

# AN EVANGELICAL ECCLESIASTIC

by A. APPLETON PACKARD

**T**O many people today the name of Bishop Warburton is better known for the Warburton Lectures which he founded than for his own works. It is good to be reminded of his place in the religious life of his own age. The author, a minister of the American Episcopal Church, is Prior of the Western House of the Order of the Holy Cross, in Santa Barbara, California. His churchmanship is somewhat removed from what we are accustomed to in THE EVANGELICAL QUARTERLY, and therefore we appreciate the more his fellowship with us in contributing this interesting study to our pages.

**T**HIS is neither a biography nor an adequate treatment of its subject. But it does attempt an evaluation of the position and work of one of the foremost English prelates of the eighteenth century who directly influenced the beginnings of the Oxford Movement in the nineteenth, as Brilioth shows.<sup>1</sup> He was, in truth, an Evangelical before the Evangelicals.

The Rt. Rev. William Warburton, D.D., was Bishop of Gloucester, 1758-1779. We will consider his life and writings under five heads: personality; publications of *Alliance*, *Legation*, and *Grace*; and protestation against Methodism.

## I. PERSONALITY

A contemporary account—not that of such a subsequent biographer as Watson<sup>2</sup> (the only one, for that matter!)—points out, regarding his personality, that he was a man of scholastic attainment, theological research, and controversial talent.<sup>3</sup> It is painful to record, he tells us, that Warburton and Lowth (Bishop of Oxford, 1760-1770), were so violent in their mutual vehemence and protracted love of controversy that they turned those weapons too much against each other. They would have been formidable in a joint attack against their common enemies the Deists, but their divisions consequently caused much regret among the friends of the Church. It ought to be added, however, that the greater pro-

<sup>1</sup> Yngve Brilioth, *A History of the Anglican Revival* (London, 1925).

<sup>2</sup> John Selby Watson, *The Life of William Warburton, D.D.* (London, 1863).

<sup>3</sup> John White Middelton, *An Ecclesiastical Memoir of the First Four Decades of the Reign of George the Third* (London: L. B. Seeley, 1822), 14.

portion of censure attaches to the memory of the former. His talents fitted him rather for the bar than the pulpit.

Samuel Johnson in his *Life of Pope* describes the Bishop thus: "He was a man of vigorous faculties ; a mind fervid and vehement, supplied by incessant and unlimited inquiry, with wonderful extent and variety of knowledge, which yet had not oppressed his imagination, nor clouded his perspicacity."<sup>4</sup> He adds: "To every work he brought a memory full fraught, together with a fancy fertile of original combinations, and at once exerted the powers of the scholar, the reasoner, and the wit. But his knowledge was too multifarious to be always exact, and his pursuits too eager to be always cautious. His abilities gave him a haughty confidence, which he disdained to conceal or mollify ; and his impatience of opposition disposed him to treat his adversaries with such contemptuous superiority as made his readers commonly his enemies, and excited against the advocate the wishes of some who favoured the cause."

Such is the description given of him by an able critic. From him we learn also that his literary zeal in defending Alexander Pope against Bolingbroke was the occasion of bringing him into notice. The poet introduced him to Mr. Murray, by whose interest he became preacher at Lincoln's Inn ; and to a Mr. Allen, who gave him his niece and his estate, and by consequence a bishopric!

His difference with Lowth—referred to above as illustrative of their acrimoniousness in debate—originated in their opposite opinions concerning the Book of Job. Warburton conceived it to have been the production of Ezra, some time between the return of the Jews from the Captivity at Babylon and their thorough settlement in their own country. Lowth recognized Job himself as the author, at a period anterior to Moses. That two able divines should be betrayed into acrimonious retorts upon such a question is a remarkable commentary on the language of the Apostle: "Behold, how great a matter a little fire kindleth!" (James 3: 5).<sup>5</sup>

Pope brought this fiery litterateur to notice. This must be repeated and stressed. And after the publishing of the *Essay on Man*, the fact seems to have been that Pope was distracted in his religious views by the counter-influences of two such very powerful but opposite minds as Warburton and Bolingbroke. He might well have become somewhat confused in his ideas! It is evident that Bolingbroke himself dreaded the influence of Warburton, for

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, 17.

he alludes constantly and almost nervously to "the foul-mouthed critic whom I know you have at your elbow," and anticipates objections which he suspected the "dogmatical pedant" would raise.

