A SURVEY
OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF RELIGIOUS THOUGHT
IN ENGLAND DURING THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

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A Thesis
Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the Degree of Master of Sacred Theology in
The Biblical Seminary in New York
New York City
1932

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INTRODUCTION

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A. PRELIMINARY SURVEY

At the beginning of the eighteenth century England was in an odd tangle and confusion of criss-crossed lines of religious thought, feeling, and debate. Puritans, Anglicans, Calvinists, Arminians, Platonists, Quakers, Mystics, Cartesions, Hobbists, Lockians, Deists and Romanists were all involved in the turmoil, and in this confusion the tendency to scepticism became more pronounced as a way of escape. The Romanists, however, were not prominent as a controversial force, being decidedly in the minority, and lacking any great leader to champion their cause. It was therefore within the domain of Protestantism that the chief development in religious thought took place. Several factors contributed in a marked degree to this development.

I.

The Revolution, which had fostered a commonwealth based upon Presbyterian principles, had left its mark. The Established Church, coming once more into power, had endeavored to secure its position by enforcing subscription to its articles. Dissenters were oppressed and kept out of public offices. The Toleration Act, passed in 1689, was the first recognition in English history of the Englishman's right to worship God apart from the national establish-

ment, and begins the fresh contest with the Established Church for emancipation from its proscriptions. This act expressly excluded from its benefits Unitarians, Roman Catholics and Jews, and it was some time later when these finally won their right to worship in accordance with their beliefs. The Quakers, since they were Trinitarians, were included in this act, but their scruples on the taking of oaths and the payment of tithes brought them long suffering. In 1736 the records show that great numbers of Quakers had been prosecuted in the petty courts and that in the higher courts not less than eleven hundred and eighty cases had been adjudicated. Three hundred and more had been imprisoned and some of these their prison lot had killed.[1] Presbyterians, Baptists, and Independents were grudgingly granted this freedom. In spite of this act, numerous laws provided excuse for the continued oppression of dissent. The struggle now became a contest for equality before the law, and to break down every legal disability.

II.

Coupled with this advance in the development of religious freedom was the rising line in three fields: the scientific, the philosophical and the critical. These three combined to strengthen the rise of a rational interpretation

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1. Hulbert. The English Reformation and Puritanism. p. 330

of religion, and a breakdown of old tradition.

Science was beginning to make itself felt in England. The Copernican view of the universe, developed by Galileo and Newton, enlarged the conception of the universe, and naturally affected religious thought. No longer was the old conception of the flat earth with its tent-like canopy above, and its planets fixed upon revolving spheres, the belief of the thinking class; in its stead had come the view of a machine-like system with its natural laws and fixed movements. Man began to think in materialistic terms, and to regard God as having withdrawn from his creation after its completion. Natural law was substituted for divine intervention. Descartes took an interest in the new conception of the universe, and formulated his theory of the vortices, which was the first attempt to form a system of the universe by natural law, without the intervention of spiritual agents.[1]

The progress which took place in astronomy was felt in every field of science. Bacon's writings exercised great influence in guiding the new movement. Chemistry was disengaged from alchemy, and the Royal Society was founded in London in 1660. This development in science naturally had a great affect upon religious thinking. No longer were tragedy and hitherto unexplainable phenomena of nature attributed to an angry God but to natural sources. Thus

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1. Lecky. Rationalism in Europe. vol. i, p. 289

theological systems lost much of their dark and gloomy character; terror disappeared when calamity was shown to be the result of natural laws which existed even before the creation of man.

III.

In philosophic thought scholasticism had passed and Bacon's "Novum Organum" written to provide a new method for the new science had raised questions regarding reality. Descartes felt that the scientists were not arriving at ultimate truth. He, therefore, applied a method of doubt using it as an instrument of inquiry. His philosophic method is made up of three principles: doubt; the principles involved in his "cogito ergo sum"; and certain clear ideas, including the clearest of all ideas, that of God. His starting point was the clearness of mathematical truth, and it is this approach which features the new philosophy. Locke followed with the proposition that all knowledge comes through the senses, and he, perhaps, exerted the greatest influence upon English thought of the following century. The thought of Berkeley and Hume followed in the eighteenth century on that of Locke.

IV.

The rising line in Biblical Criticism also formed another element in this period. As science advanced, its methods were applied to the study of history and to the analysis of the records of the past. The Bible, equally with other books, was subjected to critical examination. It was the failure on the part of thinkers to harmonize old views of the Scriptures with the results of these new scientific

methods that led them into rationalism and scepticism. Both in England and in Germany a new science of historical criticism arose which affected vitally the traditional beliefs of Protestants and Catholics alike.

Thus, naturally with the freedom granted by the Toleration Act, and the impulse from the developments in science, philosophy, and criticism, a conflict arose. Rationalism came into conflict with accepted belief and order in the churches. The churches were compelled to face a new situation. Thus in the study of this century three great lines of inquiry present themselves: the conflicts between the new and the old; new ideas which were accepted wholly or in part; and new movements.

B. PURPOSE AND JUSTIFICATION OF THESIS

The task of this thesis is to show the effects of the movements in the eighteenth century upon religious thought, and to trace, through the various leaders, the progress of the various lines of development. This inquiry will be limited to the three lines just referred to.

The importance of this study is to be found in the fact that these movements affected profoundly the religious life and thought of the nineteenth century, nor can we understand the movements of our own times unless we grasp clearly the thought of the eighteenth century. Leslie Stephen and others have treated this subject in a historical way, but these are all inadequate for a clear understanding of the theological development of the period.

C. METHOD OF PROCEDURE

In the following investigation three lines of inquiry will be dealt with along the general lines of their historic development. The first chapter will deal with the radical, destructive movement. This did not contribute directly to the development of religious thought, but it led to modification in creeds and the emergence of new viewpoints and emphases. These will form the subject of the second chapter. Then these new views and emphases provoked controversies which in turn gave rise to defences. These form a distinct, positive element in the progress of theology, which will be studied by a treatment of the various apologists and defenders who opposed the rationalistic trend. This will be the subject of the third chapter.

Side by side with this downward trend of rationalism and scepticism, William Law championed a mystical interpretation of religion. This development was of such great importance in view of its relation to the Oxford movement in the nineteenth century that it will be dealt with in some detail in chapter four. Finally there is the Evangelical revival, led by Wesley and others, which affected theological thought through its insistence on experience, which will form the study in the fifth chapter.

CHAPTER I.

SCEPTICISM

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It is but natural that, in a period so fraught with theological inquiry and rational thinking, a movement of radical overthrow should arise. Suchwas the sceptical movement begun in the seventeenth century with Hobbes, finding expression in Mandeville, and reaching its culmination in David Hume, Gibbon and Paine. Although scepticism has existed in all ages, yet it is of a different type which is found in this eighteenth century movement.

Although rational in nature, this movement is in no wise to be confused with the Deistic movement, treated in a later chapter. It has its beginning in a common root, and progresses on much the same lines, yet is distinct in that it is completely destructive and aims at a radical overthrow of religion, while Deism sought to interpret religion with the aid of human reason.

This movement, in order to be properly understood, must be studied in the writings of its five great leaders; Thomas Hobbes, whose work entitled "Leviathan" is accredited as the first expression of this Scepticism; Bernard de Mandeville, whose work, "The Fable of the Bees", represented the moral principles of the movement; David Hume, the "strong man of the movement" and Edward Gibbon and Thomas Paine, in whose works the movement reached its culmination.

A. THOMAS HOBBES

Thomas Hobbes was born at Malmesbury on April 5, 1588. His father was the vicar of Charlton and Westport, and, in spite of his being a clergyman, had no love for learning. Not long after the birth of his son he struck a man and was forced to fly for it. Then the family were taken by an uncle, Francis Hobbes, a glover of Malmesbury. Thomas was sent to school at Westport Church and from there to Magdalen Hall at Oxford in 1603. After taking his B.A. degree he was recommended by the principal of Magdalen Hall to the Cavendish family, who were seeking a tutor for William Cavendish, afterwards second Earl of Devonshire. He stayed with him until 1628 when his employer died and he was thrown out of employment.

He then became the travelling tutor to the son of Sir Gervase Clinton for eighteen months. It was at this time that the first incident occurred which took him from his classics to science and philosophy. While in a gentleman's library he accidentally saw his first problem in geometry, and became greatly impressed with its solution. About the same time he was in a group of learned men when the question was asked, "What is sensation?". Hobbes, thinking over the problem, came to the conclusion that the only differences in things could be differences in their motions, and that therefore sensation must be a kind of a movement. This threwhim back on geometry.

In 1631 he was made tutor of the third Earl of Devonshire, again making a tour of the continent, where he met

many of the leading scientists of the day, including Galileo and Mersennes, a friend of Descartes. He returned to England in 1637. In 1640, due to the troubles which led to the summoning of the Short Parliament, he turned his attention from mathematics to politics. He was the author of a short treatise, which, though not published, was in the hands of quite a few, and, had not the king dissolved parliament, would have put his life in danger. He then went to Paris, where he engaged in a fruitless controversy with Descartes and composed his books, "De Cive" and "Leviathan".

While in Paris Hobbes was made mathematical tutor to the Prince of Wales, who was a refugee in France. Upon Charles' return from Worcester, Hobbes presented him with a copy of the "Leviathan", but since the treatise was in favor of the ruling power, and the Royalists had been defeated, it was not very well received. He was at last banished from the court, and fled to England, where he made his submission to the Council of State. He lived quietly in England for the rest of his life, making his peace with the king after the Restoration. In 1666 murmurings arose concerning his atheism, and in 1675 he left London for good, spending the next four years until his death in Chatsworth and Hardwick.[1]

Hobbes is sometimes reckoned among the Deists. Professor Fisher in his "History of Christian Doctrine" says

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1. For Life of Hobbes see Hobbes' Leviathan, Intro. pp.vii-x

that "the writer on the Deistic side who more than any other provoked controversy and occasional numerous writings in defence of Christianity was Thomas Hobbes."[1] But as we study Leviathan we see a radical departure from the Deistic principles. As Hagenback says of him, "though reckoned among the Deists, his principles subverted the basis of morality as well as religion, substituting external authority for moral obligation."[2] Hobbes was more the materialist than the Deist. He inaugurates a system that is sceptical in nature and which is built around a purely materialistic universe. Dorner says that "it was with Hobbes that an antagonistic, a purely empiric, nay, a materialistic system which was to have a far more destructive effect on Christianity appeared in all its harshness."[3] He insisted on keeping the provinces of philosophy and religion apart, but the mathematical system which Cartesius required was formed in his hands into an entirely mechanistic and materialistic view of the universe.

Hobbes, holding conservative principles and a lively interest in the good of the community, was so disgusted at the perplexity and misery caused by religious contentions that he did not hesitate to adopt even the most radical means which he thought alone promised a remedy. The government, or monarch, becomes the general will, the soul of the

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1. Fisher. History of Christian Doctrine. p. 372
2. Hagenback. History of Christian Doctrines. vol. iii, p.34
3. Dorner. History of Freedom of Thought. p. 130

Leviathan, whose members are all without a will of their own. This monstrous being is the mortal god upon earth. This alone, and not the church, has power on earth. Thus the sovereign has autocratic power in the domain of doctrine, as in everything else, and it is the duty of the subjects to conform to the religion which the sovereign imposes.[1] This is clearly shown in Hobbes' definition of the Commonwealth which is "One person of whose acts a great multitude, by mutual covenants one with another, have made themselves every one the author, to the end that he may use the strength and means of them all as he shall think expedient for their peace and common defence. This is 'Leviathan', or rather, to speak more reverently, that mortal god to whom we owe, under the immortal God, our peace and defence".[2]

He declared that four things are the natural seeds of religion, viz.: "opinions of ghosts, ignorance of second causes, devotion toward what men fear, and taking of things causal for prognostiques."[3] All obligation to God arises "merely from His irresistible power; and all duty to men merely from positive compact".[4] Thus did he attempt to subvert the supernatural to the natural, and make all morality depend merely upon human agreement.

"Leviathan" was published in 1651. It consists of four

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1. Bury. History of Freedom of Thought. p. 130
2. Hobbes. Leviathan. vol. i, p. 60
3. Ibid. ch. 12, p. 56.
4. Reed. Beginnings of Rational Christianity in England. p. 7

parts: of man, of commonwealth, of a Christian commonwealth, of the kingdome of darkness. In this treatment Hobbes saw man as children of wrath, hateful and hating each other. There was wanted some power to hinder them from injuring each other; a power both to teach what is right, and to compel the performance of it. This power he declared to be the commonwealth, represented by the "Leviathan", to which no power on earth can be compared. It restrains the natural passions of men, and of warlike savages it makes peaceable and benevolent citizens. It is the mortal god to whom, under the immortal God we owe our protection and safety.[1] His distinction between the church and the commonwealth is to be found in his teaching that the king is king by the grace of God, but the bishop is bishop only by the grace of the king.[2]

One chapter of "Leviathan" is devoted go the Holy Scriptures. This is interesting as one of the earliest English essays on Biblical Criticism. He made their canonicity depend upon the sovereign's declaring them to be so. He said, "Those books only are canonical, that is, law, in every nation which are established for such by the sovereign authority."[3] He entered into a discussion of the authorship of the various books, and argued that the Pentateuch

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1. Hunt. Religious Thought in England. vol. i, p. 385
2. Hobbes. Leviathan, III ch. 42
3. Ibid. Ch. 33, p. 203

was written long after the time of Moses, and that Joshua and the two books of Samuel were written after the time of those for whom the books were named. As to the authority of the Scriptures, he maintained that "as far as they differ not from the laws of nature there is no doubt but they are the law of God, and carry their authority with them, legible to all men that have the use of natural reason."[1]

Salvation is dependent upon two things; faith in Christ and obedience to laws.[2] This salvation is deliverance from sin, which is all one with deliverance from misery. "To be saved," he wrote, "is to be secured either respectively against special evils, or absolutely against all evil, comprehending want, sickness, and death itself."[3] There is to be no everlasting torment, there is only to be a second death, after which the sinner can die no more.[4]

Hobbes' doctrine of the Trinity is perhaps his most startling teaching. Person, he explained by its original meaning, as one who acts a part. God is always one and the same. He was first represented by Moses and then by His Incarnate Son. "Our Saviour therefore, both in teaching and in reigning represented (as Moses did) the Person of God; which God from that time forward, but not before, is called the Father; and being one and the same substance, is

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1. Hobbes. Leviathan. III. ch. 33, p. 209
2. Ibid. ch. 43, p. 319
3. Ibid. ch. 38, p. 247
4. Ibid. ch. 38, p. 247

one person as represented by Moses, and another person as represented by His Son the Christ."[1] Last of all He is represented by the Apostles, and as represented by them, the Holy Spirit by which they spoke is God. "So the Holy Ghost, that is to say, the Apostles, and their successors in the office of preaching and teaching that had received the Holy Spirit have represented Him ever since."

In evaluating "Leviathan" it must be admitted that it is a great world of rational theology; that is, a theology founded upon reason. He puts the power of morality and of religion, however, in the sovereign as the representative of the commonwealth, Leviathan, which he asserted to be the mortal god upon earth under the immortal God. Thus his emphasis was upon external authority -- the authority which reposes in the sovereign as God's representative on earth.

B. BERNARD DE MANDEVILLE

Bernard de Mandeville, the second great leader of this movement, was a native of Dort, Holland, but a resident of England. He was a prolific author on various subjects, and some of his works are notoriously indecent. The work by which he is best known in philosophy is, "The Fable of the Bees" or "Private Vices Public Benefits".

He was born at Dordrecht where his father was a practicing physician. He obtained a medical degree from Leyden in 1691, and shortly afterward went to England. As a

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1. Hobbes. Leviathan. III. ch. 41, p. 266

physician he did little, living on a pension given him by some Dutch merchants and money from distillers which he earned by advocating the use of spirits. He died in 1733 in London.

Mandeville's famous book first appeared in 1705 under the name of "The Grumbling Hives" or "Knaves Turned Honest". It was republished in 1714 with the title "The Fable of the Bees" or "Private Vices Public Benefits". A second edition, in 1723, was presented as a nuisance by the Grand Jury of Middlesex. A second part appeared in 1728.

"The Fable of the Bees" consists of a doggerel poem, setting forth how a hive of bees were thriving and vicious, and how, on their sudden reformation, their prosperity departed with their vice.[1] In commenting upon this work, Dr. Frederick Ueberweg said, "The ethical theory, if his theory may be called ethical, is indicated by the title of his notorious work: what is called a vice is in fact a public benefit. There is no distinction between the moral impulse or springs of action. Each in its place is natural and legitimate, and the general welfare is best promoted by giving indulgence to all. The restraints on human desires and passion by the magistrate and priest are facetious and unnatural. While Hobbes contended that the ethical distinctions which are made by the community are in a sense necessary to the public good, Mandeville taught that any

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. ii, p. 33

restraint upon private vices is simple usurpation."[1]

Mandeville marks a reaction against the facile optimism of the Deists and against the conventions associated with popular morality. England had just come into her place as a commercial nation; from her went traders and adventurers, and some of these, returning laden with wealth, began to dissipate and corrupt the town to which they came. Mandeville, seeing this vice, and seeing the wealth they brought, thought that these vices were in fact public benefits. As Sorley said, "He was clever enough to detect the luxury and vice that gather around the industrial system, and perverse enough to mistake them for its foundation. He reverted to Hobbes' selfish theory of human nature, but was without Hobbes' grasp of the principle of order. He looked upon man as a compound of various passions, governed by each as it comes uppermost, and he held that the "moral virtues are the political offspring which flattery begot upon pride".[2]

Mandeville spoke as a man of the world, regarding all churchmen and statesmen as fools. His view of the world was just the opposite from that of Shaftesbury, whom he severely ridiculed. "This hunting after this 'pulchrum et honestum', Shaftesbury's favorite expression, -- is not

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1Ueberweg. A History of Philosophy. vol ii, p. 378.
2. Sorley. A History of English Philosophy. p. 159

much better than a wild-goose chase; and if we come to facts, there is not a quarter of the wisdom, solid knowledge, or intrinsic worth in the world that men talk of and compliment one another with; and of virtue and religion there is not an hundredth part in reality of what there is in appearance."[1] Thus Leslie Stephen quoted from the "Fable of the Bees' to show Mandeville's view of the world. "Man", he continued, "is corrupt from his head to his foot, as theologians truly tell us; but the heaven which they throw in as a consolation is a delusion -- a cheat invented to reconcile us to ourselves."[2] Thus Mandeville, in his view of the world, went a step further than Hobbes in his attempt to overthrow morality. Hobbes did maintain morality as imposed by the sovereign; Mandeville derided all attempts at moral conventions and the authority of church or state in this realm.

He absolutely separated religion from trade. To quote again from Stephen, "Religion -- is one thing and trade another. He that gives most trouble to thousands of his neighbors, and invents the most operose manufactures, is, right or wrong, the greatest friend to society."[3] Thus it is that he advocated vice as a boon to trade, in fact makes it the very foundation and support of industry. He

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. ii, p. 34 cf. Mandeville (Kaye). Fable of the Bees. vol. ii, p. 331
2. Ibid. p. 34
3. Ibid. P. 35

used the statement "what we call evil in this world, moral as well as natural, is the grand principle that makes us social creatures, the solid basis, the light and support of all trades without exception."[1] He attempted to explain this later by stating that "every want was an evil; that on the multiplicity of those wants depended all these mutual services which the individual members of a society pay to each other; and, that consequently, the greater variety that there was of want, the greater the number of individuals who might find their private interest in laboring for the good of others; and, united together, compose one body."[2]

Mandeville held that what we call virtue is but selfish masquerading. His theory is summed up in the assertion that "the moral virtues are the political offspring which flattery begot upon pride."[3] He claimed that lawgivers, moralists, and philosophers, in order to forward their own vile purposes, entered into conspiracy to persuade men into submission, and that, having examined the strength and frailties of our nature, discovered that flattery was the easiest way to move human beings. Having flattered men and thus insinuated their way into the hearts of men, they proceeded to instruct them in honor and shame.[4] Thus he held that virtue in man is purely an extraneous thing, forced upon him by the leaders, who did so for their own

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1. Mandeville. (Kaye). Fable of the Bees. vol i, p. 369
2. Ibid. vol. ii, 420-23
3. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. ii, p. 38
4. Mandeville (Kaye). Fable of the Bees. vol. i, p. 43

vile uses. This is quite in keeping with his view of natural man, as expressed in his preface. He said that "I believe man (besides skin, flesh, bones, etc., that are obvious to the eye) to be a compound of the various passions, that all of them, as they are provoked and come uppermost, govern him by turns, whether he will or no."[1]

Thus Mandeville took a step further than his predecessor, Hobbes. His treatise was directed toward industry, and the forwarding of it by private vices, but at the same time he combined much that would tend to overthrow the existing moral code. Religion had nothing to do with virtue; it was to be found only in man's natural selfish nature. The nation depended on industry; industry depended upon the vices of the natural man; therefore, private vices were public benefits.

