianism with the modified and timid disapproval it met with at the hands of others. He gave utterance to his own deep convictions, and openly denounced it as “another gospel.” To stand in the gap thus fearlessly, as a rallying-point for others, demands and manifests high moral courage.

7. Mark his *untiring industry*. It served him instead of originality

732 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXII.

and genius. It made him learned, powerful, useful, influential. No labor daunted him when some important work was in hand. His charges were written over five or six times — his Church Missionary sermon nine times — each time removing some defect or adding some beauty. His sermon in Ceylon on the “Pearl of Great Price” has been mentioned. He was seventy-eight years old; his desk was full of sermons; any one might have been preached without labor to himself, and with profit to the hearers. But he is in the neighborhood of the pearl fishery; the subject will be interesting; attention may be arrested, and good done. Hence, on the Saturday his table is

covered with books, and on Sunday every description is lively, every allusion correct. His industry never failed. When action did not so much require it, study had it. No man in India read half so much as he did; and his comments and criticisms prove how well the reading was digested. Even on the very last day of his life, he was looking at "Livingstone," and learning something about "Africa."

8. Mark his *consistency*. Early in life he had grasped the primary truths of the gospel, and he held them firmly to the end. Many secondary truths were added, but they were kept secondary. He never rode a hobby in divinity. Some men ride over the fields of unfulfilled prophecy, some leap the barriers of the church; but he kept in the old path of evangelical truth and church order. His sermons were always good to hear, his books always safe to read. In a charge delivered in 1851, he could say: "I retain the sentiments I publicly expressed in 1817." This inspired confidence; and the idea of instability and changeableness was never attached to his character. He had no opinion of those who, in order to give the public the benefits of their own thoughts, neglected what had been previously thought and said by others. He laid aside a recent commentary, unread, because the author professed to have written it without consulting previous commentators.

9. Mark his *deep self-abasement*. It ran through life, and found expression everywhere. The "bitter things" he wrote against himself would make unobservant men deem him a sinner above others. But he only had a deeper insight into his own heart, and a higher sense of the holiness of God. The extent of the *sorrow* is the point of difference among God's people, and not the extent of the *sin*. St. Paul called and felt himself the "chief of sinners." In the character we have been considering, grace had much to do, and did it. Speaking once of having been in the ministry for fifty-six years,

CHAP. XXII. REFLECTIONS ON THE BISHOP'S CHARACTER. 733

he said, "Ah, yes, but it is a long time to have to answer for. None can answer for me but One, and that one is Christ Jesus. I cannot answer for myself." A favorite sentence with him was, "Whether in man or woman, I have long since ceased to expect perfection in this world. As Cecil once said to me, 'However good a person may be, he will surely be found to break down somewhere.'"

10. Mark his *fidelity to Christ*. He never ceased to teach and preach Jesus Christ; and when he quarrelled with any scheme of doctrine, it was chiefly because it took from Christ the honor due His name. The savor of His name was in every sermon; the pleadings of His merits marked every prayer. To add to His dominion, to extol His grace, and to extend His church, was the very joy of his heart. Every doctrine of the gospel had its niche, but Christ was on the pedestal. Nothing was put before Him — nothing allowed to obscure His glory.

11. Mark his *missionary zeal*. He wished every chaplain to be a missionary. He toiled at Bengali, Hindustani, Sanscrit, to qualify himself to deal with missions. His half-expressed desire to lay down the pastoral staff of Calcutta, and take up that of Tanjore, had its significance. It expressed what he often felt.

12. Mark his *growing charity*. No man stood by the church more strongly than he did; but he was always ready to hold out the right hand of fellowship to those that differed. His warfare was defensive. This catholicity increased with his years till, at length, in his "humiliation sermon," he uttered those memorable words, significant, at all events, of his own aspirations for India: "Unity and love prevail among the different divisions of the Protestant family here. We no longer maintain the old and fatal mistake that Christian men are not to cooperate for anything, till they agree in everything. We now hold the antagonistic and true maxim, that Christian men should act together so far as they are agreed."

13. Mark his *unbounded liberality*. None will know its extent; but very nearly all that he ever received from India was returned to India. That was his principle; and even the half-year's salary, assigned by law to a Bishop of Calcutta dying at his post, was more than anticipated by the long list of charities already enumerated. It must not, however, be supposed that he was unmindful of his family. He assisted them most affectionately, both in public

734 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXII.

matters and in private; and there was not a church, parsonage, or school in their large parishes of Islington and Huddersfield, to which he was not a contributor.

One instance, however, in connection with this topic, may excite a smile. About the year 1839, a sum of £5000 had accumulated in the bishop's hands, and he wrote to his children at home, to ask whether he should hold it, and send them the interest accruing from it, or whether they would prefer having the principal to invest at home. They preferred the latter of the two, and wrote accordingly; but before their letter arrived in India, the idea of the cathedral had entered the bishop's mind, and he had written to say that the alternative no longer existed; that all his money was now devoted; that he sent his blessing; that God would make it up to them, and they would be no losers. It need not be added that their cheerful acquiescence followed his determination.

