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Enlightenment and Dissent

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Editorial

In this issue we have introduced two innovations: the first is an article by Dr D A Rees of Jesus College, Oxford, entitled 'The Enlightenment and its background: some features' in which he investigates the antecedents of many of the main features of Enlightenment thought. It is good that from time to time we should try to evaluate the achievements of the Enlightenment (as well as what some would regard as its unfortunate legacies), and it is good too that an attempt should be made to place the whole movement in its context in the development of thought. We are especially grateful to Dr Rees for undertaking this task and we hope that his erudite, wide-ranging treatment will stimulate and inspire other leading scholars of the period to investigate similar themes. We also hope that readers will be interested in the proposal, detailed on the enclosed flyer, for a future issue of the journal devoted to the work of Samuel Clarke. We are grateful to Professor James Dybikowski for this initiative and hope that it will meet with a lively response.

The other main feature is an annotated transcription of the journal that Joseph Priestley kept in shorthand while he was a student at the academy at Daventry. The task of deciphering Priestley's shorthand, which requires, among other things, the gift of patience, was undertaken independently by Dr Tony Rail and Dr Beryl Thomas. When by a happy circumstance they discovered their common interest in the project, they decided to collaborate to produce a joint version which they have graciously allowed us to publish in this journal. As Professor Robert E Schofield has said, the Daventry Journal is a major find in the field of Priestley studies: it provides a unique insight into the energetic life that Priestley led as a student, and it testifies, as little else does, to the exuberance and love of fun that characterized his life as a young man. It also gives a highly entertaining, and perhaps surprising, account of student life at Daventry in the middle of the eighteenth century. We are especially grateful to Dr Rail for the detailed and exhaustive annotation that he has contributed to the article.

M.H.F.
D.O.T.

The Enlightenment and its Background: Some Features

I

A brief attempt to crystallize the philosophical thought of the Enlightenment, however imperfectly, can hardly do better than begin by quoting the well-known words of the preface to the first edition of Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781):

Our age is, in especial degree, the age of criticism, and to criticism everything must submit. Religion through its sanctity, and law-giving through its majesty, may seek to exempt themselves from it. But they then awaken just suspicion, and cannot claim the sincere respect which reason accords only to that which has been able to sustain the test of free and open examination.¹

The question 'Was ist Aufklärung?' was indeed propounded by the *Berliner Monatsheft* in 1784, and drew answers from a number of philosophers, including Kant himself.² Two centuries later we can, at any rate, look back from a distant vantage-point. All lines of demarcation must be rough and ready, but from a philosophical angle, with which we are primarily concerned, we may think of ourselves as dealing with the period from Locke's *Essay concerning Human Understanding* (1690) to the major works of Kant, from a political angle with the period from the English Revolution of 1688 to the French Revolution of 1789, which was both its culmination and passed beyond it. The justification for these limits will have to await clarification in what follows below.³

¹ *Critique of pure reason*, trans Norman Kemp Smith, A xi, n.

² F. Venturi, *Utopia and reform in the Enlightenment* (1971), intro.

³ P. Hazard, *La crise de la conscience européenne, 1680-1715* (1935) sensed a fundamental shift in intellectual outlook from about 1680.

If we look for antecedents, we may find them politically, as well as theologically, in a general reaction against the religious conflicts of the seventeenth century;⁴ philosophically, our period is marked, even if only up to a point, by a reaction against the *a priori* system-building of the seventeenth-century rationalism, though the most splendid manifestation of that was to be found in Leibniz, straddling the two periods.

II

Looking further back, we may be led to look for precedents, and for influences, in classical antiquity. Following on the Renaissance, the Enlightenment rejected the Middle Ages as barbarous and superstitious, and found the world of Greece and Rome thoroughly congenial. In particular, it was not without reason that W.K.C. Guthrie entitled Volume III of his magisterial *History of Greek philosophy* (1969) 'The Fifth Century Enlightenment', thinking of the sophistic movement of the second half of that century, as exemplified particularly in such a figure as Protagoras. Among the varied facets of that movement are the rejection of the traditional Homeric theology (already ridiculed by Xenophanes in the preceding century as both incredible and immoral), a questioning, directed in part, at least, against grandiose metaphysical or cosmological systems, of the possibility of objective knowledge, and a wide-ranging application of the contrast between nature (*phusis*) and convention (*nomos*), a contrast which foreshadowed that contrast between the natural and the artificial which permeated the thought of Rousseau, and was manifested more generally in those theories of a social contract which bulked large in the

The years around 1715 were marked politically by the Treaty of Utrecht, the death of Louis XIV and in Britain the Hanoverian succession; in the intellectual realm by the deaths of Leibniz and Malebranche.

⁴ See A.J. Toynbee, *An historian's approach to religion* (1956).

political philosophies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (see below). Again, the religious scepticism of Protagoras finds echoes in the eighteenth century. But the sophistic movement was primarily humanistic in its interests, not scientific or cosmological (the atomism of Democritus falls strictly outside it and belongs to a slightly later phase), and its representatives put themselves forward as educators of the young in preparation for a public life in which persuasive oratory and argument would be all-important. It was in keeping with this that, Anaxagoras apart, an attempt to replace the Homeric gods with a natural theology is found only later, in Plato and Aristotle. The world of the sophists was far removed from that of the eighteenth-century salons; what we call the Enlightenment had little interest in rhetoric or in dialectical logic-chopping, and its outlook was dominated by the galaxy of scientific talent whose brightest star was Newton. As for the seventeenth and eighteenth century theories of a social contract, they were directed primarily against dogmas of a Divine Right of kings.

Any direct influence from pre-Hellenistic antiquity was either non-existent or minimal. The sophistic movement could be known only indirectly. Socrates was much admired as a figure, and Cicero's judgment that he brought philosophy down from the skies to human affairs⁵ chimed in entirely with the general tendency of the thought of the Enlightenment. Plato himself was either neglected or seen through a Neoplatonic haze, Aristotle was thoroughly out of fashion, and attention to ancient philosophy was concentrated on the Hellenistic schools of Stoicism and Epicureanism (the latter taking in the tradition of Democritean atomism), mediated primarily, like that of scepticism, through Cicero and, in the case of Epicureanism, Lucretius, Stoicism through Cicero together with the later Stoics, Seneca and, especially, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius.⁶ There was also a

⁵ *Academica Posteriora*, I. 4.15.

⁶ Kant's ethics strongly bear the imprint of Stoicism, mediated through Cicero's *De officiis*. See Klaus Reich, 'Kant and Greek Ethics', trans W.H. Walsh, *Mind*, 48 (1939), esp. 446-63.

continuing undercurrent of the sceptical tradition, from Montaigne and others, stimulated perhaps in some degree by Sextus Empiricus, which found an expositor in Bayle and reached its culmination and terminus in Hume.⁷

III

If, however, we search for the immediate antecedents of the Enlightenment, the Cartesian movement presents both similarities and contrasts. The Cartesian tradition, taken in a wide sense, was emphatically the tradition of rationalism, but it understood 'reason' in a strict and narrow sense, with the emphasis on the apprehension of clear and distinct ideas, and rigid deduction therefrom. Further, while the primacy accorded by Descartes to his *cogito*, and the central place occupied in his thought by issues of intellectual method, underlined the prominence of epistemology in his philosophy, that epistemology was the preliminary to the construction of a comprehensive system, of a type which the prevailing ethos of the Enlightenment would shrink from attempting. (The later seventeenth-century rationalists, indeed, Spinoza and Leibniz, seem more purely metaphysical in their

⁷ The structure, and to some extent the final import, of Hume's *Dialogues concerning natural religion* (posthumous, 1779) look back to Cicero's *De natura deorum*. On the influence of ancient scepticism, especially on Hume, see B.A.O. Williams, 'Philosophy', in *The legacy of Greece: A reappraisal*, ed. M.I. Finley (1981), esp. pp. 239-40. The influence of scepticism had been particularly strong in seventeenth-century France, where Descartes took it seriously [see R.H. Popkin, *The history of scepticism from Erasmus to Spinoza* (1979)]. Locke brushed it aside contemptuously (*Essay concerning human understanding* (1690), IV. 2.14; IV. 11.3,8). Bacon (*Novum organum* (1620), I, 71) had, with indiscriminate enthusiasm, lavished praise on the Presocratic philosophers, lamenting the loss of their works, which could be known only at second hand.

approach than Descartes). The contrast with Locke's *Essay concerning human understanding* is apparent.

The Enlightenment, on the other hand, tended to interpret 'reason' in a wider sense. Natural science was at the centre, and there the general tendency was inductivist, emphasizing its empirical as distinct from purely mathematical component, and looking to Bacon's *Novum organum* (1620) rather than to Descartes. This is true - in spite of the continuing importance of mathematics - if we look for the dominant influence bringing about the change in the general intellectual outlook, where the first name to come to our minds will inevitably be that of Newton. No longer was materiality identified with extension, no longer were celestial motions interpreted in terms of Cartesian vortices in a *plenum*;⁸ above all, the physics of gravitational attraction, though expressed in mathematical terms in the *Philosophiae naturalis principia mathematica* (1687), could not be presented as a purely *a priori* construction, just as the abandonment of the Cartesian identification of materiality and extension similarly sharpened the distinction between pure mathematics and physics. Reason, in other words, was no longer simply the 'reason' of the rationalists, to be contrasted with sensory experience, but embraced the empirical within its scope; as was signaled in the quotation from Kant at the beginning of this paper, it was now to be contrasted rather with authority and with revelation.⁹

It is to be observed, indeed, in this connexion, that neither Descartes nor Newton can be seen personally as typifying the outlook of the Enlightenment. If we take the words of Kant as marking its keynotes, we find a striking departure from Descartes' personal position on both counts. He made a pilgrimage to the shrine of Our Lady of Loreto, submitted his *Meditationes* (1641) to

⁸ For the plenum, see Descartes, *Principia Philosophiae* (1644), II, 18.

⁹ This recasting of the scope of reason requires, however, serious qualification in the case of Hume, as will be noted later in this paper.

the judgement of the Theological Faculty of the Sorbonne, and was prepared to allow ecclesiastical authority to overrule the deliverances of his own reason;¹⁰ while in the programme which, in Part III of the *Discours de la méthode* (1637), he relates that he had set before himself, he proposes to adhere to the customs and the laws in which he had been brought up, herein acting in accordance with the advice of the sceptic Montaigne. Newton, for his part, brought up in a Protestant tradition, while not adhering to the strict orthodoxy of the Athanasian creed, devoted a great deal of time and attention to the interpretation of Biblical prophecies.

Baconian influences on the Enlightenment operated in another respect also. Not merely did it respond to the anti-Aristotelian trumpet-call, and belittle the formal deductive logic of the syllogism. Not merely did it proclaim the essential place of observation and, above all, experiment, and of inductive inference seen in a new and non-Aristotelian light, with stress on the search for negative instances.¹¹ In addition, it stressed the practical application of scientific knowledge, and the importance of technological innovation.¹² All these features (the last, it may be noted, paralleled in Descartes, *Discours de la Méthode*, part VI), were to be marks of the Enlightenment in the following century, and received their apotheosis in the great French *Encyclopédie* of 1751 and the following years. It was not for nothing that the arch-enemy of the Enlightenment in the nineteenth century, Joseph de Maistre, inveighed against Bacon (1836).

This wider conception of reason is of the greatest significance. The expansion from the metaphysical-deductive of seventeenth-century rationalism, to include the inductive, made possible its

¹⁰ Cf. *Principia Philosophiae*, IV, 207.

¹¹ Bacon, *Novum organum*, I, 46; the foundation of the Royal Society in 1662 was a notable landmark of Baconian influence.

¹² For Bacon, see for example, 'Scientia et potentia humana in idem coincidunt', *Novum organum*, I, 3, and his *New Atlantis*, published posthumously in 1627.

application (in the Baconian tradition, even if extending beyond that) both to scientific investigation and to the world of practical activity - including not simply technological progress but also improvement in the spheres of government and economics, the former over and above the *a priori* rationalism of the theories of natural law. Hence the temptation to Utopianism.

IV

From the Cartesian side there was a further and important respect in which the Enlightenment owed a debt to earlier intellectual developments. Descartes laid the utmost emphasis on intellectual clarity, and found this in the development of his system of clear and distinct ideas. The key lay in the discovery and prosecution of the correct intellectual method, and that method lay in strict recourse to clear and distinct ideas. The seventeenth century was indeed the century above all others in which attention was concentrated on method; apart from Descartes, with his *Discours* and his *Regulae ad directionem ingenii*, one may think, whatever their differences, of Bacon's *Novum organum*, of Spinoza's *Tractatus de intellectus emendatione* and of Locke's *Conduct of the understanding* (curiously, Descartes' *Regulae* and these works of Spinoza and Locke were all published posthumously, that of Descartes in 1701, that of Spinoza in 1677 and that of Locke in 1706; Descartes' *Regulae* and Spinoza's *Tractatus* were both left incomplete).¹³ Part IV of the *Port Royal logic* of Arnauld and Nicole (1662) bears the title 'De la méthode'; strongly influenced by Descartes, it proceeds by the distinction of analysis and synthesis, and concentrates its attention on geometry. The Aristotelian tradition had seen logic as an intellectual tool, an *organon*, and it was because the traditional syllogism was accused of being of little value for the advancement

¹³ Also Malebranche, *Recherche de la vérité* (1674-5), Bk. VI; see P.A. Schouls, *The imposition of method: a study of Descartes and Locke* (1980).

of knowledge, as distinct from its exposition, that formal deductive logic fell into disrepute, and the search for a fruitful method was turned in other directions.¹⁴

What procedure, then, did Descartes envisage and what was its background? The method he propounded, both in his *Regulae ad directionem ingenii* (see especially rules 5-7) and in his *Discours de la méthode*, Part II, involved the analysis of problems into their simplest elements, and a process of synthesis therefrom. He was notoriously a man reluctant to acknowledge debts to his predecessors, but in *Regulae* 4 he makes acknowledgement to the analytical procedures of the late Greek mathematicians Pappus and Diophantus. More importantly, however, the twin conceptions of resolution and composition were coming to the fore as keys of interpretation in a variety of fields. J.W.N. Watkins traces them back to late sixteenth-century Paduan Aristotelianism, and in particular Jacopo Zabarella.¹⁵ Their place in Hobbes is clear, in his general metaphysics, in his resolution of the passions and the motives of mankind, and above all in the picture of society he presents in his political philosophy. (Individualism similarly dominated the political philosophy of Locke, with its theory of natural rights maintained by a social contract). Above all, atomistic tendencies in physics, though rejected by Descartes,¹⁶ were becoming more general, and we find in Locke's *Essay*, and burgeoning forth in his eighteenth-century successors, both a stress on method, viewed now in a very different manner, by way of the analysis of mental phenomena in terms of ideas of sensation and of reflection, and the associated transference of the atomistic approach to the realm of the mind. These ideas of sensation and reflection, forming a conceptual framework modified by Hume in terms of his system of impressions and ideas, were seen by him and by his successors, such as Hartley and Priestley, as operating in

¹⁴ See W. and M. Kneale, *The development of logic* (1960), 307-8.

¹⁵ J.N. Watkins, *Hobbes's system of ideas* (1965, ed. 2, 1973), ch.3, sect. 9; on Zabarella see also W. and M. Kneale, op. cit., 306-7.

¹⁶ *Principia philosophiae*, II, 20.

accordance with the principles of the association of ideas, understood as a quasi-mechanical force which bound them together.¹⁷ Parallel to the two physical principles of atomism on the one hand, and gravitational attraction on the other, we have not only the atomistic and associationistic theory of the individual mind, but also, on the side of our active nature, on the one hand the egoistic psychology of Hobbes, and later that of Bentham, and on the other hand the conception of sympathy as a parallel in the social sphere to the force of gravity in the physical.¹⁸ Newtonian physics again provided the model. Hutcheson drew the parallel explicitly: 'This universal Benevolence toward all Men, we may compare to that Principle of Gravitation, which perhaps extends to all Bodys in the universe; but, like the Love of Benevolence, increases as the Distance is diminish'd, and is strongest when Bodys come to touch each other'.¹⁹

¹⁷ See Joseph Priestley, *Hartley's theory of the human mind, on the principles of the association of ideas* (1775).

¹⁸ Hume, *Treatise of human nature*, Books II and III (1740); Adam Smith, *Theory of moral sentiments* (1759).

¹⁹ *Inquiry into the original of our ideas of beauty and virtue* (1725), Part II, *Inquiry concerning moral good and evil*, Sect. V; cf. Hume, *Treatise of human nature*, Book III, Part II, Sect. 1, on 'relation to ourselves' in the strength of our benevolence. If we look back to antiquity, the Hobbes-Bentham tradition has its roots in Epicureanism (though Epicurus stressed the pleasures of friendship). The sympathy of the eighteenth century moralists, on the other hand, may seem to recall Stoicism, but in Stoicism it is a cosmic force with no specially moral relevance, Stoic ethics denying any place for the emotions. What Stoicism emphasized was our common participation in a rational nature. The place of sympathy in eighteenth-century ethics is a new feature, though not the recognition of man's social nature. The two principles, that of selfishness and that of sympathy, are neatly balanced in Adam Smith's *Wealth of nations* (1776) on the one hand and his *Theory of the moral sentiments* on the other.

We are thus brought face to face with the place of empiricism in eighteenth-century philosophy. But, before we consider that directly, we may note a significant, and not entirely unconnected, shift in the realm of philosophical theology. The significance of that realm for the thought of the period was rendered all the greater by an interest in natural religion arising from a movement (by no means universally shared but found among the more philosophically minded) away from total reliance on the rival orthodoxies of dogmatic theology and their claims to an exclusive revelation. In the philosophical theology of the period the argument from design is central. This goes back to Plato, *Laws X* (especially 897B-898C), and the Stoics regularly appealed to evidence of design in the universe, though their cosmic mind was immanent, not transcendent, in order to combat the Epicurean picture of a world of purposeless chance. Eighteenth-century readers were familiar with the lines of argument, especially through the writings of Cicero. Aristotle's God was neither creator nor designer of the universe²⁰, but on the other hand his conception of nature, with its system of four causes, appeared to the new scientific mind excessively liberal in its employment of teleological explanations. The anti-Aristotelianism of the seventeenth-century scientific revolution rejected the formal and final causes, leaving only the efficient and material, and drastically re-interpreting these. So it was that Bacon rejected final causes from his interpretation of nature.²¹ So also did Descartes;²² there could indeed be no question of an argument from design in his philosophy, since his proofs for the existence of God rest on quite other bases, and he requires those proofs in the first place to demonstrate the validity of our belief in the existence of the physical world. (Leibniz for his part reacted against an exclusively mechanistic cosmology by insisting on a

²⁰ *Met.* XII.

²¹ *Novum organum*, I, 48,65; *De Augmentis Scientiarum* (1623), III, 5.

²² *Meditationes*, 1V; *Principia Philosophiae*, I, 28.

place for teleological explanation in natural science along with mechanical). Locke's proof of the existence of God, which sets aside the approaches employed by Descartes, rests on a causal argument, but not an argument from design.²³ Further, whereas both Lord Herbert of Cherbury, in *De veritate* (1624), and Descartes had maintained that man had an innate idea of God, Locke rejected such on empirical anthropological grounds,²⁴ along with other innate ideas, and thereafter innate ideas were generally discredited.

Related, though not identical, is the argument for the existence of God from universal consent. To be found in Plato, it was prominent in Stoicism and reappeared in Lord Herbert of Cherbury, who sought anthropological evidence for a natural religion which has been overlaid and obscured by claims to revelation.²⁵ Locke denied that such universal consent could be found, and the argument was thereafter discredited.²⁶

When however we come to the eighteenth century, the perspective is different. While in Germany the rationalist tradition continued (Leibnitian optimism, it should be noted, does not rest on empirical evidence), in France and in Britain the central place is occupied by arguments to a First Cause, and argument from design. These were essentially inductivist in an extended sense, while the theological application could be consistent with mechanism in physics. (Voltaire, who in his *Candide* (1759) blasted Leibnitian optimism with counter-evidence against benevolent design in the universe, remained a deist, not an atheist). Berkeley saw in the very existence of the perceptible world direct evidence of the existence of a God sustaining the fabric of the whole, and observed

²³ *Essay concerning human understanding*, IV, 10.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 3-4.

²⁵ Plato, *Laws X*, 886A; Cicero, *De natura deorum*, II, 2.5.

²⁶ *Essay concerning human understanding*, I, 4. 8-9.

in its features manifest evidence of design.²⁷ The standard example occurs somewhat later, in Paley's image of a divine watch-maker.²⁸ The sceptical Hume at least treated the argument from design seriously.²⁹ Kant, for his part, while rejecting all theoretical arguments for the existence of God and treating it as a Postulate of Practical Reason, held the argument from design to be the one among theoretical arguments most deserving of respect,³⁰ and spoke of the awe aroused in the human mind by the starry heavens above as well as the moral law within.³¹

VI

We can now bring together three central features of the thought of the Enlightenment, in a way which will enable us to see their weaknesses as well as their strengths. They are empiricism, mechanism and individualism. The empiricism arose from the success of observation and experiment in natural science, from a distrust of the excessive pretensions made for *a priori* thinking, and in particular from the rejection of innate ideas. The key figure is Locke.³² The emphasis on epistemology now took a new turn; the surge of activity in physical science, combined with the distrust in the claims of *a priori* metaphysics, meant that philosophy was now seen by contrast as the theory of the human mind.³³ The very titles

²⁷ See especially *Principles of human knowledge* (1710), 147-9, 151-5; *Alciphron* (1732), Part IV, esp. 14.

²⁸ *Natural theology* (1802).

²⁹ *Enquiry concerning human understanding* (1748), Sect. XI; *Dialogues concerning natural religion* (posthumous, 1779).

³⁰ *Critique of pure reason* (1781), A623 B651 - A624 B652.

³¹ *Critique of practical reason* (1788), concluding section.

³² Cf. especially *Essay concerning human understanding*, Book I.

³³ Within that field the abandonment of Aristotle's treatment of sense-perception, in which science and philosophy were inextricably combined, and the adoption of a new approach, mechanistic in character, on the scientific side, left the way open for a new psychological approach to complement the scientific. Berkeley's

of the main philosophical works speak for themselves, whether we think of Locke, Berkeley, Hume, Condillac, Reid or Kant, or in the moral sphere of Hutcheson and Adam Smith. The movement of thought here involved may be seen as an adaptation to a new sphere of the observationalism and inductivism preached by Bacon, and was crystallized in Locke with the rejection both of innate ideas³⁴ and of any intellectual intuition of real existence (except in the case of knowledge of one's self,³⁵ and even that not in the full Cartesian sense, since mental substance is necessarily unknown to us),³⁶ and correlatively in the derivation of the contents of the mind from those basic elements into which they could be analysed, namely ideas of sensation and of reflection. He was followed by Berkeley (apart from the latter's 'notions'), and with modifications by Hume with his system of impressions and ideas, or again Condillac in his *Traité des sensations* (1754), while from a somewhat different standpoint Thomas Reid, the founder of the Scottish 'common sense' school, paid close attention to the details of the different senses, in his *Inquiry into the human mind on the principles of common sense* (1764). Kant, on the other hand, distinguished sharply between his own transcendental philosophy and empirical psychology, the latter seen as the study of the data of inner sense. It was primarily from him that the tradition derived of seeing philosophy as a group of enquiries investigating the bases of different spheres of human thought (philosophies of mathematics, natural science, moral, aesthetics, religion, etc.), though such divisions, without the

New Theory of Vision (1709), esp. § 75, consciously contrasts his empirical (phenomenological) approach with the geometrical optics of the Cartesian tradition. On the other hand a strain of materialism runs through from Hobbes and Gassendi to Helvétius, Hartley, and Priestley - see Priestley, *Hartley's theory of the human mind*, and *Disquisitions relating to matter and spirit* (1777), especially Section IV.

³⁴ *Essay concerning human understanding*, Book I.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Book IV, 9.2-3.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, Book II, 23.30; 27.13; Book IV, 3.6.

distinction between philosophy and psychology, had been adumbrated by Hume.

Central to the change is the removal of the concept of substance from the centre of the philosophical scene. Dominant in Aristotle, it was so in new forms in Descartes, Spinoza and Leibniz. But in Locke it is unknowable, and in Hume is dissolved away, just as the associated notion of cause is subjected to reductionism in terms of regularities of sequence. (In Hume, further, it is no longer substances that are causes, but events).

