Acknowledgements

Introduction

This study is an inquiry into the political and theological significance of religious 'enthusiasm' from the Restoration until the Hanoverian succession, and into the writers from diverse backgrounds who attempted to settle the problems enthusiasm presented for the expression of inward, personal piety, as it related to the holy spirit, and the political implications of that expression, as it related to legitimacy and established authority. Religious enthusiasm will be understood in terms of the controversy over whether the will of God could find direct expression within the inspired individual. The textures of this problem will be examined as they were understood from Anglican and nonconformist points of view, in light of late seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century contexts. Its guiding principle will be that these three categories of analysis, namely authority, spirit, and enthusiasm, cannot be fully appreciated without examining them in relation to each other. It will show that the holy spirit and its function in personal piety was a source of religious authority that assumed the highest importance. No early modern Christian denied its active role in the inner spiritual lives of believers, and no observer of early modern politics could afford to ignore the conflicts with established authority that it could provoke. The sites of this inner life - the heart, the mind, the self, and the soul - were, by extension, also sites of engagement with the holy spirit. It will demonstrate that for every variety of early modern Christianity there were corresponding ideas on the role of the holy spirit in personal devotion and, for those who sought to pursue them, yet more ideas on its potential political consequences.

Each of the three headings - authority, spirit, and enthusiasm - have featured in the work of historians individually and in limited ways, but not together in a comprehensive manner. Michael Heyd's study of early modern enthusiasm focuses on the critiques advanced by those who opposed the possibility of divine inspiration, and in doing so reveals how the issue came to be framed in increasingly secular language. The centrepiece of Heyd's study is the tendency for opponents of enthusiasm to explain the phenomenon in terms of medicine and in relation to experimental science,

mechanical philosophy, and Cartesian metaphysics. Heyd's 'integrative approach,' in short, is the scientific language of the Enlightenment.[1] The strengths of Heyd's work also point to its weaknesses. Its geographical coverage comes at the expense of local detail, and this is a point of no small significance in England where the controversy assumed renewed significance after the Restoration. Additionally, the categories employed by Heyd indicate his work's historiographical affinity to the body of research that has come to be defined by Jonathan Israel: the discursive and philosophical high-road to the High Enlightenment.[2] In their wide-ranging collection *Enthusiasm and Enlightenment in Europe, 1650-1850*, enthusiasm is described by Lawrence Klein and Anthony J. La Volpa as an 'Enlightenment smear word', and the characterization is recognizable in much of this historiography, whether as an instrument of abuse in Heyd or as a collection of irrational impulses awaiting mitigation by the radical Enlightenment in Israel.[3]

Undoubtedly, these are worthy endeavours for historians. But if enthusiasm is placed in conjunction with metaphysics, science, Enlightenment, and other modern concerns, the scope of its importance for early modern people cannot be appreciated. Instead it should be placed alongside matters that concerned those of the late-seventeenth century,

[1] Michael Heyd, *'Be Sober and Reasonable': The Critique of Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries* (New York, 1995); Michael Heyd, 'The Reaction to Enthusiasm in the Seventeenth Century: Toward an Integrative Approach', *Journal of Modern History,* 52 (1981), 258-80. Mark Jenner, Adrian Johns, and Nigel Smith have added to this body of scholarship by examining representations of enthusiasm in medicine and physiology. See Mark Jenner, 'Quackery and Enthusiasm, or Why Drinking Water Cured the Plague', in Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningham (eds.), *Religio Medici: Medicine and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England* (Aldershot, 1996), 313-39; Adrian Johns, 'The Physiology of Reading and the Anatomy of Enthusiasm', in Ole Peter Grell and Andrew Cunningman (eds.), *Religio Medici: Medicine and Religion in Seventeenth-Century England* (Aldershot, 1996), 291-314; Nigel Smith, 'Enthusiasm and Enlightenment: of food, filth, and slavery', in Gerald MacLean, Donna Landry and Joseph P. Ward (eds.), *The Country and City Revisited: England and Politics of Culture, 1550-1850* (Cambridge 1999), 106-19.

[2] Jonathan I. Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity* (Oxford, 2002); Jonathan I. Israel, *Enlightenment Contested: Philosophy, Modernity, and the Emancipation of Man* (Oxford, 2006); Jonathan Israel, *A Revolution of the Mind: Radical Enlightenment and the Intellectual Origins of Modern Democracy* (Princeton, 2009). John Marshall has contributed a more conventionally contextualist account of the progress of the early Enlightenment, the role of toleration in it, and the arguments both against and in favour of toleration in his massive *John Locke, Toleration and Early Enlightenment Culture: Religious Intolerance and Arguments For Religious Toleration in Early Modern and 'Early Enlightenment' Europe* (Cambridge, 2006).