C. DAVID HUME

Mandeville's immediate successor was David Hume, perhaps the greatest of the leaders of this movement. Hume was born in Edinburgh on the twenty-sixth of April, 1711. His parents were of old Scottish stock -- the paternal line running back to Lord Home of Douglas, who went over to France with Douglas during the French wars of Henry fifth and sixth. Mrs. Hume is described by her son as being "a woman of singular merit, who, though young and handsome,

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1. Mandeville (Kaye). Fable of the Bees. vol. i, Intro., p. 25

devoted herself entirely to the rearing and education of her children."[1] Her only recorded estimate of her son was that "our Davie's a fine, good natured crater, but uncommon wake-minded."[2] But since she lived to see the beginning of her son's fame and official importance, she probably changed her mind as to his weakness of mind. She died in 1748.

Hume seems to owe little to schools. There is evidence that he entered the Greek class at the University of Edinburgh in 1723 -- at the age of twelve -- but it is not known how long his studies continued, and he did not graduate. About 1728 his family tried to launch him into the profession of law, but he gave this up, because "the law which was the business I designed to follow, appeared nauseous to me, and I could think of no other way of pushing my fortunes in the world, but that of a scholar and philosopher." [3] He next tried commerce, but this palled, and so, in 1736 at the age of twenty-three, without any profession and without any assured means of support left England and went to Rheims, where he lived for some time, although the greater part of his three years stay was spent at La Fleche, in frequent intercourse with the Jesuits of the famous college in which Descartes was educated. Here he composed his first work, the "Treatise of Human Nature". This work, which now takes

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1. Huxley. Hume. p. 2
2. Ibid. p. 2
3. Ibid. p. 6

rank as his greatest work, was a disappointment to Hume in its lack of sales. He received fifty pounds from the publisher for the right to the first edition, not to exceed one thousand copies, but the work had practically no sale whatever. Hume says of it, "Never literary attempt was more unfortunate than my 'Treatise of Human Nature'. It fell dead born from the press; without reaching such distinction as even to excite murmur among the zealots."[1] Shortly after this he returned to England.

In 1741 Hume published anonymously at Edinburgh the first volume of "Essays Moral and Political", which was followed in 1742 by a second volume. These essays met with success, all the copies being sold in London, and being recommended by Bishop Butler.

In 1744 he was recommended to fill the chair of "Ethics and Pneumatic Philosophy" but the town council would not have him. In 1746 he went with General St. Clair, who was leading an expedition to Canada, as secretary and later as judge advocate also. This expedition failed, however, and St. Clair was recalled. In 1748 Hume went as secretary to St. Clair on a mission to the court of Turin. He returned to London in 1749, and during his stay there his mother died. In his absence the "Philosophical Essays" or "Inquiry" were published, but were overlooked in the hubbub caused

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1. Orr. David Hume. p. 29

by Middleton's "Free Inquiry".

Between 1749 and 1751 Hume lived at Ninewells with his brother and sister, and composed his three most finished, if not his best, works, the "Dialogues on Natural Religion", the "Inquiry concerning the Principles of Morals and the "Political Discourses". The "Dialogues on Natural Religion" were touched and retouched at intervals for a quarter of a century and were not published until after his death, but the "Inquiry Concerning the Principles of Morals" appeared in 1751 and the "Political Discourses" in 1752. The last has been well said to be the "cradle of political economy: and much as that science has been investigated and expounded in later times, these earliest, shortest and simplest developments of its principles are still read with delight even by those who are masters of all the literature on this great subject."[1]

The "Political Essays" had a great and rapid success. They were translated in French in 1753 and again in 1754, and conferred a European reputation upon the author.

In 1751 he returned to Edinburgh to live, and one year later, in spite of great opposition, he was elected librarian of the Faculty of Advocates. This was important, not because of the salary, but because it placed a large library at his disposal.

The first volume of the History of Great Britain,

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1. Burton. Life of David Hume. vol. i, p. 354

containing the reign of James I. and Charles I. was published in 1754, and the sale at the first was quite large. Other volumes appeared in 1756, 1759, and then on until 1763. One of his most remarkable works, "The Natural History of Religion" appeared in 1757. In 1763 he was appointed to the embassy to France, with the promise of a secretaryship. In France he was entertained by nobles and ladies, as his reputation here was far higher than in Britain. His duty was soon over and in 1769 he returned to Edinburgh. In 1775 his health began to fail, and the following year, feeling that his trouble was fatal, made his will and wrote "My Own Life". He died in Edinburgh August 25th, 1776, and his funeral a few days later was attended by a great concourse of people.

In commenting upon Hume's scepticism, Paulsen says, "Hume is commonly mentioned as the representative of scepticism. It is true, Hume juggled with the term ..... He simply maintained, on the one hand, that natural theology with its arguments for the existence of God and the immortality of the soul is no science; on the other, that it is impossible to know facts except by experience and hence that there can be no universal and necessary knowledge of facts."[1] Hence Hume attempted to destroy the ontological argument. Since belief in God is dependent upon intuition, this cannot hold as the mind can only conceive what it perceives.

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1. Paulsen. Introduction to Philosophy. p. 342

Hume never doubted that morals, politics, and social life could get along without religion. In fact he taught that they would be better off without it. In his dialogues Philo's words are taken to be his thought when he said, "If the religious spirit be ever mentioned in any historical narration, we are sure to meet afterwards with a detail of the miseries which attend it. And no period of time can be happier or more prosperous than those in which it is never regarded or heard of."[1] It is but natural that, with such views, Hume regarded with repugnance everything savouring of "priesthood", and spoke of religion as "enthusiasm" or "fanaticism". This, however, applies only to the "religion as it has been commonly found in the world"[2], exception being made to the philosophical religion which resolves itself into the "speculative tenet of Theism".[3]

His poor conception of religion is made clear by his statement in the "Essay on Immortality". He said, "But if any purpose of nature be clear, we may affirm that the whole scope and intention of man's creation, so far as we can judge by natural reason, is limited to the present life..... There arise, indeed, in some minds some unaccountable terrors with regard to futurity; but these would quickly vanish were they not artificially fostered by precept and example.

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1. Hume. Works. vol. ii, p. 530
2. Ibid. p. 534
3. Ibid.

And those who foster them, what is their motive? Only to gain a livelihood, and to acquire power and riches in this world. Their very zeal and industry, therefore, are an argument against them."[1]

Hume's philosophy readily lent itself to scepticism. It tended to undermine all the foundations of certainty. It grounded all our knowledge on sense-experiences. Accordingly inferences were valid for practical purposes within the circle of experience, but there was no guarantee that this was so beyond it. Thus all questions were at once ruled out which related to God, the origin of the world, Providence, destiny and the future life. Christianity he reduced to a system of fables believable only by those who were willing to part with their reason. "Our most holy religion, " he said, "is founded on Faith, not Reason, and it is a sure method of exposing it to put it to such a trial as it is by no means fitted to bear." [2]

In the "Natural History of Religion" he asserted that the primitive religion was polytheism, which was caused by primitive man personifying unknown causes and attributing to them passions and feelings of their own.[3] These gods are anthropomorphic and are regarded as invisible beings interfering in the world's affairs. Hume want further to

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1. Hume. Works. vol. iv, p. 549
2. Ibid. iv, p. 149
3. Ibid. vol. iv, p. 317

assert that Theism was due to the gradual promotion of some favored deity, upon whom epithets of adoration are accumulated by his special worshippers until infinity itself has been reached.[1] He further asserted in this treatise the divorce of religion from morality is a natural consequence of the desire to propitiate an imaginary being by services which will appear to be more religious as they have less utility to ourselves or our neighbors.[2] He sought to find his escape in philosophy. He said, "The whole is a riddle, an enigma, an inexplicable mystery. Doubt, uncertainty, suspense of judgment, appear the only result of our most accurate scrutiny concerning this subject. But such is the frailty of human reason and such the irresistible contagion of opinion, that even this deliberate doubt could scarcely be upheld, did we not enlarge our view, and opposing one species of superstition to another, set them a-quarrelling; while we ourselves, during their fury and contention, happily make our escape into the calm, though obscure regions of philosophy."[3]

Thus Hume, in his philosophy, attempted to destroy natural belief and reason together. All knowledge must come from sense-experience, therefore reason itself could not be trusted. This philosophy was instrumental in bringing to a close the Deistic controversy and the rational movement in England, insofar as they depended solely upon reason.

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1. Hume. Works. vol. iv, p. 330
2. Ibid. p. 359
3. Ibid. p. 363

D. GIBBON AND PAINE

Although Hume was the "strong man" of the radical movement, two other writers deserve to be mentioned because of their wide influence as sceptical thinkers. These are Edward Gibbon and Thomas Paine, both of whom followed Hume and went further in their attacks upon Christianity. Gibbon's fame rests upon his great historical work, while Paine devoted his energies to essay writing, and is remembered better, perhaps, by his work "The Age of Reason".

Gibbon, for a short while, was converted to the Catholic faith by Middleton and Bossuet. His faith was accepted solely upon the basis of the historical evidence of miracles, which gradually disappeared as his knowledge grew. As Stephen says, "It was a conviction of the head, not of the heart; and as his knowledge widened and deepened, it spontaneously disappeared. He believed in Catholicism as he might have believed in the authenticity of a disputed document, and nothing but wider enquiry was needed to dissipate the superficial impression."[1]

Gibbon argued that Christianity arose through five secondary causes which Stephen stated as follows: (1) By the inflexible and intolerant zeal of the Christians, derived from the Jews, but purified from the narrow spirit which had confined Judaism to a single nation; (2) by the

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, p. 447

doctrine of a future life; (3) by the miraculous powers ascribed to the primitive church; (4) by the purity and austerity of the Christian morals; and (5) by the organization of the Christian republic.[1] He gave no supernatural reasons as to the growth of this zeal and doctrines, but held that Christianity "sprang up like a mushroom".[2] This is in accord with his naturalistic conception of history which he interpreted as nothing more than a sequence of related events. In other words, it is for him only an evolutionary process without spiritual originating factors.

Thus Gibbon struck a heavy blow against Christianity by reducing it to the explicable with no effort at explaining its supernatural origin. The Apologists appealed to the necessity of a heavenly revelation to induce the zeal which the apostles had, and call upon miracles and other facts to prove their argument. Gibbon either denied the facts or cooly treated the historical aspects of the case in the light of human nature. His answer to the Apologists is summed up by Stephen: "The zeal of the early Christians was earthly; their doctrine of future life subordinated to worldly purpose; their legends of miracles, so many proofs of their credulity; their morality imperfect and suited to popular prejudices; their disavowal of ambition, a mere covering

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, p. 449
2. Ibid. p. 449

to ambition of a different kind; their success was singularly slow and imperfect; and the sufferings which they endured not to be compared with those which have been voluntarily encountered by other men supported by no supernatural intervention."[1]

Very few arose to refute Gibbon. A Mr. Davis of Balliol College tried to meet Gibbon's arguments, but his work was not thorough and was no match for Gibbon's superior powers as a writer. Richard Watson followed with a refutation, which was fairly competent, but not conclusive. He argued that the Christians could not have gotten their zeal from their enemies, the Jews, and that false miracles would be a discredit rather than advancing a cause, and other arguments of like nature. He does not attempt to raise any serious dispute as to Gibbon's statements, however, and his work shows rapidity and lack of thorough study in its preparation.

To this rationalistic conception, Paine contributed "The Age of Reason". Unlike his predecessors, Paine wrote for the masses rather than for the scholars. His book is entitled, "The Age of Reason; Being an Investigation of True and Fabulous Theology". He offered it to his "fellow-citizens of all nations", and gave as his reason for writing that this was necessary "lest, in the general wreck of

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, p. 453

superstition, of false systems of government, and false theology, we lose sight of morality, of humanity, and of the theology that is true."[1]

His own faith he embraced in two articles: "I believe in one God, and no more; and I hope for happiness beyond this life. I believe in the equality of man, and I believe that religious duties consist in doing justice, loving mercy, and endeavoring to make our fellow-citizens happy."[2] He stated that he does not believe in the creeds of the churches, but "my own mind is my own church."[3] Churches appeared to him as human inventions set up to terrify and enslave mankind, and monopolize power and profit.[4]

He disbelieved in revelation. It is revelation only to the one receiving it; to the rest it is only hearsay.[5] The Christian Church, he claimed, sprang out of the tail of a heathen mythology. The trinity was merely a reduction of the former plurality of gods to three. "The Christian theory is little else than the idolatry of the ancient mythologists, accommodated to the purposes of power and revenue; and it yet remains to reason and philosophy to abolish the amphibious fraud."[6] Thus he tried to dispose of the Christian Church as a system developed by human beings on the basis of mythology. He accepted the historic

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1. Paine. The Age of Reason. p. 21
2. Ibid. pp. 21-22
3. Ibid. p. 22
4. Ibid. p. 22
5. Ibid. pp. 23-25

Jesus, and admitted His teachings on morality to be benevolent, but he refused to accept the supernatural elements on the grounds that he, like Thomas, must have visible evidence. He ridiculed the Fall, and the necessity of Jesus coming into the world to be sacrificed "because they say that Eve, in her longing, had eaten an apple."[1] His true theology is based on the beauty and magnificence of the universe.

He next passed on to a study of the Old and New Testaments. He ridiculed the whole scheme, both as to canonization and revelation, and stated that the Bible is filled with obscene stories and that it would be more consistent if we called it the word of a demon than the word of God. He said, "It is a history of wickedness that has served to corrupt and brutalize mankind; and, for my own part, I sincerely detest it, as I detest everything that is cruel."[2]

The rest of this first part deals with ridicule of the Christian system and his doctrine that creation alone shows forth the power, wisdom, goodness, and beneficence of God, this creation being the ever existing word of God, and that the moral duty of man consists in imitating the moral goodness and beneficence of God as manifested in the creation toward all his creatures. All nations agree in on thing: belief in God. It is only in the redundancies annexed to religion that they disagree. "Adam", he stated,

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1. Paine. The Age of Reason. p. 30
2. Ibid. p. 34

"if ever there was such a man, was created a Deist; but in the meantime let every man follow, as he has a right to do, the religion and worship he prefers."[1]

The second part of the book deals with a criticism of the Old and New Testaments. He attempted to show that the Pentateuch is spurious and not the work of Moses; Joshua is not the author of the book which bears his name; Judges is anonymous and there is no warrant for calling it the word of God; the rest he dealt with in like manner. Even Job is not a part of the Bible. Isaiah is disordered and jumbled, and not even a schoolboy would be responsible for such a composition; Jeremiah is not the author of the book of Jeremiah, and it is a medley of unconnected anecdotes. In concluding his treatment of the Old Testament, he said, "I have now gone through the Bible as a man would go through a wood with an axe on his shoulder, and fell trees. Here they lie; and the priests, if they can, may replant them. They may, perhaps, stick them in the ground, but they will never make them grow."[2]

In his treatment of the New Testament he used the same method of ridicule. He called the story of the Virgin birth obscene, and contended that it finds its counterpart in mythology. He compared the Gospels to show disagreement in the genealogy, and assumed if these are false, then

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1. Paine. The Age of Reason. p. 181
2. Ibid. p. 151

why not the rest of the story? As to the authorship he stated that there is no proof, and that there is only doubtfulness, which is the opposite of belief. He noted omissions and differences and accused the Gospel writers of being liars. He concluded that they were not apostles nor eyewitnesses of the things which they wrote, and that they did not write in concerted imposition, but in individual and separate. As to the Epistles, he charged them with being false, and attacked the person of Paul. His conclusion was that the Old and New Testaments are forgeries, the evidence of which he drew from the Bible itself. This is a two-edged sword, for "If the evidence be denied, the authenticity of the Scriptures is denied with it, for it is Scripture evidence: and if the evidence be admitted, the authenticity of the books is disproved."[1]

Not only did he deny the authenticity of the Bible, but he attributed to revelation the most detestable wickedness, the most horrid cruelties, and the greatest miseries that have ever afflicted the human race. "It is better", he said, "far better that we admitted, if it were possible, a thousand devils to roam at large, and to preach publicly the doctrine of the devils, if there were any such, than that we permitted one such imposter and monster as Moses, Joshua, Samuel, and the Bible prophets, to come with the

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1. Paine. The Age of Reason. p. 181

pretended word of God in his mouth, and have credit among us."[1] Thus Paine derided revealed religion, and attempted to prove that Christianity is not only false, but malicious and dangerous. His views are in line with those of his predecessors, but are more malignant and more far-reaching because of his appeal to the mob rather than to the intellects. His only leniency was given to the Quakers (of which sect his father was a member) whom he claimed were "rather deists than Christian."[2]

Paine was answered by Watson and the Bishop of Llandaff but no able replies were published. Samuel Adams reproved him for his introducing the book into America with its consequent danger of controversy, and Paine replied to this in a restatement of his position. On the whole no able defences were issued, but in the light of the book, with its clearly biassed and unscholarly approach to the problem none were necessary. For, even though the book is read today, few are willing to consent to its teaching, and its influence is fastly declining.

E. SUMMARY

Thus the Sceptical movement, beginning with Hobbes and increasing in intensity, runs through the century. It contributed nothing of value to the thought of the age,

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1. Paine. The Age of Reason. p. 185
2. Ibid. p. 185

and its statements are now refuted or out of date. It benefitted theology negatively, and provided a source for various controversies which did result in a modification of creeds and a development of new emphases in religious thought.

CHAPTER II.

MODIFICATIONS OF CREED AND NEW EMPHASES

CHAPTER 2

MODIFICATIONS OF CREED AND NEW EMPHASES

The first half of the eighteenth century in England was marked by controversy. Reason battled with tradition and revelation; creeds were subjected to sharp critical study and rational interpretation; and the whole thought of the period was based upon reason instead of authority as formerly. It is described as being "a period of barren controversies, of speculations utterly unpractical".[1]

In order to properly understand the new emphasis in English thought it is necessary to go back to the seventeenth century to discover the roots of this movement. These are to be found in the philosophical emphasis of Descartes, that philosophy may and must start with the data of consciousness and erect its own structure with entire independence, taking nothing for granted and borrowing nothing from the other branches of knowledge. The philosophy of Descartes was inspired by a desire to extend mathematical methods to metaphysical speculation. Proof was to follow the road of logical demonstration. Find the self-

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1. Spence. A History of the English Church. p. 214

evident principles which lie at the basis of all knowledge, and from them you will be able to build up your world of logically ordered thought. Authority was discarded as a principle of reasoning. "Descartes begins by doubting everything, and prosecutes his scepticism up to the point where he finds a truth, the truth of his own existence as a thinking being, to deny which is to commit an act of intellectual suicide."[1]

Storr further stated in regard to the influence of Descartes upon English thought that "The influence of Descartes upon English speculation in the eighteenth century may be seen in the following directions: there is the same buoyant confidence in the power of reason; there is the same reaching out after the mathematical ideal of clarity of idea, and logical demonstration following from principles judged to be self-evident; there is the same revolt from authority, only in England so far as theology is concerned, the revolt is tempered by a general acceptance of the traditional beliefs."[2]

The four controversies which affected most profoundly theological thought during this period were: the Bangorian, the Deistic, the Subscription and the Unitarian. The second was the most far-reaching and influential of the four, and will be treated to a greater extent. The Hutchinsonian

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1. Storr. The Development of English Theology in the 19th Century. p. 30
2. Ibid. p. 30

Controversy and the Utilitarian movement, though of minor importance, will also be studied.

A. THE BANGORIAN CONTROVERSY

This controversy, which lasted from 1717 to 1720 is not of very great importance in the development of English theology even though it caused heated arguments and several pamphlets during its short existence. It was named the Bangorian Controversy because of the fact that its leader was Benjamin Hoadly, newly appointed Bishop of Bangor.

Benjamin Hoadly was born in Westerham, Kent, November 14, 1676. He obtained his B.A. degree from Cambridge in 1696, and became a preacher in London in 1701. He was appointed Bishop of Bangor in 1715, of Hereford in 1721, of Salisbury in 1723 and of Winchester in 1734. Macauley said of him that "He cringed from bishopric to bishopric".[1] According to Leslie Stephen he was "probably the best-hated clergyman of the century amongst his own order".[2] Before the controversy which gave him fame, he wrote several political treatises, of which the most elaborate are "Measures of Submission to the Civil Magistrate" and "The Original and Institution of Civil Government Discussed". He remained at Winchester for more than a quarter of a century, until the controversies of his life had become dim tradition, and died in 1761 at the age of eighty-six.

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1. Simon. The Revival of Religion in England in the 18th Century. p. 109
2. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. ii, p. 152

In 1716 a posthumous treatise by George Hickes, Bishop of Thetford, entitled "Constitution of the Christian Church, and the Nature and Consequences of Schism" appeared, in which he excommunicated all but the non-juring churchmen. Hoadly immediately wrote a reply to this entitled, "Preservative against the Principles and Practices of Non-jurors", in which his own Erastian position was recommended and sincerity proposed as the only test for truth. The controversy arose, however, with the publication of a sermon upon the text, "My Kingdom is not of this world", in which Hoadly maintained that Christ had left behind Him no such authority as that claimed by the churches, and that this was the best way to answer the pretensions of the Church of Rome. These views offended both dissenters and High Churchmen and he was attacked from all quarters.