The loosening of the hold of Cartesian rationalism, and the direction of attention towards introspective psychology, are seen also, from the angle of the increasingly complete recognition of the empirical character of natural science, in the dissociation of the notion of causal inference from that of demonstrative deduction, and the search for an empirical origin for the notion of cause, whether this was found in our experience of agency,³⁷ or in the observation of regularities of sequence and the subsequent operation of the association of ideas (Hume).

Formal logic itself, identified with the syllogism, had fallen into neglect, associated as it was with the now derided Aristotelian and scholastic traditions. It had been slighted by Bacon, in favour of the inductive procedures he advocated, as incapable of advancing knowledge,³⁸ and Locke made the depreciatory comment that 'God has not been so sparing to men to make them barely two-legged creatures, and left it to Aristotle to make them rational'.³⁹ All this went hand in hand with the search for a new intellectual method, divorced from the Aristotelian which had been tied to the old logic (exemplified in the traditional definition of man as a rational biped) in the world-outlook of its founder, with its intellectual grasp of

³⁷ Locke, *Essay concerning human understanding*, II, 21.4

³⁸ *Novum organum*, I, 11-13.

³⁹ *Essay concerning human understanding*, IV, 17.4; see that chapter generally, entitled 'Of Reason'.

essential natures and syllogistic deductions therefrom. It was moreover of the utmost significance that logic itself was now coming to be given a psychological interpretation (logic as the study of the laws of thought); a noteworthy point in this movement was already signalized by the *Port Royal logic - La logique ou l'art de penser* - of Arnauld and Nicole (1662), with its progressive sequence of conception, judgement and reasoning - a series which was to enjoy a very long history and which was, whatever the differences, a modification in a psychologising direction of the sequence in the Aristotelian *Organon*, of the *Categories*, *De interpretatione* and *Analytics*.⁴⁰ Psychologization, however, could do little to restore the prestige of the traditional formal logic, since the actual process of thought, even when rational, may not follow its pattern. The tradition persisted even in the title, despite the contents, of George Boole's mathematical *Investigation of the laws of thought* (1854). It was left to Frege and Husserl, late in the nineteenth century, to inveigh against the psychologization of logic.

Another aspect of the general change in philosophical climate, again one of which psychologisation formed an essential element, emerges over the issues of the universal and the particular. Traditionally, from the time of Plato and Aristotle, the concern of reason had been with the universal, God and the supersensible realm of natural theology apart; knowledge was of the universal, sense-perception of the particular.⁴¹ But philosophical interest in the particular developed in the later Middle Ages, and was united with empiricist tendencies in William of Ockham (d.1349).

⁴⁰ Note especially the *Port Royal Logic*, Part I, 'Contenant les réflexions sur les idées, ou sur la première action de l'esprit, qui s'appelle concevoir'. Chapter 3 speaks slightly of Aristotle's *Categories*.

⁴¹ The trinity of three branches of knowledge in the strict sense, mathematics, physics and metaphysics, goes back to Aristotle (*Metaphysics*, E.1, K.7); it forms the framework of Descartes' thought, and reappears, with an all-important query about the status of metaphysics, in Kant (*Critique of pure reason*, preface to 2nd ed., 1787).

Ockham is famous for the reductionism shown in his celebrated razor, to the effect that entities are not to be multiplied beyond what is necessary; this led to the rejection of real universals, whether understood in the manner of Platonic or of Aristotelian realism. Descartes held that the various classes of universals were all mental.⁴² Locke, for his part, maintaining that all existence was particular,⁴³ was faced with the problem of accounting for general ideas and their origin; his answer lay in his theory of abstraction,⁴⁴ whereas his successors Berkeley and Hume, rejecting that as a figment, advanced an interpretation in terms of the manner in which the mind employed its images of particulars.⁴⁵

If concern with the particular, exemplified earlier in Bacon's emphasis on induction, and especially on the disproof of generalizations by negative instances,⁴⁶ is traditionally a mark of the empiricist tradition, it has its place also in the radical pluralism of Leibniz's monadology, with its claim that, in the case of each and every monad, all true propositions could be seen as necessary by an infinitely powerful intellect (praedicatum inesse subiecto verae propositionis).⁴⁷ In Leibniz, as in the empiricists, there was concern with the particular and its identity; every Leibnizian monad was 'big with its past and pregnant with its future'.⁴⁸ Within the

⁴² *Meditationes*, III.

⁴³ 'All things that exist being particulars', *Essay concerning human understanding*, III, 3.1. Cf. 'It is an universally received maxim, that everything which exists, is particular', Berkeley, *Three dialogues between Hylas and Philonous* (1713), I.

⁴⁴ *Essay concerning human understanding*, III, 3.6, 3.9, etc.

⁴⁵ Berkeley, *Principles of human knowledge* (1710), Introduction; Hume, *Treatise of human nature*, I, 1.7; cf. R.I. Aaron, *The theory of universals* (1952; 2nd ed., 1967), chs. 2-4; H.H. Price, *Thinking and experience* (1953), ch.8.

⁴⁶ *Novum organum*, I, 46.

⁴⁷ See *Leibniz-Arnauld correspondence* (1686), trans H.T. Mason (1967), 47-63.

⁴⁸ *Monadology* (1714), section 22, etc.; *New essays on human understanding* (posthumous, 1765), Preface.

empiricist tradition both Locke and Hume wrestled with the issues of the continuing identity of particulars through time;⁴⁹ Notably, it was entirely in keeping with their psychological interest that they should both concentrate on personal identity, and should do so largely (in Hume's case exclusively) from an introspective standpoint.

But interest in the particular has another aspect in the eighteenth century, outside the purely philosophical sphere. The dominance of physical science has been emphasized above. But history, of which Descartes had thought poorly,⁵⁰ is essentially a study of the particular, and the eighteenth century saw a great burgeoning in the historical field, freed now, under scientific influence, from the dominance of theological interpretation, from credulous admission of the miraculous, and from the unquestioning acceptance of received tradition. In the long run one of the most significant features of the Enlightenment is the questioning of Biblical history, from the work of Spinoza in his *Tractatus theologico-politicus* (1670) onwards. A notable landmark is Hume's chapter on miracles, rejecting claims for miracles on the ground that the evidence for them can never outweigh that for the uniformity of nature, and embracing supernaturally based prophecy also in its exclusion.⁵¹ The great names in general history are those of Voltaire, Hume and, above all, Gibbon.⁵² But the historical approach of the period did not, in a sense, particularize enough; with its stress on the uniformity of nature, human as well as

⁴⁹ Locke, *Essay concerning human understanding*, II, 27; Hume, *Treatise of human nature*, I, 4.6.

⁵⁰ *Discours de la méthode*, Part I.

⁵¹ *Enquiry concerning human understanding*, Sect. X.

⁵² There was great interest in the decline and fall of the Roman Empire, which Gibbon, a major figure of the enlightenment, ascribed to 'the triumph of barbarism and religion', *Decline and fall of the Roman Empire* (1788), ch.71. An earlier, and slighter, but still significant, treatment is Montesquieu's *Considérations sur la grandeur et la décadence des Romains* (1734), esp. ch. 9.

physical, in order to interpret the past it took insufficient account of the diversity of cultures and of modes of thought. Hume's treatment of the attitude of earlier centuries to reports of miracles, alluded to above, is a primary example. The period was in this way insufficiently historical, by contrast with the Romantic movement which saw itself as reacting against the Enlightenment and correcting its deficiencies. Of this more below.⁵³

Hume, however, is a figure of wide-ranging importance, and one who presents us with a problem. He is undoubtedly a major figure of the Enlightenment, but his attitude towards reason seems equivocal, and there are two conceptions of reason with which he operates, a narrow (Cartesian) and a wider. He was also both an empiricist and a sceptic. He had studied Bayle,⁵⁴ saw himself as following in the tradition of the sceptics of antiquity⁵⁵ and, in one, the more prominent, aspect of his thought confined the scope of reason to the sphere of the deductive, that of 'relations of ideas', what in more recent times would be called the analytic. Here he was in fact following the narrower rationalist tradition with its *a priori* ideal, though shorn now of its pretensions. But, realising that life could not be lived by this alone, he introduced his doctrine of natural belief to fill the gap, with the assistance of the non-rational operation of the association of ideas. To this he assigns the utmost importance, and his philosophy of science, as expressed in his theories of causality and induction, has universally been regarded as the central core of his epistemology. The consequences are striking, indeed paradoxical. Whereas the Cartesian tradition had assimilated causation to logical necessitation in its aspiration after an *a priori* science, Hume seems to leave causal propositions

⁵³ The historicization of natural science, especially in the fields of geology and biology, had to await the nineteenth century. Earlier the dominant theme of biology was, as in Aristotle, classification, exemplified above all in Linnaeus: *Systema naturae* (1735); *Philosophia botanica* (1751).

⁵⁴ See N. Kemp Smith, *The philosophy of David Hume* (1941), 43n.

⁵⁵ *Enquiry concerning human understanding*, Sect. XII.

without rational justification,⁵⁶ though he appears to draw back to some extent from this in his *Treatise of human nature*;⁵⁷ and whereas Bacon had located the hopes of mankind in induction, Hume denied it any validity and reduced it to a disposition of the mind to form expectations, operating in accordance with the association of ideas under circumstances of regularities of sequence ('constant conjunctions'). What then of the aspirations of the Enlightenment? At the same time his famous passage on miracles uses, in effect, a wider concept of reason and the reasonable, in the sphere of the empirically justified inference, maintaining that 'a wise man proportions his belief to the evidence'.⁵⁸ The dominance of physical science, with its principle of the uniformity of nature, is paramount. Hume's realm of natural belief, unlike that of some earlier thinkers in the field of philosophical theology,⁵⁹ was confined to the empirical, and his serious scepticism, that which he recommends, is directed towards the supersensible.

Again, in his moral theory the wider concept of reason, embracing the empirical sphere, re-appears. He denies that reason can provide us with principles of action, which belongs rather to the realm of the passions,⁶⁰ but now he allows it scope not simply in the analytic sphere, that of his 'relations of ideas', but also in the ascertainment of empirical facts.⁶¹

If, however, we survey the empiricist movement as a whole, two features stand out prominently. In the first place, we have to ask whether it was not itself in a large measure *a priori* in its

⁵⁶ *Treatise of human nature*, I. 3.14; *Enquiry concerning human understanding*, VII, 2.

⁵⁷ *Op. cit.*, I, 3.15.

⁵⁸ *Enquiry concerning human understanding*, Sect. X.

⁵⁹ See Cicero, *De natura deorum*, II, 2.5.

⁶⁰ 'Reason is, and ought only to be, the slave of the passions', *Treatise of human nature*, II, 3.3., 'Of the Influencing Motives of the Will'.

⁶¹ Cf. *ibid.*, III, 1.1. On the various strands in Hume's philosophy, see J.A. Passmore, *Hume's Intentions* (1952).

approach, with its system of ideas and their relations - whether it was not insufficiently empirical. Just as the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries saw a clearer division emerging between philosophy and natural science, so the second half of the nineteenth century saw a division emerging between philosophy and psychology, the latter seen as a science in its own right, with a distinctiveness not envisaged by Hume. There is a world of difference between the treatment of the mind in Locke, Hume, Hartley or James Mill and that in, say, William James's *Principles of psychology* (1890), with its massive deployment of empirical evidence. The psychology of the twentieth century is overwhelmingly the study of behaviour, not the analysis of the data of introspection.

VII

The second feature is mechanism. The abandonment of the Aristotelian system of four causes (formal, efficient, final and formal), with the rejection of the final and the formal, left the material and efficient still in place, but drastically re-interpreted, as matter and force. The exclusion of final causes by both Bacon and Descartes from the interpretation of nature has already been mentioned, but the crucial point here was the mechanics of Galileo, with its mathematical interpretation of nature, building, in the astronomical realm, on the work of Copernicus and Kepler. The culmination was the *Principia* of Newton. Among philosophers the names of Hobbes and Spinoza spring to mind.

It must not however be forgotten that, with all the splendid successes, there was a price to be paid. Aristotle's world-outlook had a strongly biological slant, and within the biological realm his conception of immanent teleology was a valuable tool of explanation. But the new mechanistic outlook was fundamentally uncongenial to biology. To say this is not to deny that there were important advances, among which we may note the significance of

optics for the invention of the microscope and its application by Malphigi for the investigation of minute organisms, and Descartes' praise for Harvey's work on the circulation of the blood.⁶² But if the dominant science of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was physics, from the standpoint of general intellectual influence that of the nineteenth century was biology, which saw its evolutionary outlook spread over vast areas of thought.

Most important for us, however, is the application of the mechanistic outlook to the sphere of the mind. This was manifested notably in the extent to which the association of ideas was brought into application in the interpretation of its operations. Recognition of the ways in which the association of ideas functioned was not indeed new⁶³ - though Locke saw it mainly as a source of faulty reasoning.⁶⁴ With Hume, however, it acquired a central place in the interpretation of the formation of our beliefs generally in the factual sphere, in the realm of causation and induction, and this line of approach was pursued further by Hartley and Priestley,⁶⁵ assisted by the prevailing tendency towards an atomistic approach (as manifested in Locke's distinction of simple and complex ideas,⁶⁶ followed with modifications by Hume and his successors). Connected with this, and with its deterministic overtones, was a tendency to treat the mind as passive in its awareness of the world; this was recognized and criticized by Reid, who pointed to the neglect of attention and its importance,⁶⁷ anticipating the emphasis

⁶² *Discours de la méthode*; Part V; *Les passions de l'âme* (1649), Part I, Art. 7.

⁶³ Plato, *Phaedo*, 73D-74A; Aristotle, *De Memoria* 2. 451 b18-20; Hobbes, *Leviathan* (1651), ch.3, 'Of the Consequence or Trayne of Imaginations'.

⁶⁴ *Essay concerning human understanding*, II, 33, added in edition 4 (1700).

⁶⁵ Priestley, *Hartley's theory of the human mind on the principles of the association of ideas*.

⁶⁶ *Essay concerning human understanding*, II, 2.1; II, 12; II, 23.

⁶⁷ *Inquiry into the human mind* (1764), 2.10.

laid on attention in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries.⁶⁸ The part played by the operations of the mind in Kant and his idealist successors is another story.

Correlatively, in the sphere of action, there entered the influence (by no means universally accepted - see below) of psychological egoism, the 'selfish theory of human nature', particularly in its hedonistic form, which saw human beings as social atoms, driven ineluctably to pursue pleasure and avoid pain. At the middle of the seventeenth century the principal exemplar is Hobbes,⁶⁹ followed by the variant put forward by Spinoza, with his *conatus in suo esse perseverandi*.⁷⁰ The total effect, both in the sphere of thought and in that of action, was rigidly deterministic. In spite, however, of the professed and indeed dominant mechanism, a teleological element, understood within a deterministic framework, was difficult to exclude from the sphere of action - Spinoza, had his *conatus in suo esse perseverandi*, Locke seems to be attempting to avoid teleology by his interpretation of action in terms not of a goal aimed at but rather of a 'pressing uneasiness',⁷¹ and the same problem faces the reader of Bentham, the most notable exponent of psychological hedonism.⁷²

The issue of determinism in its various forms needs, however, to be looked at more closely. The determinism of Hobbes, Spinoza, and Leibniz was cosmic. The aspect, however, on which we find Locke concentrating his attention is the psychological, as has just been seen, and Hume, within his general deterministic framework (from which there follows, though on the basis of overwhelming

⁶⁸ See esp. William James, *Principles of psychology* (1890), vol.1, the opening sentences of ch. XI.

⁶⁹ *Leviathan*, ch.6; cf. *Human nature* (1650), and *Of liberty and necessity* (1654).

⁷⁰ *Ethics* (1677), III, 6-8.

⁷¹ *Essay concerning human understanding*, II, 21.31, 35, 39.

⁷² *Introduction to the principles of moral and legislation* (printed 1780, published 1789), 1.1.

probability, and not of necessity, his rejection of miracles), claims to be able to accommodate our ordinary conception of liberty in terms of absence of constraint.⁷³ It has been mentioned above that we find an echo of Newton in Hume's treatment of motivation when, side by side with self-love, he adds 'limited benevolence', seen as a product of sympathy manifested in a degree determined by propinquity, much after the fashion of the Newtonian force of gravity.⁷⁴ The deterministic - libertarian battle continued to rage: Reid against Hume; Priestley against Price,⁷⁵ with Kant attempting a solution by way of his distinction between a phenomenal world and a noumenal.

The drastic consequences for social theory of a determinism which rejected Hume's solution were drawn by Godwin, in his anarchistic *Enquiry concerning political justice* (1793), rejecting traditional notions of responsibility and punishment in their entirety.⁷⁶ Punishment was similarly rejected by the socialist Robert Owen, writing early in the nineteenth century, who proclaimed that men's character was made not by them but for them.⁷⁷ This was properly social determinism, to which we now turn.

A strain of thought closely related to the psychological determinism of the associationists concentrated on the influence of society, seeing morality as a matter neither of divine revelation, nor, after the criticisms of Locke, of innate ideas,⁷⁸ nor as the product of

⁷³ *Enquiry concerning human understanding*, Sect. VIII; cf. earlier Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ch.21.

⁷⁴ *Treatise of human nature*, III, 2.1; with the passage from Hutcheson quoted earlier, see fn.19.

⁷⁵ Cf. Price, *Review of the principal questions in morals* (1758), ch.8, and the correspondence between him and Priestley published in 1778.

⁷⁶ Op. cit., Book VII, 'Of Crimes and Punishment'.

⁷⁷ *A new view of society, or essays on the principle of the formation of the human character* (1813).

⁷⁸ *Essay concerning human understanding*, I, 3.

an inborn sense or intuition, but as a social product. So Montesquieu, in *L'Esprit des lois* (1748), saw all aspects of society as interconnected. Rousseau placed at the centre of his thought the antithesis between the natural and the artificial, as the latter was found in the conventions of society. All was good, he proclaimed in the opening sentences of *Émile* (1762), as it came from the hands of God, but all degenerated in the hands of man. Original sin was rejected - as it had been in the very different philosophy of Locke.⁷⁹ The implication now was that salvation was to be sought not by the redemption of the individual soul but by the transformation of social institutions, pointing the way, however incoherently, in the direction of a Utopianism of an egalitarian form. Such Utopianism, as found in Condorcet and Godwin, suffered a crushing attack in Malthus's *Essay on population* (1798),⁸⁰ only to reappear in Robert Owen's *New view of society*.

With the social determinism of the eighteenth century one may contrast the biological determinism, which, frequently more pessimistic in tone, gave rise in the late nineteenth century (not in Darwin himself) to a 'social Darwinism' which proclaimed the survival of the fittest, whether actually or ideally, as a goal for the human species. Reflecting back, however, on such movements one may bear in mind the attacks on theories of social determinism in the works of Karl Popper,⁸¹ and, from a different perspective, of Isaiah Berlin.⁸²

⁷⁹ *The reasonableness of Christianity* (1695).

⁸⁰ Book III, chs. 1 and 2.

⁸¹ *The open society and its enemies* (1945, etc.), and *The poverty of historicism* (1957, etc.).

⁸² *Historical inevitability* (1954), and 'From Hope and Fear Set Free', *Proceedings of the Aristotelian Society* (1964-5).

VIII

In the social and political philosophy of the period under our review individualism stands out, in one way or another, as a dominant feature. Epistemology was based on a psychology which was introspective (and defective for that reason), while as agents men tended to be seen, as in the philosophies of Hobbes and Bentham, as social atoms pursuing their own interest to the exclusion of all else - atoms, in Hobbes's theory, motivated by enlightened self-interest to unite in a contract for the protection of each. Another form of individualism appears in the doctrine of natural rights, a significant modification of traditional principles of natural law, in Locke's *Second Treatise of Civil Government* (1690); here a man's natural rights to life, liberty and property are basic, and the social contract exists for their defence. This is the primary function of government, and places limits on the proper range of its control, while the contract and the consent of the governed secure its legitimacy.

Noteworthy in the restrictions on government is the rejection of any rights of interference in the sphere of religious worship. Locke is an important figure in the history of religious toleration.⁸³ Here, as elsewhere, he was totally at variance with Hobbes, who had seen the control of religious opinion as an essential instrument for the maintenance of a stable and well-ordered commonwealth.⁸⁴ The movement for religious freedom was to be taken up in France, especially by Voltaire, where the Huguenots had suffered persecution in consequence of the revocation in 1685 of the Edict of Nantes, while in England non-Anglicans, though treated less harshly, faced a long struggle for equality of rights as citizens.

Locke's *Second Treatise* was thus directed against the Divine Right of Kings, as also secondarily against the imposition of

⁸³ See esp. his *Letter concerning toleration* (1689).

⁸⁴ *Leviathan*, esp. ch. 31.

religious uniformity, whether by that or in any other way. Politically the movement it supported saw its beginning in the English Revolution of 1688/9, which Locke proclaimed, and its culmination in the American and French Revolutions a century later. The movement against absolutism was reinforced by the emergence of the doctrine of the separation of powers, adumbrated by Locke, with his distinction of legislative, executive and federative powers, and set out in what became its classical form (legislative, executive and judicial) by Montesquieu, in his championship of liberty in *L'esprit des lois* (1748), XI, 6. For the protection of natural rights Locke invoked the concept of a contract ('compact' is his usual term) as the basis for political society, no longer seen, as by Hobbes, as supporting absolutism, nor, as later in Rousseau, generating a general will; its basis was individual agreement and its primary function the protection of the individual.

The other dominant strain to emerge, both in moral and in political theory, is the utilitarian. The fact that its aims might frequently coincide with those of the proponents of natural rights (egalitarian and indeed democratic tendencies could be discerned in both) should not obscure the fundamental difference between the two. Locke's own presentation of natural rights had religious overtones, reinforced by Biblical references - his condemnation of suicide rests, perhaps not altogether consistently, on the proposition that we are God's property.⁸⁵ One may perhaps compare the religious aspects of the brief passages on ethical theory in his *Essay concerning Human Understanding*.⁸⁶ The natural law tradition had had a metaphysical basis, and there was a carry over from this in Locke's political philosophy, despite his empiricist epistemology.

⁸⁵ *Second treatise*, ii, 6.

⁸⁶ *Essay concerning human understanding*, II, 28.8, states that 'Divine Law is the measure of Sin and Duty', II, 27.26 introduces the prospect of a Last Judgment in its treatment of personal identity. There are marked shifts away from Locke in the treatment of rights in Price (*Review*, ch. 7) and, with less in the way of philosophical foundations, Paine (*Rights of Man*, 1791).

The intuitionists again, Clarke, Butler and Price, saw ethics in a religious setting. Utilitarianism, by contrast, was more distinctly secular, and derived from the empiricist tradition.⁸⁷ It began with Hutcheson's theory of a moral sense.⁸⁸ Hutcheson saw morality in terms of benevolence, contrasted sharply with the selfishness which Hobbes had held to be the sole motive for action; in Hutcheson's eyes, indeed, benevolence was the whole of virtue.⁸⁹ Such a view laid itself open to criticism - was this what our moral sense or sentiment (or, on the rival rationalistic theory, our moral intuitions) unreservedly proclaimed? Butler said no,⁹⁰ and he was not alone. Hume, too, whose moral theory was at the same time much influenced by Hutcheson, gave prominence to justice, though classifying it as not, in his sense, a natural virtue, but an artificial, as resting on human convention.⁹¹ He then went on to give it a utilitarian basis,⁹² the psychological motivation lying in sympathy.⁹³ Hume, it may be noted, saw utility as the basis of the rules of existing society, whereas later utilitarians saw the principle of utility as an instrument for social reform rather than as a principle of interpretation. In his *Natural history of religion* (1757) the criterion he adopts for the comparative evaluation of religions is social utility, with special emphasis upon the degree of tolerance or intolerance displayed; he favours polytheism.

Is it possible then to delineate anything that can be called the Enlightenment's picture of the ideal man? I suggest that it will be

⁸⁷ It could be given a theological form; but Mill fell into a serious error when he equated the consequentialist ethics of utilitarianism with the motive ethics of Christianity; see *Utilitarianism* (1861), ch.2.

⁸⁸ *Inquiry concerning moral good and evil* (1725)

⁸⁹ See T.A. Roberts, *The concept of benevolence. Aspects of eighteenth-century moral philosophy* (1973), and, for the continent, J. Hostler, *Leibniz's moral philosophy* (1975).

⁹⁰ *Dissertation upon the nature of virtue* (1736).