During the long period of his episcopacy, he probably received something like one hundred and forty thousand pounds — for, besides his annual stipend, the East India Company, with their accustomed liberality, always allowed a handsome monthly sum for travelling expenses during the visitation — yet when he died, he left very little more than six thousand pounds. This one fact speaks volumes, and renders further comment needless.

14. He *feared the face of no man in a righteous cause*. When he saw anything which required a word of caution, the rank of the individual never daunted him. The fitting occasion was watched for, the friendly word spoken, or the private note sent. If the desired effect was produced, he rejoiced; if the interference was resented, he bore it as “a cross,” but it never made him angry. Public scandals, however, drew from him public condemnation; and it often made the breath come short, to hear him from the pulpit denounce an offence, and almost name the offender. On one occasion of a public scandal, after frequent public demonstrations of this kind, he invited thirty or forty influential ladies to his house, and entreated them in private to stem, by their influence, the current of immorality which was setting in.

At one period it was customary at Government House to rise from table soon after dinner, and for the ladies and gentlemen to retire together to the drawing-room. A large party was thus retiring one evening, when a loud voice was heard — “Come back! come back!” It was the bishop who, in defiance of all etiquette, thus reminded them that “grace had not been said.”

CHAP. XXII. REFLECTIONS ON THE BISHOP'S CHARACTER. 735

15. This leads naturally to the remark, that there were *peculiarities* attaching to his character, which ought not to be omitted in this enumeration.

He allowed them to grow, and they became marked features. It was not originality or eccentricity, so much as peculiarity and oddity — an odd way of saying and doing odd things. And yet there was something of originality in what was thus done and said — something of set purpose — something which gave point to the expression, and took firm hold upon the memory.

It was discernible in his conversation. To young chaplains, when first they arrived in India, he would say, “Don't see the sun for two years.” “Don't eat too much — don't stuff.” “The most healthy complexion for India is that of a boiled chicken. The great secret of health is a contented mind.”

Speaking of a missionary who had sought and obtained a chaplaincy, he said, "Ah! He was a true missionary; perhaps there was not a better in India. But Satan and Eve have persuaded him to quit the work."

One of the chaplains in the upper provinces had preached a sermon, in his presence, strongly directed against Calvinism. The argument was elaborate, and claimed to be triumphant. The bishop said nothing at the time; but when about to step into his palanquin, and leave the station, he shook hands kindly with the chaplain's wife, and thanked her for her courtesy, adding: "Please to tell your husband that he has not settled that question."

He would often join together a commendation and a caution. Thus, introducing a chaplain to the governor, he mentioned him as one "who bids fair to be very valuable to us, if only God keeps him humble."

It appeared in his actions. When ill once at Serampore, and unable to join the dinner-circle, a little portion had been sent into his study. He had just eaten it, when the doctor called to inquire after his health. "How are you now, my lord?" — "Better, thank you. I have been eating a little dinner." — "It will be well for you, then, to lie down by-and-by, and rest for an hour or two." He rang his handbell, and when the servants appeared, said, "Lord Sahib sota" (the Lord Bishop sleeps). The next instant he had left the study, laid down in his bed, and covered himself up for sleep, leaving the doctor amazed at the sudden result of his prescription.

Mrs. Ellerton, the valued inmate of his house, was often on the very brink of the grave; and the great age of both had made them familiar with death and its accessories. One evening, being very ill, she sent for the bishop to bid him farewell, and to leave with

736 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXII.

him some instructions respecting her coffin. He promised compliance, and after awhile left her. During the night she rallied, and in the morning sent for him, to countermand her directions. He came running up to her and, on finding how matters stood, said it was too late for her to change; he had sent for the undertaker at once, as she wished, and the work was done.

It characterized his expositions of Scripture. One of his chaplains was ordered up to the Punjaub, but his wife was unwilling to go. In the course of the morning's reading, it happened that this passage occurred: "Having his children and his household in subjection with all gravity." — "Now," said the bishop, commenting upon it, "I don't call it having his household in subjection with all gravity, when one of my chaplains is ordered up to Lahore, and his wife says she won't go."

His lectures on the Epistles to Timothy or Titus, to his candidates for ordination, have been already alluded to. They were invaluable, full of force, and calculated to impress the mind most beneficially. But here, also, he sometimes forgot himself, and said more than he meant. The candidates were required to take down the lectures, and the examination of their notes formed part of the preparatory trial. On one occasion, some quick, clever candidates took down every word; but before the papers were submitted to the bishop, they brought them to his chaplain, pointing out many odd remarks and strong expressions, and asking whether they should be left out. "Not a line, not a letter," said the chaplain. The papers were accordingly handed in, and the perusal of them was to the bishop like a man beholding his natural face in a glass. He could scarcely believe that the expressions were correct; but undeceived on this point, the last morning's lecture was very much taken up in modifying the previous statements, and preventing all consequent misunderstandings. Especially — having said that "he would rather be a poor little Baptist, with God's grace in his heart, than the Archbishop of Canterbury without it" — he was anxious to explain, that though he stood to the sentiment, he would not have them picture to themselves an Archbishop of Canterbury without grace in his heart.