Leslie Stephen said that "This controversy, which raged furiously during 1717-8, is one of the most intricate tangles of fruitless logomachy in the language. In the bibliography given in Hoadly's work there is a list of more than fifty divines who joined in the fray.....There is a bewildering variety of theological, ecclesiastical, political, historical, exegetical, and purely personal discussions."[1] Hoadly, of course, was the chief disputant in this debate, while two men are outstanding as his

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. ii, p. 156

opponents, Sherlock and Law.

Hoadly's theory was first stated in the "Preservative against the Principles and Practices of non-jurors". His sermon, preached in 1717, stated it more clearly and concisely. He struck at the very root of sacerdotalism. While admitting that Christ and His Apostles enjoyed supernatural powers, he denied, with other rationalists, that this power was transferred to their successors. The priesthood is lowered to the level of ordinary humanity. An excerpt from his sermon will show his argument. "As the church of Christ is the kingdom of Christ, He, Himself, is king; and in this it is implied that He is Himself the sole lawgiver to His subjects, and Himself the sole judge of their behaviour, in the affairs of conscience and eternal salvation. And in this sense, therefore, his kingdom is not of this world; that he hath in those points left behind Him no visible human authority; no viceregents who can be said properly to supply His place; no interpreters upon whom His subjects are absolutely to depend; no judges over the conscience or religion of his people."[1] He then argued that if one had the power of viceregent, to make new laws or to interpret old ones, or to judge his subjects in religious matters, then he would be truly as much a king as Christ Himself, and he would be the true lawgiver instead of Christ.

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1. Hoadly. Works. vol ii, p. 404

Hoadly held further, that the only moral duty connected with the faith was sincerity. A man, accordingly, is bound only to accept those articles which recommend themselves to his unbiassed reason. The authority of the church, in keeping with this right of the individual, is that of a witness and not of a judge, thus leaving every man free to chose for himself. "The favor of God, therefore, follows sincerity considered as such; and therefore equally follows every equal degree of sincerity".[1]

Law, in answering this, pointed out that Hoadly, in admitting the innocency of error, gives up the old standing ground of heresy. He further stated in a second letter, that Hoadly ought to be a Deist. "Is it," he asked, "impossible for men to have this authority (of pronouncing absolution) from God to absolve in His name because they may mistake in the exercise of it? This argument proves too much, and makes as short work with every institution of Christianity as with the power of absolution. For if it is impossible that men should have authority from God to absolve in His name, because they are not infallible, this makes them equally incapable of being entrusted with any other means of grace; and, consequently supposes the whole priest's office to imply a direct impossibility to the very notion of it."[2] Hoadly never made a direct

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. ii, p. 160
2. Ibid. p. 161

answer to Law. He denied outright the doctrine of Apostolic Succession which Law upheld, but he did not deny outright the existence of any supernatural powers and privileges in the church, though he constantly used language tending to such a denial. He replied to his antagonists in such a way as to confuse the issue. He stated "that he had not denied all authority, but only absolute authority, or authority to which the people are indispensably obliged to submit."[1] Law then pointed out that Hoadly's proposition was as good against authority in general as against absolute authority, and supposed that Hoadly's disavowal was merely intended to cover some anarchial doctrine.[2]

The controversy continued in such a fruitless and tangled way until 1720, when it was dropped. Sherlock and Hoadly became involved in a debate over the distinction between human kingdoms and Christ's kingdom, the latter holding that God alone can judge the heart and man the external things only, but this became a confused and pointless debate. Hoadly maintained that Protestant dissenters should not be denied office, while Sherlock held the opposite view. This dwindled to a squabble over the Test and Corporation Acts, Sherlock maintaining that the sacrament was not desecrated by being used with a test, and that there is a broad distinction between

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1. Hoadly. Works. vol. ii, p. 460
2. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. ii, p. 162

positive penalties and negative disqualifications. Thus the Bangorian controversy gradually died, leaving no great results and no settlement of principles.

B. THE DEISTIC CONTROVERSY

The Deistic controversy, beginning with Lord Herbert de Cherbury in the middle of the seventeenth century and extending to the middle of the eighteenth, is the most important dispute of the century. It leads to the very heart of eighteenth century theology. It mirrors the whole theological mind of the time, and though brief, it established some permanent results. These results were described by Dorner in the statement "We would not deny our obligations to the period terminating 1750; which, by clearing away much dead matter, prepared the way for a reconstruction of theology from the very depths of the heart's beliefs, and also subjected man's moral nature to stricter observation. From the very nature of things, however, it can be regarded as a period of transition, as an elementary step towards the genuine inward freedom of personality."[1]

This movement was but natural when we consider the trend of the philosophy and science of the period. Locke, who probably affected the thought of the period more than any other writer, gave as the test for truth reasonableness,

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1. Dorner. History of Protestant Theology. vol. ii, p.77

in the sense of conformity to common sense. The new tendency in philosophy was to put all knowledge on an experiential basis, with the first test for truth that it be consistent with human reason. A new conception of the universe caused men to think of it as a mechanical thing, governed by fixed laws. New scientific thoughts and inventions had come in, each tearing down in part some tradition. The scope of the world was enlarged, with the discovery of other countries, and these were inhabited by people who had not heard of the gospel. Quite naturally, these influences led to a radical departure in English religious thought, and this trend took the form of Deism.

The controversy embraced a variety of topics, each successive adversary assailing the common object of hostility from his own chosen point of attack. All combined in compelling Christianity, through her champions, to defend herself in every direction in which it appeared weak to the doubting spirit of the age. One assailed the divine person of the founder of the faith (Charles Blount); another (Anthony Collins) its prophetic foundations; a third (Woolston) its miraculous attestations; and a fourth (Toland) its canonical literature. Another group took up a different line and tried to show that a special revelation was unnecessary, impossible, and unverifiable, the religion of nature being sufficient and superior to all religions of positive institution. This

was the common position of all Deists.[1]

God is, for the Deist, a personal Being, who, after creating the world by His will, now acts toward it like an artificer with a finished machine, which mechanically pursues its natural course according to the laws laid down for it, and no longer requires the immediate assistance or interference of its maker.[2] Thus they acknowledge the being, personality, and supramundane character of the Deity, and the creation of the world by Him; while on the other hand they deny His living, acting presence in the world and any interposition in its affairs. Thus the world is left to its own course, being governed entirely by natural laws, and every special manifestation of God in the world is denied; all supernatural elements in Christianity, even those regarding the person and works of Christ, are likewise denied; natural religion is the true religion, and special revelation is denied.

In commenting upon the denial of revelation Briggs said that "The endeavors of the Deists to replace historic Christianity by a purely natural religion and the efforts of the theologians to maintain the distinctive principles of Christianity resulted in the discrimination between natural religion and revealed religion, natural theology and Christian theology, and an apologetic chiefly in the

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1. Bruce. Apologetics. p. 17
2. Christlieb. Modern Doubt and Christian Belief. p. 190

form of evidences of Christianity."[1] Baillie traced it to the influences leading up to the break-up of this "mediaeval synthesis" (natural religion and revelation) which could be traced back to the Italian Renaissance and the Protestant Reformation. The attack took the form of a gradually growing tendency to rely more and more on the light of nature and less and less on the light of revelation.[2] This gradually growing tendency cannot be disregarded, but the immediate causes were those found in the prevailing philosophy and thought of the day. No doubt Locke, although not a Deist himself, greatly stimulated this thought in his book, "The Reasonableness of Christianity", in which he endeavored to show that Christian revelation is not contrary to reason, and also in his teaching that revelation must be rejected if it contradicted the higher tribunal of reason.

One of the chief values of this controversy was the apologetic work it called forth. The most prominent of the writers against Deism was Joseph Butler, whose "Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed", is still read as a sound piece of work. Other writers were Thomas Halyburton, William Law, Charles Leslie, John Leland, and a few lesser ones as John Norris and Peter Brown. This work remains as a permanent force in religious thought, and marks the beginning of a sound, reasonable treatment of orthodox religion.

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1. Briggs. Theological Symbolics. p. 237
2. Baillie. The Interpretation of Religion. pp. 455-6.

1. HERBERT DE CHERBURY

The "father of English Deism" was Lord Herbert de Cherbury. His theology is of necessity a philosophy, as all natural theology must be. Its foundation is laid in reason. He believed in the capacity of the human mind to penetrate the reality of being. Since nature had so endowed us that we are able to discover sound and color, which are but the "fleeting qualities of things" she must, he thought, have given us the sure means of discovering the truths which are internal, necessary, and everlasting.[1] He had a deep conviction that God must have given all men means of being saved and that He must in some way have revealed Himself to all men. Accordingly he strove to find what elements are common in all religions, as being the common notices or innate ideas in the soul, and which would constitute the universal truth God has given to man. Accordingly he published in his book "On the Religion of the Gentiles" five articles which he holds to be universally received, going to the heathen world for proof. These five articles are:

1. That there is on supreme God.
2. That He ought to be worshipped.
3. That virtue and piety are the chief parts of Divine worship.
4. That we ought to be sorry for our sins and repent of them.

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1. Hunt. Religious Thought in England. vol. i, p. 444

5. That Divine Goodness doth dispense rewards and punishments, both in this life and after it.[1]

Herbert admitted that it was with great labor that he found these five articles of religion among the pagans. But he did find them, and the discovery made him 'more happy than Archimedes":[2]-- it rejoiced his heart to know that the divine mercy was not limited to an elect few, to a baptized church, to Jews or Christians, but that it extended to the whole race of Adam.

Herbert nowhere opposed revealed religion nor Christianity, but he wished to rest Christianity upon the internal rather than the external evidence. He held that a revelation was made to himself, but that nothing can be admitted as revealed which contradicts the five primary principles or common notions, and anything beyond can be of no importance to the whole human race, and therefore no such revelation should be made public.[3] What is contrary to the five points is contrary to reason and therefore false; what is beyond reason but not contrary to it may be revealed; but the record of a revelation is not itself revelation but tradition; and the truth of a tradition depends upon the narrator and can never be more than probable.[4]

He sketched in his "De Veritate" a system of natural

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1. Herbert. The Antient Religion of the Gentiles. pp. 3-4
2. Ibid. p. 367
3. Ueberweg. A History of Philosophy. vol. ii, p. 355
4. Sorley. A History of English Philosophy. p. 41.

religion. Here he asked the question "was any revelation necessary if a system of natural religion could be constructed without its aid, and if it was necessary what was its exact functions and what were its limits? Again, what were the beliefs common to all Christians? Could there be discovered beneath the divisions of protestantism a common body of doctrine which looked to revelation as its source, parallel to the common body of beliefs which it was held constituted the essence of natural religion?[1]

The writings of Herbert were not without permanent influence. He gave impulse to Deism, and attracted the attention of Gassendi and Descartes. His views of the nature and possibility of revelation are kindred to those enforced by Kant in his "Religion within the Limits of Pure Reason".[2]

2. CHARLES BLOUNT

Charles Blount was born in 1654 and died in 1693. His first work was "Anima Mundi" or "An Historical Narration of the Opinions of the Ancients concerning Man's Soul after this Life: according to unenlightened Nature". He attempted in this to raise the esteem of the readers for heathen philosophy and thus to depreciate Christianity. In this work he also defends natural religion. In his "Great is Diana of the Ephesians", published in 1680 he makes an

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1. Storr. The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century. p. 47
2. Ueberweg. A History of Philosophy. vol. ii, p. 355

attack on priestcraft.[1] In the same year he published an English translation of "The Two First Books of Philostratus, concerning the Life of Appolonius Tyaneus". To this he appended copious notes. In this he clearly tried to refute the supernatural character of Christianity by presenting in Appolonius a parallel narrative. Miracles are explained on the naturalistic theory and partly by suggestions resembling the modern mythical hypotheses.[2]

Blount argued against the Mosaic authorship of the Pentateuch.[3] He adopted Hobbes' notion of the authority of the state in matters of religion, together with Herbert's five points. He held that religion of reason had been corrupted by the cunning of priests.

He committed suicide in 1693 because he was prevented from marrying his deceased wife's sister. Two years afterwards his "Miscellaneous Works" which included "The Oracles of Reason", were published.

3. JOHN TOLAND

John Toland (1669-1722) presented a new phase of the controversy by his book "Christianity Not Mysterious". While showing the influence of Locke and Hobbes, he went even further than they did by asserting that there is nothing above reason in Christianity, that everything is plain by reason, and by asserting that there is no profit in anything

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1. Sorley. A History of English Philosophy. p. 142
2. Fisher. A History of Christian Doctrine. p. 373
3. Ibid. p. 374.

not intelligible.[1] His argument starts with the customary remarks upon the impossibility of extracting any certain rule of faith from the conflicting authorities of popes, fathers, councils, and the whole wilderness of discordant churches. Reason, he said, must be the only foundation of all certitude, and assent must follow demonstration alone.

Accordingly we are entitled to disbelieve anything which is contrary to reason, or in other words, anything which involves a contradiction. We may likewise demand strict proof of the historical statements of the Scriptures. As he approached the mysteries of the Christian religion he maintained that as nothing is contrary to reason, so there is nothing above reason in the gospel. Religious doctrines are mysterious in the sense, and only in the sense, that scientific propositions are mysterious; in other words they are not mysterious at all, any more than a blade of grass or a pebble are mysterious.[2] Thus our knowledge of God is as intimate as our knowledge of a blade of grass and no more mysterious. What mysteries there are in Christianity, he asserted, are not found in primitive Christianity but have been introduced in the course of time, partly in accommodation to Judaism with its Levitical rites and to heathenism, and partly by the mixture of philosophy.[3]

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1. Toland. Christianity not Mysterious. pp. 67 ff.
2. Ibid. pp. 75-87
3. Fisher. History of Christian Doctrine. p. 375, cf. Toland. Christianity not Mysterious. pp. 151-169

Thus a new phase of the controversy is introduced.

4. ANTHONY COLLINS

Anthony Collins (1676-1729) is considered as "one of the ablest of the Deists".[1] He continued the warfare in his "Discourse on Free-thinking" and his "Discourse on the Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion" to which thirty five replies were published. In the first of these he pointed out the presence of defects in the Bible. The second, which is the more important of the two, deals with the subject of prophecy, and endeavored to show that strained methods of interpretation, allegorical or symbolical, must be made to fit the facts of Christianity. He flouted such methods as irrational, and his conclusion was that the strongest bulwark of Christianity gives way before a reasoned criticism. This attack was the opening of a long conflict upon prophecy, which lasted until the end of the century.[2]

His "Discourse on Free-thinking" was written to establish two principles: that all sound belief must be based on free inquiry and that the adoption of rationalist principles would mean the abandonment of supernaturalism. He pointed out the widely different opinions which have been reached by Divines, and maintains that a very extensive knowledge

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1. Fisher. History of Christian Doctrine. p. 376
2. Storr. The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century. p. 53

is necessary to understand the Bible satisfactorily.[1] He undertook to prove that free thinking cannot be restricted, and that to say that it can be involves a contradiction. It should not be restricted because without it no one can ever be convinced of error.[2]

He went further to suggest that the Jews may have derived their theological doctrines from the Egyptians and the Chaldeans, and that in all probability, a large part of the Old Testament was reconstructed by Ezra. That the book of Daniel belongs to the Maccabean age was another of his propositions.[3]

In his treatment of prophecy he held that the evidence furnished by prophecy was alone conclusive since every new revelation must be based upon former revelations. God's consistency with Himself required this. If, however, the prophecies of the Old Testament were unfulfilled this proves that Christianity is not true. And if the New Testament presents a Messiah totally different from the Old we cannot fall back upon the typical and allegorical interpretation of the Old Testament, otherwise we destroy the foundations of Christianity.[4] Collins was a firm believer in God as established by reason, but was a hostile critic of the Christian creed. He seemed motivated by two things:

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, pp. 205-8
2. Fisher. History of Christian Doctrine. p. 376
3. Ibid.
4. Dorner. History of Protestant Theology. vol. ii, p. 85, cf. Collins. Grounds and Reasons of the Christian Religion. Pt. I

a faith in reason and a suspicion and dislike of priest-craft, which are indicated by the titles of his earliest works, the "Essay Concerning the Use of Reason", and Priest-craft in Perfection".[1]

5. MATTHEW TINDAL

Matthew Tindal (1657-1733) published in 1732 a treatise entitled "Christianity as old as Creation" in which he summed up Deistic belief. It was to this book that Bishop Butler's Analogy was designed as a reply.[2] In this work he undertook to show that the Bible as a revelation was superfluous, for it adds nothing to natural religion which God revealed to man at the first by the sole light of reason. In him we see the culminating point of Deism. His book is the first in a line of new thought, and it is marked by ability and thoroughness. It has been called the "Doomsday Book" of Deism, but it might well be called the Deist's Bible as well.[3]

"Christianity as old as Creation" argued that Christianity was a duplicate of natural religion. The alternate title of the book is "The Gospel a Republication of the Religion of Nature". The purpose of Christianity, he held, was to restore and republish natural religion. Natural religion he defined in the following statement, "By natural

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1. Sorley. A History of English Philosophy. pp. 147-8
2. Ueberweg. A History of Philosophy. vol. ii, p. 378
3. Reed. Beginnings of Rational Christianity in England. p. 17

religion I understand the belief of the existence of God and the sense and practice of those duties which result from the knowledge we by our reason have of Him and His perfections, and of ourselves and our imperfections; and of the relation we stand in to Him and to our fellow creatures so that the religion of nature takes in everything that is founded on the reason and nature of things.[1] Therefore he held that "whoever so regulates his natural appetites as will conduce most to the exercise of his reason, the health of his body, and the pleasure of his senses taken together (since herein his happiness consists) may be certain he can never offend his Maker who, as He governs all things according to their natures, cannot but expect His rational creatures should act according to their natures."[2]

The only difference between natural and revealed religion is in the manner of communication, the one being the internal and the other the external revelation of the same unchangeable will of a Being who is alike at all times, infinitely wise and good.[3] There must have been a sufficient rule or law given man at the beginning, obedience to which made man acceptable to God. Coming from a perfect Being this law must be perfect, therefore there can be no possible alteration. Accordingly Christianity is but a republication of the original law of nature, and any additional

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1. Tindal. Christianity as old as Creation. p. 13
2. Ibid. p. 14
3. Ibid. pp. 58-68

doctrines are false. In this way Christianity is both universal and as old as creation.

Tindal, as did the others, attacked priesthood. Positive religion is nothing but an imperfect copy of natural religion, and is, as a whole, the work of a designing priesthood.[1] This they do for their own personal interests. They fostered superstition and bigotry, and they are inimical to Christianity.[2]

6. ANTHONY ASHLEY COOPER, EARL OF SHAFTESBURY

Anthony Ashley Cooper, third Earl of Shaftesbury, (1671-1713) published a series of tracts known as "Characteristics of Men, Matters, Opinions, and Times" and also "Letters, by a noble lord to a young man at the University". His main point of contention was that morality was good for its own sake and that the teaching of rewards and punishments was wrong. He held the doctrine of innate ideas with Cherbury, and argued from that that supernatural revelations was not not necessary. He urged, moreover, that such a revelation was not only useless but mischievous, as any influences derived from the consideration of reward or punishment must be mercenary, and therefore demoralizing.[3] He took offense at Christianity because it promises rewards to virtue thereby denying its intrinsic value, its

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1. Reed. Beginnings of Rational Christianity in England. p. 23
2. Ibid. p. 26
3. Ueberweg. A History of Philosophy. p. 377

position as its own object, and the happiness which it involves.[1] Virtue, therefore, is its own reward. The desire for virtue arises in a disinterested love for all things, an innate love not dependent on external things.

Shaftesbury's theology was an attempt to banish the supernatural and to retain the divine element of religion. God is no longer a ruler, external to the world, but is an immanent and all-pervading force. He charged divines with blaspheming God by representing Him as angry with His creatures, as punishing the innocent for the guilty, and as being pacified by the sufferings of the virtuous.[2]

Man is the chief work of nature. The theological dogma of corruption is therefore alien to him. Therefore Shaftesbury repudiated the doctrine of rewards and punishments as having no proper place in a system which restores the divinity of man. Hopes and fears are no incentive to virtue, but the excellence of the object should be the motive. Heaven and hell are simply used to restrain the vulgar, but do not provide an animating and essential part of the internal discipline. Therefore, in removing this external guide, he putsthe responsibility upon the internal "moral sense" and a passion for humanity.[3]

7. HENRY ST. JOHN, VISCOUNT BOLINGBROKE

Bolingbroke (1678-1751) is the last writer of note

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1. Dorner. History of Protestant Theology. vol. ii, p. 79
2. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. ii, pp. 27-8
3. Ibid. pp. 28-31

in this controversy. He was not contented with claiming toleration or equality for free-thinkers, but directed all his energies to bring about the triumph of Deistic principles. He distinguished between the traditional elements in Christianity which originate with deceitful or deluded men, and genuine Christianity, i.e. natural religion.[1] He assumed that monotheism was the primitive relgion, and argued for it on the ground of the consent of all tradition that the world had a beginning. Almost everything not contained in the creed of nature is ascribed to the shrewd invention of rulers, who, in order to keep the people in subjection, have played on their fears.[2]

He held that we can demonstrate the natural but not the moral attributes of God. That is, we can recognize the power and wisdom but not the goodness and justice of the Deity. He also attacked the anthropomorphism of divines who made God after the image of man. Andrew Fuller wrote of Bolingbroke that he "acknowledges a God, but is for reducing all His attributes to wisdome and power, blaming divines for distinguishing between His physical and moral attributes, asserting that we cannot ascribe goodness and justice to God according to our ideas of them nor argue with any certainty about them; and that it is absurd to deduce moral obligations from the moral attributes of God or to pretend

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1. Dorner. History of Protestant Theology. vol. ii, p. 90
2. Fisher. History of Christian Doctrine. p. 378

to imitate Him in those attributes."[1]

As to morality, Bolingbroke resolved it to self-love as its first principle. "We love ourselves", he said, "we love our families, we love the particular societies to which we belong, and our benevolence extends at last to the whole race of mankind. Like so many vortices, the center of all is self-love."[2]

Bolingbroke was not a leader of opinion. His arguments, according to Stephen, are feeble and inconsistent, but aimed at a school whose pretensions to dominion had excited a widespread reaction. He gives an interesting indication of the general current of thought at the time, but "he cannot be regarded as determining its direction."[3]

8. OTHER WRITERS: WOOLSTON, MORGAN, CHUBB, AND MIDDLETON

There were several other writers on this subject, but in the main they reiterated the opinions of the others. Their writings were noticed because of merit, but their thoughts were borrowed largely from the greater leaders of the controversy.