⁹¹ *Treatise of human nature*, III, 2.1.

⁹² *Ibid.*, III, 2.2

⁹³ *Ibid.*, III, 3.1.

helpful to invoke the philosophy of the Hellenistic period. He will, above all, be a moderate man ('nothing too much'), keeping his passions under control. He will not be swayed by the emotions of the religious 'enthusiast'. His outlook will, or may, be this-worldly, rather than other-worldly. We may think of him as guided by the 'cardinal virtues' of courage, wisdom, temperance and justice, supplemented by benevolence (the *philanthropia* of antiquity). He will be a man of sensibility, and, though he will have some admiration for the Stoics, he will not follow their total rejection of emotion. Like the Stoics, however, he will be a man of civic virtue. In this context we may profitably consider Hume's definition of virtues as qualities of the mind agreeable or useful to oneself or to others,⁹⁴ with his derisive denunciation of 'monkish virtues',⁹⁵ and note also Rousseau's claim that true Christianity is incompatible with the virtues of citizenship.⁹⁶

But in touching upon justice in these terms we are approaching the sphere of politics, and it was on the political side that utilitarianism developed as an influential doctrine. The development went hand in hand with a shift from emphasis on the motive of benevolence, as a criterion of the virtue of the agent, to the consequentialist principle of the greatest happiness of the greatest number, taken as the criterion of good laws and good government. We may note, indeed, that, side by side with his claim, when considering agents, that benevolence was the sole basis of morality, Hutcheson adopted a consequentialist standpoint in his assessment of actions; it is in him that we first find the principle that 'that Action is best, which procures the greatest happiness for the greatest numbers'.⁹⁷ Indeed, in his general assessment of the morality of actions Hutcheson attempts, somewhat implausibly, to invoke the assistance of mathematics; looking back in the light of the later history of utilitarianism, we may be reminded of Bentham's

⁹⁴ *Inquiry into the principles of morals* (1751).

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, Sect. IX, Part I.

⁹⁶ *Contrat Social*, IV, 8.

⁹⁷ *Inquiry concerning moral good and evil*, Sect. III.

radical empiricist attempt at a quantitative sensation-hedonism in chapter four of *An introduction to the principles of morals and legislation* (1789), 'Value of a Lot of Pleasure or Pain, how to be measured.'

Bentham himself, the great exponent of utilitarianism, similarly applied it to the individual agent as well as to the state; on the other hand his psychological hedonism governed his interpretation of human behaviour, and he was principally concerned with the realms of law, politics and social institutions generally. He claimed to have learned his utilitarianism from Priestley and Beccaria.⁹⁸ A similar influence from the Continent was that of Helvétius;⁹⁹ there was a strong utilitarian tendency in the French Enlightenment, exemplified not simply by Helvétius but also by La Mettrie and d'Holbach. The social and political emphasis in Bentham enabled him to combine his utilitarianism, however unsatisfactorily, with his psychological hedonism; this combination explains the shift in his development from the advocacy of enlightened despotism to democracy, given that rulers, if uncontrolled, might be expected to act in their own interest and not that of society at large where the two conflicted. In utilitarianism, by contrast with any individualism which confined the business of government to the maintenance of natural rights (which was not strictly true of Locke), there was no limit in principle on the functions of government, though there would be a general presumption against interference with individuals in the pursuit of their happiness where this did not clash with similar pursuit on the part of others. It was the utilitarians, Beccaria and Bentham, who were in the forefront of the penal reform, since in the eyes of a utilitarian punishment is necessarily an evil, to be justified only by the good of the

⁹⁸ J. Priestley, *An essay on the first principles of government* (1768); C. Beccaria, *Dei delitti e delle pene* (1764) translated into French in 1766, into English in 1767.

⁹⁹ *De l'esprit* (1758).

community which it, or the expectation of it, will provide.¹⁰⁰ There is no appeal here to the observance of natural law or natural rights, or the forfeiture of such rights, or to a retributivism based upon intuition. By contrast, the classical statement of retributivism is to be found in the rationalist ethics of Kant.¹⁰¹

It is, however, significant for the interpretation of eighteenth century thought to note a respect in which utilitarianism and natural law and rights theories, and indeed the intuitionist and rationalist traditions in ethics generally, were at one. In keeping with the cosmopolitan outlook of the Enlightenment, as against any narrow appeal to group sentiment or group solidarity, they were universalistic in their outlook - a universalism which had roots both in Christianity and in Stoicism. Problems might be lying in wait for the utilitarian on this issue (might not the general happiness be best served by paying particular attention to the members of one's own group?), but nevertheless the formula was 'Each to count for one and nobody for more than one'. This from the standpoint of those affected by one's actions; from that of judgment on the agent himself, the classic pronouncement is Kant's first formulation of his categorical imperative: 'Act only on that maxim through which you can at the same time will that it should become a universal law', or otherwise 'Act as if the maxim of your action were to become through your will a universal law of nature' - amplified from the other standpoint by the second formulation: 'Act in such a way that you always treat humanity, whether in your own person or in the

¹⁰⁰ Beccaria proposed to consider laws from the standpoint of 'la massima felicità divisa nel maggior numero'. Bentham wrote that 'all punishment is mischief: all punishment in itself is evil. Upon the principle of utility, if it ought at all be admitted, it ought only to be admitted in as far as it promises to exclude some greater evil', *Introduction to the principles of morals and legislation* (1789), ch. xiii, sect.2.

¹⁰¹ *Metaphysik der sitten* (1797).

person of any other, never simply as a means, but also at the same time as an end'.¹⁰²

These principles, however, both the utilitarian and the Kantian, must be sharply differentiated in their universal character from the theories of a moral sentiment which based themselves on the element of sympathy in human nature, even though such sympathy was held to be universal in human beings (quite apart from the other problem, that it is difficult to see how a feeling of sympathy can give rise to an obligation). It has been seen earlier that Hutcheson recognized that the extent of the range of one's sympathy was not uniform in its degree, comparing the effect of distance on the force of gravity. Hume recognized the same point, denying that there was any love of mankind merely as such,¹⁰³ but counterbalanced it by insisting on the importance for society of rigidity in the rules of justice. Adam Smith, after a lengthy examination of sympathy, interprets the special qualities of moral approval and disapproval by invoking the concept of an impartial spectator,¹⁰⁴ thereby coming some way towards the position of Kant.

IX

In one way and another the concept of nature is central to the moral and social thought of the Enlightenment, and would be likely to attract those who questioned appeals to the authority of revelation and tradition. The concept had played a large part in Greek philosophy, and particularly among the Stoics, quite apart from the 'back to nature' movement of the Cynics. The Stoics, however, had viewed nature cosmically, whereas now it was on human nature that attention was more narrowly focused. The epistemological side of this concentration, from Locke onwards, has been discussed

¹⁰² *Groundwork of the metaphysics of ethics* (1785), trans. H.J. Paton, *The Moral Law*, n.d. (1948).

¹⁰³ *Treatise of human nature*, III, 2.1.

¹⁰⁴ *Theory of moral sentiments*, Part III, ch. I.

already. On the social side the spirit of the Enlightenment called forth a contrast between the natural, even if vague and idealized in conception, and the conventional, more particularly the artificial, now that thought was no longer content to rest on the authority of the traditional. The moral philosophies of the period rested on analyses of human nature. As late as 1861, J.S. Mill claimed a natural foundation for utilitarianism, by contrast with artificial systems of morality, as resting on the basis of sympathy.¹⁰⁵ Locke, in his *Reasonableness of Christianity* (1695),¹⁰⁶ had rejected traditional dogmas of original sin, and the consequent corruption of man's nature, and the tone was set in a significant way. With Locke, too, natural rights come into their own, and his conception of the state of nature is markedly less gloomy than that of Hobbes,¹⁰⁷ while he demolishes the dogmatic traditionalism of Filmer's Divine Right of Kings.

Hume's position is more complex. His *Treatise of human nature* is arranged into three Books, 'Of the Understanding', 'Of the Passions' and 'Of Morals', in the first of which the concept of natural belief plays an essential part as a defence against an unsustainable scepticism. In Book III he draws a sharp line between 'is' and 'ought',¹⁰⁸ interpreting the latter in terms of a sentiment of approval. He classifies virtues as natural or artificial, placing justice in the latter class, but lays great stress on its utility for the maintenance of society,¹⁰⁹ though in the later *Enquiry concerning the principles of morals* he throws doubt on the usefulness of this classification.¹¹⁰ Meanwhile in economics

¹⁰⁵ *Utilitarianism*, ch.3.

¹⁰⁶ Whether this was a satisfactory characterization of Christianity is another matter; with the title one may compare Toland's *Christianity not mysterious* (1696).

¹⁰⁷ Cf. Locke, *Second treatise*, ch.2 and Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ch. 13.

¹⁰⁸ *Loc. cit.*, 1.1.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.*, 2.2.

¹¹⁰ *Op.cit.*, Appendix III, 'Some Farther Considerations with Regard to Justice'.

rejection of the artificial took the form of criticism of restrictions on commerce. But the contrast between the natural and the conventional reaches its greatest prominence, and its greatest influence, in Rousseau, running right through from the *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* (1750) and the *Discours sur l'origine de l'inégalité* (1755) with its rejection of the *amour propre* deriving from the conventional relations of society, as distinct from natural *amour de soi*. It dominates the *Contrat social* (1762), where Rousseau draws a sharp line between the natural and the moral, the latter generated only by the general will of society, which secures his freedom in a fuller sense.¹¹¹ It dominates similarly the educational principles of *Émile* (also 1762), which begins with the proclamation that 'all is good, as it comes from the hands of the Author of things, but all degenerates in the hands of man'.

In ethics the real break comes in one way with Kant, rather than with Hume. While insisting on man's autonomy as an agent, Kant rejects attempts to derive morality from human nature,¹¹² and turns instead to interpret it imperatively in terms of a categorical imperative of pure practical reason. The Enlightenment's tendency to an optimistic view of human nature is itself firmly rebuffed in his *Religion within the limits of reason alone* (1793), Book One of which is concerned with 'the radical evil in human nature'. A different way of rejecting the attempt to found morality on a source in human nature is the utilitarian, looking not to the sources of actions but to their consequences; in particularly Bentham attacks, along with other theories, the employment of sympathy and antipathy both in morals and in government (the latter with particular reference to systems of punishment).¹¹³

The application of the term 'natural' in discussions of natural religion is indeed somewhat different, the contrast here being with

¹¹¹ *Op. cit.*, esp. I.8.

¹¹² *Groundwork of the metaphysics of morals* (1785), ch.2.

¹¹³ *Introduction to the principles of morals and legislation*, ch.2.

'revealed'. Appeals to revelation might perhaps be admitted, or might be dropped completely, but it was the possibility of natural religion (already discussed above) that occupied the centre of attention. For those who denied the possibility of such, as it had been traditionally understood, the philosophical culmination would lie in the negative conclusions of Hume, in his *Enquiry concerning human understanding* and *Dialogues concerning natural religion* (posthumous, 1779), and from another angle in Kant's appeal from the sphere of theoretical reason to the postulates of practical reason (God, freedom and immortality) in his *Critiques of pure (1781) and practical reason* (1788). Rousseau, for his part, in the 'Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard' had relied on an appeal to personal conviction, together with evidence of design in the universe.¹¹⁴

X

This paper began with a quotation from Kant, and Kant seems in more than one way the culmination of the Enlightenment, exhibiting its weaknesses as well as its strength. Not for nothing has he been called the Prussian Hume. He saw himself as on the one hand providing a definitive refutation of the *a priori* metaphysics which had dominated philosophy down to the time of the Leibnizian school, and on the other hand effecting a synthesis of those elements which were acceptable in the two epistemological traditions, the rationalist and the empiricist. Along with this he insisted, in his own radical way, that, in the tradition of Locke and more particularly of Hume, philosophy was to be seen as directed towards the interpretation of the human mind - though now with a fundamental distinction between transcendental philosophy on the one hand and empirical psychology (the elucidation of the data and workings of 'inner sense') on the other. Further, his place in the thought of the Enlightenment is to be seen in the centrality of his

¹¹⁴ *Émile*, Book IV; see R. Grimsley, *Rousseau and the religious quest* (1968).

aim of providing secure foundations for Newtonian physics. His treatment of causation, confining it within the empirical realm, can be seen as a rationalistic rewriting of Hume; indeed, he declared that it was Hume's treatment of causation that had 'aroused him from his dogmatic slumbers'¹¹⁵ and so led him to abandon the aims of traditional metaphysics and set on foot the construction of his own critical philosophy - the critique of the powers and limitations of the human mind. His treatment of causation, and correlatively that of substance, involved a rejection of their metaphysical applications as found in the scholastic tradition and in Cartesian and post-Cartesian rationalism. These concepts were seen now as necessary features of the operations of the human understanding in its interpretation of the data given to it in sensory experience, and that necessity could be seen in their derivation from the forms of judgement set out in the formal logic of the Aristotelian tradition (itself taken as enjoying finality in the realm of logic).

Herein, however, we see Kant both as an exemplar of the triumphant element in the outlook of the Enlightenment, and as an exemplification of its weakness. This lay, basically, in its unhistorical character, seen both in its failure to recognize the complexity and diversity of human thought across the world and through the centuries of the past, and in its belief in its own finality. Its basic belief in the uniformity of human nature had been seen earlier in Hume's treatment of the mind's interpretation of both physical and human nature - noticeably in his failure to comprehend belief in miracles except in terms of fraud and self-delusion.¹¹⁶ Aristotelian logic, Euclidean geometry and Newtonian physics were all final; as for philosophy, Kant proclaimed at the end of the *Critique of pure reason* that there was little more to be done except the completion of a few details, and that could be accomplished by the end of the eighteenth century.

¹¹⁵ *Prolegomena to any future metaphysics* (1783), *ad init.*

¹¹⁶ *Enquiry concerning human understanding*, sect X.

The human mind, however, could not be confined within such a straitjacket. The nineteenth century, even from its earlier decades, saw the development of non-Euclidean geometries, and the early twentieth century an application of such by Einstein to the physical universe. The early decades of the twentieth century likewise saw quantum theory and indeterminacy radically recasting the framework of what had been eighteenth and nineteenth century physics. R.G. Collingwood, a philosopher who was also an historian and whose philosophy was dominated by his sense of the importance of history, emphasized this in his *Essay on metaphysics* (1940), writing in terms of the impermanence of the absolute presuppositions of human thought, with Kant specially in mind. Formal logic itself, meanwhile, had been transformed through the work of such logicians as Frege and Russell.

But Kant, as a representative of the Enlightenment, was unhistorical in a deeper sense, in his disregard for history as a form of knowledge. Aristotle had laid down that there were three branches of theoretical knowledge, mathematics, physics and metaphysics;¹¹⁷ Descartes had followed this division, though re-interpreting it in terms of his own philosophy, and had treated history as of scant regard.¹¹⁸ Kant in turn followed the threefold classification, though rejecting the claims of metaphysics. Traditionally, then, knowledge was essentially of the universal, whereas history was of the particular, falling as such into the realm of memory and thus ultimately of sense-perception. It had been left to Vico to champion the claims of history as a form of knowledge, one in which man was aware of himself through what he had done, by contrast with the mathematical physics of the Cartesian tradition; along with this he had emphasized the cultural diversity of mankind as against a supposed uniformity of nature. Meanwhile

¹¹⁷ *Metaphysics*, E.1, K.7.

¹¹⁸ *Discours de la méthode*, Part 1.

there had also been a great growth of serious historical writing in the hands of such exponents as Voltaire, Hume and Gibbon.¹¹⁹

Kant's ethics exhibited yet another facet of Enlightenment thought. They may, with some measure of truth, be seen as a blend of Stoicism and Protestant Christianity. To Stoicism were due the austere rationalism, with emphasis on the status of man as a rational agent and the rejection of any place for feeling or emotion in the moral life, the emphasis on freedom seen as moral autonomy in a deterministic world - whatever the differences in their cosmology, with Kant's solution assigning the free and the causally determined to two different worlds - and the all-but-exclusive stress on the moral goodness of the agent as found in his purposes.¹²⁰ To the Judaeo-Christian tradition was due the imperatival element of the categorical imperative; while he rejected any theological derivation for morality, he listed the existence of God, the freedom of the will and the immortality of the soul as the three postulates of practical reason, and defined religion in the *Critique of practical reason* as 'the recognition of the moral law as a divine command',¹²¹ a definition not easy to reconcile with his conception of the moral autonomy of the rational agent. Both Stoic and Christian roots can be seen for the universalistic aspect of his ethics, seeing man as manifesting the same rational essence, whether as agent or as the object of actions, and that alone as morally relevant, with no place for cultural relativity. Two points may be noted briefly.

(1) His rationalism placed him radically at variance with the moral sense - moral sentiment tradition of Hutcheson, Hume and Adam

¹¹⁹ Historical enquiry is closely connected with our knowledge of other minds, a field of philosophical enquiry almost entirely neglected in the eighteenth century (a minor exception being a brief passage in Berkeley, *Principles of human knowledge*, 140-45), and receiving little attention before the twentieth century.

¹²⁰ See f.n. 6 above on 'Kant and Greek Ethics'.

¹²¹ This is in line with Pufendorf's claim that God is the author of natural law, *De officio hominis et civis* (1673), I, 3.11.

Smith to which he had indeed been favourably inclined early in his philosophical development.¹²² The imperatival approach was also at variance with the intuitionism of such philosophers as Samuel Clarke and Richard Price.

(2) The exclusive centrality given to the 'good will' of the agent, as in the Stoic tradition, ran counter to the utilitarian tendencies prevalent in the Enlightenment. This can be seen notably in his strictly retributivist attitude to punishment, expressed in his *Metaphysics of morals* (1797), in sharp contrast with Beccaria and Bentham.

It is as consonant with the above that we must view Kant's philosophy of religion, as set out in his *Religion within the limits of reason alone* (1793). Brought up in the emotional atmosphere of the pietist tradition of the Lutheranism of his day, he reacted strongly against it, and the most prominent features of his philosophy of religion are the rejection of revelation, of ecclesiastical authority (*Pfaffentum*, 'priestcraft'), and of 'enthusiasm' in the eighteenth-century sense (*Schwärmerei*). All this was fully in line with the general tendencies of the Enlightenment. On the other hand, his austere and gloomy conception of a 'radical evil' in human nature was a reversion, in new form, to the Christian, and especially Augustinian, doctrine of original sin, which the Enlightenment, and not least its wayward son Rousseau, had been eager to reject.¹²³

In Kant, therefore, the spirit of the Enlightenment is found most particularly in his rejection of metaphysics, and his attempt to find a secure basis for natural science, i.e. Newtonian physics, by his synthesis of rationalism and empiricism; and on the other hand in his rejection of authority and proclamation of the individual reason as a guide for life.

¹²² See P.A. Schilpp, *Kant's pre-critical ethics* (1938).

¹²³ Locke, *The reasonableness of Christianity*; Rousseau, *Émile, ad init.*, quoted above.

XI

It is time, however, to retrace our steps, and take a further look at Rousseau. His conception of nature, and attitude to it, have been touched on briefly already. In relation to the general tendencies of the Enlightenment he stands, like his almost exact contemporary Hume, in an ambiguous position. In Rousseau's case we find ourselves faced with two sets of opposing tensions, that between reason and sentiment, and that between individualism and collectivism. Something has been said of his individualistic aspect already. As for the former pair, it is not difficult to find rationalistic elements in his thought, as in his approach to the idea of a state of nature (his arguments against Grotius fall within the traditional framework of the natural law tradition), the contract itself (rejected earlier by Hume in an essay of 1742), and in his discussion of law,¹²⁴ but at the same time he laid great emphasis on sentiment, above all locating in it the basis of natural religion.¹²⁵ Further, in the early *Discours sur les sciences et les arts* he had shown himself antipathetical to the ideals of the betterment of man through technological progress prevalent at the time and embodied in the *Encyclopédie* of 1751 and the following years;¹²⁶ while the impulse of the call to 'go back to nature' appeared in the *Discours sur l'inégalité*, as in the opening words of *Émile*, quoted above. The *Contrat Social* brings us, however, face to face with another aspect of his thought, the tension between individualist and collectivist tendencies, the former already looked at briefly.

¹²⁴ *Contrat Social*, I, 2-5; II, 6.

¹²⁵ *Émile*, Book IV, 'Profession de foi du vicaire savoyard'.

¹²⁶ The absolute priority of the moral falls into a tradition running from Socrates and the Stoics to Kant and the nineteenth-century idealist T.H. Green..

Though man is by nature good he is not by nature a moral being, and it is through the social contract that he becomes such. That is because the social contract,¹²⁷ set up though it is for the protection of individuals, by its very institution generates the general will whereby man for the first time becomes a moral being. The reason is that the general will of society is the moral will of each of the citizens, willing the general good,¹²⁸ with no place for any private conscience, moral sense or moral intuition, and contrasted with the 'will of all' which would be merely the sum-total of individual wills directed by each towards his own advantage.¹²⁹ The general will is morally infallible,¹³⁰ there being no external criterion against which it could be judged. Moreover, it is thus and only thus that the freedom on which Rousseau lays so much stress can be fully realized - man will have exchanged the freedom of the state of nature for moral freedom.¹³¹ He begins the *Contrat Social* with the ringing declaration that 'man was born free, and everywhere he is in chains', but its apparent individualism is soon subjected to amplification and correction. So it is that Rousseau can embrace the paradox that the criminal wills his own execution.¹³² Man as a moral being is first and foremost a citizen, and true Christianity is incompatible with genuine citizenship.¹³³ On the other hand, Rousseau had absorbed from Montesquieu the doctrine of the suitability of different political systems to the size of different states;¹³⁴ the general will does not, after all, require

¹²⁷ *Contrat Social*, I, 6.

¹²⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 3-4.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, II, 3.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*, II, 3,6.

¹³¹ This is not simply the absence of external constraint, 'negative liberty', as in Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ch. 21, and Hume, *Enquiry concerning human understanding*, Sect. VIII.

¹³² *Contrat Social*, II, 5.

¹³³ *Ibid.*, IV, 8.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, III, 1-2; cf. II, 6.

universal democracy,¹³⁵ but is the expression of the ethos of a people, whatever that ethos may be.

XII

We are here at the threshold of a movement which would eventually take the course of intellectual history far from the Enlightenment, a movement associated with the name of Romanticism and with the nineteenth century rather than the eighteenth. The Enlightenment concerned itself with man as such, with his essential nature, his natural rights and his pursuit of happiness. Its outlook was cosmopolitan. But the seeds of change were already present. The development of a serious and critical study of history, by contrast with a less than fully critical antiquarianism, has already been noted. But there was also an increasing interest in the study of different cultures throughout history (universal innate ideas in morality and religion had vanished under the impact of Locke). The first name we have to take into account is that of Vico, whose massive *Scienza nuova* had appeared in 1725 (ed. 3, revised, 1744). This constituted a counterattack, on a large scale, on important aspects of the Enlightenment, delivered relatively early in its development. In the first place Vico rejected the tradition, going back to Descartes, which gave the primacy among the forms of knowledge to the mathematical and mathematico-physical, in favour of history, where man knew himself through what he had done, rather than in experiencing an external reality, whose very externality rendered our knowledge of it necessarily inferior. His view of the course of history was cyclical, an age of gods being followed by an age of heroes and that by an age of men, by contrast with optimistic views of a linear progression. Consonantly with this, he rejected the rationalistic abstractions of a primitive social contract and a universally valid law of nature, turning rather to an

¹³⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, III, 4.

historical and cultural relativism which insisted on seeing different cultures and systems of thought within their own settings.

For many years Vico's *Scienza nuova* had little influence. But it can, whatever the differences, be profitably compared with the *L'esprit des lois* of Montesquieu. Montesquieu begins as if he were a traditional natural law theorist - 'laws being defined as in their most general signification the necessary relations arising from the nature of things' - but it soon becomes clear that this is by no means the case. He talks of nature and natural law in terms which appear to be universal, but he is above all interested in the multiplicity of social systems and social phenomena, and the ways in which they interact with each other.¹³⁶ Further, he is interested in the influence of such factors as climate,¹³⁷ and the relevance of the size, among other things, of a political unit to the suitability of one political system rather than another - a point on which he was followed, though with differences, by Rousseau.¹³⁸ Fourteen years earlier he had applied the criterion of size, in his work on the greatness and decline of Rome, to interpret the upheavals of the passage from the Republic to the Empire.¹³⁹ There is a strong element of cultural relativism in Montesquieu, and the theological background of the older natural law theory (and of Locke's treatment of natural rights) has, despite the opening chapter of Book One, effectively disappeared. On the other hand, his cultural relativism is modified and kept in check by his rejection of despotism as a form of government, his rejection of slavery, the humanitarian elements in his discussion of punishment, and above all by his championship of constitutional rule, shown in his admiration, shared with Voltaire, for the English constitution established by the Revolutionary settlement of 1688/9.¹⁴⁰ However imperfect his understanding, he

¹³⁶ *Esprit des lois*, XIX, 4.