[3] Lawrence E. Klein and Anthony J. La Volpa (eds.), *Enthusiasm and Enlightenment in Europe, 1650-1850* (San Marino, 1998).

specifically, the holy spirit, which was the root source of the individual's enthusiasm, and established civil and ecclesiastical authority, which was the potential target of the enthusiast's holy designs. The scholarship comprising the historiographies of the holy spirit and established authority has taken up these issues, but intermittently and in fragments.

For all varieties of English Christianity in this period, the methods of discovering and engaging the holy spirit in oneself, in one's mind, soul, or heart, whether uncontroversially or enthusiastically, refer back to the importance of private, inward, personal piety. As long ago as 1930, Hannah Arendt described the appearance of conscience, confession, and self-reflection, the combined legacy of Augustinian Christianity in Europe, and termed it the 'empire of the inner life'.[4] But with some conspicuous exceptions, historians have not been eager to explore this empire. Scholars of seventeenth-century theology have observed that conceptions of the holy spirit in puritan and nonconformist practices were significant in shaping the character of their personal piety.[5] But generally literary historians and critics have been more interested in pushing into the frontiers of the inner life. They have established that the notion of the inspired muse as an instrument of creative expression and spiritual transcendence, an idea original to classical Greece, found expression in both the early modern and modern periods.[6] Anne Ferry identified an inward literary language and its relation to an inner existence resembling modern representations of consciousness in the sonnets of Thomas Wyatt, Philip Sidney, John Donne, and Shakespeare.

---

[4] Hannah Arendt, 'Augustine and Protestantism', in *Essays in Understanding, 1930-1954: Formation, Exile, and Totalitarianism* (New York, 1994), 24-27.

[5] Good examples of this literature are Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (Chicago,1947); R. T. Kendall, *Calvin and English Calvinism to 1649* (Oxford, 1979); Richard Greaves, *Glimpses of Glory: John Bunyan and English Dissent* (Stanford, 2002). More generally, the entire historiography of civil war and interregnum-era radicalism may be characterized in this way. The literature on the sectarians, many of whom enthusiastically believed in the immediate communication with the divine in one way or another is vast, but cornerstones of it include William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London, 1912); William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (Cambridge, 1961); Rufus M. Jones, *Spiritual Reformers in the 16th and 17th Centuries* (Boston, 1959); Christopher Hill, *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution* (London, 1972).

[6] Bruno Snell, *The Discovery of the Mind: The Greek Origins of European Thought* (Oxford, 1953); John Mee, *Dangerous Enthusiasm: William Blake and the Culture of Radicalism in the 1790s* (Oxford, 1994); Clement Hawes, *Mania and Literary Style: The Rhetoric of Enthusiasm from the Ranters to Christopher Smart* (Cambridge,1996); Shaun Irlam, *Elations: The Poetics of Enthusiasm in Eighteenth-Century Britain* (Stanford, 1999); Philip Edward Phillips, *Milton's Epic Invocations: Converting the Muse* (Bern, 2000); John Mee, *Romanticism, Enthusiasm, and Regulation: Poetics and the Policing of Culture in the Romantic Period* (Oxford, 2010).

Katharine Eisaman Maus has described the inwardness of Elizabethan drama.[7] Barbara Lewalski, Louis L. Martz, and Sharon Achinstein have examined the role of the meditative or reflective inner life in the literary practices of specific writers and its relation to certain strains of seventeenth-century religious belief.[8] Of all these works, Achinstein's examination of the holy spirit's role in nonconformist religious and cultural experiences, particularly as it is portrayed in the writings of John Bunyan, John Milton, and Richard Baxter, has been the most instructive.

In what follows, however, the range of sources consulted will be broadened to include the lesser as well as the iconic figures, in both politics and religion, to acquire a wider perspective on the functions and implications of the holy spirit. As contemporaries were careful about the application of the word 'spirit', it is necessary to clarify the use of the term here. The religious, philosophical, and medical (or anatomical) significations of spirit were often not mutually exclusive. Here it will be the holy spirit, above all, embodied in the trinity as the third entity of the Godhead, the 'spirit of spirits', that will be the main object. The holy spirit finds expression internally within the individual, whose body is the temple of God.[9] As the independent John Owen emphasized, the holy spirit was the only one of the three divine persons that operated directly within the created realm. The holy spirit is thus a necessary extension of an otherwise inscrutable and infinite God.[10] Although this is an uncontroversial reading of the role of the holy spirit in Christian worship, the methods of discovering it in oneself and the manner in which its spiritual functions are carried out in co-operation with the individual were enduring sources of anxiety.