Thomas Woolston, Fellow of Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, wrote six aggressive discourses on "The Miracles of our Saviour". He endeavored to show, not that the miracles were incredible or impossible, but that they were absurd and unworthy of the performer. They were not to be taken

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1. Fuller. The Gospel of Christian Doctrine. p. 378
2. Ibid. p. 27
3. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, p. 179

historically, but as the allegorical garb of doctrines.[1]

Thomas Morgan attacked the Old Testament as a system of priestcraft. He declared that the God of Israel was a national God, and that it was through the Old Testament that the purity of Christianity had been corrupted.[2]

Thomas Chubb was the most uneducated and perhaps the most obscure of the Deistic weiters. His three principles, as given by Leslie Stephen, were: that conformity to the eternal rules which result from the natural and essential difference of things and nothing else makes men acceptable to God; that repentance and a change of life, and those alone, will secure God's mercy; and that God will ultimately judge the world, and give to every man according to his works.[3]

Conyers Middleton is sometimes classed as a Deist, though he remained in the Christian church. His main contribution was in pointing out two things: that the current doctrine of Biblical inspiration was untenable, and that the question of miracle admits of a treatment different from any which it had yet received. He raised the question, may not the belief in miracles be a superstition the source of which lies in the general intellectual conditions of earlier times?[4] In this way he shattered the belief that there was an impassable gulf between sacred and secular history, and prepared the way for the historical method in theology.

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1. Stephen. History of Protestant Theology. vol ii, p. 86
2. Ibid. p. 88
3. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol i, p. 165
4. Storr, The Development of English Theology in the Nineteenth Century. p. 54

9. CONCLUSION

Deism rapidly died. It was a spent force with no real foundation to appeal to man's religious needs. David Hume put the finishing blow to Deism with his overthrow of the supremacy of reason, and the apologists though not overwhelmingly successful, did succeed in a measure to put down this controversy.

Leslie Stephen stated that the main result of this controversy was in lowering "the general tone of religious feeling without destroying the respect for established creeds; making men unwilling to ask awkward questions, and compounding with their consciences by not making arrogant assumptions; and, generally, to bring about a comfortable compromise, which held together till Wesley from one side, and Paine from another, forced more serious thoughts upon the age."[1] The movement did cause the changing of emphasis from the passive acceptance of tradition to the establishment of an apologetic based upon reason, and a rational criticism of the Bible.

C. THE SUBSCRIPTION CONTROVERSY

After the downfall of the commonwealth and the accession of Charles II. the established church once more won supremacy. Immediately steps were taken to assure its position. The Act of Uniformity was passed which required a declaration of assent and consent to all and everything prescribed in

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, pp. 272-3

the book of Common Prayer, together with all its rites and ceremonies. All clergymen were ejected who refused to renounce the covenant, accept Episcopal ordination, pay canonical obedience, subscribe to the thirty nine artidles, and use the book of Common Prayer. The Corporation Act excluded non-conformist layment even from the most petty offices; the Conventicle Act forbade the attendance upon religious meetings in which the Anglican ritual was not in use; the Five Mile Act prohibited dissenting ministers from coming within five miles of any town in which they had preached and debarred them from teaching school, public or private; and the Test Act required all officers, civil or military, to subscribe to the oaths of supremacy and conformity, to abjure transubstantiation, and to receive the Lord's Supper in the Church of England. These were modified under William and Mary so that dissenters could register at the court, and take only the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and subscribe to only thirty six and one-half articles. Non-conformists were allowed to form congregations but these had to be registered and licensed. Dissenting laymen were still prohibited from holding office unless they took communion in the Church of England. There was still a great deal of restriction, but the Act of Toleration began the liberation of dissenters.

The Subscription controversy arose over this requirement that dissenters subscribe to thirty six and one-half articles of the thirty nine. Although the leaders in this

debate also expressed theological views, their main battle was against this subscription.

The Subscription controversy was begun by Robert Clayton, an Irish bishop. A strange book, the "Essay on Spirit" appeared in 1751 which is generally accredited to him, and which he certainly accepted if he did not write it. The object of this book is to set forth a strange metaphysical fetichism. Every particle of matter, active and atrractive, has a spirit united to it/to direct its movements. The whole universe is thus replete with spirits.[1] God governs through this vast hierarchy of subordinate beings of which Christ, or the Logos, who is identified with Daniel's Archangel Michael, is the head.[2] In the dedication to the primate, he admitted that his opinions do not coincide with those of the compilers of the Articles and Litany, and argues that it is his duty neither to submit to the authority of the church, nor to secede from every institution marked by imperfections.[3] He expressed a hope that the constituted authorities would redress his grievances and especially get rid of the Athanasian creed. In 1756 he tried to carry his principles into effect by moving in the Irish House of Lords for an omission of the Athanasian and Nicene creeds from the Litany of the Church of Ireland. At the same time he carried on a vigorous attack on the doctrine of the Trinity, and prosecution was commenced

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1. Clayton. Essay on Spirit. p. 12
2. Ibid. pp. 47-48
3. Ibid. Dedication. pp. iii-xiv

against him in 1757. Before he was brought to trial he died from a nervous fever due to the excitement caused by the prosecution.[1]

The cause was taken up by Francis Blackburn, a liberal in politics and theology. He defended John Jones who had proposed some moderate reforms in the Church of England which had caused opposition from the High Church party. Blackburne's chief contribution was his "Confessional" printed in 1766. Stephen says that "We are told that at an early period of his labors as a writer he had made up his mind never again to subscribe to the thirty nine articles."[2] In his "Confessional" he held that the Bible and the Bible alone is the religion of the Protestants and therefore a Protestant church has no right to demand any other subscription than a profession from its pastors that they receive the Scriptures as the word of God, and will instruct the people from the Scriptures alone.[3] He also stated that a "review of our Trinitarian forms is quite necessary for the honor of the church herself". He professed belief in the divinity of Christ, however, but adds limitations of his own.[4] He omitted the creed of Athanasius from his services but reconciled himself to the other requirements of the church.

The result of Blackburne's agitation was a meeting in the Feathers Tavern, which led to a petition embodying the

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, pp. 421-2
2. Ibid. vol. i, p. 423
3. Blackburne. On Confession of Faith. (In Sparks. Collection of Essays and Tracts. vol. i, pp. 79080
4. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, p. 423

suggestion that a profession of belief in the Scriptures be substituted for the subscription to the articles. This was signed by two hundred people and presented to the House of Commons where it was defeated. However, at this time Cambridge substituted for the subscription to the articles a simple profession of bona fide membership in the Church of England as a requirement for the B. A. degree. John Hey follows in an attempt to make the articles malleable by stating that it was better to leave the letter untouched and depart from them in spirit.[1] The result of this controversy was not apparent at the time, but it naturally merged into the Unitarian movement which followed.

D. THE RISE OF UNITARIANISM

An interesting illustration of the tendency against the Trinity is to be found in Taylor's book "The Apology of Ben Mordecai to his Friends for embracing Christianity". It appeared in a series of letters appearing between 1771 and 1777. The converted Jew, who is the nominal author, justified himself for abandoning the faith of his fathers by holding that Christianity does not involve tritheism inasmuch as it does not necessitate a belief in the divinity of Christ. His God is anthromorphic, making up His mind from time to time according to circumstances. His chief argument, however, was that you cannot assert at once

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, p. 423-6

the divinity of Christ and the reality of His sufferings. If you say that God suffered, you are a Patripassian; if you say that the human nature alone suffered, then you are Socinian; and if you claim that the divine was separated from the human at the passion then you are a Cerinthian. He therefore adopted the Arian hypothesis that Christ was a created being.[1]

Joseph Priestley was the next writer to make any impression. The general tendency of his argument was to reduce all Christianity to a department of inductive science. His aim was to combine science with theology by accepting a view of God and the soul which would make them accessible to ordinary methods of scientific investigation. The existence of God was to be proved from the whole machinery; the immortality of the soul, or rather the dogma of its reconstruction from the testimony of the Apostles whose veracity was guaranteed by the miracles. His "History of the Corruptions of Christianity" appeared in 1782 and led to a most exciting controversy. His principal antagonist was Samuel Horsley, who was elevated to the bench as a result of his victory in this dispute. Priestley included among the corruptions of Christianity the Trinitarian doctrines,[2] and makes Christ a mere man.[3] The sound doctrine which existed

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, pp.427-8
2. Priestley. History of the Corruption of Christianity. p. 102 ff.
3. Ibid. p. 2 ff.

in the earliest ages he attempted to identify with Unitarianism.[1] His aim was to show "what circumstances in the state of things and especially of other prevailing opinions and prejudices favored the introduction of new doctrines."[2] Through his writings his main teaching was that the earliest Christians were Unitarians; and that Unitarianism had remained for a long time the creed of the masses until the Trinitarian views were adopted.[3] He also challenged Horsley to show the period at which a belief in Christ's divinity arose, and argued with great force that it was impossible to suppose that the Apostles could have believed that the man whom they saw in flesh and blood was God Almighty.[4] Horsley defeated this argument with ridicule.

Gilbert Wakefield followed closely in the footsteps of Priestley. He had been imprisoned for two years for his charges against the government of corruption and this led to a charge of libel, for which he was convicted. In his "Essay on Inspiration" he worked out the theory that we should believe in as few miracles as possible. The inspiration of the Gospel is unnecessary because strength of judgment, adequate information, and unbiassed affections are sufficient guarantees for historical accuracy. He held that Christ really wished to show the efficacy of truth operating

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1. Priestley. History of the Corruption of Christianity. p. 70 ff.
2. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, p. 434
3. Priestley. History of the Corruption of Christianity. p. 70 ff.
4. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, p. 439

without supernatural advantages. Yet he accepted an ample degree of inspiration in other writings and thought that the Gospels, as compared with the Old Testament prophecies show the disparity between the thoughts and language of man and His Creator.[1]

Edward Evanson attempted to push rationalism one step further. He had been a clergyman in the Church of England, but had been forced to resign because of certain liberties taken with the liturgy and a heretical sermon he preached. In 1772 he had already attacked the doctrine of the Trinity and in 1777 wrote a letter to Hurd, Bishop of Lichfield, about the prophecies. He claimed that the Church of England and all other churches in existence had as good a right to the title of anti-Christ as had the church at Rome. He discovered in the Book of Revelation that the alliance of church and state under Constantine would cause the grand apostasy to Trinitarianism. He pushed on to a free criticism of the New Testament. In 1792 he published a book entitled "Dissonance of the Four Generally Received Evangelists". His main test for distinguishing the spurious from the authentic narratives was the existence in the authentic of prophecies which have been satisfactorily fulfilled. According to this theory he excised from the New Testament the whole of three gospels, the Epistles to the Romans, Ephesians,

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, p. 441-3

Colossians, Hebrews, and those of James, Peter, John and Jude, besides parts of the favored gospel, St. Luke's, of the Acts and of the Apocalypse.[1]

Thus the Unitarian cause began to grow, and though the leaders were not regarded as outstanding factors in the thought of England of this period, they did reflect the thought of many of the people, and the trend of dissenting opinions. Unitarianism has continued to exist, and much credit for its existence is to be given these early writers, although they merely revived an old heresy.

E. THE HUTCHINSONIANS

Another controversy, of minor importance, was that begun by John Hutchinson which represented the influence upon theology of the great University of Oxford. Hutchinson had been an assistant to Woodward, one of the earliest enquirers into geology. A disagreement had arisen as to their claims to discovery, and accordingly Hutchinson, during the last years of his life, published his own system of philosophy. His chief work was "Moses' Principia" which attempted to show that the authority of Moses was opposed to that of Newton. Several converts were won to the side of Hutchinson; Duncan Forbes whose book "Religion" bore many traces of the founder's fancies; Julius Bate and John Parkhurst both authors of Hebrew dictionaries; George Horne, afterward

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, pp. 441-5

Bishop of Norwich; and William Jones, curate at Nayland in Suffolk.

The Hutchinsonians had three principles for which they fought: an extreme dislike for rationalism, a fanatical respect for the letter of the Bible, and an attempt to enlist the rising powers of scientific enquiry upon the side of orthodoxy.[1] This sums up their arguments sufficiently well for an understanding of the movement. The truth was that they were frightened by the scientific discoveries which seemed to refute Biblical teachings. Thus they held that gravitation seemed to make the hypothesis of divine intervention superfluous; they were frightened by the teaching of a vacuum, and denied that inert matter was capable of active qualities.

In line with this quarrel between science and revelation, Hugh Farmer, a dissenting clergyman, saw that the world was governed by natural laws and he attempts to explain the phenomena of miracles in a rational manner. Two books, the first dealing with Christ's temptation in the wilderness, which he attempted to explain as a divine vision and not a reality; and a "Dissertation on Miracles" in which he granted that miracles could be proved, but asked how it followed that they were of divine origin, thus trying to narrow as much as possible the demands upon our faith, are his contributions to the controversy between science and revelation. The

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1. Stephen, English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, pp. 390

vast importance of a genuine miracle was insisted upon. The world is governed by laws, and none but the lawgiver can dispense with these laws. Created beings are restrained to their own sphere. Thus he attempted in isolating and removing to a distance manifestations of divine power, to strengthen the evidence of the few genuine miracles.[1]

In line with this phase, it is proper to mention the dispute caused by Hume's treatment of miracles. Three men won special prominence in their attempts at refutation: William Adams, John Douglas, and George Campbell. All three were equally averse to a belief in the continuous manifestation of supernatural agency and to a denial of its former manifestation. Adams and Campbell both argued that there is no reason for doubting divine intervention for worthy purposes, therefore there was no ground for doubting the Christian miracles. Campbell was perhaps the greatest of the three, being the only one to receive a reply from Hume. He based proof upon testimony and experience as separate and independent sources. Douglas asserted that we may believe in a conjunction of effects and causes of which we have no actual experience, and that God's omnipotence allows Him to do what He pleases. The whole controversy about miracles really resolved itself into a dispute as to the nature of the universe, and in reality accomplished little in shaping the thought of the period.[2]

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol.i, pp. 392-6
2. Ibid. vol. i, pp. 396-404

F. THE UTILITARIANS

In keeping with the rational spirit of the age, there was another attempt to substitute an external cause for authority. The Utilitarians attempted to place the greatest good for society as the motive for virtue in the stead of a divine revelation. They held that happiness was the chief end of humanity, it was for this that they were created, and therefore that which tended to prbduce the happiness of our fellowmen was our highest duty. Naturally this movement included many of the leaders in other fields, as Hume, Locke, Shaftesbury, Bolingbroke and others, but aside from them there were others who figure chiefly as exponents of this thought.

Preceding the movement three men might be mentioned as a little outside the movement, yet certainly fostering it with their ideas which were almost identical. These men were Francis Hutcheson, David Hartley and Adam Smith. Each of them held that the chief object of humanity was happiness, and that anything which tended to produce this happiness was right. Hutcheson held that man has internal as well as external senses; the external perceiving sounds and colors as well as the internal perceive moral excellence or turpitude. The moral sense is a primitve faculty with its purpose to perceive virtue and vice as the eye perceives light and darkness. Two standards are found in his belief -- the moral sense and the public good. His formula was the greatest happiness for the greatest number, and the moral sense is an

approval of the action which is conducive to the public welfare. Thus he appeared Utilitarian in his teachings. But Hutcheson refused to accept the theory of utility, which appeared to be equivalent to resolving virtue into selfishness.[1]

Hartley and Adam Smith followed Hutcheson in this teaching. They differed in that Hartley tried to make association the fundamental law of our intellectual and emotional nature, while Smith tried to resolve all our moral sentiments into sympathy. Hartley's book "Observations on Man" explained his position in this field. The underlying doctrine is that of necessity; that all events in the universe, as well as all the phenomena of human action, are links in an eternal chain of causes and effects. God is the one efficient cause, and all phenomena of human life proceed from Him. He taught that "The infinite happiness and perfection of God is a pledge of the ultimate happiness and perfection of all His creatures."[2] Adam Smith's "Theory of Moral Sentiments" appeared in 1759. He believed in a "great, benevolent and all-wise Being who is determined by His own perfections to maintain in the universe at all times the greatest possible quantity of happiness".[3] Utility is not the cause of our actions, but the moral sentiments contribute blindly to promote the happiness of mankind.[4] Sympathy is the guardian

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol ii, p. 65
2. Ibid. vol ii, p. 65
3. Ibid. vol ii, p. 71
4. Ibid. vol ii, p. 73

of our actions and the judge and monitor of our actions and conduct. "First", he said, "we sympathize with the motives of the agent; secondly, with the gratitude of those he has benefitted; thirdly, we observe that his conduct has been agreeable to the general rules by which those two sympathies generally act; and last of all, when we consider such actions as making a part of a system of behavior which tends to promote the happiness either of the individual or of the society, they appear to derive a beauty from this utility, not unlike that which we ascribe to any well-contrived machine."[1] This forms his analysis of the sources of approbation. Here again utility occupied a distinctly subordinate position. His later work, the celebrated "Wealth of Nations", teaches that man is primarily selfish, in seeking his own comfort, but that the regulative rather than antagonistic force is this sympathy.

Locke and Hume, by their war on innate ideas and emphasis upon the external, or experiential basis, influenced this movement considerably. Utilitarianism's method is inductive, its basis experiential, and its end practical. Its cry is the greatest good for the greatest number. Other writers served to forward the movement before the great leader, Jeremy Bentham, appeared. Waterland, who was aroused by Clarke's distinction between moral and positive duties in his "Exposition of the Catechism", wrote a reply

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. ii, p. 76

in which his principle is that the relative importance of divine commands is to be tested by the question of which was most conducive to the public good.[1] Bishop Law, adopting the theory of Gay, followed Waterland in the position. Abraham Tucker, perhaps the greatest of this movement in the eighteenth century, published the book, "Light of Nature Pursued" in which he laid down several utilitarian principles. He attempted to explain God's relationship to the work in the terms of a watchmaker's relation to the watch, and tried to discount divine interference. Having created us, our own natural instincts are left by Him to lead us, with the motive for action as the desire for happiness. Paley was greatly influenced by Tucker's work and possibly finds his famous illustration of the watch here.[2]

The great leader of this movement properly belongs in the nineteenth century, as does the main course of the movement. Jeremy Bentham, born in 1748 and died 1832, was a brilliant legal genius. During his long life he accomplished many legal reforms in England. His philosophy was based upon the maxim "that the greatest happiness of the greatest number is the foundation of moral and legislation."[3] This he identified with the principle of utility. This principle is carried into political as well as moral life, inasmuch as it affects the whole of society.

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol ii, p. 107
2. For discussion of Utilitarianism see Ibid. vol. ii, pp. 80-128
3. Fay. Life and Labour in the Nineteenth Century. p. 41
   Bentham. Works. vol. x, p. 142

Bentham's great follower was James Mill, who carried the movement still further.

This movement, which had its roots in the eighteenth century, is properly a nineteenth century movement, because it was in this century that it became organized and defined as a separate line of thought. It is important, because it marks the beginning of the social line of thought in religion, and is the germ of the modern "Social Gospel" movement.

G. SUMMARY

Through these controversies a new emphasis was brought into the religious thought of England. Tradition, even that of Protestantism, could no longer be accepted on the basis of its authroity or custom, but must now be subjected to rational criticism and careful study. The results were partly political and partly within the church. The foundations of the Broad Church movement of the nineteenth century were laid here. Dissent was given a firmer footing, men won more freedom in worship, and the way was paved for a wider and more tolerant religious outlook than before.

Criticism was given a new method -- that of rational interpretation and critical study. The orthodox still clung to the inspiration of the Scriptures, but were forced to study it in the light of the discoveries of the age. These controversies also led to the development of modern theology of the nineteenth century. Another important result was the rise of a new school of apologists, represented by Paley, Warburton, and Butler, who adopted the method of

the rationalists in an effort to uphold the orthodox faith.