¹³⁷ *Ibid.*, I, 3, XIV, XVIII-XIX.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, I, 3; *Contrat Social*, III, 1.

¹³⁹ *Considérations sur la grandeur et la décadence des Romains* (1734), esp. ch. 9.

¹⁴⁰ *Esprit des lois*, VI, XI.6, XV.1.

saw the merits of that system as expressed through the separation of powers, and here he was to be followed in the provisions of the American constitution, with the liberty of the individual citizen as the criterion. At the same time, he was at variance with the forward-looking spirit of the Enlightenment in his interest in the feudal origins of French society.¹⁴¹ He was in fact basically a conservative, looking to the aristocracy as a bulwark against French monarchical despotism. His position was thus in various ways ambiguous, and, along with Vico and with Rousseau, seems in part to point forward to the Romantic movement and to the salient features of the nineteenth century. Of Rousseau in this context we have spoken already.

XIII

The increasing interest in cultural differences and inter-relations in society, and emphasis on society rather than the atomic individual, can be seen in changing approaches in the philosophy of language. Descartes' interest in language had been to find in it a criterion for distinguishing between human beings, as possessing rational souls, and non-human animals, seen as automata.¹⁴² Hobbes' interest, on the other hand, had been largely logical, following the nominalist tradition of the later scholasticism, which he applied to the theory of meaning to reject large tracts of metaphysical terminology,¹⁴³ and seeing reason as a matter of computation.¹⁴⁴ Locke saw language as signs of ideas.¹⁴⁵ His approach was largely on the one hand that of a logician and on the other hand that of an empiricist

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*, XXVIII-XXXI.

¹⁴² *Discours de la méthode*, Part V, and letter to the Marquess of Newcastle, 23 November, 1646.

¹⁴³ See *Leviathan*, chs. 4 & 46.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.* chs 4-5, and *Elements of philosophy*, Part I, chs. 2 & 3 (Latin ed. 1655, English ed. 1656).

¹⁴⁵ *Essay concerning human understanding*, III, 1. 2-3; cf. Hobbes, *Leviathan*, ch. 4, 'Of Speech'.

epistemologist concerned with classification in the natural world in the light of his distinction between real and nominal essences, and his claim that in our investigation of nature we are of necessity confined to the latter.¹⁴⁶ In general, when we look at the post-Cartesian phase we may distinguish two aspects, the logical and the classificatory.¹⁴⁷ In particular, there were attempts at an ideal language,¹⁴⁸ and Leibniz in an essay of 1677 envisaged a 'universal characteristic'. Of the philosophers who follow Locke, Berkeley meditated wistfully on the possibility of passing behind words to 'bare and naked ideas', that is, mental images,¹⁴⁹ so far was he prepared to go in an individualistic direction. Indeed, in an early Draft of his introduction he pointed to the advantages of an imagined 'solitary man', who had never 'had occasion to make use of universal signs for his ideas', in that he would thereby be protected from error. This is empiricist regression to pure experience pushed to a limit.¹⁵⁰ On the other hand, he pointed out, as against Locke, that there were other functions of language besides that of 'communicating ideas' (stating facts).¹⁵¹ Neither Hume nor Kant displayed a serious interest in language as such. On the other hand Condillac, in the criticisms he directed at Locke in his *Essai sur l'origine des connaissances humaines* (1748), took language seriously, and complained that he should have treated language in Book II of his *Essay concerning human understanding*, that on ideas, and not relegated it to a separate Book, so central did he regard it as being to the consideration of the mind. Outside the realm of philosophy, it is appropriate to bear in

¹⁴⁶ *Essay concerning human understanding*, Book III, esp. chs 3, 'Of General Terms' & 6, 'Of the Names of Substances'.

¹⁴⁷ The two aspects can perhaps be seen as united in the criticisms of Aristotle's categories in the *Port Royal logic* of Arnauld and Nicole (1662), esp. Part I, ch.3.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. J. Wilkins, *Essay towards a real character and a philosophical language* (1668), following on earlier work.

¹⁴⁹ *Principles of human knowledge* (1710), Introd., sects. 21-25.

¹⁵⁰ See R.I. Aaron, *The theory of universals* (2nd ed., 1967), 46-47.

¹⁵¹ *Principles of human knowledge*, Introd., sect. 20.

mind the significance of Linnaeus in his vast classification in the realms of botany and zoology, in his *Systema naturae* (1735) and *Philosophia Botanica* (1751).

But none of these realized the full implications of the recognition of language as a social phenomenon. For that we have to turn to that other tradition of which we have spoken already, that which begins with Vico and sees language, and especially poetry, in terms not of the individual mind but of communities and especially of national cultures. As a social phenomenon language could now be seen as an essential element in the formation of thoughts, and not just as a means of communicating to others thoughts already in existence prior to their linguistic formulation.¹⁵² Significantly, in the empirical, here the philological, sphere the second half of the eighteenth century saw the beginnings of comparative philology, notably in the work of Sir William Jones on the Indo-European languages (1787). Philosophically the important name is that of Herder, from 1784 onwards, with his emphasis on the expressive function of language, and a general approach which was on the one hand by implication collectivist in its perspective of any one culture, and on the other pointed to the large variety of cultures in which individuals found their identity. There went with this a fascination with the Middle Ages, which the Enlightenment, following the Renaissance, had despised as barbarous. This marked a sharp contrast with the image of the unity and uniformity of human nature which had provided the basis for the cosmopolitanism of the Enlightenment.

XIV

Politically, the consequences of this shift in outlook proved immense. Here was a movement radically at variance with the

¹⁵² For classical antiquity see Aristotle, *De Interpretatione*, ch. 1; for references to Hobbes and Locke, see above.

universalistic doctrines of natural law and natural rights theorists, with utilitarianism and with the universalism of Kantian ethics. The American and French Revolutions were both of them culminations of the Enlightenment, and both proclaimed the Rights of Man. But when the French revolutionaries proclaimed their support for those in other countries who should rise against the oppressors, there was by implication here a call to nationalist sentiment, which was in the nineteenth century to prove particularly potent in Germany and Italy, as also in Europe further east. Moreover, both the movement for natural rights and utilitarianism might be seen as pointing in the direction of democracy, and the combination of that with nationalism was to prove a powerful mixture both in the nineteenth century and in the twentieth century. However, personal liberty, democratic control and national independence might not always go hand in hand. If, on the political side, one is to look for successors to the Enlightenment in the nineteenth century, one might turn on the one hand to the increasing freedom of the individual in the removal of religious disabilities, to the influence of humanitarianism, and to the faith in the beneficence of scientific progress, as found in the liberal democratic movements which set themselves against the repressive settlements of 1815; and on the other hand to the various forms of socialism, international and Utopian in character, which were symbolized above all in the figure of Karl Marx, with his rejection of the traditional order in church and state, his cosmopolitanism and his historical determinism, interpreting society in terms of economic classes - an interpretation whose deficiencies have been shown by the disastrous clashes of nationalities and religions in the twentieth century.

D.A. Rees

**JOSEPH PRIESTLEY'S JOURNAL
WHILE AT DAVENTRY ACADEMY, 1754**

Transcribed from the original shorthand by Tony Rail and
Beryl Thomas.

Joseph Priestley was among the first students to be enrolled at the new Academy in Daventry in 1752, when he was nineteen years old. He left in 1755 after three years spent 'with that peculiar satisfaction with which young persons of generous minds usually go through a course of liberal study, in the society of others engaged in the same pursuits, and free from the cares and anxieties which seldom fail to lay hold on them when they come out into the world.' He had learned Annet's shorthand¹ in his early teens in order to record and write out the sermons he heard, continuing to use it in preparing his own sermons throughout his life. He corresponded with Annet, both about shorthand, and theological issues. Priestley also used the shorthand for keeping his Journal or Diary, which he had started at Daventry and kept throughout his life. At the beginning of each year he had given 'the state of my mind, of my affairs in general, and of my prospects for that year; which it was often amusing and instructive to look back upon.' Most of the diaries were destroyed in the riots in Birmingham, and subsequent diaries were destroyed by Priestley's son at his

¹ Peter Annet (1693-1769), was an impecunious ex-schoolmaster and conspicuous member of the Robin Hood Society. Doubting the resurrection of Christ, in 1762 he was pilloried and sentenced to twelve months hard labour for publishing a deistic journal, *The Free Enquirer*. See J. T. Rutt ed., *The theological and miscellaneous works of Joseph Priestley in 25 vols.* (London, 1817-1835), 22, pp. 135-6.

father's request.² Part of the diary for 1754 remains among the Church of the Messiah collection of manuscripts and printed items relating to Priestley, which are now on permanent loan to the Birmingham Reference Library.

The diary gives an intriguing insight into the everyday life of this singular man at a formative period of his life. It was at Daventry that Priestley first became acquainted with Hartley's *Observations on Man*, 'which produced the greatest, and in my opinion, the most favourable effect on my general turn of thinking through life.' Hartley had sown the seed for Priestley's particular perception of necessity, and throughout the year we find Priestley involved in discussions about necessity, and developing his own principles of practical necessity. At the end of September he composed a letter to Dr. Hartley. At this time he was reading Hartley's work daily, preparing a set of 'queries' to put to him. On December 9th Priestley records: 'Showed Mr. Ashworth the first letter of Hartley to me; he was prodigiously pleased with it.'

The academy had a good library, and a varied stock of scientific equipment, which included an air pump for producing a vacuum. There were two tutors, Caleb Ashworth and Samuel Clark.³ Both were young and ready to

² In 1809, Priestley's son reported that there were 'still extant those for the years 1754, 1755, and several of the subsequent years.' *Memoirs of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Priestley* (London, 1809), 159.

³ Rev. Caleb Ashworth (1720-1775). Educated under Doddridge, he settled at Daventry in 1746 as assistant to James Floyd (1705-59), soon taking over the pastoral charge solely. He inherited the management of the Academy in Doddridge's will, and moved its location to Daventry. Having an interest in Jewish antiquities, he improved on Doddridge's lectures on this subject. In 1768 he published a treatise on trigonometry for the use of his students, and a Hebrew grammar. He was presented with a doctorate in divinity by Marischal College, Aberdeen in 1767. See H. McLachlan, *English education under the Test Acts* (Manchester, 1931). Samuel Clark (1727-69) was the son of Doddridge's friend

indulge their students in the greatest freedom of thought, 'so that our lectures had often the air of friendly conversations on the subject to which they related.' The diary shows that much of the daily routine established by Doddridge at Northampton persisted. Students were wakened at six by the monitor, after which there were prayers and private study until breakfast at eight. Lectures occupied the morning. Evening prayer was probably about seven o'clock, as at Northampton, students following a rota.⁴

Priestley is revealed as an earnest, hard-working, bright young man, who enjoyed academic study and research, intellectual debate and argument, as well as recreational pleasures that could spill over into acts of youthful exuberance:

In my time, the academy was in a state peculiarly favourable to the serious pursuit of truth, as the students were about equally divided upon every question of much importance, such as liberty and necessity, the sleep of the soul, and all articles of theological orthodoxy and heresy; in consequence of which all these topics were the subject of continued discussion. Our tutors were also of

Dr. Samuel Clark (1684-1750). Clark had been educated under Doddridge and acted for a while as sub-tutor at Northampton. He left Daventry in 1756 to become minister at the Old Meeting, Birmingham, until his death in a fall from a horse. He is noted for his comment on Priestley's arrival at the Academy: 'Priestley seems to be a good, sensible fellow, though he has unfortunately got a bad name, Priestley: those who gave him it I hope were no prophets'. B.L. Add. MSS. 24485, f. 99; John Angell James, *Protestant Nonconformity: a sketch of its general history with an account of the rise and present state of the various denominations in the town of Birmingham* (London, 1849).

⁴ Doddridge's 'Constitutions, Orders and Rules' for his academy are reprinted in Malcolm Deacon, *Philip Doddridge of Northampton* (Northampton, 1980), 191-8.

different opinions; Mr. Ashworth taking the orthodox side of every question, and Mr Clark, the sub-tutor, that of heresy, though always with the greatest modesty.⁵

We can also glimpse something of the intellectual inventiveness and risk-taking that characterised this man who was not afraid of being proved wrong, and who throughout his life made unashamed use of controversy as a spur to frankness and an instrument for advancing thought. Thus on 18th December, when the literary club debated the 'spring of action' or primary motive behind God's creation of the present order of the world, presumably reciting the well rehearsed viewpoints of Balguy and Grove; Priestley, countered with the proposition that if we can assume God is pleased with the present order of the world, perhaps producing this order was his only motive.⁶

August 1754 saw the start of Priestley's final year at the academy, and Priestley's class were preparing for the ministry. They preached regularly at nonconformist chapels across the breadth of the county, and a good deal of their time was spent preparing sermons and prayers. At the same time, they studied deistic authors such as Collins and Conyers Middleton, and the writers who opposed them, including Nathaniel Lardner, Edward Chandler and John Leland. These

⁵ Rutt, 1(i), 23.

⁶ John Balguy (1686-1748) maintained the principle of divine rectitude, that God always does that which is fit and right. Henry Grove (1684-1738), supposed that God is naturally benevolent and seeks only the happiness of his creatures. Priestley declared his views in his *Institutes of natural and revealed religion*, the first draft of which he wrote at Daventry early in 1755. Priestley, though critical of trying to elicit the character of God in this way, tacitly accepted Grove's views of divine benevolence, and asserted that the system God has created provides for the 'greatest sum of happiness'.

defenders of Christianity, in seeking to corroborate the testimony of the gospels, fostered a rationalism that was to separate New Testament revelation from Old Testament prophecy. In doing so, they provided a platform for New Testament study which Priestley would soon ascend, and from which he would pioneer the application of historical methods to New Testament theology with such resounding success.

Priestley's diary measures 6¼ in. by 4 in., and entries are made in four columns across both faces of each open page, with horizontal rulings for seven days on each page. The columns are headed: Where and with whom, under which his daily activities are recorded; Improvement of the mind, under which are listed books read and compositions made; Expenses, giving occasional payments; and Memoranda, under which are described the activities of the debating or literary society, and comments on significant events in his life. The manuscript is written in shorthand, with occasional longhand entries, particularly when listing authors. Though designed by Annet to be orthographic, many of the transcriptions are phonetic, for example Da'ntry for 'Daventry', Vox Hall for 'Vaux Hall', and losed for 'lost'.

The shorthand is difficult to read in parts because it is hastily written and because seven days are compressed onto each page. Names of people and places written in shorthand may be misread, and cannot be spelt with certainty. We hope that by applying two minds to the task, errors have been kept to a minimum.

TEXT

[Wed 24 Apr] At Society: Holland⁷ a defence of matrimony; Alexander⁸ the introduction to his history of the Society; I upon the phenomenon of dreaming; Tayler⁹ a contemplation of our meanness and the divine perfection; Webb¹⁰ upon mourning. The rest forfeited.¹¹

[Thu 25 Apr] At the club, the chimney took fire, which raised the mob of the town about the house, cursing us. No harm ensued, as it was a wet night.

⁷ Henry Holland, afterwards minister at Prescot, at which Priestley was frequently a visiting preacher. A list of students educated at Daventry was prepared by Thomas Robins. D.W.L. MS 24, f. 56; *Monthly Repository*, XVII, Hackney, 163-4.

⁸ John Alexander (1736-1765), succeeded Joseph Threlkeld as minister of Longdon Green chapel, Lichfield in Staffordshire. Priestley wrote of him: 'Warm friendships never fail to be contracted at places of liberal education; and when they are well chosen, are of singular use: such was mine with Mr. Alexander of Birmingham. We were in the same class, and during the first year occupied the same room.' *Biog. Brit.*, ii, 207; *Monthly Repository*, XI, 193, 673; XVII, 163, 172-3; Rutt, 1(i), 25.

⁹ Thomas Tayler (1734-1831) was in the class below Priestley. Tayler was a tutor at Daventry for a while, and later became pastor at Carter Lane, London. He was an influential member of both the Presbyterian and Congregational Fund Boards. H. McLachlan, *op. cit.*, 154.

¹⁰ Francis Webb (1735-1815), became minister at Honiton, but subsequently quit the ministry.

¹¹ A literary or debating society met every week, generally on Wednesdays. All members were expected to contribute a short oration, on penalty of a fine, which in 1785 was sixpence. Students took turns to act as chairman or 'moderator', taking notes and presenting a summary of the main debate at the next weekly meeting. Daventry Academy, Record book of the Literary Society, 1779-1787, D.W.L. Northampton MSS., 69.7.

[Fri 26 Apr] At White's treat,¹² were exceeding merry; all in good humour and perfectly agreeable. Several enjoyed too much liquor.

[Mon 29 Apr] Morning Hebrew Bible. Forenoon Smithson¹³ and I read the beginning of a sermon upon {undeciphered} in the meeting. Forenoon walked out. Afternoon wrote to cousin Joseph,¹⁴ and other letters. Evening took leave of Gillibrand at the Sheaf.¹⁵ Drunk tea with Tayler in Blake's room,¹⁶ company Jowell, Mr. {Oliver},¹⁷ White, Holland. Talked about philosophy; exceeding merry. Composed a letter to my father and to cousin Tommy¹⁸; half one to Timmy¹⁹ and Mr. Haggerstone.²⁰ Mr. Gillibrand left us, and

¹² Nathaniel White (1730-1783), in the class above Priestley. White was successively minister at Hinckley, Leicestershire; Leeds; and Old Jewry, London. D. O. Thomas & W. B. Peach, *The correspondence of Richard Price*, vol. 1 (Cardiff, 1983), 141.

¹³ Isaac Smithson (d. 1769), minister at Harlestone in Norfolk, and, from 1758 at Nottingham. *Monthly Repository*, V, 474.

¹⁴ Joseph Priestley (1724-1770), eldest son of Priestley's uncle John Priestley. He combined the businesses of farming and cloth making, and was one of the two Deacons of Heckmondwike chapel near Leeds.

¹⁵ Joseph Gillibrand had been a student under Doddridge. He became minister at Tottenham and then Edmonton. The Wheatsheaf public house, a former coaching inn bearing the date 1610, still stands at the head of Sheaf Street, directly facing the college building. It is said to have accommodated Charles I prior to the disastrous battle of Naseby.

¹⁶ William Blake (1730-1799) was originally a student under Doddridge. He later became minister of Crewkerne in Devonshire. *Prot. Diss. Mag.* (1799), 199 & 281.

¹⁷ Uncertain transcription are written within braces {}, and editorial insertions within brackets []. Parentheses () are occasionally used to assist with punctuation.

¹⁸ Thomas Priestley (b. 1730), was another son of Priestley's uncle John Priestley.

¹⁹ Priestley's brother, Timothy Priestley (1734-1814), was educated at the Heckmondwike Academy, founded 1755. He was successively Independent minister at Kippis Chapel, Thornton nr. Bradford; Hunter's Croft, Manchester; and Jewin Street, London. Vehemently opposed to his brother's Unitarianism,

the day after Blake and Boulton.²¹ Very sorry to part with them all; they left us sorrowful.

[Tue 30 Apr] Morning Hebrew. With Blake in his room and at Hopkin's. Parted with him there. Smithson and I walked over an hour in the fields. Afternoon at {Herring's}. Coming home met the coach with Boulton in, took leave of him there. Afternoon wrote letters, and [in the] evening.

[Wed 1 May] Morning Hebrew. Lecture in anatomy, the first of generation in women. Afternoon walked with Smithson round about the hill; evening with Rotheram²² in the field. At Society with Rolleston²³ [as moderator]. Walked with Scholefield²⁴; played the lyre in my room. At

he later issued his own short-lived *Christian's Magazine or Gospel Repository* (1790-92).

²⁰ George Haggerstone, jointly minister at Ossett and Hopton near Leeds. Priestley tells us that during two years between leaving school and going to college, he spent two days a week with Haggerstone, from whom he 'learned geometry, algebra, and various branches of mathematics, theoretical and practical.'

²¹ William Boulton (1729-1799), formerly a student under Doddridge, became a General Baptist minister at Dublin. *Prot. Diss. Mag.* (1799), 480.

²² Caleb Rotheram (died 1795) became minister at Kendal, where his father had ran the academy until his death. He was a regular correspondent within the Priestley - Lindsey circle, subscribing to Priestley's *History of Light*, and contributing to Lindsey's Essex Street chapel.

²³ Matthew Rolleston subsequently became a physician.

²⁴ Radcliffe Scholefield (?1731-1803) had started as a student at Northampton in 1750, and transferred to Daventry in 1752. His grandfather, also Radcliffe Scholefield, educated under Frankland, had become the first minister of a new chapel at Whitworth, Lancashire in 1718. In 1727 he moved to Ringway, Cheshire, leaving his son, Richard (d. 1740) in charge of the Whitworth congregation. In 1728, Richard Scholefield married Elizabeth Dawson, the daughter of a minister at Rochdale, and the couple moved to Buxton, where Radcliffe Scholefield was born. Radcliffe Scholefield was educated at Whitworth by his relative Samuel Dawson, who conformed and kept a school. Scholefield later dedicated a sermon to his old teacher. After leaving Daventry Academy, Scholefield was successively minister at Whitehaven and the Old Meeting, Birmingham (1772-1799). Priestley's diary entries suggest that Scholefield and his sister lived in the town, rather than in the academy building.

Society, Alexander gave us an introduction to his history, a chapter on the title *Hebdomadals* [or weekly meetings]; Scholefield a summary of his view upon criticism; I my verses upon sluggards; the rest forfeited. (12.00)²⁵

[Thu 2 May] (6.45) Monitor called late. Wrote to my sisters. Lecture with Mr. Ashworth. Afternoon Tayler and I helped one another to remove into our closets. Society with Holland in our room, very orderly. Evening in my closet. Lardner's [*Credibility*]. At our club, talked first about ladies, particular ones; wounded Threlkeld²⁶ and Mercer embarrassed too in the place of Gillibrand; after, some expositions about instrumental music in divine service. Changed my room for No. 5 where Boulton was with Whitehead. My closet No. 11, where Blake was. (11.15)

[Fri 3 May] Morning Hebrew bible, to 282. Anatomy, an uterus. Afternoon walked out with Smithson round about Borough Hill.²⁷ Drunk tea with Smithson, company

Priestley maintained a correspondence with Scholefield throughout his life, Scholefield's visit to Priestley in Calne, July 1779, having an influence on Priestley's subsequent decision to settle in Birmingham the following year, where he became minister of the closely connected congregation of the New Meeting. *Monthly Repository*, IX, 566; B. Nightingale, *Lancashire Nonconformity: the churches of Bolton, Bury, Rochdale, &c.* (Manchester, 1892) p. 271; Radcliffe Scholefield, *Numbers no criterion of truth* (Whitehaven) 176.

²⁵ Each day, Priestley records his times of rising and retiring. He usually rose at 6.00 a.m. at the academy, 7.00 a.m. when at home, and retired at 11.00 p.m. Times have only been included, here written within parentheses, where he has deviated from this routine.

²⁶ Joseph Threlkeld settled at Longdon Green chapel near Lichfield in Staffordshire. He subsequently emigrated to Virginia. D.W.L. Wilson MSS, K4, f. 339.

²⁷ A mile south east of the town, separating Daventry and Norton, Borough Hill was the site of the ancient British settlement of Benaventa, a frontier town of the Iceni. Fortified with a double ditch of two miles circumference, the summit contained more than a dozen tumuli; a Roman villa was excavated in the nineteenth century. Reaching to a height of 670 feet, it gave views as far as Northampton and the spires of Coventry. William Edgar, *Borough Hill (Daventry) and its history* (London, 1923).