The last of this study's three headings, authority, explores these

---

[7]   Anne Ferry, *The 'Inward' Language: Sonnets of Wyatt, Sidney, Shakespeare, Donne* (Chicago,1983); Katharine Eisaman Maus, *Inwardness and Theatre in the English Renaissance* (Chicago, 1995). David Wootton has performed an analysis of this kind on the poetry and sermons of John Donne in 'John Donne's Religion of Love', in John Brooke and Ian Maclean (eds.), *Heterodoxy in Early Modern Science and Religion* (Oxford, 2005), 31-59.

[8]   Sharon Achinstein, *Literature and Dissent in Milton's England* (Cambridge, 2003); Barbara Lewalski, *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton, 1979); Louis L. Martz, *The Poetry of Meditation: A Study In English Religious Literature of the Seventeenth Century* (New Haven, 1976).

[9]   1 Cor. 3:16: 'Do you not know that you are the temple of God and that the Spirit of God dwells within you?'

[10] Carl R. Trueman, *The Claims of Truth: John Owen's Trinitarian Theology* (Carlisle, 1998), pp. 75-76.

anxieties. In recent years Restoration historians have placed a radical emphasis on the major political upheavals of the 1670s and 1680s. These grand moments typically include the Popish Plot of 1678, the Exclusion Crisis of 1678-81, and the Glorious Revolution of 1688. The choice of emphases vary, but this historiography also incorporates party politics, the 'international' dimensions of British history, and the overwhelming importance of how conceptions of liberty, arbitrary government, and anti-popery interacted to shape the period's political and religious complexion.[11] This is a large and diverse body of work. But when John Spurr remarked that historians have 'looked for little else than the first signs of tensions and developments' that shaped the Popish Plot and Exclusion Crisis, the same complaint may be lodged against historians who have been drawn to the various other major political traumas in the decades following the Restoration.[12] Even studies on appeals to conscience, Protestant or otherwise, have tended to be assimilated into struggles for specific political objectives or broader narratives relating to religious liberty.[13] Questions that

---

[11]   J. R. Jones, *The First Whigs:The Politics of the Exclusion Crisis, 1678-1683* (Oxford, 1961); J. P. Kenyon, *The Popish Plot* (London, 1972); Henry Horwitz, *Parliament, Policy, and Politics in the Reign of William III* (Manchester, 1977); Gary S. De Krey, *A Fractured Society: The Politics of London in the First Age of Party 1688*-1715 (Oxford 1985); Tim Harris, *Restoration: Charles II and His Kingdoms* (London, 2005); Tim Harris, *The Revolution: The Great Crisis of the British Monarchy, 1685-1720* (London, 2006); Mark Knights, *Representation and Misrepresentation in Later Stuart Britain: Partisanship and Political Culture* (Oxford, 2006); Edward Vallance, *The Glorious Revolution, 1688: Britain's Fight For Liberty* (London, 2007); Steven Pincus, *1688: The First Modern Revolution* (New Haven, 2009). Related studies that have focused on notions of arbitrary government, anti-popery, and the international or 'imperial' contexts of the period include Mark Goldie, Tim Harris, and Paul Seaward (eds.), *The Politics of Religion in Restoration England* (Oxford, 1990); Jonathan Scott, *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century English Instability in European Context* (Cambridge, 2000); David Armitage, *Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge, 2000); Ned Landsman (ed.), *Nation and Province In the First British Empire* (Lewisburg, 2001); Jonathan Israel (ed.), *The Anglo-Dutch Moment: Essays on the Glorious Revolution and its World Impact* (Cambridge, 2003). Finally, the perspective provided by the 'puritan whig' Roger Morrice, whose diary begins in 1677 and ends in 1691, is easily assimilable to current preoccupations with anti-popery, arbitrary government, print culture, and their place in the public sphere. Scholarly literature on the last of these has seemingly multiplied exponentially in recent years. For Morrice, see Mark Goldie (ed.), *The Entring Book of Roger Morrice, 1677-1691, Volume I: Roger Morrice and the Puritan Whigs* (Woodbridge, 2007); For print culture and the public sphere, three collections will be taken as representative: Joad Raymond (ed.), *News, Newspapers and Society in Early Modern Britain* (London, 1999); Jason McElligott (ed.), *Fear, Exclusion and Revolution: Roger Morrice and Britain in the 1680s* (Burlington, 2006); Peter Lake and Steve Pincus (eds.), *The Politics of the Public Sphere in Early Modern England* (Manchester, 2007).

[12]   John Spurr, *England in the 1670s: 'This Masquerading Age'* (Oxford, 2000), p. x.

[13]   Richard Ashcraft, *Revolutionary Politics and Locke's 'Two Treatises of Government'* (Princeton, 1986); Richard L. Greaves, *Deliver Us From Evil: The Radical Underground in Britain, 1660-1663* (New York, 1986); Richard L. Greaves, *Enemies Under His Feet: Radicals and Nonconformists in Britain, 1664-1677* (Stanford, 1990);

open sustained inquiry into the significance and quality of the individual's inner life, its political implications, and its consequences for authority do periodically arise in this literature. But they are not its focus, and are consequently not comprehensively formulated.