It sometimes appeared in his family devotions. Not that they were too familiar — for familiarity is the mark of a child, and God was indeed his Father and his Friend — but he went very much into detail, and ran sometimes into discussion and narration. He would tell how this thing happened, or that; why he had done this, and why that. If he returned thanks for deliverance from shipwreck,

CHAP. XXII. REFLECTIONS ON THE BISHOP'S CHARACTER. 737

he would tell how the vessel rolled, and the boiler burst, and the passengers were obliged to hold by post and rail.

“I am so surprised at the bishop's prayers,” said a lady who was staying at the palace; “are they really prayers?” — “I will tell him what you say,” said his chaplain, “and ask him your question.” — “Tell her,” said the bishop, when this purpose was carried into effect, “to read her Bible, and mark the prayers of Moses, David, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Daniel, Nehemiah, and others; she will find that discussion and narration is the basis of prayer. All these talked with God.”

His peculiarities crept gradually into the pulpit; and many stories will be still lingering in India respecting them. A large proportion of these are untrue, and vanish before the talismanic touch of these six words: “Did you hear, him say so?” Some have a basis of truth, but have been distorted. One instance of each of these will suffice in the way of illustration. In one of the many volumes published by the editor of the *Life of James Montgomery*, a story is told of the bishop which ought to have been previously verified. It is to the effect that preaching once on the importance of honest and upright dealings between man and man, and deprecating that low standard of morality, which in matters of traffic allows the suppression of the truth, he instanced the case of the archdeacon, sitting in the desk beneath him, who had sold him a horse for more than it was worth. Now, when this story appeared, the author of the present work wrote to the bishop, referred to it, and asked whether it was true. The answer was that it was totally and entirely false, and a fabrication from beginning to end. And as to the archdeacon, his reply is that he never sold the bishop a horse in his life.

The other illustration may be considered as having a grain of truth in it. The bishop was preaching for a church which needed funds. He stated the amount required, and showed how easily it might be raised. “If the Commissioner,” he said, “will give so much, and the Magistrate so much, and the Commandant so much (running down the list of Europeans in the station), the amount is raised, and the church is built. Shut the door.” The hearers started, for they said within themselves, naturally enough, that they supposed they were not to leave the church till each one had paid his quota. And this story got abroad, and ran far and wide, even after it was known that a rushing wind, the sure precursor of a storm, had suddenly entered the church, blown about the loose memoranda of the bishop's sermon, and led to his hasty “Shut the door.”

738 THE LIFE OF DANIEL WILSON. CHAP. XXII.

But still there is such a thing as being too much at home in the pulpit; and, many times, things were said by the bishop which had better have been left unsaid. But, though men might smile, they never slept. India is a sleepy place, and he effectually roused it. And it may be surmised that he intended to do so. Hence short, strong, pithy sentences, which might be fixed like goads. Hence familiar anecdotes of other times and earlier days. Hence reference to matters of local interest — to offensive paragraphs in newspapers, to unlawful, though fashionable amusements. These were the outpourings of the heart, and the impulse, often, of the moment — graphic, pungent, and sometimes ludicrous. But all these peculiarities did not affect the great features of his character. There is something of affection in the smile they raise. They are always told of the “dear old bishop;” and they are recorded here, just as the last slight touches are added to a picture, to give it reality, and life, and character.

As for his faults, they will have been discerned by the reader long ago. No attempt has been made to disguise or conceal them. They all lay upon the side of hasty impulse, quick action, sharp words, lack of consideration for others, a sanguine temperament, something of egotism, and occasional inaccuracy of statement. If the reader has the heart to dwell upon them after the deep self-abasement they have caused, and the lowly confessions they have called forth, he is of course at liberty to do so. They are not denied. All with whom the bishop came in contact have felt them in their turns; but all with one accord enshrine his memory in their hearts; all revere his name; all acknowledge his worth; all assert his piety; all would gladly tread in his steps; all say, with Allan Webb, apostrophizing his lifeless body —

“A BRAVE AND NOBLE SOLDIER; A WISE, BOLD LEADER. I ESTEEM IT THE GREATEST PRIVILEGE OF MY LIFE TO HAVE KNOWN AND LOVED HIM.”

INDEX.