Utilitarianism led to the Utilitarian Ethics of the nineteenth century, and was the forerunner of the social movements of our own day. Thus the influence of these controversies is seen in the movements and thought of the twentieth century.

CHAPTER III.

DEFENCE OF ORTHODOX POSITION

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The attacks made upon orthodoxy by the controversies naturally called forth champions of the faith. In their attempt to refute the arguments of the Deists and Trinitarians they were forced to develope a new apologetic, and to defend Christianity from rational grounds. In the lack of any real theologians in this century, these apologists were obliged to stand alone against the repeated attacks of the opponents of the Christian faith.

There were many who published replies to the assaults of therationalists, but four stand out with special prominence, and in their works we can see the apologetic mind of the period. These four men were John Locke, Joseph Butler, William Warburton and William Paley.

A. JOHN LOCKE

John Locke, although having great influence upon the Deists, in reality was an apologist. His "Reasonableness of Christianity" attempted to show that Christianity is not contrary to reason, and that it may be accepted on rational grounds. Since the main part of Locke's work lay in the seventeenth century, and was not primarily designed as a refutation of the controversial arguments, a simple study of his "Reasonableness of Christianity" will serve to show his position as an apologist.

His method of arriving at the truth contained the gospel was to read it through without aid of note or comment. As he read, he was impressed with the harmony of the whole and the manifest truth of the Scriptures. In his preface to the book he stated as his purpose, "The little satisfaction and consistency that is to be found in most of the systems of divinity I have met with, made me betake myself to the sole reading of the Scriptures (to which they all appeal) for the understanding of the Christian Religion. What from thence, by an attentive and unbiassed search, I have received, Reader, I here deliver to thee. If by this my labor thou receivest any light, or confirmation in the truth, join with me in thanks to the Father of lights, for His condescension to our understandings. If upon a fair and unprejudiced examination, thou findest I have mistaken the sense and tenor of the Gospel, (which is that of charity) and in the words of sobriety, set me right in the doctrines of salvation."[1]

He began with the statement of the fall, that the doctrine of redemption and consequently of the Gospel is founded upon its supposition, He then enters upon a tedious treatment of the fall and salvation, bringing in text after text as proof. Stated simply his discovery is this: Christ and His apostles, on admitting converts to the church, did not

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1. Locke. The Works of John Locke. vol. vi, p. 2

exact from them a profession of belief in the Athanasian creed, the Thirty Nine Articles, or the Westminster Confession, but were satisfied with the acknowledgment that Christ was the Messiah.[1] He first endeavored to prove that Christ is the Messiah, showing that there is a threefold declaration of the Messiah: By miracles, in conjunction with the expectation of the Jews; by phrases and circumlocutions that did signify or intimate His coming, though not in direct words pointing out the person, the most common of which was "The kingdom of God and of heaven"; and by "plain and direct words, declaring the doctrine of the Messiah, speaking out that Jesus was He, as we see the apostles did when they went about preaching the gospel after our Saviour's resurrection".[2]

Passing on to the requirement for salvation, he taught the one article, belief that Jesus is the Messiah. He stated in connection with Paul's preaching on account of his sermons "wherein he preached no other article of faith but that Jesus was the Messiah, the king, who being risen from the dead, now reigneth and shall more publicly manifest his kingdom in judging the world at the last day."[3] He went further to warn those who would add to this article of faith. "But I cannot allow to them (the makers of systems)

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, pp. 95-6
2. Locke. The Works of John Locke. vol. vi, pp. 32-35
3. Ibid. vol. vi, p. 100

or to any man, an authority to make a religion for or to alter that which God hath revealed ..... That this is the sole doctrine (faith) pressed and required to be believed in the whole tenor of our Saviour's and his apostles preaching, we have showed through the whole history of the evangelists and the Acts. And I challenge them to show that there was any other doctrine upon their assent to which, or disbelief of it, men were pronounced believers or unbelievers; and accordingly received into the church of Christ as members of His body, as far as mere believing could make them so, or else kept out of it. This was the only gospel article of faith which was preached to them".[1] Repentance is, however, an essential a condition as faith, and as necessary to be performed. "These two, faith and repentance, i.e. believing Jesus to be the Messiah, and a good life, are the indispensable conditions of the new covenant, to be performed by all those who would obtain eternal life."[2]

It is for this faith that God freely justifies a man. But as they accept Him as their king, men must obey His laws, otherwise "they were but the greater rebels, and God would not justify them for a faith that did but increase their guilt and oppose diametrically the kingdom and design of the Messiah..... And that faith without works, i.e. the works of sincere obedience to the law and will of Christ, is not sufficient for our justification, St. James shows at large,

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1. Locke. The Works of John Locke. vol. vi, p. 102
2. Ibid. vol. vi, p. 105

chapter ii."[1]

In answer to the question, "What need was there of a Saviour?" he gave this answer which, to a great degree, typifies his attitude. "And we shall take too much upon us if we shall call God's wisdom or providence to account and pertly condemn for needless all that our weak, and perhaps biassed, understanding cannot account for." He then went further to show that the "wisdom and goodness of God has shown itself so visibly to common apprehensions that it hath furnished us abundantly wherewithal to satisfy the curious and inquisitive, who will not take a blessing unless they be instructed what need they had of it, and why it was bestowed upon them."[2]

Philosophy had failed to teach men their duty, and Locke asked "whether one coming from heaven in the power of God, in full and clear evidence and demonstration of miracles, giving plain and direct rules of morality and obedience be not likelier to enlighten the bulk of mankind, and set them right in their duties, and bring them to do them than by reasoning with them from general notions and principles of human reason?".[3] He then stated that the instruction of the people were best still to be left to the precepts and principles of the gospel".[4]

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1. Locke. The Works of John Locke. vol vi, p. 111
2. Ibid. vol vi, p. 134
3. Ibid. vol. vi, p. 146
4. Ibid. vol. vi, p. 146

An interesting point is brought up in the matter of criticism. He advanced the question as to why it is not necessary to believe the many doctrines which are found through the Scriptures in addition to the faith in Jesus as the Messiah. This he answered by a rational process of criticism. "This answer that the epistles are written upon several occasions and he that will read them as he ought must observe what is in them which is principally aimed at; find what is the argument in hand and how managed; if he will understand them right and profit by them. The observing of this will best help us to the true meaning and mind of the writer, for that is the truth to be received and believed, and not scattered sentences in Scripture language accommodated to our notions and prejudices."[1] This is in keeping with modern methods of criticism; the determining whether the statements are by-laws or regulations, based upon the occasion of their writing.

Whatever may be said of the influence of Locke's philosophy and insistence upon reason, the fact remains that he was a champion of Christianity as found in the Scriptures and that he defended it against the very ones who strove to use him as their example, as Toland. In this book Locke has shown himself the first of a new type of apologists, who base their apologies on rational and scholarly arguments.

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1. Locke. The Works of John Locke. vol. vi, p. 152

B. JOSEPH BUTLER

Joseph Butler was born May 18, 1692 and died June 16, 1752. The two books upon which his fame rests, the "Sermons" and the "Analogy" were published in 1726 and 1736 respectively. One of the things for which they are remarkable is the fact that they stirred up no contemporary controversy. They both show deep thought on the controversies of the day, and although clumsy and having many faults of style, they have survived till this day when they are still read and studied. Stephen said of Butler that "though Butler has habitually been described as amongst the ablest champions of Christianity, he has probably made few converts, and has clearly helped some thinkers toward scepticism".[1]

Butler's aim was to undermine the Deist position. In his "Analogy" he assumed as proved that there was "an intelligent Author of nature and natural Governor of the world".[2] He attempted to prove that the God of nature and the God of revelation are one and the same. He began his work by the examination of the validity of the human soul, which with the belief in God form the primary articles of natural religion. He pressed an analogy of nature to prove the existence of the soul and future life, since identity in us and in other creatures survives great changes, and there is no

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol i, p. 280
2. Butler, The Works of Bishop Butler. vol. i, p. 12

proof that death works destruction of our living powers. The body, he argued, is foreign matter, and if we survive this matter, why not all matter? Our natural state is twofold, sensation and reflection, and there is no evidence that death touches the latter. His basis for the argument was twofold: the doctrines of continuance and the incapacity of death to destroy.[1] Thus he strove to break down the negative arguments and prove from an analogy of nature the existence of a future state and the human soul.

He next passed into a discussion of rewards and punishments which he also proved by analogy with nature. We have pleasure or pain in the natural world which proceed from natural laws, and which are analogous to the future state. After giving examples of punishment in the natural world, he concluded his argument with "And is there any pretence of reason for people to think themselves secure and talk as if they had certain proof that, let them act as licentiously as they will, there can be nothing analogous to this with regard to a future and more general interest under the providence and government of the same God?"[2]

This supposition is further confirmed from the fact that the natural government under God is also moral, in which rewards and punishments are the consequences of actions considered as virtuous or vicious. Men are not

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1. Butler. The Works of Bishop Butler. vol. i, pp. 2-47
2. Ibid. Vol i, p. 63

always rewarded according to their just desert because the essential tendency of virtue and vice to produce happiness or misery are often hindered from taking effect from accidental causes. However, the beginnings and rudiments of a righteous administration may be observed in the constitution of nature, from which we might expect that these accidental hindrances will some day be removed and the rule of distributive justice obtain completely in a more perfect state.[1]

Continuing this process of analogy in natural religion, he tried to show that there is in those who are the subjects of this moral government some sort of trial, or possibility of acting wrong as well as right, which shows that this life is a state of probation.[2] But the present life is not merely a state of probation, but one of discipline and improvement in temporal as well as religious affairs. The ruin of men is brought on by their own vice, and for this he used the analogy of the countless plants and seeds which decay before they reach maturity.[3] In his next chapter he claimed that fatalism was not the order of the world but that we are free. As to the wisdom and goodness of the divine government he showed that the government of the natural world appeared to be a system with parts related to each other and together composing a whole with laws governing, but with our small view we are unable to judge correctly. All of

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1. Butler. The Works of Bishop Butler. vol. i, pp. 63-94
2. Ibid. vol. i, pp. 94-105
3. Ibid. vol. i, p. 105-37

our objections to the divine government may therefore by grounded upon our ignorance.[1]

Thus Butler endeavored to remove all difficulties connected with natural religion and he next turned to an examination of revealed religion, considering the importance of Christianity as an introduction to a study of its credibility.

Christianity has a twofold importance. First as a republication of natural religion in its native simplicity, with authority and advantages; ascertaining in many cases what before was only probable and particularly confirming the doctrine of rewards and punishments. He distinguished between natural and revealed religion by saying that "For though natural religion is the foundation and principal part of Christianity, it is not in any sense the whole of it."[2] As to the future state he wrote, "The great doctrines of a future state, the danger of a course of wickedness, and the efficacy of repentance are not only confirmed in the gospel, but are taught especially the last is, with a degree of light, to which that of nature is but darkness."[3] The second importance of Christianity is that it reveals a new dispensation of providence, originating from the pure love and mercy of God, and conducted by the mediation of His Son, and the guidance of His Spirit for the recovery and salvation of mankind who are represented as in a state of

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1. Butler. The Works of Joseph Butler. vol. i, p. 160-176
2. Ibid. p. 188
3. Ibid. p. 191

apostasy and ruin.

He next treated the objection to revelation considered as miraculous which he treats in his same way of analogy -- stating that there are strong presumptions against may known facts, such as miracles, for which religion supplies particular reasons. He next turned to the Christian scheme and proved that it too is in keeping with nature. In revelation he gave to reason the right to judge the meaning, the morality and the evidence.[1] Christianity is a scheme quite beyond our comprehension, and here, as in nature, our ignorance bars our objections.[2] Since nature is dependent upon laws, he continued, then the same holds true to revelation -- that "God's miraculous interpositions may have been all along, in like manner, by general laws of wisdom."[3] This is carried over to Christian revelation. "Thus in the daily course of natural providence God operates in the same manner as in the dispensation of Christianity, making one thing subservient to another; this to somewhat further; and so on, through a progressive series of means which extend, both backward and forward, beyond our utmost view."[4]

As to the mediatorship of Christ we do not know whether any other way would have worked, as we do not know how far anything we could do would have prevented punishment or recover the happiness we forfeited, nor can we judge the

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1. Butler, The Works of Joseph Butler. vol. i, p. 258
2. Ibid. vol. i, p. 243-4
3. Ibid. vol. i, p. 248
4. Ibid. vol. i, pp. 251-2

particulars of the mediatorial work. But vicarious suffering is an ordained appointment of everyday experience and Christ's suffering is in keeping with this phase of natural experience.[1]

He came to the point which started many Deists on their speculations which was the lack of a universal revelation. He showed here a parallel in nature and also stated that God's plan was one of allowances, therefore one of universal equity.[2] His next chapter dealt with the positive evidence for Christianity from prophecy, miracles, etc.

He gave as a summary in three propositions his argument in regard to Christianity. It is as follows: "However, lastly, as it has been made to appear, that there is no presumption against a revelation as miraculous; that the general scheme of Christianity, and the principal parts of it, are conformable to the experienced constitution of things, and the whole perfectly credible; so the account now given of the positive evidence of it, shows that this evidence is such as, from the nature of it, cannot be destroyed, though it be lessened."[3] He concluded with a vindication of his method of analogy as being factual and true, and attempted to show that doubt lies within man himself, and that blasphemy is without excuse.

Thus in this work the apologetic method of Bishop Butler may be seen. His leading doctrine was that we find the same difficulties in the Scriptures that we found in the operations

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1. Butler, The Works of Joseph Butler. vol. i, pp. 282-3
2. Ibid. vol i, pp. 282-3
3. Ibid. vol. i, p. 353

of nature, and this should lead us not only to reject all arguments against the Scriptures which are founded on these difficulties, but to infer that probably both proceed from the same author. McKim says that "the argument of 'The Analogy' appears then to be as solid as its principles are just, and its author remains as accurate in his reasoning as he was firm in his faith."[1]

His influence is said to have been great by many, and others discount it. Sorley said of his reasonings that "They are so exhaustive, so thorough and so candid, that critics of all schools are agreed in regarding his as the final word in a great controversy."[2] Shields said "It may be doubted if any modern writer has been so generally accepted as an exponent of English thinking upon religious questions, or has exerted such an influence directly and indirectly, in moulding its tendencies and products."[3] But Leslie Stephen is not so generous in his praise. He said, "We can but honor him as an honest and brave man -- honest enough to admit the existence of doubts, and brave enough not to be paralysed by their existence."[4]

C. WILLIAM WARBURTON

By his learning but still more by his vigor and resource, William Warburton made a deep impression upon his time. He

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1. McKim. Present Day Problems of Christian Thought. p. 279
2. Sorley. A History of English Philosophy. p. 162
3. Shields. Scientific Evidences of Revealed Religion. p. 143
4. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol.i, p. 308

was born in 1698 and died in 1779. He took his orders without a university training and, after other preferments, became Bishop of Gloucester in 1759. His works include "The Alliance between Church and State" (1736) and a defense of the "Essay on Man" by Pope. He edited Shakespeare in 1747; published a hostile "View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy" (1754); and wrote "Remarks on Hume's Natural History of Religion" in 1757. His most famous work was "The Divine Legation of Moses Demonstrated on the Principles of a Religious Deist" (1737-1741), which was designed to meet a deistical objection to the Old Testament Scriptures, that the books of Moses contain no reference to a future life. His legal training in his youth is shown in his ability to make a case and score a point, but he seems to have little insight into history, philosophy, or religion. Stephen says that "He was as proud, pragmatical, and insolent as a man who brought to theological controversies the habits of mind acquired in an attorney's office might naturally be expected to show himself."[1]

Warburton observed in a letter to Hurd that "his life was a warfare upon earth; that is to say, with bigots and libertines, against whom I have denounced eternal war, like Hannibal against Rome, at the altar."[2] He made truth his aim, and, as was natural with many of his type, was extremely

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, p. 308
2. Warburton. Letters to Hurd. p. 346

intolerant of any whose opinions differed from his. Deists, atheists, and pantheists form the majority of his opponents, but the more orthodox came in for their full share. To quote Stephen again, "He stalks through the literary history of the eighteenth century, trailing behind him a whole series of ostentatious paradoxes, and bringing down his controversial shillelagh on the head of any luckless mortal who ventures to hint a modest dissent."[1]

Warburton necessarily had to form alliances, and in two men, Pope and Hurd, he found two suited to him by force of contrast. These two defended Warburton in many instances, and Hurd was responsible for the publication of the letters written him by his friend.

The "Divine Legation" as Stephen described it is "an attempt to support one gigantic paradox by a whole system of paradoxes".[2] His professed intention at the beginning was to vindicate Moses, but after this he diverged into all manner of subsidiary inquiries. Among the topics upon which he discoursed were: the origin and nature of morality; the theory of the alliance between church and state; an elucidation of ancient mysteries; the hieroglyphics with their origin and meaning; Egyptian chronology; the date of the Book of Job. He also assails all who differ from any of his opinions. That this book is a tedious jumble need not be mentioned.

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, p. 347
2. Ibid. vol. i, p. 355

As Sorley said, "The defence of this paradoxical theory gave Warburton ample scope for displaying his learning and his controversial talent on a great variety of topics, the relevance of which is not always apparent."[1]

This book was written as an argument against the Deists who held that there was no reference to the future state of rewards and punishments, although Stephen said that he has been unable to discover this point in the Deists against whom Warburton was writing.[2] He endeavored to find new discoveries in religion which will stale-mate the Deists who appear to have victory in their grasp. His three propositions were: that the doctrine of a future state of rewards and punishments is necessary to the well-being of society; the second, that the utility of this doctrine has been admitted by all mankind, and especially by the wisest and most learned nations of antiquity; and the third that this doctrine is not to be found in the Mosaic dispensation.[3] He asserted, however, that since Moses did not appeal to any such doctrine, which was current in other countries, that this proves his divine legation. He went further in holding that Moses would not have omitted such a sanction had he not had a certainty of miraculous interference. Thus the absence of belief among the Jews is

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1. Sorley. A History of English Philosophy. p. 152
2. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, p. 356 footnote.
3. Ibid. vol. i, p. 356-7

taken as proof that they were under the immediate providence of God, working by means outside natural law.

The whole argument rests upon the assumption that nothing but a belief in a future state can sustain the moral law. Thus he held that "Men will not be virtuous unless they are paid for it, Neither a moral sense, nor a perfection of the fitness of things will be sufficient motives without the obligation of a superior will".[1] God was the God of the Jews, their lawgiver and governor. These He rewarded in this present world, while the ordinary men were rewarded or punished in the future. The Jews, however, might receive a double portion, by being rewarded here and in the next world. The date of the Book of Job he tried to determine by the fact that it was written at the time when God began to govern by secondary causes and when rewards and punishments had ceased to exist in this present world and the next world had not been discovered.[2]

One of the most vehement of his polemic writings was directed against Wesley. In the course of it he remarked that "The power of working miracles and not the conformity of the Scripture doctrines to the truth, is the great criterion of a divine mission."[3] He tried to show that miracles have been misunderstood, accepting the main events,

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1. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. i, p. 358
2. Ibid. vol. i, p. 364
3. Warburton. Works. vol. viii, p. 390

but rejecting the subsidiary as explainable by natural reasons. His particular ire was aroused by Wesley's publishing accounts of modern miracles, with which his works abound. His argument was that miracles are no longer required. The martyrs might have wanted them for support but "now the profession of the Christian faith is attended with ease and honor; and the conviction which the weight of human testimony and the conclusions of human reason afford us of its truth is abundantly sufficient to support us in our religious perseverance."[1]

In this we see the method of Warburton. It was not sound nor logical, but it reflects the thought of his period and had some effect upon the time. He has disappeared as a force in apologetics; his works will not bear critical study, as do those of Butler, but because of his general method he deserves study as one of the apologists of this period.

D. WILLIAM PALEY

William Paley, the last of the greater apologists of the period, was born in 1743 and died in 1805. He was educated at Christ College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1805. Mathematical studies seem to have occupied his youth, and Paley showed that clear, rigid, intellect which results from such study.

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1. Warburton. Works. vol. viii, p. 319

Paley's chief works were the "Moral and Political Philosophy", published in 1785; the "Horae Paulinae", 1790; "Evidences of Christianity", 1794; and the "Natural Theology" or "Evidences of the Existence and Attributes of the Deity, Collected from the appearances of Nature" published in 1802. The "Evidences" will perhaps give his view of theology and state his method better than the others. It is still read and studied, and its arguments are being revived in the modern field of apologetics and theology.

Paley's "Evidences" or "Natural Theology" as it is also called begins with the supposition that he is walking across a heath and pitches his foot against a stone. If he were asked how the stone came to be there his could answer without appearing to be absurd that it had perhaps been there forever. But if he had found a watch the same answer would not have been practicable inasmuch as, upon examination, the watch has been put together for a purpose, and that if the parts had been different the purpose, i.e. of producing motion, would not have been fulfilled. Having examined the parts and their fitness for their particular purpose, it is naturally inferred that this watch had a maker. He then argued that even if we failed to understand it we would recognize that it had a maker. and could not have sprung from natural causes.[1]

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1. Paley. Natural Theology. pp. 5-8

Suppose it had the power to generate other watches in the course of its movements. We would still look for the maker for "contrivances must have a contriver."[1] The question then is "how came the first watch in existence?". "The Thing required is the intending mind, the adapting hand, the intelligence by which that hand was directed."[2] To say that no art or skill whatever has been concerned in the business is absurd, yet this is atheism.