Throughout this study Anglican conceptions of civil and ecclesiastical authority will be accorded particular attention. One reason for this decision is the straightforward fact that scholarly interest in Anglican opinions on each of the subjects introduced here has not been commensurate with their significance. Another is the fact that the Church of England was the church of the overwhelming majority of the population during this period.[14] There are two historiographical explanations for the first of these two points. The first explanation is absence by omission, and it applies to many of the works described above. Although the effort to re-establish the importance of hierarchy and deference in early modern society, a feature of the revisionist historiography of the 1970s, has emphasized the extent of the Church of England's authority, it has been developed primarily to answer political questions, particularly about parliamentary conflicts. J.C.D. Clark, for example, insisted that seventeenth-century political conflict does not reveal discrete sides engaged in the kinds of oppositional struggles that left-wing historians seek.[15] The utility of this scholarly push is evident for narratives of high politics and, in Clark's case, the attempt to undermine whiggish and liberal notions of progress, but neither of these endeavours will feature in the present study.[16] Other historians and literary critics have generally appeared to find nonconformity more 'enobling', to use Spurr's term, or found the Church itself flaccidly receding into obscurity, the space

---

Ole Peter Grell, Jonathan I. Israel and Nicholas Tyacke (eds.), *From Persecution to Toleration: The Glorious Revolution and Religion in England* (Oxford, 1991); J. R. Jones, *Liberty Secured? Britain Before and After 1688* (Stanford, 1992); Richard L. Greaves, *Secrets of the Kingdom: British Radicals From the Popish Plot to the Revolution of 1688-89* (Stanford, 1992); Laura Brace, *The Idea of Property in Seventeenth-Century England: Tithes and the Individual* (Manchester, 1998). Gary De Krey has outlined the major currents of arguments for conscience that took shape in the 1660s in 'Rethinking the Restoration: Dissenting Cases for Conscience, 1667-1672', *Historical Journal*, 38 (1995), 53-83.

[14] John Spurr, *The Restoration Church of England, 1646-1689* (New Haven, 1991), p. xiii.

[15] J. C. D. Clark, *English Society, 1660-1832: Religion, Ideology and Politics During the Ancien Regime, 1660-1832* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 14; J. C. D. Clark, *Revolution and Rebellion: State and Society in England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries* (Cambridge, 1986), pp. 154-55. Conrad Russell, for example, has also criticized left-wing historians for envisioning social change as an Hegelian 'clash of opposites', in *Unrevolutionary England, 1603-42* (London, 1990), p. x.

[16] On Clark's political and historiographical peculiarities, see David Wootton, 'One Moment of Cowardice', *Times Literary Supplement*, 29 August 2003, 5-6.

it once occupied giving way to secularized variations of Christianity. Either way, the tendency has cumulatively left lacunae in the historiography.[17]

The second explanation is absence by commission. Two intellectual traditions that have been widely influential in shaping historical literature since the 1960s, namely marxism and poststructuralism, opt, on principle, to privilege the literature of resistance, subversion, and transgression over that of acceptance, consent, and co-operation. The final passage of Michel Foucault's *Surveiller et punir,* in which the disciplinary archipelago, the multiform system of subjectification, is haunted by 'le grondement de la bataille', captures two assumptions at work in this approach.[18] One extension of it is that the Church of England, the prevailing authority of Restoration religion and a major force in its politics, empowered by the state from above and by society's polyvalent relations of power from below, is complicit in the marginalization of resisting voices. Stephen Greenblatt, a Foucauldian in literary criticism, characterized early modern instances of resistance as broadly aesthetic, entailing 'charisma, sexual excitement, collective dreams, wonder, desire, anxiety, religious awe, free-floating intensities of experience.'[19] In Greenblatt's *Shakespearean Negotiations*, Anglicanism is a spectre which, in its quest for power, hunted these transcendent moments to extinction. The second extension, whereby the labours of the intellectual are exerted on behalf of those who resist and are marginalized, is most evident in the work of marxists. The influence of Christopher Hill in this respect is difficult to overestimate. Hill's mature work does not indulge in the cruder features of marxist historiography.[20] But even if Kevin Sharpe sneered when he complained of a 'vast scholarly industry' committed to 'minor sects and crackpots', Hill's tireless efforts to rescue the fringe from the condescension of a posterity that would designate it lunatic has left an undeniably deep impact.[21]

---

[17] Spurr, *Restoration Church*, p. xii. For an overview on the issues relating to secularization see Blair Worden, 'The Question of Secularization', in Steve Pincus and Alan Houston (eds.), *A Nation Transformed: England After the Restoration* (Cambridge, 2001), 20-41.