- ACCIDENT to Bishop Wilson, severe, 690,
Acute Observer, letter from an, 208.
Adams' "Private Thoughts," Bishop Wilson's
preface to, 125).
Adigars of Kandy, interview with the, 326.
Ahmednuggur, visit to, 460.
Ajmere, description of, 467.
Alexander the Great, Indian conquests of, 487.
Allahabad, pilgrims at, 503.
Allepie, a station of the Church Missionary
Society, 423.
Almorah, foundation of a hill-church at, 535
America, letter from, on the death of Bishop
Wilson, 721.
American Missionaries among the Karens, 680.
Apocrypha Controversy, 209.
Apprenticeship, habits during, 4.
Archdeacon of Calcutta, proceedings respecting
the, 393.
Archdeacons, episcopal letters to Indian, 216.
Assistant minister, letters to, 137, 139.
Atonement, lectures on the great, 661.
Aurangabad, description of, 460.
BADDEGAME, missionary station of, 330.
"Bands Wilson," a sobriquet of Bishop
Wilson, 87.
Baptism of Indian natives, rules respecting, 266.
Baptisms of natives, 262, 531.
Bareilly, Christ-Church at, 498.
Bateman, Alice, letter to, 672. Augusta and
Emily, letter to, 673. Mr. William, letter to,
628. Mrs., letters to, 519, 550, 582.
Baxter's "Reformed Pastor," preface to, 126.
Beadon, Mr. C, letter from, 672.
Begum Sumroo, her history and munificence, 27.
Belgaum, visit to, 448.
Bellingham the assassin, interview with, 108.
"Bengal Hurkaru" on the death of Bishop
Wilson, 719.
Bentinck, Lord William, letter from, 253; letters
to, 286, 288; communication with, 251;
character of his administration, 391.
Bentley, Dr., character of, 522.
Bhûd's tooth, temple for the preservation of,
325.
Buddhist priests, procession of, 326.
Bible Association at Oxford, auxiliary, 146.
Society, travels in aid of the, 149; minute of
the, on the death of Bishop Wilson, 724.
Bishop's College, Bengal, 259.
Bishops, Indian Suffragan, 277.
Bloomfield, Rev. J., Bishop's chaplain, 646.
Borneo, Bishop's voyage to, 617.
Brahmin admitted to holy orders in the Church,
the first, 491.
Bridgman, Rev. E. C, letter to, 248.
Brigadier, letter to, 555.
Brock, Rev. Mr., letter to, 155.
Brooke, Sir J., character of, 649; Rajah of
Sarawak, 647.
Broughton, archdeacon, letter to, 247.
Burdwân, visit to, 506.
Burma, visitation to, 679.
Burton, Dr., controversy with, 132.
Butler's "Analogy," Bishop Wilson's preface to,
125.
Buxton, Mr. Fowell, letter from, 399; letter to,
400.
Byraggies, or religious mendicants, peculiarities
of the, 450.
Byrn, Mr. W., letter from, 279.
CALCUTTA bank, failure of a, 621. clergy, letter
to, 218.
Canning, Lord, audience of, 683.
Cape Town, the Bishop's arrival at, 234;
episcopal duties at, 235; departure from,
238.
Cardale, Mr. and Mrs., funeral sermons for, 109.
Carr, Rev. T., letter to, 246.
Caste, reflections about, 302; distinctions of,
335; to be renounced before Baptism, 562.
Caste question, Bishop's letter on the, 344.
Catanars, native priests, 424.
Catechist, letter to a young, 296.
Cathedral in Calcutta, new, 527. endowment
fund, 692. mission, fruits of the, 651.
Caubul, tragedy in, 545 (Kabul, Afghan.).
Cawnpore, description of, 499; consecration of
churches at, 534. Cawood, Mr., letters to, 40,
48, 85, 86.
Cecil, Miss, letter to, 667.

- Cecil, Rev. R., his advice concerning the ministry, 29; anecdotes of his ministry at Chobham, 54; characteristic advice of, 55; letters from, 55, 101; letter to, 101; funeral sermons for, 107.
- Ceylon, visit to, 682; description of the approach to, 317. clergy, address from, 720.
- Chalmers, Dr., letters from, 127, 131; testimony of, 127; works of, 643.
- Chaplaincies, Indian, condition of, 284.
- Chaplains, disputed rights of Indian, 244; letters to, 204-296, 297, 385-6, 454, 500, 516, 586, 629, 668, 669, 674.
- Charter, new Indian, 276.
- Chastisements, on God's, 166.
- Chichester, Earl of, letter from, 400.
- Children, sermons to very young, 116.
- Chinese, confederacies of the, 310.
- Chirra Poonjee, visit to the station of, 544.
- Chittagong, erection of a church at, 525.
- Chobham under Mr. Cecil's ministry, 55; revisited, 606.
- "Christian Intelligencer," letter to the, 279; on the death of Bishop Wilson, 720.
- Christian Knowledge Society, letter to the, 330; report on the death of Bishop Wilson, 724. Observer, contributions to the, 105.
- Church-building Fund, origin of the Indian, 279. Government, views on, 122. Missionary Society, pamphlet in defence of the, 117; travels in aid of the, 146; anniversary sermon before the, 603; letter from the, 400; letters to the, 337, 401; minute on the death of Bishop Wilson, 724. Order, Bishop Wilson's attachment to, 65.
- Churches, new, for Islington, 190.
- Cingalese, two versions of the Bible into, 319.
- Clayton, Rev. G., letter to, 108.
- Clergy Society, Calcutta, Additional, 537. orthodox and evangelical, 100.
- Clerical meetings at Calcutta, 258.
- Clericus Surriensis, papers of Bishop Wilson under the title of, 105.
- Climate, effects of the Indian, 294. |
- Coadjutor Bishop, plan for a, 694.
- Coates, Mr. D., letter to. 390.
- Cochin, visitation of, 438.
- College life. Bishop Wilson's advice to his son on entering, 77.
- Colombo, appeal from the Archdeacon, 453.
- Colossians, lectures on the, 571.
- Commanding officer, letter to, 587.
- Common sense. Bishop Wilson's prize essay on, 50.
- Communion, first, 20; plate presented by the Queen, 608.
- Confession, opinion on, 160.
- Confirmation, anecdote of, 201. and the Lord's Supper, tracts on, 144.
- Conformity to the world, on, 102.
- Conscience, cases of, relating to marriage and divorce, 252.
- Consistency of Bishop Wilson, 732.
- Conversions, remarkable, 98.
- Copleston, Dr., letter from, 125.
- Corrie, Bishop, letter from, 396; death and character of, 504.
- Cotta, Church Missionary Institution at, 321.
- Cotton, Bishop, address to, 726.
- Court of Directors, dispatches from, 359, 405, 501.
- Crouch, Rev. J., theological merits of, 32; character of, 38; letter from, 217; letter to, 37.
- Crowther, Rev. S., funeral sermon for, 132.
- Cunningham, Rev. F., letters to, 453, 514. Rev. J. W., letters to, 668, 703.
- Dale, Rev. Canon, vicar of St. Pancras, 143.
- Dalhousie, Lord, interview with, 021; general order of, 637; interview with, 679.
- Dealtry Bishop, letter from, 220; letter to, 653; character of, 682.
- Death of Bishop Wilson, funeral sermon on the, 721. bed, anecdote of a laborer's, 53.
- Delhi, description of, 472; consecration of St. James' Church at, 492; visit to the king of, 495.
- Dibroghur, erection of a church at, 640.
- District Visiting Society, the first established, 145.
- Domestic character of Bishop Wilson, 73.
- Douglas, Rev. S., circumstances concerning, 121.
- Duff, Dr., character of, 684; public letter from, 722.
- Dyce Sombre, Mr., source of his fortune, 275.
- EAST INDIA COMPANY, invitation of the, 601.
- Ecclesiastical law in India, validity of, 639.