He applied this argument by comparing the watch to nature. "Every indication of contrivance, every manifestation of design, which existed in the watch exists in the works of nature; with the difference, on the side of nature, of being greater and more, and that in a degree which exceeds all computation."[3] He carried this argument from design next to the human eye, comparing it to a telescope, which we know to have a maker, and stating "there is precisely the same proof that they eye was made for vision".[4] He went further to show the difference between the human eye and that of a fish to show an intelligent maker who designs the eye according to the need. The working of the eye is examined to show its adaptability to need and its superiority over the telescope.

Paley based proof of God on contrivance. He said, "It is only by the display of contrivance that the existence, the agency, the wisdom of the Deity could be testified to

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1. Paley. Natural Theology. p. 11
2. Ibid. p. 12
3. Ibid. p. 13
4. Ibid. p. 13

His rational creatures. This is the scale by which we ascend to all the knowledge of our Creator which we possess, so far as it depends upon the phenomena, or the works of nature."[1] He naturally held that God could have done these things without contrivance, but "It is in the construction of instruments, in the choice and adaptation of means that a creative intelligence is seen."[2] Therefore God has seen fit to limit his own power and work within those limits.

Paley drew upon many other illustrations to bring forth the argument from design. The ear; the succession of plants and animals, in which the parent is not the contriver but is in ignoramce as to why that which is produced took its form; the mechanical and immechanical parts and functions of animals and vegetables; the mechanical arrangment of the human frame; the muscles and vessels of animal bodies; the animal structure regarded as a mass; comparative anatomy and peculiar organizations of animals; relation and compensations to be found in animal frames; instincts, which he holds to be "a propensity prior to experience, and independent of instruction", insects; plants; these show his diversity of illustration and his wide range of knowledge. However, he held that each illustration is sufficient to prove his point, independent of all the rest. "The proof

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1. Paley. Natural Theology. p. 26
2. Ibid. p. 26

is not a conclusion which lies at the end of a chain of reasoning, of which chain each instance of contrivance is only a link, and of which, if one link fail, the whole falls; but it is an argument separately supplied by every example. An error in stating an example affects only that example ..... the proof in each example is complete."[1] Thus his many examples are only to form cumulative evidence, each of which is a final argument in itself.

In dealing with astronomy he confessed our inability to form conclusions but he held that the "real subject of admiration is that we understand so much of astronomy as we do".[2] However, we see enough to realize that there is an intellectual agency in three of its principle regulations; in choosing; in regulation, in determining. The sun is in the center furnishing the light and heat of the system, the geometrical axis of rotation which is steady and fixed, and the law of attraction furnish sources of wonder and evidence.

Contrivance, according to Paley, if established, proves everything which we wish to prove. Through it he attempted to set forth the personality of the Deity. "Now that which can contrive, which can design, must be a person."[3] These capacities constitute personality because they imply consciousness and thought. They require a center from which volitions flow and in which perceptions unite, which is

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1. Paley. Natural Theology. p. 45
2. Ibid. p. 213
3. Ibid. p. 230

mind. Anything which contains mind is a person. The universe or any part of it cannot be God, because its parts are all things, which is inert matter and include marks of contrivance. Whatever bears marks of contrivance naturally carries us to something beyond itself, to a designer prior to and out of itself. Nothing contrived can be eternal since the contriver must have existed before it.

Wherever we see contrivance we see an intelligent author. Therefore, as we look to nature we see that it proceeds from an intelligent creator. This is true because the works of nature in the properties of relation to a purpose and subserviency to a use, resemble what intelligence and design are constantly producing, and what nothing except intelligence and design ever produce at all.[1] The Deity in like manner cannot be described in terms of natural law, as law presupposes an agent and an intelligent power, without which as distinct from itself, law is nothing.[2] This same thing hold true of mechanism,[3] and second causes. "There may be many second causes, and many courses of second causes, one behind another, between what we observe of nature and the Deity; but there must be intelligence somewhere; there must be more in nature than what we see; and amongst the things unseen there must be an intelligent, designing

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1. Paley. Natural Theology. pp. 232-3
2. Ibid. pp. 233-4
4. Ibid. p. 234

author".[1]

As natural attributes of the Deity he named omnipotence, omnipresence, eternity, self-existence, necessary existence, and spirituality. These he stated as in keeping with design, all of which in relation to creation can be accepted.[2] The unity of the Deity he proved from the uniformity of the universe.[3]

The proof of the goodness of the Deity rests upon two main propositions: "that in a vast plurality of instances in which contrivance is perceived, the design of contrivance is beneficial", and "that the Deity has superadded pleasure to animal sensations beyond what was necessary for any other purpose, or when the purpose, so far as it was necessary, might have been effected by the operation of pain."[4] He turned here to the animal world to prove that all the contrivances of nature are designed for pleasure and not for misery, and all for beneficial purposes. In regard to the added pleasures he included the pleasure of taste and the capacity of our other senses to receive pleasurable sensations; amusements; property. These all as pleasures not necessary to our existence are proofs of the benevolence of the Creator.

His treatment of the problem of evil is interesting. He held that "cases of apparent evil, for which we can

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1. Paley. Natural Theology. p. 235
2. Ibid. pp. 246-9
3. Ibid. p. 249
4. Ibid. p. 252

suggest no particular reason, are governed by reasons, which are more general, which lie deeper in the order of second causes, and which, on that account, are removed to a greater distance from us."[1] As to pain he taught that they are seldom the object of contrivance, but if so they rest in ultimate good. It serves as a warning of needed attention, and sheds satisfaction over intervals of ease; mortal diseases reconcile us to death, and death, itself, shows the value of our affections rather than a development of selfishness and apathy. In like manner civil evils, such as money and distinctions, work for the enjoyment and general well-being of the public. Chance, which he stated is uncertainty, works for the benefit of mankind in the physical and moral realms. Evil, however, is not to be confused with punishment, "for were there no evils in the world but what were punishments, properly and intelligibly such, benevolence would only stand in the way of justice."[2] Thus evil is not a result of wrongdoing, for if it were, there would be no remedy save alleviation by the one inflicting it. But, in a religious view, privation, disappointment, and satiety, are not without the most salutary tendencies.[3]

The result of this study is, according to Paley, "the change is no less than this: that whereas formerly God was seldom in our thoughts, we can now scarcely look upon

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1. Paley. Natural Theology. p. 271
2. Ibid. pp. 290-1
3. Ibid. p. 291

anything without perceiving its relation to Him. Every organized natural body, in the provisions which it contains for its sustentation and propagation, testifies a care on the part of the Creator, expressly directed to these purposes."[1] We live under such a Being and we feel our position secure. In His power we are assured on the resurrection of the dead. Upon the whole we have a wise and powerful Being upon whom to rely for the choice and appointment of means to further any plan which He, in His goodness and justice, forms. "That great office rests with Him: be it ours to hope and to prepare under a firm and settled persuasion that, living and dying, we are His; that life is passed in His constant presence, that death resigns us to His merciful disposal."[2]

This work has stood the test of time, and is used with force today. His arguments are convincing, and well stated, and serve to not only refute the Deistic positions of his age, but to give assurance even now. In his book he resolved his other works into a system, and it stands as his great contribution to the field of apologetics. Of the defenders of the othodox position, he and Butler stand out because of their clearness of insight into the problems and their fairness of treatment. Both resorted to nature for proof, and both produced defences designed to meet rational objections and sceptical thought. That both have survived

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1. Paley. Natural Theology. p. 294
2. Ibid. p. 298

until this day is proof enough that their method, in spite of its defects, is, on the whole, sound and conclusive.

E. MINOR DEFENDERS OF ORTHODOXY

Because of the fact that their influence was confined to the period in which they wrote, or because they merely used the same arguments of the greater apologists, several may be classed as minor defenders of orthodoxy. In this group such writers as Charles Leslie, John Leland, John Conybeare, Samuel Clarke, Sherlock and Sykes stand out as the leaders, while in the weaker class are Chandler, Norris, Browne, Swift, Newton, Henry Dodwell, Gilbert West, Lyttleton, Oswald, Beattie, Jenyngs and others. There were many who engaged in the controversy, writing against the free-thinkers and Deists, but who were, themselves, free-thinkers or Deists. In this group we find men like William Wollaston, James Foster, and others, In many of them the rational element was so mixed with the orthodox faith, that it is difficult to arrive at a true conception of their belief.

Charles Leslie was brought into the field by Blount's works. He felt that it would require little effort to put down this Deistic movement, and accordingly he wrote "A Short and Easy Method with the Deists". He proposed four rules as a test for truth: that the matter of fact be such, as that man's outward senses, their eyes and ears, may be judges of it; that it be done publicly, in the face of the world; that not only public monuments be kept up in honor of it, but some outward actions be performed; and that

such monuments and such actions or observances be instituted and to commence from the time the matter of fact was done.[1] The first two rules are supposed to make deception impossible at the time, the last two to make it impossible at subsequent times. These rules he applied to the Mosaic records and to the gospels.

One other writer deserves prominence as a defender of orthodoxy, but inasmuch as he is treated more fully in a later chapter, he will only be mentioned here. That writer was William Law, one of the greatest divines of the period. He was an exponent of mysticism, and a deadly foe of unorthodoxy. His outstanding controversial works were his Bangorian Tracts, his remarks on Mandeville, and his reply to Tindal.

F. SUMMARY

These writers mark the beginning of a rational orthodoxy. They began the method of a reasonable criticism of the Scriptures and a rational ground for faith. Although with the exception of Locke, Butler, Paley and Law, they did not produce works which stand until this day, yet they did exert great permanent influence in their championing of orthodoxy against the assaults of the rationalists. They took account of the new appeal to reason, and provided a method for harmonising the two. It was largely due to their

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1. Leslie, Charles. Theological Works. vol. i, p. 12

efforts that the controversies were brought to a close so early and that authority was not hopelessly undermined by rationalism. They also laid the foundation for modern theology, which seeks reconciliation between science, philosophy and religion.

The century produced no great theologians. Clarke and Paley produced works which border on systematic theology but they properly belong within the field of Apologetics, inasmuch as their works were in defense of the Christian system. Butler and Paley in particular, produced works that have exerted direct influence on thought since that time, but the others should receive their due share of credit in defending the orthodox position and retaining it as the dominant power in religious thought.

CHAPTER IV.

WILLIAM LAW AND THE PROGRESS OF MYSTICISM

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The age into which Law came was marked by a lack of spiritual power within the church. The seventeenth century had been a period of distress for the English church. Archbishop Laud had emphasized afresh the spirit of Catholic reform, but, supported as it was by the royal favor and authority, his movement was rather a triumph of external discipline than a renewal of the spirit of devotion. "There was not that inner sense of religion and personal consecration among churchmen which could give immediate and lasting vitality to the work of Laud."[1] The great defect of his movement was that the church had been bound up in men's minds with the vicissitudes of one political party. Bound up as it was with the royal party, it seemed to oppose political freedom and personal liberty. Thus, in the revolution, the church suffered at the hands of the Puritans. Naturally the church took an active part in the overthrow of the commonwealth, and the restoration of the monarchy, which once more definitely linked it with the political party.

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1. Drake. Masters of the Spiritual Life. p. 135

The clergy for the most part were poorly trained. Intellectual interest and spiritual earnestness were at a low ebb in the life of the clergy. There was no inner spiritual life on the part of priest or people, and in spite of the few brilliant and devoted divines, as Berkeley, Wake, Bingham and Butler, the large part of the church was spiritually dead.

In addition, religion was becoming an object of ridicule and open scorn. Deism had appeared, and with it the philosophic conception of God, which was a contradiction of the Christian conception. The new discoveries in science were causing men to doubt the orthodox faith. The Deistic writers showed how the denial of the miraculous and supernatural element in Christianity had affected even the faith of professing churchmen. Bishop Butler threw interesting light upon the spirit of the age in his advertisement when he said, "It is come, I know not how, to be taken for granted, by many persons, that Christianity is not so much as a subject of inquiry, but that it is now, at length, discovered to be fictitious."[1] Together with this spirit, the new era of rational inquiry and sense-experience philosophy helped to tear down the spiritual basis of religion, leaving it cold and formal, a body without a spirit.

There were good men in the first of the eighteenth century who endeavored to raise the spirit of devotion within

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1. Butler. The Works of Bishop Butler. vol. i, p. 1

man, but these were unable to accomplish what they desired. Bishop Wilson, Watts, and Doddridge labored in the first half of the century. Towards the middle of the century the decay of the old school was becoming complete. Watts died in 1748; Doddridge in 1751; and Bishop Wilson in 1755. But another arose who was to seriously affect the lives of men of this time, including the Wesleys, with whom he later split. William Law, by his "Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life" did much to refute the spirit of the age, and bring once more to man the devout, holy life.

A. LIFE OF WILLIAM LAW

William Law was born in 1686 at the village of King's Cliff. His father was a tradesman of good standing, and his home was marked by a deep religious atmosphere. He was sent to Emmanuel College, Cambridge, where he obtained a sizarship in 1705. At the time of his entry he formed several resolutions which show his deeply religious nature. Some of these were: "To fix it in my mind that I have one business upon my hands -- to seek for eternal happiness by doing the will of God.

"To think nothing great or desirable because the world thinks it so; but to form all my judgments of things from the infallible word of God and direct my life according to it.

"That the greatness of human nature consists in nothing else but in imitating the Divine nature.

"To avoid all excess in eating and drinking.

"To call to mind the presence of God whenever I find myself under any temptation to sin, and to have immediate recourse to prayer.

"To think often of the life of Christ, and to propose it as a pattern to myself.

"To pray privately thrice a day, besides my morning and evening prayer".[1]

These rules show clearly his early mystical and devotional trend.

In 1711 Law was ordained a deacon and made a fellow in his college the same year. Upon the accession of a new dynasty, with George I., he felt that he could not conscientiously take the oath of allegiance, and, rather than thus violate his conscience, he forfeited his fellowship and all chance of preferment in the church. It is not certain where Law spent the next ten years. In 1717 his "Three Letters to the Bishop of Bangor" appeared in answer to the bishop's anti-Catholic views of the church, and these at once attracted great attention and established Law as a strong High churchman. Six years later he published a scathing denunciation of Mandeville's "Fable of the Bees", another contribution of merit to his controversial writings.

In 1727 Law became tutor to Edward Gibbon, the father of the historian. Much of his time was spent at the Gibbon's home in Putney where he came in contact with

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1. Law. The Works of the Reverend William Law, M.A. vol. i, Intro. p. v.

several people of importance. Here he also met the two ladies who were to become characters in his "Serious Call" and with whom he was to spend his last years, Miss Hester Gibbon and Mrs. Hutcheson. It was here that he wrote "A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life; adapted to the State and Condition of all orders of Christians", a work which was destined to bring him fame and by which he is best known today.

The great turning point of his life came in the year 1734, when he first became acquainted with the works of the German mystic, Jacob Behmen. He was stirred to the very depths by this man's writings, and his later works are filled with the thoughts and influence of this writer.

After the death of the elder Gibbon, Law returned to King's Cliffe where his brother George had a house. He was soon joined by Mrs. Hutcheson and Miss Hester Gibbon and the three lived together and tried to put into practice the precepts of the "Serious Call". The ladies were rich, and the three united their incomes, living on one-tenth and giving the other nine-tenths away. Their charities were managed without discretion, and soon his town was noted for the vagrants who came seeking their alms. His life there was happy, being spent in study and writing. He died in 1761.

B. LAW'S CONTROVERSIAL WORKS

Law is noted chiefly in his controversial writings for his "Three Letters to the Bishop of Bangor", his denunciation

of Mandeville, and his attack upon Matthew Tindal. These show him to be possessed of a remarkable ability at disputation, but fortunately his reputation is not dependent upon them. His "Serious Call" and his mystical writings give him far greater fame than do the arguments in these controversies.

In his replies to Hoadly, Law upheld the authority of the church which had come under fire. In these replies we see Law as a strong High churchman. In his first letter he showed Hoadly that he was undermining tne position of the Church of England by his statement that only sincerity was needed. "Your Lordship has cancelled all our obligations to any particular communion upon pretence of sincerity".[1] He went further to show that if sincerity were the way of salvation, then Deists and opponents of Christ would be in favor with God just as much as a sincere follower of Christ. He proceeded to strenuously uphold the Historic Episcopate, on the grounds that it is necessary in order for ordination and sacraments. He said, "If there be no uninterrupted succession, then there are no authorized ministers from Christ; if no such ministers, then no Christian sacraments; if no Christian sacraments, then no Christian covenant, whereof the sacraments are the stated visible seals."[2]

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1. Law. The Works of the Reverend William Law, M.A. vol. i, p. 5.
2. Ibid. vol. i, p. 9

His next treatment is of authority, which he claimed must be upheld within the church. Hoadly had denied all authority. "Your Lordship fights safe under the protection of the word absolute; but your aim is at all church power."[1] He pressed an analogy between the church authority and the authority of a temporal state in an effort to show the necessity for authority.

In this first letter Law gave his ideas on prayer, in answer to Hoadly's statement that prayer was "a calm and undisturbed address to God." "Prayer," according to Law, "chiefly consisteth of confession and petition..... My Lord (referring to Hoadly's definition) this plainly supposes there is no such thing as the right use of our passions."[2] We are to use our passions in prayer, in fervor and warmth.

The other two letters are a repetition of his support of the church and its authority against the assaults of the bishop. In these letters he showed himself a staunch churchman and an able defender against the assaults of those who would undermine its power.

His denunciation of Mandeville's "Fable of the Bees" is another able work. Stephen said that it is perhaps the ablest of the attacks on Mandeville.[3] In the beginning of this defense, Law stated that he hopes he "need make no

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1. Law. The Works of the Reverend William Law, M.A. vol. i, p. 14
2. Ibid. vol. i, p. 19
3. Stephen, English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. ii, p. 42

apology for presuming to offer a word or two on the side of virtue and religion".[1] He assaulted some of Mandeville's paradoxes in this work. He pointed out that "an action is virtuous because it is an obedience to reason and to the laws of God".[2] This work deals constructively with morality and forms an able refutation of Mandeville's thesis that private vices are public benefits.

Law's answer to Tindal is in this same, clear cut, definite way. He opposed strongly Tindal's assumptions that the fitness of things must be the sole rule of God's actions, because "the rule by which He acts must in many instances be entirely inconceivable by us, so as not to be known at all, and in no instances fully known or entirely comprehended."[3] Ourreason is insufficient to guide us, "For reason, by consulting the nature and fitness of things, can no more tell us what the guilt of sin is, what hurt it does us, how far it enters into, or alters our very nature, what contrariety to and separation from God it necessarily brings upon us, or what supernatural means are, or are not, necessary to abolish it; our reason can no more tell us this than our senses can tell us what is the inward and what is the outward light of angels."[4] He pressed his case against reason in the endeavor to show that reason is an insufficient guide, and that God is above reason. He further stated that

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1. Law. The Works of the Reverend William Law, M.A. vol. ii, p. 3
2. Ibid. vol. ii, p. 21
3. Ibid. vol. ii, p. 63
4. Ibid. vol. ii, p. 73

"all.... that is weak in our passions, is the weakness and folly of our reason; all the inconstancy and caprice of our humors and tempers is the caprice and inconstancy of our reason."[1] Revelation, Law held to be supplementary to reason, or natural religion, as in the case of salvation, "and all that revelation adds to natural religion, on the point of human sacrifice, is only this; the knowledge of one that gives merit, effect, and sanctification to all the rest."[2] Law's argument is based upon God's power and our inability to discern fully the purposes and actions of God, and in proving this he naturally berated the power of reason to fully fathom the mysteries of salvation and happiness. This attack of Tindal seems to have attracted little attention at the time, but it stands as one of the most vigorous and cutting refutations that were advanced in the Deistic controversy.

C. THE "SERIOUS CALL TO A DEVOUT AND HOLY LIFE".

The work by which Law is best remembered is the one composed while at Putney, entitled "A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life Adapted to the State and Condition of All Orders of Christians". It is a book of devotion, designed to meet the lack of spirituality within the church, and is, as its name implies, a call to people to a life of devotion. It is a call from the life of the world to the

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1. Law. The Works of the Reverend William Law. vol. ii, pp. 130-1
2. Ibid. vol. ii, p. 76

life of the spirit, and it constantly contrasts the life of devotion with the material.

The work is divided into twenty-four chapters which may be grouped as follows: chapters one to four with the inner Christian life of devotion; chapters five through eight with the use of wealth in a life of devotion; chapters nine through thirteen with the happiness and peace which results from a life of devotion; chapters fourteen through twenty-three with the prayer life, showing the stated times of prayer with the subject of each. The conclusion is a statement of the excellency and greatness of a devout spirit.