[18] Michel Foucault, *Surveiller et punir* (Paris, 1975), p. 315.

[19] Stephen Greenblatt, *Shakespearean Negotiations: The Circulation of Social Energy in Renaissance England* (University of California Press, 1989), p. 19.

[20] Hill's early work, which is also his worst, includes, for example, the Stalinist hack work *Lenin and the Russian Revolution* (London, 1947). See also Harvey J. Kaye, *The British Marxists: An Introductory Analysis* (New York, 1984), chapter four especially.

[21] Kevin Sharpe, 'Religion, Rhetoric, and Revolution in Seventeenth-Century England', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 57 (1994), pp. 275, 284.

This study is not a social history and does not claim to recover social and cultural practices or the mechanisms by which they were diffused. But the attempt has been made to shift the focus away from minor sects, revolutionaries, the other and his otherization.[22] Instead an effort has been made to penetrate some of the ideas, arguments, and habits of mind that were characteristic not only of nonconformists and their defenders, but also of individuals who may not qualify for inclusion in any of the foregoing 'disfavoured' categories, or at least of those who, by their own admission, spoke on their behalf. The letter of John Morrill's argument in *Revolt in the Provinces* concerns such individuals during the civil wars, but its logic suggests a sense of scale that has general application: 'For while the moderates, as always, talked and agonized, the extremists seized the initiative.'[23] In the main, this study focuses on the former and seeks to understand some of the objects of their conversation. Its title, borrowed from a passage in John Locke's *Essay Concerning Human Understanding* (1704), points to the tension that is at the centre of this study. Individuals, according to Locke, who believe that 'God has imprinted on the minds of men the foundations of knowledge, and the rules of living', will tend also to be 'little favourable' to the 'quiet of mankind.'[24] Locke is referring here to his problem with innate ideas. But why those who claim to divulge information from divine sources should be viewed in such a light entails inquiring into how notions of authority, spirit, and enthusiasm were understood by Locke and his contemporaries.

The final point in support of combining these three factors in this way is the contention that the individuals who will appear in this study combined them in this manner in their own thinking. Here the methodological suggestions of J. G. A. Pocock and R. G. Collingwood are significant, and the broad frameworks suggested by Justin Champion and Charles Taylor have been instructive. The sources consulted for this project are printed works, including printed manuscripts. These include political, polemical, theological, and philosophical treatises, sermons, and literary

---

[22] The language here is a reference to the Foucault-derived work of Edward Said in *Orientalism: Western Conceptions of the Orient* (London, 1995) and *Culture and Imperialism* (New York, 1993).
[23] John Morrill, *Revolt in the Provinces: The People of England and Tragedies of War, 1630-1648* (London, 1999), p. 42.
[24] John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch (Oxford, 1979), p. 76.

works. The manuscripts consist primarily of personal correspondence. With Pocock, it will be assumed that the ideas reflected in these sources convey the 'conscious and subjective aspects of history.'[25] But because most of these sources are not systematic or formal books designed for the specific purpose of addressing the problems outlined here, they will be, in the words of Collingwood, 'put to the question.'[26] According to this approach the historian's use of evidence, whether document, artifact, or relic, is oriented toward finding 'the answer which the evidence in his possession gives to the question he is asking.'[27] With Collingwood, then, the task will be to ask how these documents convey the reflective and rational pursuits of the individuals who issued them, and to reconstruct and understand the problems that such pursuits were intended to address. In this way, the religious and political controversies that accompanied such reflections on authority, spirit, and enthusiasm are understood as comprising a significant problem that occupied early modern people, and such sources will be consulted, indeed revisited, for their insights into it. Demonstrating that in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries each of these three headings were typically combined and problematized in the way described here will also constitute part of the task that follows.

Since 1992 Justin Champion has insisted that historians of this period have too narrowly or too vaguely applied the concept of religion in their analytic frameworks.[28] They have pursued finely-wrought investigations into constitutional conflicts, the rise of the secular state, the nature of patronage, civil conceptions of law, and rights theories.[29] But

---

[25] J. G. A. Pocock, 'Languages and Their Implications: The Transformation of the Study of Political Thought', in *Politics, Language, and Time: Essays on Political Thought and History* (Chicago, 1989), pp. 38-39.