Eclectic Society, 169; special meeting of the, 225.
 Education, native, 305.
 Eightieth year, Bishop Wilson's reflections on entering his, 696.
 Election, doctrine of, 7.
 Elephant, sagacity of an, 507.
 Elland Society, visit to the, 597.
 Ellerton, Mrs., domesticated at the palace, 665.
 Energy, Bishop Wilson's, 729.
 Episcopal charges, 300, 517, 557, 630, 677.
 jurisdiction, controversy about, 395.
 Evidences of Christianity, by Bishop Wilson, 127.
 Examination at Oxford, Bishop Wilson's remonstrance on an unfair, 88.
 Exeter, visit to the Bishop of, 607.
 Eyre, Rev. J., minister at Homerton, 3; anecdote of, 16; letters to, 7, 9, 10, 20, 23, 25, 65.
 FAITH, on, 164.
 Faqueer of peculiar sanctity, description of a, 450.
 Farewell sermons at Chobham, 70; at Islington, 608.
 Farnham chapel, visit to, 226.
 Fearlessness of Bishop Wilson, 734.
 Female Orphan Refuge at Augurpara, 541.
 Flowers, Bishop Wilson's love of, 663.
 Francis Xavier, St., festival and history of, 486
 Free School of Calcutta, 235.
 French Pastor, anecdote of a, 139 Sermons of Bishop Wilson, 155. Translation of religious works into, 167.
 "Friend of India," on the death of Bishop Wilson, 720.
 Funeral of Bishop Wilson, 719
 Futtehpoor, visit to, 569.
 GARRARD, REV. J. G., letter to, 225.
 Gillanders, death of Captain, 487.
 Glenelg, Lord, letter to, 234.
 Glennie, Archdeacon, letters to, 210, 453.
 Goa, a city of churches, 447; splendor of, 447.
 Good, Dr. Mason, master of seventeen languages, 111
 Goode, Rev. W., funeral sermon for, 100.
 Gorton, Mr., contribution of, 572.
 Gospel Propagation Society, letter to the, 359.
 Government, India, letters from, 280, 579; letters to, 290, 639. Secretary, Indian, letter to, 287.
 Governor-General of India, letters to the, 579, 670, 675; letter from, 718. of North-West Provinces, letter to the, 671.
 Grandchildren and great-grandchildren of Bishop Wilson, 83.
 Grant, C, funeral sermon for, 132; his letters connected with the bishopric of Calcutta, 220; letters from, 210-21; letters to, 235, 273, 277.
 Greaves, Mrs., visit to, 596.
 Grey, Lord, his opinions respecting the duties of an Indian Bishop, 222, 286.
 Guildford, reminiscences of, 196.
 Gutzlaff, the Chinese traveller, curious detection of, 314.
 Gwalior, visit to, 537.
 Gypsies, Scripture reading to, 99.
 HABIT, discourses on the force of, 121.
 Hall, Rev. Robert, description of, 213.
 Hambleton, Rev. J., Curate of Islington, 192.
 Harcourt, visit to Dr. Vernon, 599.
 Harding, Dr., letter to, 705.
 Hardinge, Lord, letter from, 611; communication with, 620.
 Harford, Mr. J., letter to, 669.
 Havelock, death of General, 702.
 Heber, Bishop, his poem on Palestine, 51; his neglect of etiquette, 252; letter from, 339; circumstances of the death of, 379.
 Hensman, Rev. John, letter to, 238
 Hervey, Mr., his dying words, 30.
 Hervey's letters, character of, 606.
 High civilian, letter to a, 299.
 Hill, Rev. Rowland, his advice respecting a call to the ministry, 27; letter to, 73.
 Himalaya Mountains, journey across the, 479.
 Hoare, Archdeacon, letter to, 588.
 Howley, Dr., letters from, 190, 595, 597, 625; letters to, 601, 625; visit to, 596.
 Huddersfield, visit to, 597.
 Humiliation sermon, 698.
 Humming-birds, 305.
 Hymn, translation of a Bengali, 624.