Rotheram, Scholefield, Rolleston, Boulton, Smithson. Evening studied. Lardner Pt. II, vol. 2, pp. 544 - 648. Composed the introduction and the first part of a sermon upon *We are the offspring of God*. [cf. Ac 17.27]. (11.15)
 [Sat 4 May] Morning regulating my closet. Forenoon devotional lecture of the {undeciphered} upon diligence. Afternoon, papering my closet. Evening prayed and supped at Scholefield's. Came home very sleepy. Hebrew Bible to 284. Delivered a sermon in the morning, before our class,²⁸ on *Man also knows not his time*. [Cf., Mk 13.33]. (11.15)
 [Sun 5 May] Morning a great deal of Hebrew. Forenoon heard Mr. Clark, afternoon Mr. Ashworth; sacrament. Society in Tayler's, now Holland's room. Very good. Hebrew bible to 293; finished the bible. Doddridge's *Ten sermons*, before me. Put sacrament 6d. (11.15)
 [Mon 6 May] Morning, composed. We drunk tea with Mr. Ashworth, with our class and Scholefield, and talked about sermon-making, &c. Lardner Pt. II, vol. 2, pp. 661 - 741. Composed a good part of a sermon upon *We are his offspring*. (11.15)
 [Tue 7 May] Transcribed my appendix to my oration. Had a lecture with Mr. Clark. Read in the meeting with Smithson out of Doddridge. Walked a good while in the heather. Read closely in the afternoon. Evening romping with White and Smith at Scholefield's. Lardner; Wake's *Epistles of Ignatius ... Barnabas*.²⁹ Paid for my club, 3s.3d. [16p] (11.15)
 [Wed 8 May] Morning, composing. Forenoon had lecture with Mr. Ashworth. Afternoon, walked with Alexander. At Society in Alexander's room - sung. Evening, club at Boulton's - a bit dull, sung some of the time, very indifferent

²⁸ John Alexander, Henry Holland and Matthew Rolleston were in the same class as Priestley.

²⁹ Lardner's *Credibility*, Part II, quotes extensively from these early Christian writers.

topics of conversation. Wake. Composed [part of] my sermon upon *We are his offspring*. Received a letter from Mr. Annet. At our Society. I delivered an appendix to my oration upon the nature and foundation of virtue; Tayler upon contempt; Scholefield upon the character of Virgil; Holland the character of Horace. Mr. Threlkeld and Mr. Mercer were admitted into our club. (12.00)
 [Thu 9 May] Morning composing. Forenoon, lecture upon the larynx with Mr. Clark. Afternoon, delivered my sermon in the meeting to Smithson. Miscellaneous reading, then in Wake. Drunk tea with Alexander, company Rotheram, Smithson, Jackson,³⁰ Threlkeld, and Boulton. Walked with Smithson through the town and in the fields. Stayed in his room a while. In my study. Composed part of my sermon upon *We are the offspring of God*. (11.15)
 [Fri 10 May] Morning, composed upon the foundation of virtue; forenoon, transcribed it. Had lecture with Mr. Ashworth. Afternoon, walked with Smithson. Society at Rolleston's, very orderly. In our room, Whitehead, Webb and I talked about liberty and necessity &c. till pretty late. After that read Law's *Consideration*, to p. 47.³¹ Composed and transcribed of another method of reconciling the hypothesis about the nature and foundation of virtue in the wise. (11.30)
 [Sat 11 May] Morning read in Law. Lecture in the anatomy of the brain. Afternoon, walked round about Borough Hill with Alexander. Rest of the day, and evening, read in Law to p. 286. Paid: pair of pumps, 5s.6d. [27½p] (11.15)
 [Sun 12 May] Heard Mr. Rotheram from *Acquaint thyself with him, and be at peace* [Job 22.21] Afternoon, Mr. Ashworth from [left blank] and evening repeated. At

³⁰ William Jackson, formerly a student under Doddridge, became minister at Freeby in Leicestershire, and Coventry.

³¹ In this work, Law develops the idea of man's continuing progress in religion, both natural and revealed, alongside his progress in other forms of knowledge.

Scholefield's, talked about mad dogs &c. Our meeting in Baxter's room. There some time, tired. Law's *Discourse on the Life of Christ*, then his *Consideration*, till finished.

(Week 20: my monitor week - the last)³²

[Mon 13 May]. A fine day. Morning read Lardner and lecture with Mr. Ashworth. Before the lecture, I read the references.³³ Afternoon I ruled the diary and read Lardner. Drunk tea with Mr. Clark and our class, topic Bolingbroke³⁴ &c. Evening composed a piece of a sermon upon *Thou shalt guide me by thy counsel* [cf. Ps 73.24], and read Lardner Pt. II, vol. 1, to p. 218. (11.30)

[Tue 14 May]. Windy, though a pretty warm day. Morning composed and read Lardner. Forenoon lecture, had dissection of an eye. After dinner, read Balguy³⁵ with Smithson at the meeting. Afternoon, read Lardner, and in the evening before bed (Pt. II, vol. 1, to p 476). After singing

³² From August, Priestley would be in the senior class, and exempt from the duties of monitor.

³³ As well as the large number of complete works they read, students were expected to study selected extracts from the large number of works referred to in their lectures. An indication of the extent of these is given in Samuel Clarke ed., *A course of lectures on ... pneumatology, ethics and divinity, with references to ... authors on each subject, by the late Rev. Philip Doddridge, DD.* (London, 1763).

³⁴ Lord Bolingbroke (1678-1751) had sought the repeal of the Act of Settlement (which had brought about the Hanoverian succession) and the restoration of the Stuart dynasty, as a means of maintaining Tory supremacy. In a similar vein, he worked to undermine the Whig influence of the Dissenters in Parliament. In later life, after his self-imposed exile in France, he wrote an influential series of letters on the study and use of history, published in 1752, in which he proposed that history teaches by example, and that England should produce more written histories, like her European neighbours.

³⁵ John Balguy (1686-1748), a disciple and admirer of Dr. Samuel Clarke (1675-1729), wrote in defence of Clarke's philosophical and ethical doctrines. His *Foundation of moral goodness* (1728), follows Clarke in arguing that morality does not depend upon the instincts or affections, but upon the 'unalterable nature of things'. In his *Divine Rectitude* (1730), he maintained that 'the first spring of action in the Deity is rectitude'.

and supper went to Scholefield's to sit with Mr. Evans who was come from Longdon. Composed upon *Thou shalt guide me &c.* Transcribed [*illegible*] lectures. Composed a prayer. (11.15)

[Wed 15 May] Morning, composed; forenoon, lecture with Ashworth. Afternoon I transcribed, and walked round about the hill with Rolleston, Tayler and Baxter. At Society in my room. Lardner till the end. Transcribed [my sermon upon *Thou shalt guide me &c.*] To Rolleston for Northampton expenses, 10d. At Society I delivered a method of reconciling an hypothesis about virtue; Tayler upon contempt; Webb upon a topic of nature; Scholefield upon [left blank]; Holland upon social institutions. Rolleston forfeited; Alexander drunk tea with Boulton, forfeiting with us. (11.15)

[Thu 16 May] Morning, Lardner to p. 112. Forenoon, lecture with Mr. Clark, upon the ear. Afternoon went to see Mr. Walker,³⁶ drunk tea with him in his new house; got home at prayers. Club in Rotheram's room. Boulton and Clark present. Begun [*illegible*] John's lectures. Horse to Buckby, 10d. When I went to Buckby, forgot to leave the copy of Psalm-book, and so was obliged to return much sooner than I had designed.

[Fri 17 May] Morning Lardner to p. 350. Read the references; lecture with Mr. Ashworth. Wrote and read the greatest part of the day. Sung. At Scholefield's a little. Transcribed the greatest part of a sheet of John's lectures. At our club I fell asleep, leaning on Jackson's shoulder, while they were talking about laws and canons. Afterwards they talked upon philosophical subjects - as the nature of fishes, &c. Then I became very brisk.

³⁶ William Walker was minister at Long Buckby in Northamptonshire from 1744 to 1763.

[Sat 18 May] Morning Lardner to p. 370. Forenoon lecture with Mr. Clark, reviewing the doctrine of the brain. Smithson delivered his sermon at the meeting, upon *He gives us fruitful seasons, filling our hearts with food and gladness* [Ac 14.17]. Drunk tea with Alexander; company Rotheram, Smith,³⁷ Webb, Robotham,³⁸ Scholefield. Tayler lay with me. (12.00)

[Sun 19 May] Morning walked round about Borough Hill by myself. Forenoon heard Mr. Ashworth from [left blank]. Afternoon Mr. Clark from *Resignation to the divine will*. Drunk tea with Mr. Scholefield, [talked] about family prayer. Evening heard Mr. Ashworth. Meeting in mine, then in Holland's room. Lardner to p. 400; Doddridge's *Ten sermons*, second.

[Mon 20 May] Morning composed on the character of Cicero for the Society. Forenoon lecture with Mr. Ashworth. Afternoon read, walked through town and called at Mr. {Dowlett's} to mend my hat. Evening read Weston's *Rejection* to p 200. Washerwoman 14½d. (11.15)

[Tue 21 May]. Hot day. Morning composed. Forenoon at eleven o'clock, killed a rat in an air pump, and then dissected it, which held us till four in the afternoon; Mr. Clark was the operator. Drunk tea with Rolleston; company White, Smithson, Smith, Whitehead, Alexander, Holland, Robins.³⁹

³⁷ S. Smith went 'into trade' after leaving the academy.

³⁸ John Robotham had entered the academy in 1752, and was in the class below Priestley.

³⁹ Thomas Robins (1732-1810) was born at Keysoc, Bedfordshire, and educated under John Aiken at Kibworth, Market Harborough. He entered under Doddridge at Northampton in 1750. In 1756 he took over a congregation at Stretton-upon-Foss, Warwickshire, moving to West Bromwich, Staffordshire, in 1762. In 1776 he succeeded Ashworth as minister and tutor at Daventry. By 1781, however he suffered a total loss of voice and retired from the ministry, becoming a bookseller and druggist at Daventry. There is a memorial stone in the parish church. E.D. Priestley Evans, *A History of the New Meeting*

Walked with Smith talking, with Smithson and Alexander. Weston to p. 300. Composed a piece of my sermon upon *Trust in God*.

[Wed 22 May] Went with a large company to drink whey⁴⁰ at Mr. Tomlin's. Forenoon lecture with Mr. Ashworth. Afternoon his lordship with me in my closet. The Society with Mr. Webb in my room. Evening, club in Alexander's. Composed a piece of a sermon upon *Trust in God*. At Society Mr. Rolleston made his last oration, containing an account of the benefit of attending the Society, and giving us a piece of advice with relation to marriage; I, the character of Cicero. The rest forfeited, except Mr. Webb who was excused on account of illness.

[Thu 23 May] Read the rest of Weston. Morning, lecture with Mr. Clark upon the nose and mouth. Afternoon read *Life of Julian*, to p. 178. Drunk tea with Scholefield, company White, Rolleston, Smithson, Holland; talked about wild beasts. Wait upon Mr. Hague at the Horseshoe. Called at Mr. Scholefield's. Stayed most of the day in Tayler's closet. Bespoke a horse of Mr. Hague to go to Yorkshire, with some difficulty. (11.15)

[Fri 24 May] Trifled about. Went to Mr. Hague to give him my final determination. Called at Mr. Scholefield's and stayed till our prayers were over. At lecture with Mr. Ashworth. Afternoon read and composed. Alexander lay with me. *Life of Julian* to p. 204. Composed a piece of my sermon upon

Kidderminster (Kidderminster, 1900), 289; George Watson, *A brief memoir of the Rev. Thomas Robins* (London, 1810).

⁴⁰ 'Sack whey' or wine whey, was a popular medicinal beverage, recommended for colds [*Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. 6, 1736, 619]. 'Put a pint of skimmed milk, and half a pint of white wine into a bason, let it stand a few minutes, then pour over it a pint of boiling water, let it stand a little, and the curd will gather in a lump, and settle to the bottom, then pour your whey into a China bowl, and put in a lump of sugar, a sprig of balm, or a slice of lemon.' Elizabeth Raffald, *The experienced English housekeeper* (London, 1782).

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Trust in God. At Mr. Scholefield's, played at blind man's bluff with Miss Scholefield, Miss Rogers, Mr. Scholefield's maid, and Mr. Boulton's niece, till ten o'clock. Tayler and Rolleston did nothing else than kiss them all the while. Engaged to go home on Mr. Hague's horse on Friday 31st May, having no other alternative but to go in July, and not then certainly. He likewise promised to take my box. (11.15)
 [Sat 25 May] Spent till eight o'clock with Mr. Ashworth in his closet in serious discourse, and about necessity, extremely agreeable. We then went to prayers. After dinner went [to Long Buckby] and drunk tea with Mr. Walker, White with me; lay there all night; very agreeable.

[Sun 26 May] Read over my sermon and prayers. Forenoon I preached in Walker's place for White, upon *For we are also his offspring.* [Ac 17.28] Afternoon White from *Our conversation is in heaven.* [Php 3.20] We walked out in the fields till Mr. Walker came from Daventry. Drunk tea at Mrs. Walker's. (12.15)

[Mon 27 May] Morning drunk whey, and read a little; lecture with Mr. Ashworth. Trifled most all day. Our Society drunk tea with Mr. Tayler. No composition. We debated when to have our treat (we had forgotten to have it in Tayler's room). Afterwards, different day on account of Mr. Ashworth's illness. Read in Drake's [*Anatomy*]. Mr. {undeciphered} 7s.11d. Board of Mr. Ashworth, 2l.2s.0d.

[Tue 28 May] Morning, drunk whey, lectures with Clark and Ashworth. Trifled most all day. Walked with Jackson and Smithson round about Borough Hill at tea time. Evening at Scholefield's where we had our treat for the Society. Very merry. In Drake. Washerwoman 2s.0d. At Society, Mr. Holland gave us a piece upon composition. Alexander an encomium upon impression; Tayler upon the propriety of being merry of occasion; and Mr. Webb upon friendship. Mr. Rolleston excused; I and Scholefield forfeited.

[Wed 29 May] Morning drunk whey. Forenoon lecture with Mr. Ashworth. Afternoon read in Drake, *On Sangnification*, &c. Drunk tea with Mrs Potts and Mercer. Came afterwards to Holland's, company Smithson, Alexander, Tayler, Rolleston, Scholefield. Evening at Scholefield's. Kiss Miss Rogers and Betty all the while. Evening in Alexander's room.
 [Thu 30 May] Morning drunk whey. Forenoon lectures with Clark and Ashworth. Afternoon Cheselden's *Anatomy*; drunk tea with Smithson, company Tayler, Rotheram, Holland, Scholefield, Rolleston. Sup with Mr. Ashworth. Rolleston's treat, very merry. Mr. Ashworth took me into the parlour to ask me if I could tell him whether Mr. Mather's⁴¹ oration was his own. I told him I really believed it was. He was under some concern about his capacity. (1.00)

[Fri 31 May] All morning prepared for going. Forenoon walked with Smithson about the fields. Afternoon went and saw Mr. Hague; and trifled. Hired a horse of Riley to get to Yorkshire. Evening a company of us drunk wine at Scholefield's. Those who did not go, treated those who went. Were very merry. Drunk tea at Mrs Scholefield's, company Mr. Scholefield, Clark, Potter, Rotheram, Rolleston. Supposed to set out for Yorkshire along with Mr. Hague. Agreed to correspond with Mr. Boulton, Alexander, Smithson, Holland, Tayler, and Mercer. I wrote first to Boulton, Smithson, Alexander.

[Sat 1 Jun] (5.00) Set out with Mercer and Smithson to Freeby. Dined at Leicester, Mr. Jones dined and drunk wine with us. At Freeby found four Miss Dilkes; walked in the garden with them till late. Mercer had the prettiest to himself. Mr. Dilke came home late; I prayed. Was disappointed in a horse of Mr. Hague; his fell ill and he was

⁴¹ Afterwards a minister at Stamford.

obliged to ride that I was to have. I afterwards borrowed one of Riley for a three-week at fifteen shillings (12.45)⁴²

[Sun 2 Jun] Smithson and I lay together. Morning, heard Mr. Mercer from *Lay aside every weight &c.* [Heb 12.1]. Dined at Mr. {Swan's}. Afternoon Smithson from [left blank]. Smithson and I set out and reached Nottingham. Journey to Mr. Dilke's 3s.0d; their servants 1s.0d.

[Mon 3 Jun] (7.00) After a turn about upon {Tocher} Hill with Smithson, parted and forenoon came to Bolsover, where I waited upon Mr. Wilson. Thence came to Sheffield; lay at cousin Staniforth's. At Nottingham 3s.0d.; at Bolsover 1s.6d.

[Tue 4 Jun] (7.00) Morning, spent about an hour in Mr. Haynes' company.⁴³ After dinner, with Mr. Gill⁴⁴ till Evening.

⁴² Samuel Staniforth. The Staniforths were an extensive Sheffield family, with at least five branches all of whom were members of the Upper Chapel congregation. J. E. Manning, *History of the Upper Chapel, Sheffield* (Sheffield, 1900).

⁴³ Thomas Haynes (1700-1758) was born at Stone in Staffordshire. In 1731 he married Elizabeth Eddowes, the daughter of John Eddowes of Nantwich. Haynes was minister of Upper Chapel, Sheffield from 1745, the family living at 91 Norfolk Street. Many of their nine children died young. His son, John, seems to have been a student at Priestley's school in Nantwich, where he died in 1758. Haynes was well known to Priestley through Priestley's cousins, the Staniforths, who were active members of his congregation. Priestley had written to him in 1750 seeking advice on a career, and particularly support for his ambition to the ministry. [Haynes' reply is given in Rutt, 1(i), 9.] When Haynes' assistant, Field Sylvester Wadworth, left, Haynes tried to get Priestley elected in his place. Priestley preached at Sheffield as a candidate, but the congregation were perturbed by his stammer and rejected him. Following this, Haynes recommended Priestley to his former congregation at Nantwich, to which Priestley went initially for one year and, 'as it was at a great distance from Needham', without a candidature lecture. [Rutt, 1(i), 42]. Several members of Haynes' congregation were of value to Priestley. As well as the Staniforths, Dr Eddis, and Jeremiah Gill, mentioned in this journal, the congregation included three generations of Samuel Shore of Norton, all of whom were trustees of the chapel, and later substantial sponsors of Priestley's theological and scientific work.

Then with Mr. Haynes along with cousin Staniforth. Conversation everywhere various & common. At Sheffield, for my horse 2s.0d; servant 1s.0d.

[Wed 5 Jun] (8.00) Before dinner set out and reached home about five o'clock. Found Mr. Haggerstone here about the auctions; went down to see him, and supped with Mr. Ranglett. Spent the evening with Miss Carrott and Miss Latham, who were there. At {Braden} 1s.2d. (12.00)

[Thu 6 Jun] (7.00) Mr. Haggerstone left us to go to Adwalton⁴⁵ to the auctions there. Forenoon sauntered about. Afternoon drunk tea with Mrs Ranglett in company with the ladies. They left me and Miss Carrott together about two hours.

[Fri 7 Jun] (7.00) Brother Tim came to see me. Called at Mr. Ranglett and was a while with Miss Carrott. Lay with brother Tim.

[Sat 8 Jun] Tim was with me most all the day. A little while with Miss Carrott. Evening at Mr. Scott's⁴⁶; disputed with

⁴⁴ Jeremiah Gill (d. 1796) was a distant relative of Priestley's mother. He was educated under Field Sylvester Wadworth, assistant pastor of the Upper Chapel, Sheffield, before entering Northampton Academy under Doddridge. From 1740, he was minister at Gainsborough. He supported Priestley in his candidature as Haynes' assistant at Sheffield, and contributed to Priestley's *Theological Repository*, I, 431; III, 382. [*Prot. Diss. Mag.* (1796) p. 79].

⁴⁵ Part of the township of Drighlington. A market was held there regularly.

⁴⁶ James Scott (1710-1783) was a native of Berwickshire. Successively minister of Stainton (1739), Horton in Craven (1741) where he was ordained, Tockholes in Lancashire, and Heckmondwike (1754). His invitation to Heckmondwike was conveyed him by Priestley's cousin Joseph Priestley who was deacon of the Upper Independent Chapel. In accordance with custom, he was admitted member of the church on May 30, and installed as pastor on 20 June 1754. Few Yorkshire congregations were as orthodox as Upper Chapel, except for John Edwards' congregation in Leeds, and John Pye's Nether Chapel congregation in Sheffield. Conversations between Scott and another Priestley cousin, Rev. Edward Hitchin of White Row chapel, London, led in 1756 to the establishment of 'The Northern Education Society', intended to dispel 'the cloud of Socinian darkness then spreading over the northern counties of England, and

him and Thomas Armitage⁴⁷ about Being &c. My Father came to see me.

[Sun 9 Jun] (7.00) Heard Mr. Scott from Acts 10.33.

[Mon 10 Jun] (7.00) All the forenoon with Miss Carrott; too late for dinner. Afternoon expecting to go with cousin Jeremy to Fieldhead, but kept back by the rain. Miss Carrott not at home. Talked with Mr. Walker,⁴⁸ very much in praise of Hartley, and promise to lend it him.

[Tue 11 Jun] (7.00) Went to Fieldhead, and thence to Leeds in company with uncle John [Priestley], with my Father to buy cloth. Dined with Mr. Whitaker.⁴⁹ Spent the afternoon with Mr. Walker. Came home with my Father. Evening, the ladies danced.

by which many congregations might be blessed with godly preachers.' In the same year, a new Independent (Congregationalist) Academy was opened at Heckmondwike, with Scott as tutor, to train new ministers. Priestley's brother, Timothy, was one of its first students. K. W. Wadsworth, *Yorkshire United Independent College* (1954) ch. 3.

⁴⁷ A ruling elder of Upper Chapel Heckmondwike, along with Joseph Hodgson, Armitage was a 'gifted brother' who assisted in services during the illness of the minister, John Kirkby. When James Scott was invited as minister in January 1753, he wrote to deacon Joseph Priestley [Priestley's first cousin], complaining of this 'appearance of interference in the pastor's office'. With this stumbling block, negotiations to attract Scott lasted the whole year, until finally in December 1753, Armitage wrote personally to Scott assuring him of his support. In the event, Armitage didn't settle under Scott, and in 1759 he and four others (George Whiteley, Joshua White, and James and Sarah Ward) were ejected from the congregation. For a few years they formed a separate congregation at Osset, electing Armitage as their minister. Frank Peel, *Nonconformity in the Spenn Valley* (Heckmondwike, 1891), 110-116 & 148-9.

⁴⁸ Thomas Walker (d. 1764) was minister of Mill Hill Chapel, Leeds, where Priestley succeeded him in 1767. An avowed Arian, he was, according to Priestley, one of the 'most heretical ministers in the neighbourhood', but nevertheless a welcome guest at Priestley's aunt's.

⁴⁹ Thomas Whitaker was minister of Call Lane Independent Chapel, Leeds, having succeeded his father there in 1710. His father had been minister at Call lane since 1676.

[Wed 12 Jun] (7.00) Mr. Whitaker and Mr. Walker called upon me, and we went together to the Northowram lecture. Mr. Lillie⁵⁰ and Mr. Hesketh⁵¹ preached. Dined with the minister. Came home with Mr. Whitaker, Walker, and Scott. Mr. Lillie preached his approbation sermon from *Her ways are ways of pleasantness, and all her paths are peace* [Pr 3.17]. Mr. Hesketh from I Paul, *a prisoner, beseech you to walk worthy of the gospel of God* [cf. Eph 4.1]. After dinner there, [we] debated whether it was proper to give Mr. Lillie a latin thesis, and determined in the affirmative. The thesis given him was: Whether the prophecies of the Old Testament were fulfilled by Jesus of Nazareth.⁵²

[Thu 13 Jun] (7.00) At the meeting, a fast day from 9.00 to 1.00. After dinner came all the Fieldhead family, my Father and Miss Langton to dine and drink tea with us. At Mr. Ranglett and Mr. Scott's to fetch my aunt home.

[Fri 14 Jun] (7.00) Forenoon went to Fieldhead in the ladies' company. Reading and talking; dance. (10.30)

[Sat 15 Jun] (7.00) At my Father's and reading Thomson's *Spring* to my cousins, till evening. Then at Heckmondwike.

[Sun 16 Jun] (7.30) Heard Mr. Scott. Time of business ends.

[Mon 17 Jun] At Mr. Haggerstone's all day; extremely agreeable. Came home pretty late. Vacation commences.

[Tue 18 Jun] Forenoon with Mr. Ashworth,⁵³ very agreeable. Afternoon at Leeds; saw Mr. Whitaker; tried on my suit.

⁵⁰ Later, minister at Bingley.

⁵¹ Robert Hesketh was minister of Northowram.