[26] R. G. Collingwood, *The Idea of History*, ed. T. M. Knox (Oxford, 1975), pp. 269-70. For sympathetic readings of Collingwood's philosophy of history see Quentin Skinner, 'A Reply to My Critics', in James Tully (ed.), *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics* (Princeton, 1988), p. 234; William H. Dray, *History As Re-Enactment: R.G. Collingwood's Idea of History* (Oxford, 1995); W. H. Dray and W. J. Van Der Dussen, 'Editors' Introduction', in R. G. Collingwood, *The Principles of History and Other Writings in Philosophy of History*, ed. W. H. Dray and W. J. Van Der Dussen (Oxford, 1999), xiii-lxxxvii; J. G. A. Pocock, 'Working on Ideas in Time', in *Political Thought and History: Essays on Theory and Method* (Cambridge, 2009), 20-32. Elizabeth A. Clark points to some of the less sympathetic critiques of Collingwood in *History, Theory, Text: Historians and the Linguistic Turn* (Cambridge, 2004), pp. 108-10.

[27] Collingwood, quoted in Dray*, Re-Enactment*, p. 236.

[28] Justin Champion, 'Religion After the Restoration', *Historical Journal*, 36 (1993), pp. 429-30.

[29] Justin Champion, '"Religion's Safe, with Priestcraft is the War": Augustan Anticlericalism and the Legacy of the English Revolution', *The European Legacy*, 5

despite the trenchant insights such projects provide they fail to take account of early modern religion as part of what Alexis de Toqueville characterized as a 'give and take' between secular and religious authorities, alternately competing and co-operating.[30] If religion is defined as an 'all-encompassing structure of authority, practice, and belief', it becomes necessary to approach its constituent elements - conscience, conviction, doctrine, devotion - as simultaneously statements about civil authority, tradition, and institution.[31] As Champion observed, 'there was no conceptual separation between issues of Church and state, religion and politics'.[32] What is implied by this view is the assumption that religious conflict must necessarily involve a range of attendant issues that were, for early modern people, mutually inseparable. Champion thus encompassed rival conceptions of civil and ecclesiastical authority, the wider political implications of conscience and conviction, the sanctity and truth of scripture, and, in short, contestations of power and social authority into a framework of ecclesiological conflict.[33] With Champion, here it is assumed that religion, for an historian of the seventeenth century desiring to mitigate anachronism, should consist of more than discursive theological propositions. It also affirms that religious beliefs and practices necessarily had serious implications for notions civil and ecclesiastical authority. But to the 'complex fabric of doctrine, devotion, and institution'[34] that Champion invoked, the significance of the holy spirit, specifically, its sober or enthusiastic expressions, and its implications for authority must be added. Consequently, the conceptual framework that is fashioned here also requires examining the dimensions and implications of the forms of inward devotion that were shaped by

---

(2000), p. 548.

[30] Justin Champion, '"May the last king be strangled in the bowels of the last priest": Irreligion and the English Enlightenment, 1649-1789', in Timothy Morton and Nigel Smith (eds.), *Radicalism in British Literary Culture, 1650-1830* (Cambridge, 2002), p. 32.

[31] Champion, 'Irreligion and the English Enlightenment', p. 31.

[32] Justin Champion, *The Pillars of Priestcraft Shaken: The Church of England and its Enemies* (Cambridge, 1992), p. 6.

[33] Champion, 'Augustan Anticlericalism', pp. 548-554; Justin Champion, 'Willing to Suffer: Law and Religious Conscience in Seventeenth-Century England', in John McLaren and Harold G. Coward (eds.), *Religious Conscience, the State, and the Law: Historical Contexts and Contemporary Significance* (New York, 1998), pp. 15-16; Justin Champion, 'Ecrasez L'infame: Clever Clerics and the Politics of Knowledge', *British Journal for the History of Philosophy*, 8 (2000), pp. 152-53; Champion, *Pillars of Priestcraft*, p. 9; Justin Champion, *Republican Learning: John Toland and the Crisis of Christian Culture, 1696-1722* (Manchester, 2003) integrates all of these elements, as well as inquires into ideas as intellectual or textual 'productions'.

[34] Champion, *Pillars of Priestcraft*, p. 9.

differing conceptions of the holy spirit.

That religious convictions should be understood in a framework of ecclesiastic conflict is foundational to this study. But the language of conflict, on its own, fails to capture the moral or ethical textures that early modern individuals derived from their attachment to the holy spirit. They are not necessarily reducible to instruments of ideological conflict. As Kenneth Minogue remarked, people 'do not as a rule rush forward to be devastated by weapons: they rush forward to engage with them because these arguments, far from being merely weapons to destroy conviction, also answer questions which the readers must have found puzzling or worrying'.[35] Throughout this study there is range of terms that refer to these textures. These include, for example, testimony of spirit, perceptible and imperceptible grace, the stony and the pliable heart, the lawful and the unlawful self, the distracted and the disciplined mind, the kingdom of the heart and the kingdom of the world, the hidden life, the *ignis spiritus*, the infused pneumatical flesh, spiritual battology, prayer 'by', 'in', or 'with' the spirit. It will become evident that all of these, without exception, might in certain conditions 'peel away', to borrow Champion's metaphor, and extend outwards into a political sphere where metaphors of struggle and competition are appropriate and illuminating.[36]

By but pausing over these conceptions of the holy spirit it is hoped that it will also become evident that they also point to the importance of an inward existence that is in part shaped and animated by these conceptions of the holy spirit. In short, they indicate a 'self'. Charles Taylor's formulation of a self which, like that of Arendt is a product of Augustinian Christianity, is a reference point here.[37] Taylor has criticized historiographical approaches that chronicle the persuasive power of ideas as narratives of the

---

[35] Kenneth Minogue, 'Method in Intellectual History: Quentin Skinner's *Foundations*', in James Tully (ed.), *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics* (Princeton, 1988), p. 189.