In the first division he described the devout man thus: "He therefore is the devout man who lives no longer to his own will, or the way and spirit of the world, but to the sole will of God, who considers God in everything, who serves God in everything, who makes all the parts of his common life parts of piety by doing everything in the name of God and under such rules as are conformable to His glory."[1] Thus devotion is to permeate our entire life; all the affairs of life are to be based upon the will of God. He next attempted to find why the generality of Christians fall so far short of the holiness and devotion of Christianity. This he answered by the statement that they do not intend to please God and thus they fall into vice. "Through the

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1. Law. The Works of the Reverend William Law, M.A. vol. iv, p. 7

want of a sincere intention of pleasing God in all our actions we fall into such irregularities of life as by the ordinary means of grace we should have the power to avoid".[1] This must not only be the endeavor of the clergyman, but of every trade or profession, and this intent must permeate our whole life. "If therefore we desire to live unto God, it is necessary to bring our whole life under this law, to make his glory the sole rule and measure of our acting in every employment of life. For there is no other true devotion, but this of living devoted to God in the common business of our lives."[2]

As to wealth, fortunes are to be used in the service of God. This is necessary because our common life is of the same nature as our common way of spending our estate; because of the ability to do great good with it; and because if we waste it then we corrupt ourselves. It is in this discussion of the use of money that he introduced the two characters Flavia and Miranda; the former not using her estate for charity and helpfulness and the latter using hers wisely and piously.

In the next section he argued that living this devoted life does not imply restraint, but renders the life "full of content and strong satisfactions".[3] To the lack of religion he ascribed "all the miseries, vexations, and complaints

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1. Law. The Works of the Reverend William Law, M.A. vol. iv, p. 20
2. Ibid. vol. iv, p. 37
3. Ibid. vol. iv, p. 93

thatare in the world..... being caused by those absurd passions which religion teaches us to deny." [1] He contrasted thy joys of a godly life with the life of poor enjoyments which are found in a gratification of selfish humors, and draws upon several characters to show the miseries, wants, and emptiness of a life of vanity or sensuality.

In the final section dealing with prayer, he established five times for prayer; early in the morning, contrasting the dullness of sleep with the refreshing nature of devotions; nine o'clock in the morning, which is the Biblical third hour; twelve o'clock in the day; three o'clock in the afternoon; and six o'clock in the afternoon. The choice of these hours he based both upon Scripture and upon the need for frequency in prayer.

"Prayer is", according to Law, "the nearest approach to God, and the highest enjoyment of Him, that we are capable of in this life."[2]

It is also "the noblest exercise of the soul, the most exalted use of our best faculties, and the highest imitation of the blessed inhabitants of heaven."[3] In these statements Law showed the mystical trend of his thoughts which is later to burst forth in the mystical treatises.

Humility is to be the subject of prayer for the nine o'clock devotions because "an humble state of soul is the

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1. Law. The Works of the Reverend William Law, M.A. vol. iv, p. 97
2. Ibid. vol. iv, p. 128
3. Ibid. vol. iv, p. 129

very state of religion, because humility is the life and soul of piety, the foundation and support of every virture and good work, the best guard and security of all holy affections."[1] Law saw in education danger to the development of this humility, because education for the boys is based upon pride and envy, while for the girls it tends to develop vanity and lightness. "You teach your child to scorn to be outdone," he stated, "to thirst for distinction and applause; and is it any wonder that he continues to act all his life in the same manner?"[2] Education is vital but it must be directed in the right channels in order to develope humility in the child, rather than pride or vanity.

Universal love and intercession as an expression of this love is the subject of the twelve o'clock devotion. He endeavored to prove this to be necessary on the argument that "the first followers of Christ seem to support all their love and to maintain all their intercourse and correspondence by mutual prayers for one another."[3]

In the discussion of the three o'clock devotion he gave one of his basic mystical principles, the resignation to divine pleasure. "At this hour of the afternoon you are desired to consider the necessity of resignation and conformity to the will of God, and to make this great virtue the principal matter of your prayers. There is nothing

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1. Law. The Works of the Reverend William Law, M.A. vol. iv, p. 163
2. Ibid. vol. iv, p. 183
3. Ibid. vol. iv, p.226

wise, or holy, or just, but the great will of God.....
It is conformity to this will that gives virtue and perfection to the highest services of angels in heaven; and it is conformity to this will that makes the ordinary actions of men on earth become an acceptable service unto God."[1] Likewise "the whole nature of virtue consists in conforming and the whole nature of vice in declining from the will of God."[2] Thus in every state or condition we are to humbly resign ourselves to the higher will of God, and accept whatever He sends to us.

Evening prayer is to be one of self examination and confession of sin. This is founded upon the necessity of repentance. "There seems to be the greatest necessity", he said, "that all our daily actions be constantly observed and brought to account, lest by a negligence we load ourselves with the guilt of unrepented sins."[3] A general confession will not suffice to impress upon us the horror of our sins; only a confession of our particular sins will impress us in this way. His view of sin is interesting. "For all sins, whether of sensuality, pride, or falseness, or any other irregular passion, are nothing else by the filth and impure diseases of the rational soul. And all righteousness is nothing else but the purity, the decency, the beauty and perfection of that spirit, which is made in the image of God."[4] The horror of sin is to be seen in the greatness

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1. Law. The Works of the Reverend William Law, M.A. vol. iv, p. 226
2. Ibid. vol. iv, p. 241
3. Ibid. vol. iv, p. 252
4. Ibid. vol. iv, p. 258

of the atonement provided for it. He concluded this chapter with the injunction that naturally one more time of prayer is to be added, just before going to bed. This is to be on the subject of death and its imminence, and is to be a complete resignation to the will of God.

In concluding this treatise he summed up the excellency and greatness of a devout spirit. "Great devotion is the noblest temper of the greatest and noblest souls"[1], for "if God is wisdom, surely he must be the wisest man in the world who most conforms to the wisdom of God, who best obeys His providence, who enters furthest into His designs, and does all he can that God's will may be done on earth as it is done in heaven."[2] Thus there is nothing which shows genius and greatness of mind as great devotion. "There is nothing wise or great or noble in the human spirit but rightly to know and heartily worship and adore the great God that is the support and life of all spirits whether in heaven or on earth."[3]

We have studied closely this work because it is properly considered as the greatest work of this writer. In it he shows his mystical nature and his own true devotion to God. It is a call from the shallowness and lack of true devotion as found in the church to a life of true devoutness and reliance upon God as the sole giver of all things, and as

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1. Law. The Works of the Reverend Willian Law, M. A. vol. iv, p. 264
2. Ibid. vol. iv, p. 271
3. Ibid. vol. iv, p. 272

the ruler to whom we owe our whole devotion. This work is considered by many as equal to that great devotional book of Thomas a Kempis, "The Imitation of Christ", and although it is not read as widely, is a remarkable work of true Christian holiness of life.

D. LAW'S MYSTICAL WRITINGS

The increasing interest in mysticism has caused the study and interest in William Law apart from his "Serious Call". Coming as the instigator of a new mystical movement in England, Law largely revived the mysticism of Jacob Behmen, a German mystic, whose writings had come to his notice while at Putney in the Gibbon home. "The parts of Böhme (Behmen) which attracted him most were the polemic against forensic doctrines of the atonement; the perpetual insistence that God is love, and that wrath is foreign to His nature, the doctrine of the unio mystica brought, as with St. Paul, into closest connection with Christology; and the analogy between the visible and invisible world, the sacramental view of life."[1]

Three treatises stand out in his mystical writings as expressing his views: "The Spirit of Prayer"; "The Spirit of Love"; and "The Way to Divine Knowledge". The first of these is an answer to Deism, and naturally is a little disappointing, but all three express the deep convictions that were Law's.

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1. Inge. Studies of English Mystics. p. 144

In the "Spirit of Prayer" Law entered into a discussion of man's original righteousness and fall. Man's whole purpose in the world is for the future. "Man has an eternity within him, is born into this world, not for the sake of living here, not for any thing this world can give him, but only to have time and place, to become either an eternal partaker of a Divine life with God, or to have a hellish eternity among fallen angels."[1] "We are all of us by birth," he stated, "the offspring of God more nearly related to Him than we are to one another; for in Him we live and move, and have our being."[2] But through Adam the fall has come to mankind, but this was not the result of wrath on the part of God. "The goodness of God breaking forth into a desire to communicate good, was the cause and the beginning of the creation. Hence it follows that to all eternity God can have no thought or intent towards His creature but to communicate good; because He made the creature for this sole end, to receive good..... But to return and consider further the nature of Adam's fall, we have seen that it consisted of no arbitrary punishment inflicted on him by a wrath raised in God, but was only such a state of misery as his own action necessarily brought upon him."[3] Therefore arose the necessity of a new birth. "It is because our soul has fallen, is quite dead to, and separate from the kingdom of heaven, by

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1. Law. The Works of the Reverend William Law, M.A. vol. vii, p. 3
2. Ibid. vol. vii, p. 4
3. Ibid. vol. vii, pp. 17-18

having lost the light and spirit of God in itself; and therefore it is, and must be incapable of entering into heaven till by this new birth the soul gets again its first heavenly nature."[1] "This new birth is not a part but the whole of our salvation, and everything in religion is for the sake of it. This salvation consists in "the manifestation of the nature, life and spirit of Jesus Christ, in our inward new man."[2] This is to be found within us. Christ is always in us, knocking at our heart's door and seeking entrance. Law appealed to the sinner to "turn to thy heart, and thy heart will find its saviour, its God within itself."[3] So it is that God in His goodness has provided salvation for man within his heart. "He (man) has a spark of the light and spirit of God, as a supernatural gift of God given into the birth of his soul, to bring forth by degrees a new birth of that life which was lost in paradise."[4]

Law laid down two rules as a ground for faith: "First, that through all the whole nature of things nothing can do, or be a real good to thy soul but the operation of God upon it. Secondly, that all the dispensations of God to mankind, from the fall of Adam, to the preaching of the gospel were only for this one end, to fit, prepare, and dispose the soul for the operation of the spirit of God

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1. Law. The Works of the Reverend William Law, M.A. vol. vii, pp. 17-18
2. Ibid. vol. vii, p. 24
3. Ibid. vol. vii, p. 28
4. Ibid. vol. vii, p. 31

upon it."[1] He argued further into the fact that there is only one salvation for the soul, and that "is the life of God in the soul".[2] God had only one intent toward mankind, and that was to generate and introduce His own light, life, and spirit in them that they might be fit temples, images, and habitations of the Holy Trinity. "When the first spark of a desire after God arises in thy soul, cherish it with all thy care, give all they heart unto it, it is nothing less than a touch of the divine loadstone that is to draw thee out of the vanity of time into the riches of eternity".[3] This is to be followed as the wise men followed the star, for it will lead to the birth of Jesus in the soul.

Thus we see his position in regard to man's fallen state and God's benevolence and goodness to mankind. The salvation is linked up with the indwelling of God within the soul. The influence of Behmen is seen in this work quite largely, and indeed Law closed his introduction with a lengthy quotation from him. The rest of the treatise consists of a dialogue further enlarging these points.

"The Way to Divine Knowledge" is also a series of dialogues, explained as "Preparatory to a new edition of the works of Jacob Behmen; and the right use of them."

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1. Law. The Works of the Reverend William Law, M.A. vol. vii, p. 37
2. Ibid. vol. vii, p. 45
3. Ibid. vol. vii, p. 47

He opened with the statement of Humanus, a newly converted Christian, that he desired further knowledge of Divine philosophy. Theophilus answered, "Your business is now to give way to this heavenly working of the spirit of God in your soul, and turn from everything either within you or without you that may hinder the further awakening of all that is holy and heavenly within you. For within you is that heavenly angel that died in paradise, and died no other death than that of being hid a while from your sight and sensibility. For be assured of this as a certain truth, that, corrupt, fallen, and earthly as human nature is, there is nevertheless in the soul of every man, the fire, and light, and love of God, though lodged in a state of hiddenness, inactivity, and death, till something or other, human or divine, Moses and the prophets, Christ or His apostles discover its life within us."[1]

But there are dangers which would keep us from attaining this state. "Look well to the ground on which you stand, keep a watchful eye upon every working of nature, and take care that nothing human, earthly, private or selfish mix with this heavenly fire."[2] The greatest danger is reason," and in this we see an attack upon the Deist position. "Your own reason, born and bred and governed by your own flesh and blood is the most powerful enemy of religion that you have to do with, and whom you have the most to fear from."[3]

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1. Law. The Works of the Reverend William Law, M.A. vol. vii, p. 149
2. Ibid. vol. vii, p. 149
3. Ibid. vol. vii, p. 231

How are we to be certain that is is the spirit and love of God which is impelling us? He gave this statement in answer: "Here now you have the test for truth by which you may always know whether it be the spirit of God and the love of God that drives you. If your zeal is after this pure, free universal goodness of God, then of a truth the spirit of God breatheth in you; but if you feel not the love of this pure, free, universal goodness, and yet think that you love God, you deceive yourself; for there is no other true love of God, but the loving that, which God is."[1]

The Scriptures help in attaining this knowledge. "As I have but one end in hearing the scriptures read to me, to fill me with the love of God, and every kind of goodness; so every part of scripture, whether plain or mysterious, does me the same good, is alike good to me, and kindles the same heavenly flame in my soul."[2] Whether or not he was refuting the Deistic criticism of the Scriptures is not plain, but here he gave his belief in the whole of the Scriptures and their part in the development of a true Christian.

"The Spirit of Love" is another treatise dwelling mainly on the divine indwelling. Love is the chief attribute of God, and it is through love that He brings to us salvation. The one will and work of God is to communicate His love, goodness and happiness in man.[3]

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1. Law. The Works of the Reverend Willian Law, M.A. vol. vii, p. 150
2. Ibid. vol. vii, p. 187
3. Law. Liberal and Mystical Writings. p. 29

Law attempted to show here the difference between a good and a bad man on the basis that "the one concurs with the living, inspiring spirit of God within him, and the other resists it and is, and can be only, chargeable with evil because he resists it. Therefore, whether you consider that which is good or bad in a man, they equally prove the perpetual indwelling and operation of the spirit of God within us, since we can only be bad by resisting, as we are good by yielding to, the spirit of God; both which equally suppose a perpetual operation of the spirit of God within us."[1] Here again he gave the mystical thought of the divine operations of God within man.

The difference between God and nature he explained by saying that "God is an universal all; and nature, or desire, is an universal want, viz. to be filled with God."[2] God is omnipotent Love that can do nothing but works of love; nature and creature are as a patient under a doctor's care who desires only the full recovery of the patient. All things are therefore for the good of the patient because love is the doer of both.[3] "Love is the Christ of God; wherever it comes, it comes as the blessing and happiness of every natural life, as the restorer of every lost perfection, a redeemer of all evil, a fulfiller of all righteousness, and a peace of God which passeth all understanding. "[4] All unrest

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1. Law. Liberal and Mystical Writings. p. 30
2. Ibid. p. 31
3. Ibid. p. 31
4. Ibid. p. 36

and dissatisfaction in the world comes through a lack of being governed by love. "If you ask why the spirit of love cannot be displeased, cannot be disappointed, cannot complain, accuse, resent, or murmur, it is because divine love desires nothing but itself; it is its own good, it has all when it has itself, because nothing is good but itself and its own working; for love is God; and 'he that dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God'".[1] The opposite of this, covetousness, envy, pride, and wrath, are the four elements of self, or nature, or hell and are inseparable from it. The one way of dying to this self is "the way of patience, meekness, humility, and resignation to God."[2] "For whilst you shut up yourself in patience, meekness, humility, and resignation to God, you are in the very arms of Christ, your whole heart is His dwelling place, and He lives and works in you."[3]

Thus in the study of these three writings we can see the heart of Law's mystical self. A belief in the love of God and His indwelling presence through Christ in the heart of the believer pervades his whole teaching. Wrath has no place in the divine nature, for God is love. Evil and punishment are a result of man's own nature, and God has provided, in His love, a way of escape. Whatever Behmen's influence, Law departed from it in order to give life and warmth to his teachings. Inge gave as the defects in

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1. Law. Liberal and Mystical Writings. p. 36
2. Ibid. p. 40
3. Ibid. p. 40

Law's later writings his adoption of some of the more fantastic theories of Behmen and his extreme anti-intellectualism.[1] But Inge added this tribute, "A study of the 'Serious Call', 'The Spirit of Love'..... will not make the reader a better Catholic or a better Protestant, but they cannot fail to make him a better Christian."[2]

E. SUMMARY

Throughout William Law's writings we see the reaction against the rationalism of the day. Law stressed two things: man's duty to live wholly to God, and God's eternal love and presence within man. In the face of a belief in a transcendent God, Law upheld the immanence of the Deity; in contrast with the cold utilitarian view of morality, he showed the spiritual necessity and duty of virtue. He expounded a mystical interpretation of man in his relationship with God, and called men to desert the cold indifference of the day, and to come into a close and natural union with God.

Law's importance at this period is that he is not ashamed to be an "enthusiast", but is willing to face the scepticism and rationalism of the day and give a devout, mystical tone to religious experience. As a devotional writer he will be long remembered by his "Serious Call" which continues to live and influence the thinking of men. But he stands out, too, as one of the foremost mystical divines, and will be

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1. Inge. Studies of English Mystics. p. 169
2. Ibid. p. 172

more closely studied in this respect as the interest in mysticism grows. His works found twofold importance in furthering evangelism and in aiding the progress of the High Church party in the Established Church.

CHAPTER IV.

THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL

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Along with the turbulence of the period, with its radical theories and attempts at overthrow, there grew up a movement to preserve the evangelical faith. William Law, though himself most decidedly not a conscious member of the Evangelical Revival, played a large part in originating the movement by stating the necessity of an appeal that would stir men's hearts and make them glow. Such appeals were his "Serious Call" and "Christian Perfection". Aside from this, however, Law took no part in the movement; he is described more as a precursor than a leader in the Revival. The beginning of this movement rested upon three men as leaders; John Wesley, George Whitefield, and Charles Wesley. Theirs was the task of organizing the work and carrying it forward to its success.

A. METHODISM

John Wesley was born in Epworth in 1703, and was the son of the Reverend Samuel Wesley, a clergyman in the Established Church, and of Susanna Annesley, the daughter of a dissenting clergyman. From his parents he received the desire for learning and the methodical order which later marked his work. In 1720 he entered Oxford University, and

shortly after his graduation was made fellow in Lincoln College, Oxford. In 1727 he received his master's degree and returned to Epworth to become his father's curate. Two years later he returned to Oxford as lecturer, and presiding officer over the debates.

On his return to Oxford he found a small group of men formed by his brother Charles, whose purpose was for mutual improvement of mind and soul of its members. They placed themselves under the leadership of John, who was older and at the same time an ordained clergyman. They met at stated times for prayer and study and began to win the derision of the other students, who gave them such nicknames as "The Holy Club", the "Godly Club", the "Reformers", and finally the one which became their name, the "Methodists".

Soon after this he was offered the place of chaplain for the colony in Georgia by General Oglethorpe, and, accompanied by his brother Charles, he undertook this mission. He was a complete failure in this venture, but one important result of this trip was his acquaintanceship with the Moravians. His conversion took place at one of their meetings in Aldersgate Street, May 24, 1738, by his account.[1] He was greatly influenced by Peter Bohler, a Moravian. Following this he went to Herrnhut in Germany for association with the Moravians

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1. Wesley. Journal. vol. i, p. 102

for awhile, but always remained in the Established Church.

Whitefield, in the meantime, had begun preaching in open-air meetings, having been refused the right to preach in the churches. Wesley did not greatly favor such preaching, but on his return accepted an invitation from Whitefield to come to Bristol and preach to the miners.[1] He immediately became converted to field preaching, afterwards writing the words, "I look upon all the world as my parish".[2] As a result of the work of these men the Methodist cause prospered, and the first Methodist Church was planned and built at Bristol. Before this was completed, however, Wesley secured an old cannon foundry near Moorfields, and remodeled it into a large plant. Charles Wesley, John Wesley, George Whitefield and several others were preaching almost incessantly during the week, and several times on Sunday.

His diaries give a full account of his activities. Constantly he referred to the various places he preached and the results he obtained. The foundry seemed to have been his general headquarters, and here he built up a very active society. Everywhere he went he was attended by large and attentive congregations, to whom he preached and with whom he prayed. Testimony and praise were vital parts of his work. He even examined the ministers, as he wrote, "We had a little conference with about thirty preachers. I particularly inquired concerning their grace, and gifts,

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1. Wesley. The Journal of the Reverend John Wesley. vol. i, p. 184
2. Ibid. vol. i, p. 201

and fruit; and found reason to doubt of one only."[1] He laid great stress upon the intervention of God and the power of prayer in his work. In his diary he said, "I preached at Ferry in my way, and in Epworth market place about seven. The rain began just as I began speaking; but God heard the prayer and it was stayed."[2] On the whole his work was strenuous and attended with great results.