⁵² In the MS, this is written in latin: *A prophetiae veteris testamenti adimpletae fuer[unt] a Jesu Nazareno.*

⁵³ Thomas Ashworth, brother to Caleb Ashworth, and, from 1754, Particular Baptist minister at Gildersome. In 1757 he married Mary Priestley, daughter of Priestley's uncle John. W. E. Blomfield, C. E. Shipley, et al., *The Baptists of Yorkshire* (Bradford, 1912); BL Add. MSS. 2467 f. 38b.

[Wed 19 Jun] Not very well; at home all day. Newton's *Chronology*.

[Thu 20 Jun] (7.00) At the meeting, where Mr. Scott took upon him the pastoral charge. Mr. Pye⁵⁴ performed the ceremony and preached. Mr. {Threlkeld} concluded with prayer. Dined at cousin Joseph's with the minister and uncle [John's] family. After dinner had a day of prayer, where the minister only prayed. Supped there and lay all night at Fieldhead. Sat with cousin Ash late. Agreed to write to cousin Ash⁵⁵ and cousin Hitchin.⁵⁶

[Fri 21 Jun] (4.30) Came to Heckmondwike. Set out, came to Ashton under Lyne. Saw Mr. Buckley; drunk a bottle of wine at the inn. Thence to Manchester to Mrs Evans's. Met with Mr. Scholefield and Mr. Evans. Spent the evening at Mr. Harmer's; lay all three together.

[Sat 22 Jun] Forenoon at Mr. Rigby's in company with Mr. Taylor of Norwich. Dined there. Afternoon with Mrs Rigby and Miss Rotheram while he slept. Drunk tea with Mrs Dawson, in company with Ben Dawson, very agreeable. Spent the evening with Mr. Taylor.

⁵⁴ The ministers who performed the ceremony are not recorded in the church records, and were not previously known. John Pye (d. 1773) was minister of Nether Independent Chapel, Sheffield. Educated at Stepney academy where he was examined by John Guyse and three others and thought to be 'a person that had received the Grace of God'. G. F. Nuttall, *New College London and its library, two lectures* (London, 1977), 13n.

⁵⁵ Presumably a son of William Ash of Heckmondwike, who had married Priestley's aunt, Lydia Priestley in 1724.

⁵⁶ Edward Hitchin (1725-1774) was formerly minister of the Fetter Lane Independents in London. In 1750, he succeeded Mordecai Andrews as minister at Petticoat Lane Independent chapel. In 1755 he moved his congregation to White Row, Spitalfields. [Wilson iii, p. 458; iv p. 425] He had married Sarah Priestley [b. 1725], daughter of Priestley's uncle John, some time before. BL Add. MS. 2467 f 38b.

[Sun 23 Jun] Morning at Platt⁵⁷ hearing Mr. Dawson from *The fear of God*. He read all his prayers. Afternoon heard Mr. Taylor at Manchester, Jude 20-21. Drunk tea at Mr. Kennedy's. Lay with Mr. Scholefield. Spent the evening at Mrs Dawson's. (12.00)

[Mon 24 Jun] Morning set out with Mr. Scholefield and Miss Evans. Came to Rochdale after breakfasting by the way at a friend's of theirs. Parted with them and came to Halifax. Bathed at Mr. Stock's, thence home.⁵⁸ Paid the inn 4s.0d. [20p]; the maid 1s.0d. Rochdale 1s.6d. Promised to write to Mr. Scholefield by the carrier.

[Tue 25 Jun] Walked to Mr. Haggerstone in the afternoon; lay there.

[Wed 26 Jun] (5.00) Read in the [*Universal*] *Dictionary*. After dinner came with Mr. Haggerstone and his wife to Mr. Scott's. Drunk tea and supped. Mr. Haggerstone came to our house.

[Thu 27 Jun] After dinner went to peruse Mr. Kirkby's books.⁵⁹ About that business till after tea. Parted with him

⁵⁷ Platt Chapel, Rusholme, three miles south of Manchester. Mr Dawson is presumably a descendant of Rev. Joseph Dawson, a neighbour and friend of Oliver Heywood of Manchester. Joseph Dawson had been ordained on 29 Oct 1672, in possibly one of the first Presbyterian ordinations following the Act of Uniformity. Three of his sons, Abraham, Samuel and Eli were educated at Frankland's academy. Eli Dawson had seven sons, six of whom were educated as dissenting ministers, four later conforming to the Church of England. One of these, Samuel Dawson taught the young Radcliffe Scholefield. Joshua Toulmin, *An historical view of the state of the Protestant Dissenters ... from the Revolution to the accession of Queen Anne* (London, 1814), 580-1.

⁵⁸ Perhaps Mr Evan Stock of Warley near Halifax, who was pastor of Ye Closes, Cleckheaton for twenty years.

⁵⁹ Probably John Kirkby (b.1713), eldest son of Rev. John Kirkby (1676-1754), who had been minister at Heckmondwike until his death on 16 February and had tutored Priestley in classics. Another son, Thomas Kirkby, had been born in 1719.

and came home after borrowing a book of Tom Kirkby. Received a letter from Mr. Tayler.

[Fri 28 Jun] Forenoon read in book of the anatomical description of animals. Afternoon went to see Mr. Stock. Met there Mrs Laughton, Miss Dobson, and Miss Hesketh. Rained much as I came back.

[Sat 29 Jun] Read in Saunderson's *Algebra*, pp. 437-52. Afternoon drunk tea at cousin Joseph's, with Mrs {Dunboson} and Mrs Ford. Called at Mr. Kirkby's and took some books. Wrote to Mr. Tayler, and Alexander.

[Sun 30 Jun] Heard Mr. Scott.

[Mon 1 Jul] John Ranglett came and stayed most all the forenoon; walked out with him into the fields, talking seriously. Afternoon cousin Tom and he drunk punch with us. Evening came Timmy. We went to cousin Joseph's to fetch the *Dictionary*; talking seriously.

[Tue 2 Jul] Before dinner, Timmy left me. We had mowed a little in the field before. Before dinner Mr. Stock came to see us; went with him to see Mr. Scott. Saunderson, pp. 466 - 476.

[Wed 3 Jul] Morning walked with aunt and Molly Wood⁶⁰ to Fieldfoot, thence to Adwalton to cousin's Tommy Christian. Drunk tea there and lay all night at Fieldhead. Lent cousin Molly 2s.0d.

[Thu 4 Jul] Spent the day at my Father's and my uncle's together, and in the counting house; and walking with Timmy in the fields. Evening came home with aunt and cousin Jeremy. Cousin Molly went part of the way with us.

[Fri 5 Jul] Spent all the day reading and trifling. Afternoon at Matthew Robinson's, with Mr. Scott who read to me Godwin's Life. Saunderson, pp. 476-498. Made a letter to

⁶⁰ Baptismal records contain several entries for persons named Mary Wood.

Mr. Boulton, part of one to cousin Sally [Sarah, Mrs Edward Hitchin]. (12.00)

[Sat 6 Jul] Most of the day making hay. Evening my Father came and drunk tea with us. I went to Hopton, saw Mr. Dawson and Mr. Haggerstone.

[Sun 7 Jul] Heard Mr. Haggerstone upon the *Crucifixion of Christ*. Spent the day in conversation very agreeably.

[Mon 8 Jul] With Mr. Dawson and Mr. Haggerstone all day. Went all together, drunk tea with Mr. Sheard. Threw the great hammer with Mr. Dawson, with about equal advantage. Came home.

[Tue 9 Jul] All the day reading. In the afternoon sat with my aunt who wanted company. Evening came little John Popplewell, he went to prayer, for us. Saunderson upon infinities; *Electricity in the Universal Dictionary*.⁶¹ Offended my aunt by talking slightly of Mr. McKie, a Scotsman whom Mr. Scott would bring to Tockholes⁶² and hinting something to the prejudice of Mr. Scott.

[Wed 10 Jul] Made hay a great part of the day, otherwise read. At Leeds. Dined at Mr. Hopkinson's. Saw Mr.

⁶¹ Although the text of the article on electricity only occupies four columns, there are some thirteen copper-plate figures illustrating various electrical machines, experiments, and entertaining demonstrations. The article asserts that 'There is scarce any subject in natural philosophy that has given occasion to more experiments and discoveries than Electricity has done'. In the light of Priestley's subsequent directness in communicating the results of his experiments and observations, it is interesting that this article extols the method of working of Stephen Gray [d. 1736] and Charles Du Fay [1698-1739]: 'Mr Gray of the royal society in London, and M. Dufay of the academy of sciences at Paris, have in particular pushed this matter very far, by communicating the result of their labours to each other, and verifying them respectively, by a kind of concurrence of friendship and emulations, whose polite and uncommon unanimity has done as much honour to these learned men, as it has been a service to promote this part of philosophy.'

⁶² Tockholes Independent chapel, near Blackburn, Lancashire, was Scott's former pastorate.

Whitaker. Uncle William⁶³ dined at Mr. Hopkinson's with me.

[Thu 11 Jul] Forenoon hay. Afternoon met Mr. Haggerstone at Ossett. Drunk tea and supped at Mr. Lightfoot's. Parted upon the road.

[Fri 12 Jul] Read and made hay. Composed upon *Final and efficient causes*. Added to my letter to cousin Sally.

[Sat 13 Jul] Read and made hay. Composed upon *Final and efficient causes*. (12.00)

[Sun 14 Jul] Heard Mr. Scott. Heard from Mr. Annet

[Mon 15 Jul] Forenoon with Mr. Wilson the apothecary. Afternoon at Fieldhead. Walked with cousin Jeremy to see uncle William. Came home. (11.30)

[Tue 16 Jul] At home reading Maclaurin's [*Algebra*] to p. 94. (12.00)

[Wed 17 Jul] Very rainy day. Trifled, and read Maclaurin to p. 106. (12.00)

[Thu 18 Jul] Afternoon went to Hopton, with Mr. Haggerstone till about five o'clock. Maclaurin to p. 120. (12.00)

[Fri 19 Jul] Mr. Haggerstone came to see us. Afternoon Mr. Wilson drunk tea with us. (11.30)

[Sat 20 Jul] Mr. Haggerstone stayed all day. Went with him to call upon Mr. Armitage who was not at home. Maclaurin to p. 130.

[Sun 21 Jul] (6.15) Heard Mr. Scott upon *Good works for profitable use*.

[Mon 22 Jul] At home, reading Maclaurin, pp. 130 - 148.

[Tue 23 Jul] After dinner, with Mr. Wilson trying experiments upon a dog, and dissecting him. I got the head home, but lost myself and made nothing of it. Maclaurin pp. 148 - 170. (11.30)

⁶³ William Ash, who had married Priestley's aunt, Lydia Priestley, 28 Jan 1724.

[Wed 24 Jul] At the lecture at Morley. Mr. Walker preached from *Be wise as serpents, and harmless as doves* [Mt 10.16], Mr. Shaw⁶⁴ from *Which are ensamples to us* [cf. 1Co 10.11]. Dined at Mr. Aldred's⁶⁵; Shaw and Haggerstone lodged with us; very merry. (12.00)

[Thu 25 Jul] Before dinner, Mr. Whitaker came to us, and all stayed until after tea: pretty agreeable. Afterwards made hay, &c. Maclaurin pp. 171 - 186. (12.00)

[Fri 26 Jul] Forenoon, brother Joshua⁶⁶ came for my aunt to see uncle William. Mr. Dawson came to see me, and stayed until the next morning. Cousin Staniforth came, lay with Mr. Dawson. Maclaurin pp. 186 - 212. Uncle William died. (12.00)

[Sat 27 Jul] Morning, Mr. Dawson left us. I went and fetched my aunt from Fieldhead. (11.15)

[Sun 28 Jul] Heard Mr. Scott. Brother Tim came down with us, went home. (12.30)

[Mon 29 Jul] Forenoon, dined at Fieldhead. Afternoon, the funeral of my uncle. Came home before my aunt. (11.15)

[Tue 30 Jul] Reading Maclaurin, pp. 212 - 230. (11.45)

[Wed 31 Jul] Reading Maclaurin, pp. 230 - 280, being the remainder of part second, except the last chapter. (11.30)

[Thu 1 Aug] Forenoon Maclaurin, half of chapter first, part third. Afternoon, at the meeting. Timmy was with us all night. (11.30)

⁶⁴ Benjamin Shaw was minister of Penistone. James G. Miall, *Congregationalism in Yorkshire* (London, 1868).

⁶⁵ Timothy Aldred was minister at Morley from 1709 till his retirement in 1763. He had been educated at Timothy Jollie's academy at Attercliffe. Morley chapel is interesting in having been a parish church, prior to the commonwealth. James G. Miall, *op. cit.*

⁶⁶ Who married Mary Drake. Later, a cloth maker in Leeds, whom Priestley helped support in later life, with an annual allowance of fifteen pounds.

[Fri 2 Aug] Forenoon, reading Maclaurin, greatest part of Pt. 3, ch. 2. Afternoon, went to Hopton: spent the time very agreeably.

[Sat 3 Aug] Mr. Dawson and I came to Mr. Sheard's. Bathed before dinner, sung afterwards, then bathed again. Then came to Mr. Armitage's: did not see him. I left Mr. Dawson there. Maclaurin, remainder of Pt. 3, ch. 2.

[Sun 4 Aug] At Gildersome; heard Mr. [Thomas] Ashworth from Jeremiah 3.4. Dined, drunk tea, and supped with Mr. Haggerstone. Cousin Tom and Mrs Ford drunk tea with us. Received a letter from Alexander and Tayler. (11.30)

[Mon 5 Aug] At home reading Maclaurin; finished the whole. Mr. Dawson lay with us; came late.

[Tue 6 Aug] Went to Leeds with Mr. Ranglett; dined at Mr. Towers. Saw Mr. Whitaker in the afternoon, and drunk tea with Mr. Walker. Called upon Miss Carrott. Came home late.

[Wed 7 Aug] At home reading miscellaneous.

[Thu 8 Aug] My Father was with me a great part of the day. Went to Fleetwood. Rode before cousin Tom's wife⁶⁷ to home. Lay at cousin Joseph's; pretty agreeable. Went to prayer. (12.30)

[Fri 9 Aug] Prayed in the morning. Dined at cousin Joseph's. Called at Mrs Kirkby's.⁶⁸

[Sat 10 Aug] In the afternoon, Mr. [Thomas] Ashworth came to see me. Brother Timmy likewise with me all day.

[Sun 11 Aug] Heard Mr. Scott. Mr. Dawson came down, and left us soon.

[Mon 12 Aug] (5.30) Set out with cousin Sally behind me to Sheffield. Spent the evening at Mr. Haynes; very agreeable.

⁶⁷ Mary, née Brookes, who had married Thomas Priestley, son of the Priestley's uncle, John, the previous year. Her first child, Anne, had been born six weeks earlier.

⁶⁸ Martha Kirkby (1697-1765) was the widow of Rev. John Kirkby.

Received of my aunt in bill £10, in money £9.9.0d [9 guineas] (12.00)

[Tue 13 Aug] Forenoon, sauntered with Mr. Haynes &c. Dinner at Mr. Haynes. Went to see Mr. Gill. Found him pretty well. Evening, with Mr. Haynes. Went with Dr Eddis to see his [book on] anatomy. With him at Mr. Haynes. Extremely agreeable. Stayed till almost twelve o'clock, disputing about air bubbles and fermentation, &c.⁶⁹ (12.00)

[Wed 14 Aug] Set out at half past six. Went through Chesterfield and bathed at {Peter Kendal's}. Then again at Derby, and lodged at Burton-upon-Trent. Went to bed pretty soon after I got in. (9.30)

[Thu 15 Aug] Set out as soon as I could get ready, and bathed at Lichfield; saw the cathedral. Came thence to Birmingham. Dined at the Red Lion. Drunk tea at Mr. Kettle's. At Vaux Hall with Mr. {Slade} and Mr. Alexander. After that came home with the ladies, Mr. Alexander's sisters. Order a wig of Mr. Allen, price one guinea. (11.30)

[Fri 16 Aug] Spent the forenoon very agreeably, amongst other things, seeing Gill's curiosities, of medals, pictures, books, &c. Mr. Wilde⁷⁰ drunk tea with us and his lady said scarce nothing at all. After, went with Mr. Alexander to the play, *The Twin Rivals*, and *The Devil to Pay*.⁷¹ (11.30)

⁶⁹ This is the earliest known reference to Priestley taking notice of a phenomenon in pneumatic chemistry. A similar interest in the gaseous emanation from fermentation in a Leeds brew-house, thirteen years later, would lead to his identification of this gas with Black's 'fixed air' (carbon dioxide), and to his preparation of soda water.

⁷⁰ Gervas Wilde (1714-1766) was minister of Carr's Lane Independent chapel, Birmingham. John Angell James, *Protestant Nonconformity: a sketch of its general history with an account of the rise and present state ... in Birmingham* (London, 1849), 110-112.

⁷¹ George Farquhar [1678-1707], *The twin rivals*, 1702; Charles Coffey, *The devil to pay; or, the wives metamorphos'd. An opera &c.*, [in one act, abridged by Theophilus Cibber], 1732. The plays were held at the New Theatre, King Street. *Aris's Birmingham Gazette*, 12 August 1754.

[Sat 17 Aug] Breakfast with Mr. Wilde; entertained very agreeably. Went to bathe. Evening, in Mr. Hawkes' company, extremely agreeable.⁷²

[Sun 18 Aug] Heard Mr. Blythe⁷³ from *Christ healing the blind man*. Afternoon, Mr. Wilde from *Death in sin*. Evening Mr. Terrell from *Resignation to God in affliction*. Walked with Alexander and bathed. Vacation ends.

[Mon 19 Aug] Awaited the stage till 10 o'clock. Set out with Alexander for Daventry. Bathed at Coventry. Got home shortly before sunset. Lay that night with Alexander in his old room. Evening went to see Mrs Scholefield.

[Tue 20 Aug] Read in my lecture. Until the Evening I studied pretty closely, then at Mr. Scholefield's, and with Howe,⁷⁴ Alexander, Tayler, &c, telling stories of apparitions. Had a rehearsal with Mr. Ashworth. Lay as before. Lecture, the first volume of Ovid; first two satires, first book of Francis' Horace; Martin's *Philosophia*, vol. 1, to p. 42. (11.30)

[Wed 21 Aug] Morning, preparing lecture. Read some of the day, and sauntered about &c. Evening at Mr. Scholefield's. Lay as before. Read a good piece of my lecture. Third and fourth satires in Horace; Martin to p. 50.

[Thu 22 Aug] Evening in company with Ashworth and Clark; exceedingly agreeable. Confusion in the house about

⁷² William Hawkes (d. 1796). A Birmingham man. In 1754, he was appointed co-pastor with Samuel Blythe of the New Meeting, Birmingham. His retirement in 1780 allowed Priestley's appointment in his place. Herbert New, *The New Meeting and Church of the Messiah* (Birmingham, 1912).

⁷³ Samuel Blythe (d. 1797), was minister of the New Meeting chapel, Birmingham from 1747 to 1791, being successively a colleague of Samuel Bourn, William Hawkes (from 1754), and Priestley (from 1780). He had been educated under Dr Latham of Derby, and had previously been minister at Frome in Somerset. He lost his eyesight a considerable time before his death. *Prot. Diss. Mag.*, 4, 113; Joshua Toulmin, *Life of Bourn*.

⁷⁴ Thomas Howe, succeeded Rev. Peyto at Flore & Weedon before transferring to Walpole and Yarmouth in Norfolk.

rooms. Settled agreeably at last: I got Tayler for my bedfellow. Martin to p. 67. (12.15)

[Fri 23 Aug] All the morning expecting to ride out with Mrs Ashworth, but the horse came not in time. After breakfast rode three miles along the road. Then rehearsal, and Mr. Holland with us. Evening, with White and Mr. Hurd at the Sheaf with Farmer, Jackson, &c. Drs. Guyse and Jennings, and Mr. Price came to the examination.⁷⁵ (11.15)

[Sat 24 Aug] Trifled and prepared for examination.

[Sun 25 Aug] Morning heard Mr. Price from [left blank]. Afternoon Dr Jennings from [left blank]. Evening Dr Guyse from *I am the good shepherd* [John, 10.14]. Drunk tea with the doctors.

[Mon 26 Aug] Morning, a rehearsal with Mr. Ashworth. From ten to one the examination; all performed very well. Afternoon trifled. Evening, all at the Sheaf. (12.00)

[Tue 27 Aug] Morning, read Leland's Account [View] to p. 68. Afternoon Martin, the fluxions in his *Library*. Evening, composed a piece of my sermon upon *Fear of God*. {undeciphered} Travels, almost a hundred pages; read in Some's *Funeral Sermon* a good piece.

[Wed 28 Aug] Spent the day partly reading partly trifled. Mr. Ashworth sat with us in our room, I invited Robins too, and Jackson. Leland's *View*, to p. 116. (11.30)

[Thu 29 Aug] Afternoon, went with Scholefield and White to Hinckley⁷⁶: very merry in our journey.

⁷⁵ John Guyse, DD. (1680-1761), minister of the New Broad Street chapel, London, from 1727. An active member of the King's Head Society, formed for the purpose of assisting young men to obtain academical training for the ministry. [DNB; Wilson, ii, pp. 229-243]; David Jennings, D. D. (1691-1762), minister at Wapping New Stairs; DNB; Samuel Price (d. 1756), uncle of Richard Price, was educated under Timothy Jollie at Attercliffe. In 1703 he became assistant to Dr Watts at Berry Street; DWL Wilson MSS, K3, f. 488.

⁷⁶ To which Nathaniel White would be appointed minister the following year.

[Fri 30 Aug] (7.00) Sauntered about most all the day, going nowhere. White was not very well.

[Sat 31 Aug] (7.00) The same almost. Breakfast at Mr. {Stamp's}. Read Dryden's *Almanzor*.

[Sun 1 Sep] Morning, I preached upon *God our Father*. Afternoon, Mr. Scholefield upon *The temptation of Christ*. Drunk tea in Mr. {Stamp's} parlour. Supped at Mr. Hays' and lay all night. Robins came to us.

[Mon 2 Sep] Morning, came with Scholefield from Hinckley to Daventry in three and a quarter hours. Read the greatest part of the day. (11.30)

[Tue 3 Sep] Drunk tea with Mr. Howe, a large company. Talked with Mr. Howe about several parts of {undeciphered}, ending with necessity. Composed a good deal of my sermon upon *The Fear of God*. Horace to p. 96; read several pieces about fluxions - learnt very little. (11.30)

[Wed 4 Sep] All day studying pretty close. In scarce no company. Duchal's *Sermons*, to p. 110; Horace to p. 136; Martin's *Philosophia*. Composed upon sermon upon *Fear of God*. (11.15)

[Thu 5 Sep] Studied pretty close. Walked upon the hill. Duchal to p. 208; Horace to p. 164; Martin. Composed upon my sermon upon *Fear of God*. (11.45)

[Fri 6 Sep] Busy correcting and transcribing my sermon upon the *Fear of God*; and trifled. (11.30)

[Sat 7 Sep] Drunk tea with Mr. Howe, Jackson, Holland, Alexander, Smith, Tayler, and Scholefield. Duchal to p. 310; Horace to p. 210. Composed. (11.15)

[Sun 8 Sep] Morning, heard Mr. Clark from Luke 5.3, an analysis. Afternoon, Mr. Ashworth from *Woe to them if God depart from them*. [cf. Hos 9.12] Evening, Mr. Clark from *The death of sinners*. Duchal to p. 346. Began to compose upon *The omnipresence of God*, a sermon.

[Mon 9 Sep] Morning read Duchal. Forenoon walked about with Holland, and read Horace, pp. 110 - 135. Afternoon, trifled in town, and then took pains with fluxions in Owen's *Dictionary*. Some's *Funeral Sermon*, a third, in the pulpit. (11.30)

[Tue 10 Sep] Morning, reading West's *Christ's resurrection*, to p. 96. Forenoon, trifling with Whitehead, &c., who was just come. Afternoon, reading lecture with Mr. Clark in Atterbury.⁷⁷ Read part of Some's *Funeral Sermon* in the pulpit after dinner. Drunk tea with Mr. Robins, company Alexander, Jackson, Scholefield, Whitehead. Applied hard to fluxions, and in a great measure mastered them, in Owen's *Dictionary*. Composed a little in *Divine Omnipresence*. Whitehead came from Kendal. (11.15)

[Wed 11 Sep] Morning West to p. 198. Preaching lecture. Wrote lecture whole. After dinner, read in meeting, trifled, and with Mr. Walker, till I drunk tea with Mr. Holland, company Robins, Jackson, and Alexander. He read to us in Swift's works about {bartering} &c. Evening prayers. Atterbury on Charles' martyrdom. Transcribed a lecture on preaching. Composed a good piece of my sermon on *Divine omnipresence*. Wrote to Mrs Rigby, to be satisfied of the receipt of my letter with the bill from 23rd Aug.