[36] Champion, 'Augustan Anticlericalism', pp. 553-4.

[37] Charles Taylor, *Sources of the Self: The Making of the Modern Identity* (Cambridge, 1992), p. x. This is to be distinguished from the self-fashioning of Stephen Greenblatt, according to which an Augustinian 'deep' interiority is not to be understood as the cite of an expressive autonomous self, but one discursive example of the productive capacities of power to construct an entirely fictitious self whose autonomy is not 'deep' but illusory. Greenblatt's principle statement is *Renaissance Self-Fashioning: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago, 2005). Taylor addresses not Greenblatt's self-fashioning directly, but the Nietzschean and Foucauldian ideas that underpin it in *Sources of the Self*, pp. 132-36, 178, 488; Charles Taylor, 'Foucault on Freedom and Truth', *Political Theory*, 12 (1984), pp. 180-81.

will to naked power, wealth, or survival, or as functions of social control and political manipulation, or as a 'dry' utilitarian calculations of the advantages such ideas will bestow on their bearers.[38] These are reductive methods that minimize or omit entirely a vision of human beings with agency anchored in moral sense and feeling, as creatures with 'inner depths', and which exist 'in a space defined by distinctions of worth'.[39]

Certainly, these are complex matters of capital importance in philosophy. But in this study, Taylor's 'self' is conjured only as part of an intention to endow the individuals and the pious attachments to which they were committed with more significance than the language of ideological struggle would permit. As one advocate of Taylor's view wrote, 'human beings move through the world orienting themselves toward various goals; the movement and direction of their lives cannot be adequately understood without grasping the depth of those loves and commitments'.[40] There should be no doubt that conceptions of the spirit inspired certain forms of political action. That, after all, is the point of enjoining it to associated conceptions of enthusiasm and authority. But if such conceptions are understood also as the means by which individuals give form to their inner lives and their sense of personal fulfillment, it will necessarily throw light on why and on what terms certain of these conceptions of the holy spirit inspired some, and not others, to venture into the zone of ideological struggle. It also means that this will not be a history of mere power-grabbing, but rather a history of individuals well aware of the interrelations between enthusiasm, spirit, and authority and who, to use Minogue's phrase, 'rush forward' to engage with ideas for a variety of reasons.[41]

The chronology of this study has been guided by its subject matter.

[38] Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, p. 111; Charles Taylor, *The Malaise of Modernity* (Concord, 1992), pp. 19-21, 26.
[39] Taylor, *Malaise of Modernity*, p. 26; Taylor, *Sources of the Self*, p. 111; Charles Taylor, 'Introduction', in *Human Agency and Language: Philosophical Papers, 1* (2 vols., Cambridge, 1985), p. 3.
[40] Martha Nussbaum, 'Our Pasts, Ourselves', *New Republic*, 9 April 1990, p. 29. Elsewhere Nussbaum has written that people 'intuitively' understand their own culture to be 'highly variegated - not a power machine ... but a scene of vigorous debate and considerable diversity, where these very features create spaces within with the individual has at least some room to move around'. See Martha Nussbaum, *Upheavals of Thought: The Intelligence of Emotions* (Cambridge, 2003), p. 171.
[41] Taylor addresses the limitations of struggle as an analytic framework in 'The Hermeneutics of Conflict', in James Tully (ed.), *Meaning and Context: Quentin Skinner and His Critics* (Princeton, 1988), 218-28. Nussbaum, in the same vein, comments on history as 'power-grabbing' in 'Our Pasts', p. 32.