Lowth writes to Warburton: "I thought you might have pilloried me in the *Dunciad* [of Pope] of which you are the legal proprietor."<sup>6</sup> Leslie Stephens puts the matter concisely<sup>7</sup>: ". . . as the only question raised about Pope's verses by anybody, except Warburton, was whether the poetry was good enough to float the bad philosophy, it was hardly to be supposed that the philosophy without the poetry would be tolerable."<sup>8</sup>

Warburton was an equally enthusiastic admirer of the philosopher Locke, and expressed his admiration thus: "Mr. Locke, the honour of this age and the instructor of the future. . . . That great philosopher. . . . It was Mr. Locke's love of it [Christianity] that seems principally to have exposed him to his pupil's [Lord Shaftesbury's] bitterest insults."<sup>9</sup>

He was opposed to the Deists, deeply so.<sup>10</sup> We must not be surprised to find him suggesting mildly that "he would hunt down that pestilent herd of libertine scribblers with which the island is overrun, as good King Edgar did his wolves."<sup>11</sup>

Of Archbishop Tillotson he said, in a criticism both sound and such as would generally commend itself to modern readers: "The Archbishop was certainly a courteous, pious, humane, and moderate man; which last quality was a kind of rarity in those times. His notions of civil society were but confused and imperfect, as appears in the affair of Lord Russell. As to religion, he was amongst the class of Latitudinarian divines. . . . What I admire most were his beneficence and generosity and contempt of wealth. . . . As a preacher I suppose his established fame is chiefly owing to his being the first city divine who talked rationally and wrote purely. I think the sermons published in his lifetime are fine moral discourses. They bear indeed, the character of their author—simple, elegant, candid, clear, rational: no orator, in the Greek and Roman sense of the word, like Taylor; nor a discourser, in

<sup>6</sup> Charles John Abbey and John Henry Overton, *The English Church in the Eighteenth Century*, 2 vols. (London, 1878), I, 222.

<sup>7</sup> *English Thought in the Eighteenth Century*, I, 177; II, 350.

<sup>8</sup> Abbey and Overton, I, 223.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 230.

<sup>10</sup> Watson, 293.

<sup>11</sup> C. J. Abbey, *The English Church and its Bishops*, 2 vols. (London, 1887), I, 239.

their sense, like Barrow."<sup>12</sup> Elsewhere he speaks of "these notable discourses which did such credit to religion, composed by those learned and pious men whom zealots abused by the nickname of Latitudinarian divines."<sup>13</sup> And of a different man, Berkeley, he writes generously to his friend Hurd: "He is indeed, a great man, and the only visionary I ever knew that was."<sup>14</sup>

With this conception of his character, and sufficient excerpts from his works to give a slight view of his feelings, we add one more point, concerning the social status of bishops at this period. There is an odd illustration of the immeasurable distance which separated bishop from curate in Cradock's *Reminiscences*. Bishop Warburton was to preach at St. Lawrence's Church on behalf of the London Hospital.<sup>15</sup> Cradock says: "I was introduced into the vestry by a friend, where the Lord Mayor and others were waiting for the Duke of York, who was their president; and in the meantime, the bishop did everything in his power to entertain and alleviate their patience. He was beyond measure condescending and courteous, and even graciously handed some biscuits and wine in a salver to the curate who was to read prayers!"<sup>16</sup>

Yet, Erastian as he was in some ways as we shall soon see, he complains with characteristic roughness of "the Church being bedstrid by some lumpish minister."<sup>17</sup>