[Thu 12 Sep] Studied pretty close; only trifled now and then. West's *Of the Resurrection*, to p. 300; Read a little in Martin. Composed a piece of my sermon upon *Divine omnipresence*.

[Fri 13 Sep] Had Society with Holland (Scholefield engaged with Mr. Clark); talked about providence and the necessity of evil in the earthly dispensation. West to p. 444.

⁷⁷ Francis Atterbury (1663-1732), Bishop of Rochester. A friend of Bolingbroke, he was exiled for life by Parliament following the abortive Jacobite plot named after him, in April 1772.

Composed the remainder of my sermon upon *Divine omnipresence*.

[Sat 14 Sep] Morning Sherlock On Prophecy, to p. 118, and took a walk. Afternoon writing my diary and trifling. Evening transcribed and corrected my sermon very closely.

[Sun 15 Sep] Morning heard Mr. Gardner from [left blank]. Afternoon Mr. Walker from *The decline in religion*. Evening Mr. Gardner from *The love of God*. Stayed with him at tea. Evening at Mr. Scholefield's. Morning, finished the transcription of my sermon. Scholefield helped me to make a scheme.

[Mon 16 Sep] Morning Sherlock, pp. 116-194. Forenoon walked with Holland and Mr. Gardner, and played a little at bowls. Afternoon drunk tea with Mr. Tayler, company Whitehead, Robins, Scholefield, and Holland. Evening came Mr. Jordan &c. to see us. At Mrs Scholefield's and her sister's girls. Transcribed my sketch of the *Doctrine of final causes*, and wrote a letter to Mr. Annet. Bowling green, 6d. (11.45)

[Tue 17 Sep] Morning, went in company with Mr. Robins, Holland and Tayler, with Mr. Doddridge⁷⁸ to Towcester. Breakfasted and came back. Showed our schemes, but put off lecture. Writing lecture. Read in the meeting. Evening read in [Swift's Works] *The Drapier's Letters &c.*,⁷⁹ and went to bed soon. (11.30)

[Wed 18 Sep] Morning read Sherlock pp. 195 - 227; lecture in divinity. Wrote about lecture on preaching. Afternoon walked round about the hill with Mr. Holland. Read in the meeting. Drunk tea with Mr. Robins, company Tayler and Holland. Talked about Berkeley's scheme, &c. Evening

⁷⁸ Doddridge's son, Philip Doddridge (1735-1785) had entered the academy in 1753; he became a solicitor at Tewkesbury, Gloucestershire.

⁷⁹ The *Drapier's Letters* were a collection of seven pamphlets, written in the character of an Irish draper, M.B. Drapier, against English misrule in Ireland.

composed two thirds of a sermon upon *Love of the world*. (12.00)

[Thu 19 Sep] Morning Sherlock to p. 284; after lecture, Horace's sixth satire. Drunk tea with Mr. Alexander, company Scholefield, Holland, Howe, Mather, Whitehead. Evening composed in my sermon, almost finished it. (11.30)

[Fri 20 Sep] Morning Sherlock - finished. Alexander and Mr. Clark with us at Society. Drunk tea with Mr. Clark, our class. Talked about the lecture &c. Began to transcribe my sermon. (11.15)

[Sat 21 Sep] Read Collins' *Grounds & Reason*, Pt. 1; trifled a good deal. Drunk tea with Mr. Clark, our class and Whitehead. Talked about composing and delivering sermons. Finished transcribing my sermon and added a conclusion. (11.30)

[Sun 22 Sep] Went to Creaton, at Mr. Brooks'. Morning I preached from *The fear of God*. Afternoon from *Love of the World*. Drunk tea at Mr. Brooks and came home in darkness. Extremely pleased. Lost my way both ways.

[Mon 23 Sep] Trifled and read little things all day. Stayed a little at Mrs Scholefield's, then evening composed most of my sermon upon *The comprehensiveness of benevolence*. Horace satires. (11.15)

[Tue 24 Sep] Morning Collins, Pt. 2. Walked upon the hill with Whitehead and Alexander. Drunk tea with me, Mr. Clark, Whitehead, Holland, Alexander and Jackson. Revised my sermon upon *The comprehensiveness of benevolence*.

[Wed 25 Sep] Read over my sermon upon *The shortness and uncertainty of life*, in order to correct and enlarge it. Trifled a great part of the day. Walked upon the hill before dinner with Scholefield. Drunk tea with Smith, company Alexander, in our room. Read Swift afterwards. Composed a letter to Dr Hartley. Sent away Mr. Threlkeld's box. (11.30)

[Thu 26 Sep] Morning spent in transcribing my letter to Hartley; forenoon the same. Afternoon walked to Borough Hill. Drunk tea with Mr. Scholefield, company Whitehead and Alexander, talked about Mr. Floyd⁸⁰ &c. Evening, read Bullock's [*Sermons*], preface remarks [against] Mr. Collins' *Grounds and reasons*. Thomson's *Seasons*, a little. Wrote to Dr Hartley. Defended myself in {hope island} in Borough Hill - I lost the last time. (11.30)

[Fri 27 Sep] Drunk tea with Mr. Robins, company all our Society, Whitehead, and Mr. Clark. Walked to Borough Hill. Read in [Butler's] *Hudibras*, and corrected my sermon. Corrected a great number of texts.

[Sat 28 Sep] Morning lost before Whitehead went away. Trifled a good deal. Walked to Borough Hill. Read in *Hudibras*, and corrected my sermon.

[Sun 29 Sep] Morning heard Mr. Scholefield from the *Example of Christ*. Afternoon Mr. Ashworth. I prayed before repetition in the evening. Holland and Tayler and I in our room. Holland prayed. Corrected and transcribed my sermon upon *Love of God and gratitude*.

[Mon 30 Sep] On Borough Hill in the island. Composed my sermon. Evening at Mr. Scholefield's, capping one another out of the scriptures. Evening composed a little. Bullock's *Sermons*, looked them through. Composed about half of my sermon upon *The import of the gospel miracles*.

[Tue 1 Oct] Walked out with Alexander to the foot of the hill. Read pretty closely. Chandler's *Defences*, to p. 100. Composed most all the remainder of my sermon upon *The import of the gospel miracles*. Newton's *Optics*, to p. 32.

⁸⁰ James Floyd (1705-1759), had been minister at Daventry from 1746. He had resigned in favour of his co-pastor Caleb Ashworth, but continued to reside in Daventry until his death.

[Wed 2 Oct] Took a turn through the fair. Spent all the day reading and trifling, after covering my sermon in marbled paper. Chandler's *Defences*, to p. 194; Sale's *Preliminary discourse to the Koran*, to p. 62. Corrected my sermon in part.

[Thu 3 Oct] Morning and most all day read Sale's *Koran*, end of the *Preliminary*, [and] to p. 12. After, composed. Newton's *Optics*, reviewed. Received a letter from Mr. Tommas.⁸¹ (10.30)

[Fri 4 Oct] Read *Koran* (acts of Mahomett - a good deal) most all day. Walked upon Borough Hill. Afternoon at Society with Alexander. Corrected a piece of my sermon.

[Sat 5 Oct] Morning wrote. Alexander sat in my closet a good part of the morning. Devotional lecture. Walked with Clark two hours, went in the fields, [talked about] indifferent things. Drunk tea with him, Scholefield, Alexander, Mather, Robotham, Webb, Smith, in Alexander's room. Evening stayed trifling at Scholefield's. Transcribed my sermon upon *The comprehensiveness of benevolence*. Wrote a piece of a letter to Mr. Tommas.

[Sun 6 Oct] Morning heard Mr. Clark; afternoon, Mr. Ashworth. Evening Alexander prayed and Mr. Robins preached. Read the gospel of Matthew in the Greek.

[Mon 7 Oct] Morning *Koran* pp. 98 - 200. Never walked out; mind my study pretty well, but dancing in room, &c., &c. Newton's *Optics*, pp. 38 - 52. Drew up some queries for the examination of Dr Hartley.

[Tue 8 Oct] Morning *Koran*. Walked with Scholefield, Holland and Tayler, to Walker's ordination [at Long Buckby].

⁸¹ John Tommas had recently moved to Pithay near Bristol, having been Baptist minister of Gildersome near Leeds for some years. Priestley had spent the latter part of every week with him, between leaving school and going to Daventry Academy, teaching Tommas Hebrew, and by that means making himself 'a considerable proficient in that language.'

Got there in the singing. Mr. Ashworth said a prayer before King preached.⁸² Goodrich ordained,⁸³ Gilbert charged,⁸⁴ and Floyd concluded. {undeciphered} was ordained at the same time. Were five hours in all. Newton's *Optics*, pp. 52 - 80. When we got up after prayers, had a full view of cuddliest creature I ever beheld. I did nothing but stare at her, but could not find where she went after the service.

[Wed 9 Oct] (8.00) All lay-a-bed. Morning made a letter to Hartley. Afternoon read the *Koran* to p. 280. Evening composed the sermon. Wrote half my sermon upon *Self-deceit* [cf. Gal 6.3].

[Thu 10 Oct] Morning read the *Koran*, forenoon the same to p. 330, afternoon nothing. Evening wrote the remainder of my sermon upon *Self-deceit*. Saw Alexander and Mather a little.

[Fri 11 Oct] Society with Mr. Holland, Mr. Clark, &c.; pretty merry. *Koran*. Corrected a sermon upon *The proper use of* {undeciphered}. Wrote to Dr. Hartley with four queries. (11.30)

[Sat 12 Oct] Drunk tea with Mr. Holland, company our class, Jackson, Webb, &c. Finished the *Koran*. Began to transcribe my sermon upon *The Perfection of Christian Morals*. (11.30)

⁸² Samuel King (1715-1788), the son of a dissenting minister at Oundle, was educated under Doddridge. In 1743 he became minister at Welford in Northamptonshire, succeeding Rev. Charles Bulkley who had resigned having become a general Baptist.

⁸³ Daniel Goodrich or Gutteridge (d. 1765) was minister at Oundle. He had been a witness to Doddridge's ordination in 1730.

⁸⁴ Robert Gilbert (1708-1760) had been educated under Doddridge. After a time as minister at Oakham in Rutlandshire, he succeeded Doddridge as pastor of Castle Hill congregation, Northampton. Thomas Coleman, *The Independent churches of Northamptonshire* (London, 1853), 28-9, 166-173.

[Sun 13 Oct] Morning heard Mr. Affleck⁸⁵ at the church from *How amiable are thy tabernacles, O Lord of hosts!* [Ps 84.1], upon the operation of the church, a tolerable sermon. Afternoon, heard Mr. Ashworth, evening ditto. Read the gospel of Mark. Supped with Mr. Ashworth in the parsonage with Jackson. Talked very seriously with Mr. Ashworth about the creed, &c., after tea.

[Mon 14 Oct] Greatest part of the day, studied. Evening, our poet society drunk the two shillings they got for the books in {Stoke}. Were very merry. Newton's *Optics*; Middleton's *Discourses*. Altered and transcribed a great part of my sermon upon *The perfection of Christian morals*.

[Tue 15 Oct] Afternoon, dissected a cat. Everything succeeded very well. Pelted one another with the parts. I threw a [piece of] carcass into Jackson's face, and he emptied a chamber pot upon me. Drunk tea with Mr. Tayler, company our class and Jackson. Middleton's *Prefatory Discourses*; Geddes' *Several tracts*, The grand forgery display'd.⁸⁶ Altered and transcribed a good deal of my sermon upon *The perfection of Christian morals*, and a piece of my oration upon *The use of evil, &c.* (11.30)

[Wed 16 Oct] Morning, composed a little upon my oration. Read in Geddes almost all day, *The House of Loretto to the Life of Alvaro of Luna*⁸⁷; exceedingly interesting. Evening,

⁸⁵ James Affleck A.M. (1717-84), vicar of Daventry. The old church of the Holy Cross had been demolished in 1752, and was in the throes of being rebuilt. The new church was completed in 1758.

⁸⁶ '...whereby the Roman See was exalted and enriched.'

⁸⁷ The legend of the Holy House of Loreto, which dates from the end of the Crusades, describes how Mary's house in Nazareth, where Mary was born and Jesus was brought up, when threatened with destruction by the Turks in 1291, was miraculously carried by angels first to Tersatz in Dalmatia and subsequently in 1295 to Loreto in Italy. Geddes describes the tale as one of the Catholic Church's 'most ridiculous fables, invented to serve their ends, to uphold superstition, and to amuse blind and ignorant people.' Alvaro of Luna was the

after a little nod, composed the introduction to my sermon upon *Self-sufficiency*.

[Thu 17 Oct] No great events. Forgot the incidents. Geddes' *Miscellaneous tracts*. Composed the first part of my sermon upon *Self-sufficiency*.

[Fri 18 Oct] Ditto. Geddes vol. 2, to p. 206. Composed the remaining part of my sermon upon *Self-sufficiency*.

[Sat 19 Oct] Mr. Holland and I went to Kettering, at Mr. Worcester's. Found Mr. Taylor a very agreeable gentleman, [who], being for Mr. Alexander, conversed agreeably. Holland prayed.

[Sun 20 Oct] I prayed, Holland preached from *The advantage of piety*. I in the afternoon upon *The Perfection of Christian Morals*. Discouraged on account of my speaking with difficulty and low.

[Mon 21 Oct] Saw the magic lanthorn, Mr. Taylor's other curiosities, books, medals, rings &c.; saw the seal. Called at Brixworth, and got home, after having lost our way several times, about half past four. Drunk tea with Mr. Henry Taylor,⁸⁸ talked about disputation, &c. [Worked] upon my oration, composed, &c. (10.30)

[Tue 22 Oct] Studied pretty close, saw very little company. Intended to have gone down and let the cat out, but forgot. Read Tacitus, concluding Gordon's *Discourses*, lib. 1 to ch. 12; Geddes vol. 3, pp. 206-248; Rowning *On the rainbow*. Composed upon my oration on *The use of evil*. Engaged with Farmer to read: classics ½ hour, philosophy 1½ hours, composition 1 hour, mathematics 1 hour.

[Wed 23 Oct] Busy about my oration mostly all day. Helped to dissect a cat with Mr. Clark. Drunk tea with his lordship

prime minister of King John II of Castile, who 'from a base birth and slender fortune, rose to the greatest eminence in the government.'

⁸⁸ Henry Taylor was in his first term at Daventry. He later became a minister at Croydon.

alone, very agreeable. Geddes vol. 3, pp. 258-320. Did little more than finish, correct and transcribe my oration.

[Thu 24 Oct] Morning corrected my oration. Delivered it in public, upon *The analogy of evils*. Walked with Alexander and Scholefield. Afternoon read Geddes vol. 3, to p. 429; Tacitus, pp. 12 - 20; Newton's *Optics*, pp. 126 - 144. With 'parson' Walker after dinner in Robins' room. Evening a meeting of our class to settle the rules of our club. Engaged with his lordship to read Josephus, twenty pages, a large Hudson's edition.

[Fri 25 Oct] Spent almost all day in my study. Had society with Holland. Scholefield absent at Northampton with Mr. Clark. Talked about Jackson going to see Gillibrand, &c. Geddes pp. 429 - 512, finished; Newton's *Optics*, Pt. 2, to p. 48; Josephus, to p. 5; Tacitus, to ch. 39.

[Sat 26 Oct] Morning Hartley's *Observations on Man* to p. 34. Studied pretty close till evening. Rehearse to Mr. Ashworth the sermon I was to preach. Alexander sat with us a good while, till almost bed-time. He had been in town to see a friend. I did not make so many prayers as I had intended. Newton to p. 70; Tacitus to ch. 48. Composed pieces of prayer for the sabbath. (11.30)

[Sun 27 Oct] Morning making prayers and reading over my sermon. Forenoon preached at Daventry. Afternoon and evening, Mr. Ashworth from *The Comforting of Christ*. Supped in the parlour. Mr. Grigg and all of us exceeding cheerful - most agreeable company I ever was in, in my life. Appointed Talyer to give me a hint when I speak too fast, but he got into a wrong pew, so that I could not observe him. I spoke, as they tell me, pretty well. I had very little fear.

[Mon 28 Oct] Read pretty close. After dinner, Alexander stayed with me a good while, and then Holland. Evening after prayers, at Scholefield's an hour; prayed there. I found Alexander in our room. [He] stayed till bed time. Hartley vol.

1, pp 64 - 114; Tacitus to ch. 59, an. 1; Newton pp. 36 -86; Josephus to p. 10; Hebrew Bible to Genesis ch. 15. (11.15)

[Tue 29 Oct] Read close till in the afternoon. Mr. Taylor of Kettering came to see the house. I showed him the library, apparatus, &c. Drunk tea with him. At Mr. Scholefield's, company Mr. Hill, our class and Tayler. Talk about Edinburgh, Scotland, &c. Hartley vol. 1, to p. 150; Tacitus to the end of the first book of annals; Newton to p. 108; Josephus to p. 26. Composed the remainder of a letter to Mrs Hitchin [cousin Sally]. (11.15)

[Wed 30 Oct] Had not many interruptions in my study, till tea with Mr. Alexander, company eleven persons, all the upper students. After that our club in our room. No moderator the first night. Fixed upon our method of conducting it for the future, &c. Hartley, vol. 1, to p. 190. Leland's Account [View] pp. 176-244. Newton to p. 132, finished. Tacitus to ch. 15, second book of annals. Josephus to p. 30. Composed a piece of a letter to cousin Hitchin, and another to cousin {undeciphered}. (11.30)

[Thu 31 Oct] Studied pretty closely all the forenoon. Afternoon Alexander smoked a pipe with me. Mr. Webb, he and I clubbed a dish of tea in our room. Alexander read in Swift. Tayler went to Northampton in the morning and came home late. Leland's *View* to p. 410; Martin's *Optics*, p. 178 to vol. 2, p. 13; Josephus to p. 48; Tacitus to ch. 30. Begun to compose a letter to Boulton, {undeciphered}.

[Fri 1 Nov] Had no manner of interruption through till tea with Mr. Clark, all our class up above, and Mr. Grigg. Mr. Ashworth talked about sound. Half the time spent in disputing with him. Mr. Grigg afterwards entertained us with an account of Johnson. Hartley to p. 238; Leland to p. 460, finished; Martin's *Philosophia* to p. 146; Josephus to p. 50; Tacitus to ch. 42. Composed a piece on miracles. Wrote to cousin Hitchin and added [cousin] Priestley's. (12.00)

[Sat 2 Nov] Had few interruptions till tea. Drunk tea with Mr. Webb, Grigg, Mr. Ashworth, Mr. Clark, our class and Mr. Tayler. Talked about heraldry, Swift, &c. Hartley; Martin to p 160; Josephus to p. 60; Tacitus to ch. 59. Transcribed and corrected my piece on miracles.

[Sun 3 Nov] Morning read the greatest part of the gospel of Luke. Heard Mr. Ashworth upon *Felix trembled* [Ac 24.25]. Mr. Clark upon Heb 1.1. Evening, Ashworth the continuation. At tea, the agreeable company of Mr. Grigg. Evening Mr. Alexander stayed with me and I read nothing. He lay with me. Tayler went to Hinckley with Baxter and Robins.

[Mon 4 Nov] Morning Hartley to p. 290. Forenoon Scholefield and Alexander stayed an hour with me waiting {undeciphered}. Read to Mr. Ashworth. Afternoon read, but frequent interruptions. With Alexander, company Grigg, Clark, Ashworth, our class. Agreeable exceedingly. Talked about oratory, perjury, Chaucer, prayer, &c. &c. Composed a letter to Mr. [Thomas] Ashworth and another to Mr. Haggerstone.

[Tue 5 Nov] Trifled a good deal and wrote composed a letter to brother Timmy and to [my] aunt. Drunk tea with Mr. Smith. At Mr. Scholefield's, company Scholefield and Jackson. Illuminations, fire-works and thunder. The best illuminations, fire-works and accompaniments I ever knew. Mrs Grigg and Mr. Grigg vastly pleased. She helped me to light my candles; and they went about the house. (12.30)

[Wed 6 Nov] (8.00) Sent away my letters. Took leave of Mr. Grigg. Could not settle to business well. Mather, Alexander and Hodgson⁸⁹ in my room till almost noon.

⁸⁹ Richard Hodgson was two classes below Priestley. His first pastorate was at Monton, then in 1771, he succeeded John Houghton (d. 1788) as minister of Priestley's former pastorate at Nantwich in Cheshire, continuing to run the school that Priestley had started, and Houghton had continued after Priestley's

Drunk tea with Mr. Hodgson and a large company. Martin to p. 178; *Rambler* vol. 6, nos. 202, 203, 206. Wrote home and sent two shirts and a pair of stockings. Mr. Grigg left us. [Thu 7 Nov] (7.00) Set to business pretty well. Farmer came home. Heard Mr. Proctor's⁹⁰ oration upon *The eternity of the world*, and Mr. Mather's upon the *Proof of the Being of God from the works of nature*. Prayers in Mather's turn. Chatted with Farmer and went to bed. Hartley to p.324; Martin to p.198; Tacitus to ch. 67; Josephus to p. 70; *Rambler* nos 208 and 209, finished. (10.30)

[Fri 8 Nov] Study pretty close all day. Society with Scholefield. Mr. Clark told us two stories from Mr. Grigg, and read us the substance of a dispute between Mr. Grigg and Mr. Ashworth about rebuilding the temple by Julian, and he himself about the pre-existence of Christ. In Holland's room, reading the lecture to him, and hearing him read his brother's lecture. Hartley to p.368; Martin to p.210; Tacitus to end of second book of annals.; Josephus to p.80; *Rambler*. (10.30)

[Sat 9 Nov] Until the afternoon, I studied pretty close. Alexander trifled with us. Won a dish of tea off Alexander and Smith. I saw that Mr. Rotheram was come to the Sheep. Drunk tea in our room. Smithson came before we rose. Saw Rotheram too. Supped with Mrs. Ashworth. Mr Ashworth and Mr. Clark went to the Sheep to Rotheram and Smithson. Afterwards I and Alexander went there, and Scholefield. Drunk punch till one o'clock. Lay with Rotheram; Alexander with Smithson. Very agreeable. Morning, breakfasted there. Delayed going, on account of rain, until half past eight. Hartley to p.476; Martin, vol. 2, the remainder of it, and

appointment to Warrington Academy. In 1799 Hodgson moved to Doncaster. James Hall, *A history of the town and parish of Nantwich* (Nantwich, 1883).

⁹⁰ Henry Proctor was successively minister at Whitney, Stamford, Whitchurch, and Evesham.

took a good deal of pain with a fluxions calculation; *Rambler* no. 1, sheet no. 1. Wrote in {undeciphered} ten lines. Read in the meeting.

[Sun 10 Nov] Morning heard Mr. Scholefield from *The mercy of God*. Afternoon, Mr. Ashworth, *Wilt thou not revive us O Lord* [cf. Ps 85,6]. Sacrament, verse not repeated. With Holland and Tayler, I prayed. Corbet's *Self-employment*. (10.00)

[Mon 11 Nov] Morning, Hartley from p. 458; forenoon, Ditton's *Fluxions*, to p.28. Afternoon stayed in the meeting. Tacitus third book of annals to ch. 17. Potter came and drunk a bottle of wine with me and other company in our room. Drunk tea with Mr. Wilding,⁹¹ company Mr. Scholefield, Webb, Holland, Tayler, Alexander, Mather, Hodgson, [talked] about the great {eras, Gotham}, &c. Evening composed. Josephus to p.90. Read in meeting [from] Grove. *Rambler* no. 2, large part of no. 3. Made a scheme: How awful is this place [Ge 28.17]. Wrote a piece of a letter to Boulton. Reland's *Antiquitates*].