- INDIAN CHURCH, suggestions relating to the, 502. Episcopate, jurisdiction of the, 243. Gazette, letter to the, 718.
- Indore, durbar at, 464.
- Industry of Bishop Wilson, 732.
- Infant Schools in India, 267.
- Infanticide, 482.
- Intemperance of British soldiers in India, 400.
- Islington, state of, in 1824, 179; testimonials to Bishop Wilson. 227; clerical meeting, letters to, 553, 656.
- JERRAM, REV. C, appointed to St. John's, 180; letter from, 120; letters to, 239, 628, 654.
- Jerusalem consecration sermon, 605.
- Jews of Cochin, white and black, 438.
- Jhansi, visit to, 538.
- Jones, Sir William, visit to the house of, 525.
- Joss-house, description of a Chinese, 314.
- Journals of Bishop Wilson, written in shorthand, in Latin, French, and English, 27.
- Jowett, Rev. William, letters to, 239, 384.
- Jubbulpore, church founded at, 338.
- Juggernaut, visit to the temple of 390.
- Jungle fever, Bishop Wilson attacked with, 574.
- Jypore, tragedy at, 407.
- KANDY, ancient capital of Ceylon, 327; palace of the kings of, 328.
- Kay, Dr., Principal of Bishop's College, 641; letter from, 693; letter to, 693.
- Kirkee, temples of, 457.
- Krishnaghur, awakening at, 530; religious state of, 516.
- Kohlhoff, Mr., his character, 374. John, letter to, 564
- Kurnaul, soldier's meeting-house at, 490.
- LABUAN, consecration of the Bishop of, 666.
- Latin style, mode of acquiring a good, 47.
- Lawrence, Col. H., letter to, 626.
- Legacies of Bishop Wilson, 728.
- Letters from an absent brother, 127.
- Liberality of Bishop Wilson, 733.
- "Little Ann," a publication commemorative of Bishop Wilson's daughter, 74.
- Lodianah, erection of Christ-Church at, 488; visit to, 573.
- Lord's Day, discontinuance of public works on the, 631.
- Lucknow, church building at, 502; new church at, 534.
- MACAULAY'S History of England, character of, 635.
- Macfarlane, D., letter to, 271.
- Macintosh, Sir J., letter from, on Roman Catholic claims, 131.
- Mackenzie, Mr., his bequest for endowing churches, 281.
- Macnaghten, murder of Sir W., 545.
- Madras, visit to, 563. Archdeacon of, letters to, 247, 298, 396. Committee of Church Missionary Society, Report of, 337; letters to, 398. surf of, 334.
- Mahratta troopers, description of, 438.
- Malacca, ancient church at, 313.
- Malays, sanguinary character of the, 309.
- Malkin, Sir B., letter to, 451; death and character of, 508. Lady, letters to, 451, 515.
- Mansion House, dinner at the, 602.
- Marriage customs among the hill-men, 482; licenses, regulations respecting, 319; and divorce among native Indian Christians, 282.
- Marsden, Rev. S., letter to, 386.
- Marshall, Rev. M., Curate of Islington, 192.
- Martin, General, history of, 406.
- Martiniere School, proceedings respecting the, 406.
- Master of Arts, examination for the degree of, 48.
- Means of grace, on defective, 164.
- Meerut, visitation at, 473.
- Memorial Church at Islington, 726.
- Metcalfe, Lord, visit of, 600. Sir C, Governor of Agra, 497.
- Metran, Bishop Wilson's conference with the, 427.
- Metropolitan charge, Bishop Wilson's first, 557; Visitation, minute of the first, 562.
- Mhow, visit to, 464.
- Milk Street, revisited, 602.
- Mill, Dr., character of, 507; letter to, 588.
- Ministerial efficiency, notes on, 58.
- Ministry, qualifications for the, 29.
- Mission servants, letter to, 352.
- Missionaries, German, 230. Indian, 394; their opinions on Caste among Christian natives, 342; letters from, 337, 352; public document