## II. "ALLIANCE"

Of his three principal publications, the first (1736) was *The Alliance Between Church and State*. Written against Hooker's theory of Church and State as identical, it nevertheless produced another type of alliance between the two. To some extent it was based on the Puritan idea that Church and State are two separate and independent bodies. But—and here Warburton diverges from them—they need not always remain so, as they can enter into an alliance, with reciprocal obligations. It is common to both Hooker and the Bishop that they make no differentiation between the national Church and the Christian Church in general.<sup>18</sup>

This attitude was sharply criticized by Whately in 1826 in his *Letters on the Church by an Episcopalian* (anonymously issued). The pith of the book is the relationship of Church to State. Here

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Warburton and Hurd's *Correspondence*, 127.

<sup>13</sup> Abbey & Overton, I, 281.

<sup>14</sup> Correspondence, Letter XV, in Abbey & Overton, I, 611.

<sup>15</sup> Abbey, etc., II, 16.

<sup>16</sup> Quoted in Kilvert's *Life of Bishop Hurd*, 97; Abbey, II, 17.

<sup>17</sup> *Letters from Warburton to Hurd*, second edition, 1809, Letter XLVII, July, 1752.

<sup>18</sup> Brilioth, 65.

Warburton's theory of alliance is opposed, where he says that "the only advantage connection with the State brings to the Church is protection from external violence, and this it is the duty of the State under all circumstances to afford to a religious society."<sup>19</sup>

Nevertheless, his theory is simply one of two independent powers allied together for mutual help.<sup>20</sup> The Church will have real "coercive jurisdiction." A great means of bestowing this coercive power on the Church, he declares at length, "is by conferring a public endowment on its ministers, assigning a fixed share of the national property for their maintainance; thus rendering that religious society, of whose aid the State has so much need, more firm and stable, and destroying that dependency of the clergy on the people which arises from their maintainance by voluntary contribution; and a dependence which, in certain conditions of affairs, may be of great injury to the community, by inducing ecclesiastics, in the hope of securing the people's favour to excite or encourage a spirit of resistance to the civil power, and which must at all times unhappily lessen the dignity and influence of the clergy in the eyes of the whole nation."<sup>21</sup> That is a sample summary of the phraseology employed!

Circumstances, no doubt, forced a good deal of attention to the Church's relation with the State. But these discussions had few directly practical bearings. Hence arises the theoretical and abstract character which they wear in the writings of Warburton and others.<sup>22</sup>

### III. "LEGATION"

His *magnum opus* was "The / Divine Legation / of / Moses / Demonstrated, / on the / Principles of a Religious Deist. / From the Omission of the Doctrine of a / Future State / of / Reward and Punishment / in the / Jewish Dispensation / In Six Books / By / William Warburton, A.M. / Author of The Alliance between Church and State / London: / Printed for Fletcher Gyles, against Gray's Inn / in Holborn. MDCCXXXVIII."<sup>23</sup>

A sample of its involved style follows:

This Truth, then, we beg the Reader always to have in mind; So that when, in the sequel of this Discourse, he meets with ancient Testimonies for the Necessity of Religion to Society, he may be confident, that the Doctrine of a future State of Rewards and Punishments, as the chief Idea included in that term, must principally be meant: And on this account it is that very frequently, where the

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 84.   <sup>20</sup> *Abbey*, II, 114.

<sup>21</sup> *Watson*, 51.

<sup>22</sup> *Abbey*, etc., I, 27.

<sup>23</sup> *Op. cit.*

Ancients speak of those Utilities, which, it is evident from the Subject, can proceed only from the Doctrine of a future State, they pass the Cause under the common Name of Religion: On which account, we have not scrupled, throughout this Discourse, to use the same Liberty in the Application of one Term for the other, without any Apprehension of not being thought to understand our Argument, or of being misunderstood by others.<sup>24</sup>

What is the tremendous work about? This extraordinary author was a man who both astonished and alarmed the lovers of the Bible<sup>25</sup> by maintaining herein that the system of the Jewish law-giver Moses was sanctioned by the doctrine of temporal rewards and punishments alone. He also held some singular opinions concerning the sentiments of the early Jews relative to the human soul, and indulged in other speculative inquiries which were rather calculated to display his argumentative powers than benefit the cause of revealed truth. "These hypotheses, however, were harmless compared with that want of reverence with which he frequently handled divine subjects, and the light manner in which he treated the doctrine of experimental religion in his writings against the Methodists," writes a contemporary, Middelton.