It opens in 1660, at the Restoration, when those both inside and outside formal positions of power were compelled to press arguments about enthusiasm into their service. Because the controversies that marked this period were so difficult to resolve, and the arguments, themes, and tropes so enduring, the term 'Restoration' itself has occasionally been stretched to apply more generally to the later seventeenth century. It ends with the last Stuart, Anne, in 1714, when the terms that were transacted in religious and political controversies, ably described by intellectual historians since Paul Hazard, were shifting in ways that are beyond this orbit of this project.[42] The first three chapters are organized around three different but complementary themes. The first focuses on the re-establishment of the Church of England after the Restoration and the emphases its leading advocates developed in support of its authority. This effort consisted of both negative and positive programmes. Negatively, the Church and its offices and institutions were defined against those of their enthusiastic enemies. Where one lodged the holy spirit in its ecclesiastical structures, the other assumed its unlimited, or less restricted, interaction with inspired individuals. Religious enthusiasts who combined the inward motions of the holy spirit with political ambitions were judged by prominent Anglicans to have been major culprits in England's civil wars and regicide. Positively, the historical qualities of the Church's ecclesiology were clarified and the forms of piety it encouraged were shorn of political designs. It was simultaneously made consonant with the principles of Reformation theology as well as rational religion.

The second chapter concerns the conceptions of spirit that a range of prominent nonconformists of various inclinations developed after the Restoration. Despite their differences they had in common a critical attitude toward the Church of England and its structures, and particularly the role it accorded to the holy spirit. Their concerns with liberating it from the hierarchy of the Church opened the way to additional notions of 'spirit'

---

[42] Certainly the secularization of enthusiasm as well as the holy spirit described by Heyd and Israel is well under way by this point. See also Paul Hazard, *The European Mind, the Critical Years, 1680-1715* (Cleveland, 1964). Justin Champion's paraphrase of Hazard's conclusion is emblematic: 'Reason replaced revelation', in *Pillars of Priestcraft*, pp. 12-13. Additionally the culture of politeness and sociability features very little in this study but is increasingly important in the eighteenth century. See Lawrence E. Klein, *Shaftesbury and the Culture of Politeness: Moral Discourse and Cultural Politics in Early Eighteenth-Century England* (Cambridge, 1994).

which were ancillary to the holy spirit. This form of enchantment intensified and enlarged spiritual presence externally, in the world, as well as internally, in personal piety. At the same time it functioned as a critique of Anglican assumptions, whether High Church and episcopal or Low Church and dominated by reason. Additionally, it reflected an anxiety not limited to nonconformists that the general pressure of Anglican piety, with its anti-enthusiastic emphases, was toward a disenchanted world that lacked any spiritual presence, either that of the holy spirit or otherwise.

The third chapter concerns the specifically political implications of conceptions of the holy spirit. This chapter will focus, in particular, on four individuals, John Bunyan, John Locke, Edward Stillingfleet, and Samuel Parker, and how they understood the tensions involved in interacting with the holy spirit in a way that satisfied both the conscience of the communicant, as well as the obligations issuing from established civil and ecclesiastical authority. These four individuals have been selected for two reasons. The first is their interest in this particular problem and the sophisticated nature of their responses to it. The second is their differing political and religious allegiances. This extends from nonconformity in Bunyan, heterodox Anglicanism in Locke, to mainstream conformist Anglicanism in Stillingfleet, and uncompromising high church Anglicanism in Parker. This approach has the effect of highlighting their differences as well as indicating where the views of one shaded off into those of the other. Whereas Bunyan and Locke exhibited the least patience for civil authority that frustrated the individual's relationship with the holy spirit, Stillingfleet and Parker provided thorough arguments for why such relationships might pose a threat to order and authority.

The fourth and fifth chapters will consist of closely observed case studies. The first of these examines the Quaker William Penn's role in the political and religious controversies of this period. Although Penn's polemical and constructive writings have received attention from intellectual historians, the quality and significance of his inner life, conceived here as his habits of mind and attitudes to personal piety, are less understood. It divides his interests into those relating to authority, the self, and civil politics, and widens the range of sources consulted beyond the formal and discursive to include his personal correspondence, journals, and

printed manuscripts. By way of these three interrelated themes, it concludes that Penn's involvement in the period's debates, above all those associated with religious enthusiasm, reveals a commitment to carefully reconciling individual spiritual expression with group discipline in a way that is commensurate with the 'sober' and conservative practices endorsed by the Church of England, and contrary to the individualistic tendencies of his own Quaker party.

The fifth and final chapter focuses on the appearance in London of three self-styled prophets from France in 1706. The foreground of this chapter is not the prophets, but their critics. Although opponents of the prophets were not limited to representatives of the Church of England, the critic whose work will be most important to this discussion will be the tory Offspring Blackall. The various critical responses, all of which were most thoroughly realized by Blackall, will be divided into three subsections. The first of these concerns millenarianism, the second the possibility of the appearance of genuine prophecy, and the third the challenge the prophets presented to the forms of piety that Anglicans had developed since the Restoration. The critique reveals how hostile England had become by this period to enthusiastic expressions of the spirit, particularly those with explicit designs on established authority. For Anglicans and nonconformists like Edmund Calamy and William Penn, this style of piety, with its erratic clashes of spirit and politics, animated the disasters of the mid-seventeenth century and liberation from it was something hard won.