Wesley was a strong believer in Christian Perfection. Sanctification was one of his main tenets. In telling of those who had reached this state he cited the increase in numbers of those reaching this stage in the years 1759-62. He says, "In the years 1759, 1760, 1761, 1762, their numbers multiplied exceedingly, not only in London and Bristol, but in various parts of Ireland as well as England. Not trusting to the testimony of others, I carefully examined most of these myself; and in London alone I found six hundred and fifty two members of our society who were exceeding clear in their experience, and of whose testimony I could see no reason to doubt."[3] Throughout his works he showed confidence that the kingdom of God was coming and that even the evil of Deism was simply making the Christians more ready and tested to receive real Christianity.[4]

Doctrinal differences arose between Wesley and Whitefield. Wesley was a strong advocate of free grace and looked

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1. Wesley. The Journal of the Reverend John Wesley. vol. ii, p. 197
2. Ibid. vol. ii, p. 387
3. Wesley. The Works of the Reverend John Wesley. Sermons. vol. ii, p. 223
4. Ibid. vol. ii, p. 362

with distrust upon Calvinism, while Whitefield was a staunch Calvinist, holding the doctrine of election, with salvation of the elect only, and damnation of the non-elect. Wesley, holding to the doctrine of universal salvation, differed sharply with him, which resulted in a split between the workers, but fortunately not in a destruction of friendship between them. This resulted in the Calvinistic controversy in which Lady Huntingdon, a wealthy countess, and Toplady upheld the Calvinistic side, while John Fletcher of Madeley supported Wesley in the Arminian. Fletcher was a man of singular beauty of spirit and was regarded by Wesley as the one to succeed himself, but the older man outlived his chosen successor. The result of this controversy was to divide the Methodists into two groups. the Calvinistic Methodists and the Wesleyan Methodists.

Wesley made what was regarded by many as a mistake when he appointed Dr. Coke as a Superintendent. because of its practical equivalency to ordination, which made Wesley appear to usurp the authority of a bishop. Dr. Coke was a valuable help in the work, and was strongly missionary in sentiment. He made eighteen trips across the Atlantic and was said to have been the practical founder of the Wesleyan missions. There were other lesser luminaries of the Methodist movement, such as Dr. Adam Clarke, Thomas Walsh, Mr. Perronet, Sir John Thorold, Thomas Olivers, and others, but these cannot be mentioned in such a short space.

The leaders had no intention of founding a separate body from the Established Church, but as the movement

progressed, it naturally drifted into a self-existent organization. It was too radically different from the regular organization of the Established Church to remain within it, with its bands, its class meetings, its testimony, and its field preaching. Both of the Wesleys remained members of the Established Church until their deaths, Charles Wesley being buried in the parish churchyard of which he was a member.

Besides the zeal and warmth in personal religion fostered by the Methodists, three other important contributions followed this phase of the Evangelical revival. These were: the development of a new hymnology and literature; the new emphasis on field preaching to the common man; and the growth of a Methodist Church with its unique organization. Charles Wesley was largely responsible for the new type of hymns, which were filled with sweetness and warmth in contrasts to the older doggerel form, and others, as Watts, Doddridge, Toplady, and Olivers, contributed to the collection. The writings of Wesley and the Sermons of Whitefield, together with the controversial writings of Toplady and Fletcher form the literature of the movement.

The organization of the Wesleyan Methodist groups was unique in its elaborate system of societies. The class meeting, which was originally formed to secure finances for a church at Bristol, the Love Feast, Watch Nights, Quarterly tickets, Band Meetings, the arragement of the societies in circuits, and the conferences, together with

the legal hundred appointed by Wesley as the trustees of the churches, form the unique elements in Methodism, many of which exist till now.

B. THE EVANGELICALS

The Evangelicals, although often confused with the Methodists, were really separate from them, but tended toward the same evangelizing direction. Their differences in doctrine were mainly with the system of Wesley. The Evangelicals naturally opposed his Christian Perfection and his anti-Calvinism, as they were moderate Calvinists. Their work was not with the lower and lower-middle classes as was that of the Methodists, but with the upper and upper-middle classes. The main distinguishing mark of the Methodists was the organization of the groups into societies. However, in spite of these differences, there was marked similarity in work and in the felt need for a warm evangelization within the church.[1]

Several men stand out as prominent Evangelical clergymen, none of whom were connected with the Methodist movement. James Hervey, William Grimshaw of Haworth, John Berridge of Everton, Willian Romaine, Henry Venn, Thomas Scott, Richard Cecil, Joseph Milner, Isaac Milner, Samuel Walker of Truro, Thomas Adam of Winteringham, Thomas Robinson of Leicester, and William Richardson of York are the natural leaders of

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1. Overton. The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century. pp. 44-59

of this group. Because of the number of them, it will be necessary to treat each one briefly, but in them we will find the trend of the movement.

James Hervey (1714-1758) was an Evangelical of first rank. He was content to work within his own parish, and was a moderate Calvinist. His writings were very popular with the Evangelicals. He was a pupil of Wesley at college, and was always regarded with friendly interest by him. His most prominent book was "Theron and Aspasio" which was an exposition of Calvinism. His devotional work was entitled, "Meditations among the Tombs", and seems to have found much popularity among the people of that day.[1]

William Grimshaw (1708-1763) was a parochial clergyman in a wild and desolate region, It is said that while the hymn was being sung before the sermon he would go out with a horsewhip and drive in the loiterers of the village to the church. Many other ways were used by him to determine the spiritual condition of his parishioners, and the people greatly feared him. However, he was a devout man and sincerely worked for the bettering of his people. He was one of the few parochial ministers who sympathized with John Wesley, even building a Methodist Church within his parish and engaging in some itinerate work himself, preaching daily. Like Hervey, he was a moderate Calvinist.[2]

John Berridge (1716-1793) resembled Grimshaw to a

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1. Overton. The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century. pp. 44-59
2. Ibid. pp. 60-62

great extent. He was a man of considerable culture, being a fellow of Clare Hall, Cambridge. He was greatly in sympathy with the Methodist movement, but continued as minister at Everton. He did considerable itinerate work in the community against the opposition of the curates whose territory he invaded. His literary works, dealing with the Calvinistic controversy, are of little value and influence.[1]

William Romaine (1714-1795) was a more orderly type of Evangelical leader than the three just mentioned. He was of French extraction, his father having been a Freanch Protestant who fled to England for refuge. This explains in a measure his trend toward the Evangelical side, as the Huguenots were of this nature. He was perhaps the most learned of the leaders of this movement. He had been in Oxford during the rise of the Methodist movement, but had not been connected with it. He published a new edition of Calasio's Hebrew Lexicon and Concordance which met with great esteem. His work lay largely in the city where he drew great crowds. He was a Calvinist, but held aloof from the controversy. Overton says, "Take him for all in all, William Romaine was the strongest man connected with the Evangelical branch of the revival."[2] His "Life, Walk, and Triumph of Faith" was a more powerful work than Hervey's and its Calvinism more pronounced. Its style is dreary and

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1. Knight. Lady Huntingdom and Her Friends. pp. 124-26
   Binns. The Evangelical Movement in the English Church. pp. 11ff; 26 ff.
2. Overton. The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century. p. 68

deals with abstract questions, but it was perhaps the best of the Evangelical works.[1]

Henry Venn (1724-1797), like Romaine, was a man of culture and of a devout life. Like Romaine, he had been chaplain of Lady Huntingdon, and had withdrawn from the connection after her separation in 1781. He was less severe and less extreme as a Calvinist than Romaine. His work was in Huddersfield, where he worked for only eleven years before his health gave way, but he accomplished much while there. The last years of his life were spent at Yelling. His book, "Complete Duty of Man", the first of which treats evangelical doctrines, while the last is taken up with practical duties, attained wide popularity and was widely studied.[2]

John Newton (1725-1807) had been reared in a religious home, but had sunk into degradation, even becoming a slave-trader. However, there came the desire to improve himself both in mind and in spirit. He became well acquainted with the classics, and became a devoted and sincere Christian. He sought holy orders because he felt equipped through his own experience to preach that Christ came to save sinners. He was curate of Olney, where William Cowper was a member of his parish, and later went to London. His "Cardiphonia"

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1. Knight. Lady Huntingdom and Her Friends. pp. 64 ff.
2. Ibid. pp. 97 ff; Overton. The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century. pp. 68-69; Binns. Ibid. pp. 22 ff; 60; 88

and "Omicron" were at first merely letters to individuals, but later were adapted to larger circulation. They were deservedly ranked among the devotional literature of the period.[1]

Thomas Scott (1746-1821) had to pass through severe intellectual struggles before attaining the final triumph over Socinianism, but he, too, became a leader of the Evangelicals. He succeeded Newton at Olney where he met many difficulties, and at last exchanged it for the chaplaincy of the Lock Hospital in London. He was not a popular leader, his repelling disposition being due largely to a struggle with poverty throughout his life. His works were a "Commentary" and the "Force of Truth", the latter being an account of his changing from a Socinian to an orthodox, Evangelical clergyman.[2]

Richard Cecil (1748-1810) was a delicate, highly cultured man, who had no great difficulties to face in his ministry. His "Remains" were a collection of his writings on miscellaneous subjects connected with Christianity. They are brief, but show culture and refinement and a grasp of principles mingled with a width of sympathy.[3]

Joseph Milner (1744-1797) was a classical scholar, and had engaged in scholastic work before entering the ministry.

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1. Overton. The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century. pp. 70-74. Binns. The Evangelical Movement in the English Church. p. 24 f.
2. Overton. Ibid. pp. 74-78. Binns. Ibid. pp. 13; 18ff.
3. Overton. Ibid. pp. 78-80. Binns. Ibid. pp. 2; 25

He became a popular favorite, in spite of his evangelical tendencies, and was appointed shortly before his death to Holy Trinity. He is chiefly connected with the Revival as a writer. His "Church History" was partly written by him, and partly by others. It was to be an ecclesiastical history on a new plan,[1] which was to give the history of real, not nominal Christians. He was to omit controversies and to celebrate piety. In spite of its defects, it is a refreshing work, and one which justly renders the writer famous.[2]

Isaac Milner (1751-1820) had had a singularly brilliant career at Cambridge. He attained high position at Cambridge, becoming president of Queen's College and Dean of Carlisle. He greatly forwarded Evangelical doctrines there, which accounts for the lack of opposition to them in this school.[3]

Samuel Walker (1719-1760), Thomas Adam (1701-1784), Thomas Robinson (1749-1813) and William Richardson (1745-1821) all followed the above leaders as evangelicals, but were not considered among the first rank. There were perhaps many others within the Church of England who carried on the Evangelical cause, but the ones mentioned held the leading places, and all contributed greatly to the work.[4]

One other needs to be mentioned as a leader in the

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1. Milner. The History of the Church of Christ. Intro. vol. i, p. iii
2. Overton. The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century. pp. 80-81
3. Ibid. pp. 81-82
4. Ibid. pp. 82-83

Evangelical movement. William Cowper, though not a minister, aided the movement greatly by his poetry. He was a member of the parish of Olney, where Newton and Scott had labored. His poetry is based on the pure religious doctrines and are highly evangelical and warmly spiritual. With possibly the exception of a few lighter pieces, the underlying strain of all his poetry is strongly of Christian sentiment. Just as his religion is due to the Evangelical movement, so might his poetry be attributed to the same cause.[1]

In summing up these leaders it is best to simply state that they were all laboring within the Established Church with no desire to separate. They were mainly Calvinistic in doctrine, and all strove to bring about a purer religion among their people. Stephen tended to disparage them because of their methods of bringing the people to religion. He said that "The Evangelicals discovered that by bringing out once more the old pictures of heaven and hell, and substituting dogmatism for abstract argument, they could still move an audience to frenzy, and permanently raise the warmth of religious feeling."[2] Whatever their faults they were sincere and hard-working men, and earnestly sought to bring about reformation within the church. They differed from the Methodists in organization

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1. Overton. The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century. p. 92. Binns. The Evangelical Movement in the English Church. pp. 16 ff. 81
2. Stephen. English Thought in the Eighteenth Century. vol. ii, p. 429

and in some doctrines, but essentially they were forwarding the same ends. Much credit is due them for their efforts and for their accomplishments.

C. RESULTS OF THE EVANGELICAL REVIVAL

In treating the results of this movement, the references to the development of the Methodist Church will not be repeated, though this was one of the principal results of the revival. Even though the establishment of a separate church was not the aim of the Wesleys, yet this followed and remains to this day a distinct contribution of the movement.

Coupled with this was Wesley's insistence upon education of the young. He obtained a school in Kingswood in 1740,[1] and prepared for it several text-books. He was not very successful with the venture, but his interest in Sunday Schools was warm and was more fruitful. The Wesleyan Societies took up the Sunday Schools warmly and the Evangelical clergy were vitally interested in this work. This interest in Sunday Schools was a feature of the Evangelical revival.

A second result of this movement was the abolishment of the slave trade. The Quakers had done much work in this respect, but the real success is attributed to Wilberforce, a lay Evangelical, who did much in Parliament, and whose principles were shaped by the Evangelical school. His helpers in this project in Parliament were likewise Evangelical.

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1. Wesley. The Journal of the Reverend John Wesley. vol. i, p. 251

We must not forget that Cowper, too, exerted powerful influence in this work through his poetry. To these men is generally attributed the final abolishment of this trade in England.

The Religious Tract Society was a direct result of the Revival. It was founded in 1799 with Rowland Hill as the chairman of the committee. John Wesley had been a great writer and distributor of tracts, and other societies had existed for this purpose, but the Religious Tract Society became the largest and most permanent of these institutions and had as its exclusive function to circulate the tracts to the poor.

Two Bible Societies found their beginning in the Evangelical movement, due to the interest in the Scriptures awakened by the revival. The first was the Naval and Military Bible Society, formed in 1780, probably occasioned by the effect produced by Methodism upon the British army. Within twenty years it had distributed no less than thirty thousand copies of the Bible. The British and Foreign Bible Society was founded in 1804 and was caused by the application in 1787 by a Welsh clergyman for a supply of Bibles in the Welsh tongue. A scarcity of Bibles in this tongue was found, which led to the determination to supply Bibles elsewhere, and consequently this society was formed.

The work of Foreign Missions also received a great stimulus from the revival. Dr. Coke was one of the prime movers in this field, and the movement started by him developed into the Wesleyan Missionary Society, founded in 1817,

which still exists and carries on extensive work. The London Missionary Society was also an outgrowth of the revival. It was founded in 1795 and included dissenters as well as churchmen. It became more and more dissenting, finally being controlled by the Congregational Church exclusively.

The Church Missionary Society was founded in 1799, and was perhaps the most characteristic product of the revival. A legacy had been left for the propagation of the gospel, and the Eclectic Society, which met to discuss how best to send the gospel to foreign parts, formed this organization. It has met with great success.

Lady Huntingdon's college at Trevecca is another of the results. It was established as a training school for ministers, and its result was to train dissenting ministers.[1]

As to the subjective influences of this movement, it greatly helped in checking the revolutionary and radical spirit of the times, and imparted zeal and warmth even into the Established Church. Practical benevolence was infused into the church as is seen in the establishment of the societies. The movement also aided greatly the dissenters especially through the college at Trevecca.[2]

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1. Knight. Lady Huntingdon and Her Friends. pp. 164 ff.
2. For results see also: Overton. The Evangelical Revival in the Eighteenth Century. pp. 131-161; Walker. A History of the Christian Church. pp. 518-522. Binns. The Evangelical Movement in the English Church.

D. SUMMARY

The Evangelical Revival, as we have seen, divided into two courses -- one leading to Methodism, and the other to the development of the Low Church party within the Established Church. It was but natural that this separation should take place, because Methodism stressed Arminian freedom of the will and appealed to the masses, while the Evangelical party remained Calvinistic in doctrine and appealed to those within the church. They were united in an endeavor to foster a warmer religious experience and in their employment of Evangelistic principles, and they, together, succeeded in bringing to the world a more fervent, warmer spirit of devotion. Their appeal was not intellectual, but stressed experience and emotion.

In summarizing the results of the revival, the principal one was the formation of the Low Church party within the Church of England, and the development of the Methodist system as a separate organization. The movement brought about a greater endeavor to promulgate the gospel within England through the missionary activities of both Methodism and Dissenters and of the Established Church. This movement was important in re-establishing a warm, experiential religious development in the face of the cold rationalism of the day, and in bringing to the church a realization of its missionary responsibilities. With the exception of Milner's Church History and Cowper's poetry, the literature of the movement is of little value today, but it is through

the continuance of the personal, evangelical trend that the influence of the Revival lives today.

CHAPTER VI.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

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In the foregoing chapters we have endeavored to trace the development in English religious thought during the eighteenth century, and to discover the permanent contribution of the thought of this century. We have dealt with movements, studied in the works of their leaders, which directly influenced religious thought of that period and of the following periods. In this study several findings have emerged, which we shall state in this concluding chapter.

As to the general divisions of the century, in the terms of movements, we find four outstanding. The Radical Overthrow movement, led by Hobbes, Mandeville and Hume, and culminating in Gibbon and Paine; the movement toward a change in emphases and a development of new creedal standards, including the Bangorian, Deistic, Subscription, Unitarian, and Utilitarian controversies; the movement of orthodoxy, composed of the apologists, chief of whom were Butler and Paley; and the movement to develope a warmer and more devout religious life, as shown in the Evangelical movement and in Mysticism; these four mark the progress

of thought in this period.

The second movement naturally accomplished much, and was perhaps the most important of the four. As its result we see a rationalizing trend in Biblical criticism and theology, and an appeal not only to tradition and authority, but to reason as well. The Bangorian controversy, while not of great importance, left its effects upon the authority of the church. Likewise the Subscription controversy accomplished a little in the breaking down of the dominance of the Established Church. As a result of the Unitarian controversy, the Unitarian Church was strengthened and its influence extended to America. The Deistic controversy was the outstanding controversy of the period, and left its mark in the rationalizing tendency of theologians and critics and in the appeal to reason. The closely allied and overlapping Utilitarian movement left its mark too upon the thought of the age in an increased study of the causes of morality and the uses of virtue.

The defenders of orthodoxy left a tangible contribution in the works of Paley and Butler. Both of these unite in an endeavor to make consistent the historic faith and reason, and while they developed no new theology or arguments, they served as a balancing influence in the struggle between reason and revelation. The fact that both are still read is enough to show the value of their works, and their solid reasoning.

Mysticism, looking to Law as its leader, found expression in the following century in the mysticism of the poets,

particularly Wordsworth and Coleridge. It is true that the poets approached closely to pantheism, but it was a pantheistic mysticism in which God is really everything, while in ordinary pantheism everything is God. Romanticism in the nineteenth Century is a result of the development of the eighteenth century religious thought. And in dealing with the results of mysticism we must not overlook the increased interest in the subject in our own day and the influence of Law upon present mystical thought. Inge showed quite clearly the influence of Law in this respect.

The Evangelical Revival is to be credited with two tangible results; the development of Methodism, and the development within the Established Church of the Low Church party. It is this evangelical spirit which appealed to the masses, while the controversialists were appealing to the intellectuals. There is no need to discuss the influence of Methodism save to say that it spread throughout the world in a remarkable way. Through the revival a new interest came in missions and in charity, which has steadily grown until today the mission enterprise is an established part of church endeavor. The influence of the Bible Societies and Tract Societies was of no small dimensions, and their influence was exerted upon the masses in bringing to them the gospel. The movement developed an emphasis on experience rather than creed. Even though its leaders remained orthodox, yet the emphasis on experience was brought to the masses.

We would also notice that the movements of this century

were all based upon the struggle to adapt religious thought to the new emphasis brought in by philosophy, as fostered by DesCartes and Locke, and to the new scientific discoveries of the age, and the spirit of critical enquiry resulting from it. Tradition could no longer be accepted as consistent with science and philosophy, and in spite of the evil effects, such as an emphasis upon rationalism, we find a great contribution of this century in applying a rational criticism to tradition, while even the critical method in its application to the Scriptures has had the positive value of drawing attention to the development of exact exegesis and interpretation. Hume's critical scepticism awoke Kant from his dogmatic slumbers and led to the transcendental philosophy of Kant, Schelling, Schleiermacher, and Hegel, which were in turn partly through the influence of Coleridge, and partly through new schools of Scottish and English philosophy to lead in the nineteenth century to fresh developments in the religious life of Britain.

Thus we cannot but feel that the eighteenth century was a crucial period in the development of English thought. Hunt sums it up as follows: "Our obligations to it (the eighteenth century) are greater than we commonly suppose. It was the golden age of English practical common sense. To it we owe the cultivation of the spirit of inquiry and the exercise of the faculty of reasoning. It was something to have fanaticism and superstition chased out of the world. A wave of reaction indeed came with the extravagence of the first Methodists; but this was only in accordance with the known laws of progress. Most of the great religious

institutions which now flourish in the fulness of their strength were begun in the eighteenth century."[1]

And as we close this study, we can join with Hunt in this view, that this century accomplished much in the development of religious thought and institutions, and that we, today, are indebted to this period for much of our own thought and our own institutions.

Thus the eighteenth century developed a too negative position, that of rationalism, which was carried on in the nineteenth century. The great need was of faith and the conservation of the essence of Christianity. It remains the task of the twentieth to develope the positive position in counteracting the influence of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

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1. Hunt. Religious Thought in England. vol. iii, p. 400

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