What induced him to begin such a stupendous task? Lord Shaftesbury wrote about 1735 *Characteristics of Men and Manners*, etc., which was thought to be opposed to Christianity.<sup>26</sup> Pope told Warburton "that to his knowledge *The Characteristics* had done more harm to Revealed Religion in England than all the works of Infidelity put together." Warburton, in turn, while admitting this peer's many excellent qualities as a man and writer, speaks of "the inveterate rancor which he indulged against Christianity." These words occur in his "Dedication" of *The Divine Legation of Moses* to the Freethinkers. Jeffery, another writer, argues to the same effect.<sup>27</sup> But it was not Shaftesbury who evoked it.

Tindal the Deist was greatly abhorred by a wide circle of believers. Warburton places him at the head of his party, classifying the Deists, "from the mighty author of *Christianity as Old as the Creation*, to the drunken, blaspheming cobbler who wrote against Jesus and the Resurrection," in a space apart.<sup>28</sup> But it was not Tindal who evoked it.

Among all the English religious productions of the century, next

<sup>24</sup> Book II, Section i; *ibid.*, 89.

<sup>25</sup> Middelton, 16.

<sup>26</sup> See Warburton's *Letters to Hurd*, Letter XVIII, Jan. 30, 1749-50.

<sup>27</sup> *Abbey*, I, 186.

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Watson's *Life of Warburton*, 293; *Abbey*, I, 199.

in importance to Butler's *Analogy* is this far more voluminous and pretentious work, *The Divine Legation*. It is stated in Farrar's Bampton Lectures to have been called forth by Morgan's *Moral Philosopher*. If so, it is somewhat curious that Warburton himself in noticing this book deprecates any answer being given to it. "There is a book called *The Moral Philosopher* lately published. Is it looked into? I should hope not, merely for the sake of the taste, the sense, and learning of the present age. . . . I hope nobody will be so indiscreet as to take notice publicly of the book, though it be only in the fag end of an objection. It is that indiscreet conduct in our defenders of religion that conveys so many worthless books from hand to hand."<sup>29</sup> So it was not, perhaps, Morgan who evoked it.

At any rate we have the Bishop's own authority for saying that his book had special reference to the Deists or Freethinkers—for the terms were then used synonymously. He begins the dedication of the first edition to the Freethinkers with the words: "Gentlemen, as the following discourse was written for your use, you have the best right to this address."

The argument of *The Divine Legation* is stated by Warburton himself in syllogistic form:

I. Whatever Religion and Society have no future state for their support, must be supported by an extraordinary Providence.<sup>30</sup>

The Jewish Religion and Society had no future state for their support. Therefore, the Jewish Religion and Society was supported by an extraordinary Providence.

II. It was universally believed by the ancients on their common principles of legislation and wisdom that whatsoever Religion and Society have no future state for their support, must be supported by an extraordinary Providence. Moses, skilled in all that legislation and wisdom, instituted the Jewish Religion and Society without a future state for its support. Therefore, Moses, who taught, believed likewise that this Religion and Society was supported by an Extraordinary Providence.

The work is a colossal monument of the author's learning and industry, for the range of subjects which it embraces is enormous; and those who cannot agree with his conclusions, either on the main argument, or on the many collateral points raised, must still admire the vast research and varied knowledge the writer displays. It is, however, a book more talked about than read at the present day. Indeed, human life is too short to enable the general reader

<sup>29</sup> Letter to Mr. Birch in 1737, in Nichols' *Literary Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, II, 70.