- addressed to, 266; and flocks, letters to, 344, 356.
- Missionary, letters to a, 297, 585; zeal of Bishop Wilson, 733.
- Model farm, produce of an Indian, 680
- Monkey plant, 304.
- Moral courage of Bishop Wilson, 731.
- More, Mrs. Hannah, letter from, 129; letters to, 75, 128, 140, 170.
- Moulmein, description of, 315.
- Mundlaisar, eight degrees hotter than any other part of India, 463.
- Mussooree, foundation of a church at, 476; consecration of church at, 535.
- Mutiny, Indian, 695.
- NAPIER, Sir C, interview with, 640.
- Native Christians, letters to, 283, 357; pastoral Fund, 727. priests, letter to, 354.
- Natt, Mr., contribution of, 572.
- New South Wales, Archdeacon of, letters to, 298, 396.
- Newfoundland School Society, 209.
- Newman's Prophetical Disquisitions, opinion on, 509.
- Newton, Rev. John, religious discussion at the house of, 10.
- Nynee-Thal, visit to, 570.
- OBEDIENCE, sermon on, 106.
- Oranges, present of ten thousand, 544.
- Oxford, Convocation, letter to a member of, 130. University, state of, in 1798, 36.
- Palace, Bishop's new, 641.
- Palamcotta, visit to, 565.
- Pariah villages and priests, 336.
- Pastoral address, a, 699.
- Patience, on, 165.
- Peace with Russia, thanksgiving sermon on the, 684.
- "Pearl" Sermon, 682.
- Pearson, Rev. Hugh (Dean of Salisbury), his life at Chobham, 55; letters to, 96, 100. Mrs., letter to, 703.
- Peculiarities of Bishop Wilson, 735.
- Peel, Sir R., his reelection for Oxford supported by Bishop Wilson, 130.
- Penang, voyage to, 303; description of, 304.
- Pilgrim Tax, abolition of the, 504.
- Plymouth Brethren, opinion on the, 541.
- Polygamy with relation to divorce, 282.
- Poonah, visit to, 458.
- Popery in the church, charge to the clergy respecting, 617; protest against, 518.
- Portrait of Bishop Wilson in the Town Hall of Calcutta, 726.
- Pratt, Rev. J., Bishop Wilson's tribute to, 32; letter from, 181; letters to, 240, 384, 554.
- Rev. J. H. appointed Archdeacon of Calcutta, 641; narrative of, 574; letters from, 575; letters to, 669, 672, 696, 712.
- Prayer, effect of, 7; habit and mode of, 158; the refuge of the distressed church, 696.
- Preaching, anecdotes of Bishop Wilson's, 97. remarks on, 302.
- Propagation Society's Mission, 530; address and reply to it, 593; report on the death of Bishop Wilson, 725.
- Proponents, Dutch, 320.
- Proprietary school at Islington established, 207.
- Proselytism in India, 265.
- Pulpit delivery, Bishop Wilson's deliberate, 95.
- QUEEN CAROLINE, opinion respecting, 110. Victoria, private audience of, 602. Queen's birthday. Bishop Wilson's address on the, 653.
- Quesnel on the Gospels, preface to, 127.
- Quilon, description of, 422.
- RADCLIFFE Infirmary, annual sermon for the, 605.
- Receiving-ship, cruise in the, 702.
- Regeneration, sermon on, 114.
- Review of troops, episcopal, 306.
- Rhenius' tomb, visit to, 565.
- Robinson, Archdeacon of Madras, letter to, 342.
- Roman Catholic Emancipation, opinions respecting, 130.
- Romanism, assimilation of Tractarianism with, 558.
- SACHEVEREL, Dr., Rector of St. Andrews, Holborn, 134.
- Sacrament, self-examination preparatory to the, 90.
- St. Edmund's Hall, studies at, under Bishop Wilson, 86.
- St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, call to the ministry of, 100; origin of, 134; closing of, 135.