<sup>30</sup> *Abbey*, I, 214.

to do more than skim cursorily over a production of such gigantic proportions!

Warburton's theory was, of course, novel and startling. Perhaps few, even of the Deistical writers themselves, brought out more criticism and opposition from the orthodox than this doughty champion of orthodoxy. He was decidedly in his element when engaged in controversy, and seemed to be quite willing to meet combatants from whatever side they might come. Wielding his penman's bludgeon with a vigorous hand, he dealt blows now on the orthodox, now on the heterodox, with unsparing and impartial force.

Judged, moreover, from a literary point of view, *The Divine Legation* is too elaborate and discursive to be effective for the purpose for which it was written.<sup>31</sup> Most readers will be inclined to agree with Bentley's verdict, that the writer was "a man of monstrous appetite but bad digestion."

Charles Churchill in *The Duellist*, after much foul abuse, described it thus:

To make himself a man of note,  
He in defence of Scripture wrote.  
So long he wrote and long about it  
That e'en believers 'gan to doubt it !

A gentleman well-bred, if breeding  
Rests in the article of reading ;  
A man of this world, for the next  
Was ne'er included in his text, etc.

Gibbon calls it "a monument, already crumbling in the dust, of the vigour and weakness of the human mind."<sup>32</sup> Bishop Lowth says ironically: "*The Divine Legation*, it seems, contains in it all knowledge, divine and human, ancient and modern ; it treats as of its proper subject, de omni scibili et de quolibet ente ; it is a perfect encyclopedia ; it includes in itself all history, chronology, criticism, divinity, law, politics," etc.<sup>33</sup>

#### IV. "GRACE"

Last of his greater works comes *The Doctrine of Grace* (1762), written after he became Bishop. In it he makes a few thrusts at the Methodists, and it seems well to include them at this point. "Law it was who was the parent of Methodism, and Count Zinzendorf rocked the cradle."<sup>34</sup> A rare combination, indeed! Of

<sup>31</sup> Abbey, I, 215.

<sup>32</sup> See *Life of Gibbon*, ch. VII, 223, note.

<sup>33</sup> See *A Letter to the Right Rev. Author of "The Divine Legation,"* p. 131, quoted in Abbey.

<sup>34</sup> Brilioth, 19.

the Moravian he declares that the Methodists themselves looked on him as a forerunner. He proceeds to warn everyone that Wesley is a wild and malignant hypocrite.<sup>35</sup>

Most of the book occupied itself with abstruse theological questions. Warburton was even suspected of being tainted with Socinianism.<sup>36</sup> That this was untrue may be seen as we summarize and quote from this volume. At that period, in regard to the spiritual powers of wisdom, knowledge, teaching, inspiration, and illumination, it was generally thought necessary to lay down with almost anxious care an impossible distinction between the transient, extraordinary gifts of the Spirit, and those which remained behind as the ordinary and constant endowment of Christ's Church. Warburton's book is, no doubt, a somewhat exaggerated instance of this disposition. Nor should I omit to add that in a later note he complains of his opinions on the subject having been misrepresented.

Yet there is no uncertainty of the dread he shared with the bulk of his contemporaries for anything approaching "enthusiastical" (i.e., Methodistical) pretensions. He did not give much countenance to what William Law and John Byrom said of him—that he represented Scripture, rather than the hearts of good men, to be the temple of the Holy Ghost. "The Scriptures," he writes, "of the New Testament were given by inspiration of God. And thus the prophetic promise of our blessed Master, that the Comforter should abide with us forever, was eminently fulfilled. For though, according to the promise, His ordinary influence occasionally assists the faithful in all ages, yet His constant abode and supreme illumination is in the sacred Scriptures of the New Testament."<sup>37</sup> The aid of the Holy Spirit might be given to enlighten the understanding or rectify the will; but Scripture once established as a sufficient Rule of Faith needed no other interpreter than ordinary human reason. Only fanatics spoke as if the divine communication could be needed to explain obscurities or supply deficiencies.<sup>38</sup>

John Byrom, in the prosaic but sometimes impressive rhymes in which he chose to write theology, says of Warburton and his fellow anti-enthusiasts:

They think that now religion's sole defence  
Is learning, history, and critic sense;

<sup>35</sup> G. R. Balleine, *A History of the Evangelical Party in the Church of England* (London, 1908), 144.

<sup>36</sup> *Abbey & Overton*, I, 510.

<sup>37</sup> *Doctrine of Grace*, Warburton's *Works*, IV, 564.

<sup>38</sup> *Abbey*, I, 548.

That with Apostles, as a needful guide,  
The Holy Spirit did indeed abide:

But having dictated to them a rule  
Of faith and manners, for the Christian school,  
Immediate revelation ceased, and men  
Must now be taught by Apostolic pen.

To look for inspiration is absurd ;  
The Spirit's aid is in the written Word :  
They who pretend to His immediate call,  
From Pope to Quaker are fanatics all.<sup>39</sup>

In the second book of *The Doctrine of Grace* there appears a singular instance of apparent incapacity on the part of a most able reasoner to acknowledge the possible existence in his own day of other spiritual influences than those which may be called ordinary. He is speaking of the splendour of the gifts which shed their glory upon the primitive Church and afterwards passed away. He dwells with admiration on the sudden and entire changes which were made in the dispositions and manner of those whom the Holy Spirit had enlightened.

"Sacred antiquity," he says, "is unmistakable in its evidence on this point, and even the assailers of Christianity confessed it. Conversions were effected among early Christians such as could not be the result of a mere rational conviction.<sup>40</sup> It is utterly impossible for the magisterial faculty of reason to enforce her conclusions with such immediate power, and to win over the will with such irresistible force as to root out at once inveterate habits of vice." "To what must we ascribe so total a reform but to the all-powerful operation of grace?"<sup>41</sup>

So the fall of man, his redemption by Christ, his sanctification by the Holy Spirit, his absolute need of God's grace both preventing and following him—these are doctrines which an unprejudiced reader will find as clearly enunciated in the writings of Warburton as by those who are called *par excellence* Evangelical writers. He writes in *The Doctrine of Grace*<sup>42</sup>: "The doctrine of redemption is the *primum mobile* of the Gospel system. To this the Church must steadily adhere, let the storm against it beat from what quarter it may. It is the first duty of the minister of religion to secure

<sup>39</sup> On Warburton's *Sermon on the Operation of the Spirit*, quoted in Chalmers' *British Poets*, XV, 305.

<sup>40</sup> Abbey, I, 549.

<sup>41</sup> Warburton's *Works*, IV, 568.

<sup>42</sup> *Op. cit.*, 717.

this great foundation. The everlasting Gospel, whose main pillar is this doctrine of redemption," etc. Again<sup>43</sup>: "Preserve the faith pure and entire as it was delivered to the saints under the idea of redemption of the world by the Son of God in the voluntary sacrifice of Himself on the Cross."

And again<sup>44</sup>: "To instruct the world in wisdom and righteousness was but a secondary end of Christ's mission; the first and primary was to become its sanctification and redemption." As he was falsely accused of Socinianism<sup>45</sup> as we mentioned above, it seems necessary to prove his orthodoxy and genuinely evangelical spirit by these assertions of his own authorship.

#### V. AGAINST METHODISM

As for protestations against Methodism, we conclude that the most able though not probably the most effective of its opponents was Bishop Warburton.<sup>46</sup> His remarks in *The Doctrine of Grace*, quoted previously, especially those pertaining to the Spirit's transformation of the early Christians, are true enough. Yet it seems to me incredible that, writing in the very midst of such an extraordinary religious outburst, he should calmly assume the impossibility in all but primitive times of such sudden changes from irreligion to piety, and should even place the miraculous conversions of apostolic times at the head of an argument against Methodism's enthusiasts! Wesley might well remark with some surprise: "Never were reflections more just than these,"<sup>47</sup> and go on to show that the very same changes were constantly occurring still.<sup>48</sup>