- St. Paul's Cathedral, Calcutta, consecration of, 626.
- St. Thomas' Christians, 419.
- Salisbury, Dean of, letters to the, 232, 514, 518.
- Sanspareil, visit to the, 722.
- Saugor, services at, 538.
- Scholarships in the High School of Calcutta, 726.
- Schreivogel, Rev. D., letter from, 341; letters to, 339-40, 348.
- School life, incidents of, 3.
- Schools, establishment of small, 99.
- Scott, Rev. T., obligations to, 32; funeral sermon for, 124.
- Scriptural subjects, Oxford association for discussion of, 39.
- Sermons, composition of, 56; pulpit notes for, 63; volume of Bishop Wilson's, 118; mode of preparing, 137; repeated preaching of the same, 139; courses of, 140; volume of, preached in India, 486.
- Services, religious, on-board ship, 230.
- Shah Soojah, interview with, 488.
- Shannon, visit to the, 700.
- Shaster, the Hindu, 338.
- Simeon, Mr., letter from, 131.
- Simlah, sojourn at, 485; visit to, 471.
- Singapore, condition of, 311.
- Skinner, Colonel, history of, 492.
- Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, controversy respecting the, 110.
- Soodra Christians, 338.
- Steam communication with India, 270.
- Steinkopff, Rev. Dr., letters to, 539, 704.
- Stick insert, 304.
- Strahan, Rev. Dr., character of, 179.
- Street, Professor, character of, 539; death of, 651.
- Suffragan Bishops, Minutes of conference with, 562.
- Sumroo, Begum, letter to, 275.
- Supreme Council, letter to President of the, 671.
- Swartz, Rev. C. F., missionary anecdotes of, 337; character and habits of, 375; letters from, 336, 554.
- Sylbet, visit to the station of, 543.
- Syrian churches, visitation of the, 419; origin and history of the, 420; second visit to, 565.
- Syrian form of worship, description of the, 436.
- TAJ MAHAL, moonlight view of the, 537.
- Tanjore, caste at, 331; religious state of, 362; missionary charge at, 388.
- Telegraph in India, electric, 665.
- Temper, on, 297.
- Temperance Society at Kurnaul, incidents relating to the, 490.
- Thanksgiving sermons, 637.
- Thiers' History, character of, 683.
- Thieves, dexterity of Indian, 459.
- Thug, confession of a, 470.
- Thugs, description of their mode of strangulation, 470; suppression of the, 471.
- Time, Bishop Wilson's distribution of, 535.
- Tittaghur, country house at, 251.
- Tract writers and Jesuits, comparison of, 558.
- Tractarianism, Bishop Wilson's opposition to, 539.
- Tracts for the Times, danger to the church from the, 517.
- Travancore, Christians of, 419.
- Trichinopoly, visit to, 379.
- Turner, Bishop of Calcutta, 215; his reputation in India, 252.
- UMBALLAH, visit to, 574.
- VARDY, Rev. Mr., letters to, 4, 6, 19, 21, 28.
- Venn, Rev. H., letter to, 674.
- Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University, letter to the, 587.
- Victoria, Bishop of, his character of Bishop Wilson, 662.
- Vizagapatam, description of, 389.
- Voyage to India, incidents of the, 231.
- WADE, Captain, letter to, 513.
- Weidemann, death of Professor, 660.
- Weitbrecht, death of Mr., 659.
- White, Mr. and Mrs. Percival, letters to, 623, 627, 655-6, 667.
- Wilberforce, death of his daughter, 163.
- Wilberforce's "Practical Christianity," Bishop Wilson's, 125.
- Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, letter to, 624.
- Wilson, Mrs. Ann, letter respecting her marriage, 65; her character, private and public, 72; her resignation under affliction, 74; illness and death of, 202; her dying words, 203; letters to, 43, 65, 66, 69, 75, 141, 146, 152.

- Wilson, Bishop, his school days, 3; unfavorable account of himself in 1796, 5; first serious impressions, 7; first impulse to missionary labors, 21; call to the ministry, 23; enters at St. Edmund's Hall, 31; his division of time, 34; confirmation, 41; B.A. in 1802, 52; ordination, 57; Curate of Chobham and Bisley, 58; marriage, 70; curate of Worton, 81; minister of St. John's Chapel, Bedford Row, 81; tutor at Oxford, 84; his disinterestedness, 102; habits and tastes, 102; always a student, 104; his extensive library, 105; rhetorical style of, 108; character of his preaching, 137; dangerous illness of, 172; becomes Vicar of Islington, 180.
- Wilson, Bishop, personal habits of, 204; extracts from his journals, respecting his appointment to Calcutta, 218; appointed bishop of Calcutta, 222; consecration at Lambeth, 224; reflections on leaving England, 228; embarkation for India, 229; at Cape Town, 234; arrival in India, 241; marriage of his daughter, 250; personal habits in India, 252; dangerous illness, 574; sails for England, 580; arrival in England, 591; his death, 717; his will, 727; reflections on his character, 729.
- Wilson family, originally settled at Stenson, 1. Rev. D., junior, his ordination and marriage, 79; inducted into the living of Islington, 226; letters to, 76, 77, 78, 79, 152, 181, 189, 200, 662. Eliza, letter to, 196. George, letters to, 550-52, 582-5. John, letters to, 77, 78, 132; his character and career, 80; his deathbed, 82. Joseph, founder of the Lord's Day Observance Society, 15. Louisa, 673.
- Wilson, Lucy Ann, letters to, 627, 669. Mrs., senior, her character, 2; letters to, 11-14, 16-18, 20, 25, 29, 33, 41, 42, 46, 57, 61, 94, 182, 183. Mrs. Daniel, junior, letter to, 79. Rev. W., letter to, 267. Stephen, his character, 2. William, his character, 3; of Augurpara, Mrs., her promotion of female education in India, 541.
- Windsor, present from the Dean and Chapter of, 572.
- Witchcraft, test of, 481.
- Withers, Dr., letter to, 626.
- Woodd, Rev. B., funeral sermon for, 132.
- Woodward, Mr., churchwarden of Islington, 211; letter to, 227.
- Wordsworth, interview with the poet, 599.
- Worton, sporting curate of, 94; Bishop Wilson's ministry at, 95; overflowing congregations at, 96; gratitude of the people of, 98.
- Wylie, Mr., public letter from, 723.
- YOUNG, Arthur, his benefit from Mr. Cecil's ministry, 54.

THE END

Map of India 1824 by Reginald Heber, D.D.