Warburton even classed Quakers with Methodists. With the Bible open before them and hearts alive to the teachings of holiness, the generality of religiously-minded Quakers were not likely to be satisfied with what he rightly called not so much a religion as "a divine philosophy, not fit for such a creature as man."<sup>49</sup> The Bishop no more preferred any kind of mysticism or possibilities of personal religious enthusiasm, as seen in the case of the German mystic Jacob Boehme. He refers to him in the most unqualified terms of contempt—unqualified for a controversialist like Warburton.<sup>50</sup>

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, 720.

<sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, 727

<sup>45</sup> *Abbey*, II, 58.

<sup>46</sup> *Abbey*, I, 300.

<sup>47</sup> Letter to the Bishop of Gloucester, *Works*, IX, 151.

<sup>48</sup> *Abbey*, II, 550.

<sup>49</sup> *Alliance*, *Works*, IV, 53.

<sup>50</sup> *Grace*, III, V, *Works*, IV, 306; cf. *Abbey*, II, 573.

Let us hear Wesley in his own defence in this connection. "The Liturgy, the Articles, the Homilies, the great expounders of her creeds, all," he said, "dwell upon the necessity of the enlightening operation of the Holy Spirit. And yet on the mentioning of these great truths, even among men of education,<sup>51</sup> the cry immediately arises, 'An enthusiast!'"<sup>52</sup> Warburton might argue in dignified language that it "could be no wisdom from above which, instead of giving the Christian faith the manly support of moral demonstration, resolves all into internal feelings and mystic spiritualism."<sup>53</sup> Yet he could have no more moved the hearts of living masses to their inmost depths, as Whitefield did, than Whitefield or Wesley could have written *The Divine Legation*. Without the work these men did, Warburton would have been comparatively inefficacious, and without the work he did, Wesley's labours would have been, humanly speaking, impossible.

On the other hand, the hostility of a man like Bishop Warburton was such that none can think that in opposing Methodism he was consciously fighting against God.<sup>54</sup> He wrote: "I have been lately reading the trials and last behaviour of the Regicides. They were mostly, you know, enthusiasts, but, what surprised me, of the same kind with the Methodists. . . . The wicked actions of the Regicides will not suffer us to think their spirit was of God. The moral lives of the Methodists will not suffer us to think theirs of the Devil. What is left but to conclude both a natural enthusiasm? Though the Methodists ought not to be persecuted, yet that the clergy are right in giving no encouragement to this spirit appears from the dismal effects it produced among the fanatics in Charles I's time, who began with the same meekness and humility with these."<sup>55</sup>

He writes to the same correspondent: "I tell you what I think would be the best way of exposing these idle fanatics—the printing passages out of George Fox's journal, and Ignatius Loyola and Whitefield's journals in parallel columns. Their conformity in folly is amazing." To Peter des Maizeaux he confides: "What think you of our new set of fanatics, called the Methodists? I have seen Whitefield's journal, and he appears to me as mad as

<sup>51</sup> Abbey, I, 605.

<sup>52</sup> Letter to the Bishop of Gloucester, *Works*, IX, 170.

<sup>53</sup> *Doctrine of Grace*, ch. VII, *Works*, IV, 633, quoted by Abbey, I, 606.

<sup>54</sup> Abbey, II, 132.

<sup>55</sup> Nichols' *Literary Illustrations of the Eighteenth Century*, Letter from Bishop Warburton to the Rev. Dr. Birch.

ever George Fox, the Quaker, was. There is another of them, one Wesley," etc.<sup>56</sup>

Within a century might be seen the results of such writing and preaching. It was this counterbalancing of Evangelicalism—conservative, biblical, dogmatic—and “enthusiasm”—progressive, scriptural, impulsive—it was this combining of Wesley and Warburton that ushered in a new day for the English Church.

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<sup>56</sup> Abbey and Overton, II, 135.