[Tue 12 Nov] Had scarce any interruptions all day long. Evening, talked with Tayler about an hour. Hartley, the conclusion of first volume; Ditton to p. 76; Tacitus to ch. 30; Josephus to p.100; *Rambler* No. 3, part of No. 5; Reland. (11.15)

[Wed 13 Nov] Morning, took a walk with Scholefield after the lecture to the foot of Borough Hill. Mr. Webb stayed here before dinner. Drunk tea with Mr. Tayler, company Jackson, our class, Smith, Webb and Tayler; about necessity, &c. Evening club with Alexander. Geddes' *Miscellaneous tracts* vol. 1, to p.160; Ditton to p.92; Tacitus to ch. 43; Josephus to p.110; *Rambler* no. 2. Club with Alexander.

⁹¹ John Wilding was in his first term at Daventry. He was successively minister at Congleton, Derby and Prescot.

Scholefield delivered an account of the last conversation upon conversation chiefly dispute; Mr. Holland an oration upon the same; I upon miracles; Farmer upon the duty of children to parents.

[Thu 14 Nov] Geddes vol. 1; Ditton; Tacitus to ch. 56; Josephus. Topic for the night: Liberty of the press. Holland commended it warmly against Scholefield, and now and then, Rotheram and me, though I acted chiefly as a kind of moderator. We agreed at last that a government must be embarrassed in the affair. Alexander talked a good deal too, for it. We examined both political and religious liberty. The last almost all except Mr. Robotham declared for absolutely. The next topic by Mr. Holland: whether there be any material world.

[Fri 15 Nov] Tacitus to ch. 70.

[Sat 16 Nov] Morning after eleven o'clock, set out for Newport [Pagnell], called upon Potter in Northampton. Got there just when it begun to be dark at Mrs Wills. (10.30)

[Sun 17 Nov] (7.00) Preached from *God our Father*. Afternoon from *The perfection of the Christian religion*. Mr. {Ray} drunk tea with us. An ingenious sensible man.

[Mon 18 Nov] Set out at ten o'clock. Dined at the Ram. Called upon Mr. Gilbert and Mrs Doddridge. Got home before sunset.

[Tue 19 Nov] (7.30) Geddes. Tacitus an. 16, to 20; Josephus; Ditton. Composed upon *Practical necessity*.

[Wed 20 Nov] Drunk tea with Mr. Webb, company Alexander, Tayler, Jackson, Smith. Evening club with Mr. Holland. Tayler not there. Mr. Penn with us a little before supper. Tacitus to ch. 20; Josephus; Ditton. Composed upon *Practical necessity*. At club upon Berkeley's scheme. Did nothing but examine my two metaphysical demonstrations of the scheme. Mr. Scholefield and Howe opposed me. Alexander and Jackson, whom he invited,

helped me a little. The first argument beginning with actions and reactions, they all seemed to allow. The other, about no being acting but where it is, was long contested. However, at last, Howe fairly yielded and Scholefield agreed upon supposing that spirits were overextended. Were very agreeable.

[Thu 21 Nov] (7.00) Morning composed. Breakfast upon Berkeley. Mr. Hodgson's oration upon *The force of example*. Walked with Scholefield, talked about Berkeley, after dinner with him. Drunk tea, with me, our class, Jackson, Webb and Smith. Evening Alexander, Tayler and I drunk a pintful of negus,⁹² and talked over college affairs until eleven; then Holland came and stayed a little while. Tacitus to ch. 33; Josephus; Ditton. Composed upon *Practical necessity*.

[Fri 22 Nov] Morning composition. Breakfast, practical necessity. After prayers, a little while at Scholefield's, reading lecture [references] in Grove.⁹³ Society with Mr. Alexander. Mr. Clark, read us an analysis upon Romans. After prayers, Alexander, I and Tayler got red herrings, ate them and smoked. Then went to bed.

[Sat 23 Nov] Morning, begun a letter to Mr. Slater, and included my composition. Morning with Mr. Jowell in our room. Afternoon drunk tea with me, Mr. Mather, Hodgson, Henry Taylor, John Taylor, Wilding; [talked] about the frequency of composition. With Mr. Jowell, in his room, about reading, and the Academy. Geddes, relics &c.⁹⁴; Tacitus to ch. 56; Ditton pp.162-170. Reviewed my *Practical necessity*, &c.

[Sun 24 Nov] Morning, reviewed my sermon in part upon the *Deceit of the heart* [cf. Jer 14, 14]. Morning heard Mr.

⁹² A hot punch made from diluted port wine, lemon juice, sugar and nutmeg.

⁹³ Henry Grove (1684-1738).

⁹⁴ Vol. 1, ch. 4. : 'An account of the manuscripts and reliques found in the mountains of Granada in 1588.'

Ashworth, from *But now art ye light in the Lord* [Eph 5.8]. Afternoon and evening, Mr. Clark from *Consider thy ways*. [Hag 1.5] Drunk tea with Mr. Webb, company Jowell and Howe, about finishing off things, the spring of action, &c. Reviewed part of my sermon upon *Deceit of the heart*. Composed a piece of *Liberty no foundation for praise or blame*.

[Mon 25 Nov] Morning wrote to Slater and Mr. Geddes. Reading {Lanes} at Mrs Scholefield's. Before dinner read Tacitus fifth book of annals to the end. After dinner Ditton to p.178, and Gordon's *Discourses upon Tacitus*. Drunk tea with Mr. Jowell, company Alexander, Webb and Howe. Trifling conversation. Evening Geddes vol. 2, History of Antonio Perez.⁹⁵ Holland in our room a while after meeting. Composed a letter to Mr. Slater.

[Tue 26 Nov] Morning composed and Geddes. At breakfast, practical necessity. A little on the corruptibility of human nature. Gordon's *Discourses on Tacitus*, to p.118; Tacitus an. 5/6 to p.98. After dinner, in Mr. Webb's room a little. Reading lecture [references] in Grove. Saw Scholefield; sung. Evening composed and read Geddes, vol. 2 pp.1-26.⁹⁶ Josephus, to p.150; Ditton to p.188. Corrected and began to transcribe a piece on *Praise and blame*, and put down my demonstrations of Berkeley.

[Wed 27 Nov] Morning composed and transcribed. After dinner experimented on the avoirdupois balance. Drunk tea with Mr. Clark, our class and Mr. Jowell; talked about

⁹⁵ 'The sad catastrophe of Antonio Perez,' secretary of state and secretary for war, under Philip II of Spain. He was alleged to have been involved in the murder in Madrid in 1577 of John de Escouedo, Secretary to Don John of Austria, a bastard son of Charles V. Perez was subsequently tortured and executed on the King's order.

⁹⁶ 'A dissertation of the papal supremacy, chiefly with relation to the ancient Spanish church.'

London ministers. Geddes vol. 2, to p.78; Tacitus an. 6 to 21; Ditton's *Fluxions*, to p. 192. Transcribed my piece on *Praise and blame*. Lucas' *On practical Christianity*. Evening club with me, topic: The necessity of revelation. Mr. Jowell contended for absolute necessity, but what he said amounted to very little more than a contention for the use of the word. Very agreeable. Mr. Robotham upon diversions; Mr. Holland gave an excellent summary account of the last conversation upon Berkeley's theory; I repeated my two demonstrations and gave the club my {undeciphered}. (11.30)

[Thu 28 Nov] Morning Geddes, vol. 2, to p.100. At breakfast the doctrine of universal restoration and {undeciphered}. After dinner, with Scholefield a little. Drunk tea with Mr. Alexander and Holland. Ditton to p.210; Tacitus an. 6, ch. 32; Josephus to p.150; Lucas; [Congreve's] *The Mourning Bride*. (12.30)

[Fri 29 Nov] (7.30) Did nothing in the morning. Lecture on Jewish antiquities, succession of {Hebraists}. Walked upon Borough Hill with Holland. Tacitus. Extraordinary dinner for orations. Alexander and Holland in our room after dinner. Reading lecture [references] in Grove. Society with me. Mr. Clark read us a piece of a letter of Mr. Irons about the lecture about the Trinity. Mr. Clark took my turn at prayers. Geddes vol. 2 to p.186; Ditton's *Fluxions*, to p.219; Tacitus an. 6, ch. 44. (12.30)

[Sat 30 Nov] (7.00) Morning, a piece of my sermon in Divinity, Skated a little with Mr. Hodgson. Read Tacitus an. 11, ch. 4. Had not much interruption. Sung a good deal by myself. Evening, read Geddes vol. 2, and reviewed my sermon, half asleep. Gordon's *Discourses* vol. 1 to p. 154; Ditton to p.226; Lucas ch. 5. Look over a piece of my sermon upon *God our father*. Composed upon my sermon upon *How dreadful is this place!* [Ge 28.17]

[Sun 1 Dec] (7.00) Begun to compose a little of my sermon from *How great is thy faith* [cf. Mt 15.28]. Morning heard Mr. Alexander from *Let our light shine before men* [cf. Mt 5.16] Afternoon Mr. Ashworth from *Follow peace with all men* [Heb 12.14]. Drunk tea with Alexander and Tayler very agreeable. Alexander in our room afterwards. (12.00)

[Mon 2 Dec] (7.00) A frost upon the land. Morning Geddes. At Scholefield's a good while with Holland: exceeding merry about {*undeciphered*} sounds. Read Tacitus an. 11 to ch. 17. Afternoon had to myself to study till tea with Alexander. Ten of the twelve studied. Mr. Jowell and Alexander talked about plays, letters &c. The hour before bed-time, Holland came and stayed with us. Gordon's *Discourses*; Josephus to p.170; Ditton's *Fluxions*, finished; Martin's ditto. Revised my sermon on God our father. (12.30)

[Tue 3 Dec] (7.00) A pretty mild day. Morning made a scheme and begun to read Lucas, ch. 6. At Scholefield's before lecture. Lecture in Mr. Ashworth's closet: The imputation of Adam's sin. Showed schemes. Tacitus an. lib. 2, to ch. 18. At Scholefield's with Alexander and Clark, reading lecture. Mr. Jowell with us; laughed extravagantly. Walked with Clark to the foot of Borough Hill, talked about the characters of the students, seriousness, &c. Drunk tea with Mr. Jowell, company Webb, Holland. He read his poetry. Looked through Clark *On the Trinity*. Made a scheme of a sermon on 1 Samuel 3.6.

[Wed 4 Dec] (7.00) A mild day, in the morning a little frost. Morning made a scheme and composed. With Scholefield a little before the lecture on Jewish antiquities: miscellaneous things belonging to the Hebrews. Dined upon herrings with Alexander and Holland who went with me to see 'parson' Walker. Drunk tea and stayed till half past five, when [we] set out in pitch darkness for Daventry, and got home before

prayers. Club with Scholefield. Composed on the necessity of revelation for a view on the conversation the night I was moderator in the club. Drew a sketch of a sermon upon *It is the Lord, let him do what seemeth Him good* [cf. 2Sa 10.12]. Had an agreeable walk to Buckby. Very merry. Bought the books of apparitions there. Mr. Walker met us as we went out of town to frighten us back in again. Exceedingly dark; often uncertain whether we were in the way; frequently falling and very dirty. Received no harm from it. Club with Mr. Scholefield. Smith was proposed - voted out. Topic: forms of prayer. We were very serious. I, Howe, Holland and Tayler against Forms. All the rest, especially Jowell, for them. All confusion and heat. I gave an account of the last conversation on *The necessity of revelation*.

[Thu 5 Dec]. (8.00) A mild day. At Scholefield's with Alexander, various Hebrew. Read Butler's *Analogy*, chapter [VI], on necessity. Afternoon to myself. Evening, after supper, Alexander and Holland stayed about an hour. Geddes' *History of Malabar*, to p.16; Tacitus an. 12, ch. 8; Martin's *Fluxions* to the end; Lucas [Pt. 1, ch. 8] upon *Humility defined*; Steele's *Ladies Friendship*. (12.30)

[Fri 6 Dec] (7.00) A gloomy day, stormy. Morning composed. Lecture in divinity: finished the affair of original sin. At Scholefield's, read Tacitus an. 12 to ch. 24. Afternoon Alexander here reading lecture [references]. Laughed pretty much. Society with Mr. Scholefield. Mr Hill very merry on one thing or another. Society very agreeable. Evening business. Geddes to p. 74; Lucas [Pt. 1, ch. 9] *Of perfection*; Prayer of Burn's. Composed upon *Practical necessity*, added to what I had done before.

[Sat 7 Dec] (7.00) Morning composed; lecture upon Jewish antiquities; Martin's *Conic sections*, the ellipses. After dinner Mr. Clark stayed with me for an hour, talking about original sin, predestination, anatomy, &c. Drunk tea with Mr.

Holland, company Alexander, Jowell, Tayler, Clark. Supped upon herrings and potatoes with Alexander and Tayler; and together all evening. I shaved him. Read in meeting. Composed an hour; corrected my *Practical necessity*; did very little business else. Began Tacitus, but was interrupted.

[Sun 8 Dec] A pretty fine day. Went with Alexander to Buckby. He preached in the forenoon upon *Let your light so shine before men* [Mt 5.16]. I in the afternoon from *The perfection of the Christian religion*. Drunk tea and came home to the repetition. Was very sick and ill.

[Mon 9 Dec] (8.00) Composed very indifferently till noon. Found a violent cold upon me; incapable of doing much business. Drunk tea with Mr. Holland, company our class, Jowell and Tayler, Clark. Very agreeable. Steele's *Grief à la Mode*, began. Showed Mr. Ashworth the first letter of Hartley to me; he was prodigiously pleased with it. (11.15)

[Tue 10 Dec] (7.00) Morning composed. At Mr. Scholefield's very much, talking about actions in the pulpit. Drunk tea with Mr. Alexander, our class, Clark, Tayler, Jowell, Mather, Howe; about the school's directions, &c. With Mr. Ashworth reading my sermon and talking about necessity, &c. Corrected my piece of *Practical necessity*.

[Wed 11 Dec] (8.00) Took physic. In morning Alexander, Holland an hour in my room. Did no business. Afternoon transcribed my sermon. Evening club with Mr. Robotham, agreeable. Alexander and I and Holland joined and drunk tea. We and Tayler ate potatoes roasted for supper. Transcribed my sermon upon *God our father*, for next Sunday Steele's of *Grief à la Mode*, and began *Accomplished fools*. Club with Mr. Robotham. Topic: the liberty of present judgement. All agreed except Mr. Robotham and Jowell, that every society had a right to do what they thought would be for the good of the state, both in civil and religious societies. Mr. Tayler gave an account of the last conversation of forms of prayer;

Mr. Holland, an oration upon the importance of studying morality before divinity; I upon liberty no foundation for praise and blame. The others forfeited. Mr. Scholefield was not there.

[Thu 12 Dec] (7.00) Trifled with one another almost all day. Read in the meeting. Club with Alexander and Holland. Mr. Jowell came to us. We read our poems, and he read his. (11.30)

[Fri 13 Dec] (7.00) With his lord, making most of a prayer for a sermon. Afternoon trifled with Holland; pick him a fine cape and jacket; then society with Mr. Holland. I went to prayers. Smoked till I was sick and vomited. (11.30)

[Sat 14 Dec] (7.00) Morning lecture in divinity. Forenoon making my prayer and reading my sermon in Alexander's room. Afternoon at Scholefield's and in the meeting. Drunk tea with me, our class, and Clark and Jowell. Evening smoking and talking in Alexander's room. Then read my prayer. Made sense of my prayer.

[Sun 15 Dec] (7.00) Morning preparing for my sermon, prayer, &c. Preached in the forenoon from *We are His offspring*. [Ac 17.28]. Afternoon, Mr. Clark from *We walk by faith not by sight*. [2Co 5.7]. Drunk tea with Mr. {Chickley} with Mr. Jowell and Holland. Evening repeated for Mr. Clark, and prayed for Mr. Tayler.

[Mon 16 Dec] (8.00) Wrote to my aunt. Part of the afternoon was at Scholefield's with Alexander. Evening Josephus pp.170 - 190; Sherlock's *Discourses* to p.69. (11.45)

[Tue 17 Dec] (7.00) A fine frosty day. Morning read Sherlock and the references. Lecture, then Josephus to p. 210. Afternoon in the meeting. Read Sherlock to p.172. Drunk tea with Mr. Howe, company our class, Tayler, Webb,

Proctor. Played at crambo,⁹⁷ cross questions, &c., &c. Evening in Alexander's room a little, with endless queries. Then reading Tacitus an. 12, 22 to an. 13, 14. (12.15)

[Wed 18 Dec]

(7.00) Morning read [Tomkin's] *Christ the Mediator*, about half looked over. Lecture. Morning Tacitus. Talked with Mr. Tayler. Afternoon trifled. Mr. Clark stayed with me a little. Read Josephus to p. 230, and Tacitus an.13, finished, when others were at tea. Club with Mr. Howe. Looked over and corrected my sermon upon *Self-deceit*. At club, Alexander read us a letter designed to be sent to the editor *Universal Magazine*, ridiculing their manner.⁹⁸ It is forfeited. Topic: the spring of action. After Jowell had done defending the spring of action upon common footings, I put it upon a new one. Suppose the deity to be pleased with the creation in the present order, and intended only the order. This held us till the time was expired. Alexander granted that what Mr. Jowell, Mr. Scholefield, Mr. Tayler, Mr. Robotham, objected to here was frivolous, and did not affect my hypothesis, and they thought that what he objected had nothing in it, so that I

⁹⁷ Crambo is an old rhyming game, popular in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was played by one player thinking of a word and telling the others what it rhymes with. The other players then have to guess not the word, but its meaning. Thus the first player might say, "I know a word that rhymes with 'bird'." Another player might suggest: "Is it ridiculous?" "No its not 'absurd'." "Is it a part of speech?" "No its not a 'word'." &c. *Encyc. Brit.*

⁹⁸ Edited by John Hinton at the King's Arms, Newgate Street, London, *The Universal Magazine, of knowledge and pleasure* was a well printed and lavishly illustrated monthly magazine, frequently with hand-coloured plates. It was advertised as 'containing news, letters, debates, poetry, musick, biography, history, geography, voyages, criticism, translations, philosophy, mathematicks, husbandry, gardening, cookery, chemistry, mechanicks, trade, navigation, architecture, and other arts and sciences which may render it instructive and entertaining to gentry, merchants, farmers and tradesmen.' The November 1754 (vol. XV) issue carried a short biography of Samuel Clarke (1684-1750), the father of the Daventry tutor, with an engraved portrait.

think I may say I carried my point. Mr. Howe was moderator. (12.00)

[Thu 19 Dec] (7.00) A pretty fine day. Morning correcting my sermon; lecture. Scholefield and our class much in our room. Walked Borough Hill with Alexander. Afternoon transcribed. Tea with Mr. Holland, company our class and Mr. Webb. Evening transcribed and read Josephus to p.270 and Tacitus to an. 14, 14. Mr. Ashworth proposed to me to go to preach [as a candidate] for Needham in Suffolk.⁹⁹

[Fri 20 Dec] Read over the second bell. Lecture on Jewish antiquity. Till afternoon, transcribing my sermon. Then Josephus and Tacitus to an. 14, 41. Society with Alexander. Scholefield not there, nor Mr. Clark who was gone home. Evening Josephus. After eleven, in Alexander's room with Tayler and Holland. Transcribed almost all my sermon upon *Self-deceit*.

[Sat 21 Dec] *(7.00) Read *Christ the mediator*, Mr. Jowell's room, and heard him read his poems. Forenoon two lectures. Afternoon transcribing my sermon. Drunk tea with Mr. Smith, company our class, Jowell, Farmer and Webb; [talked] about the club tragedy. In Alexander's room a short while. Found Holland in ours. Finished the transcription of my sermon upon *Self-deceit*, and wrote a chart upon tempering actions.

[Sun 22 Dec] (7.00) Tayler and I went to Flore. I preached both ends of the day, morning on *Self-deceit*, afternoon on

⁹⁹ Priestley's first pastorate from 1755 to 1758. 'When I went to preach at Needham as a candidate, I found a small congregation, about an hundred people, under a Mr. Meadows, who was superannuated. They had been without a minister the preceding year, on account of the smallness of the salary; but there being some respectable and agreeable families among them, I flattered myself that I should be useful and happy in the place, and therefore accepted the unanimous invitation to be assistant to Mr. Meadows, with a view to succeed him when he died.'

God our father. Both of us supped with Mr. Ashworth. Talked about the state of Dissenters, &c.

[Mon 23 Dec] (7.00) Read *Christ the Mediator*. Trifled at Scholefield's room in the forenoon. Afternoon Mr. Webb, with me a good deal. Morning with Mr. Webb, shot Mr. Tomlin's drake. Evening with Holland and Farmer, dissected the head of the drake. (12.00)

[Tue 24 Dec] (7.00) With Jowell, reading Ditton's *Fluxions*. Read in Tacitus, a good deal forenoon and afternoon, to an. 15, 35. Clubbed, I with Farmer and Alexander. Stayed with Alexander in the evening till eleven o'clock. After, I read Josephus to p.290. (12.15)

[Wed 25 Dec] (8.00) In the morning, heard Mr. Ashworth, from *Flee, youthful lusts*. [2 Timothy, 2.22] Afternoon read Josephus to p.300, and [Farquhar's] *Trip to the Jubilee*. Club, tea with Alexander and Farmer: shared the repetition from *Christ who delivers from the wrath to come* [cf. Th 1.10]. Private club with Mr. Alexander in his. After dinner Tayler came up to us. At club, topic: liberty and necessity. Moderator Mr. Webb. Mr. Holland, Howe, Robotham {undeciphered} merry. Mr. Tayler pretended to have business - had a bowl of punch. First examined proof from appearances; next the foundation of praise and blame upon the schemes; then foreknowledge of contingencies. In the latter Alexander distinguished himself chiefly against Jowell who was for liberty all the evening, and Scholefield likewise for disputing's sake. I blew for necessity till the last departed. Mr. Webb talked a good deal for necessity. Jowell was angry, especially with Alexander who was vexed likewise. (12.15)

[Thu 26 Dec] (8.00) Morning did not study, I was a little ill of a sore mouth. Morning a good deal with Scholefield. Afternoon with Mr. Walker in Alexander's room. He treated us with a bottle of wine. Evening Alexander stayed with us a

while. Studied. Josephus to p.330; Tacitus to an. 15, 64. (12.00)

[Fri 27 Dec] (8.00) Morning sauntered about at Scholefield's a good deal. Afternoon studied. Drunk tea with Jowell, Alexander, Webb and Tayler. They invited me when they joined. Evening repeated our parts in the long parlour in [Young's] *Busiris*, the first act. Josephus to p.250; Tacitus, finished the annals. (12.45)

[Sat 28 Dec] (8.00) A good while with Mr. Ashworth in his closet, talking about Mr. Hodgson's love affair, &c. Afternoon fighting with foils in Jowell's room, &c. Drunk tea with Mr. Tayler, Alexander, Proctor, Webb, Jowell, Jackson. In Alexander's room about an hour, with Farmer. Josephus to p.270.

[Sun 29 Dec] (8.00) Went [to Kilsby] with Mr. Tomlin to preach for Mr. Strange.¹⁰⁰ Breakfasted with Mr. Tomlin. Preached in the morning from *Self-deceit*. Afternoon from *God our Father*. Drunk tea at young Mr. Lucas's. Heard Mr. Strange evening from *Behold, what manner of love*. [1 Jn 3.1]. Lay at Mr. Strange's. (10.00)

[Mon 30 Dec] (8.00) Breakfasted at young Mr. Lucas's. Went to see old Mr. Lucas. Played with the ladies. Dined at Mr. Strange's. Came home. Drunk tea in Jowell's room, with Alexander, Tayler and Webb. Romped. Evening read Dryden's *Palamon and Arcite*, the first two books. (12.00)

[Tue 31 Dec] (8.00) Morning at Scholefield's, Mr. Evans and his daughter there, with Mr. Ashworth and Jowell. Afternoon, read Tacitus' *History* lib. 1, to ch. 52. Evening

¹⁰⁰ Thomas Strange (1723-1784) had entered as a mature charity student under Doddridge in 1745. Minister at Kilsby from 1752, he was ordained at Kilsby September 11th, 1753. He generally preached twice at Kilsby, once at Crick and once at Barby or Hillmorton, each Sunday. Thomas Coleman, op. cit. 306-311; *Prot. Diss. Mag.*, 1795, 40.

with Mr. Chickley. Supped and drunk wine, all of us. Read Josephus to p.290. *Palamon and Arcite*, the last book.

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¹⁰¹ Written against Collin's *A discourse on the grounds and reasons of the Christian religion*, Chandler's *Defence and Vindication* led directly to his elevation to the rich see of Durham.

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¹⁰² Dedicated to the 'young persons of the auditory and society under my stated ministerial care.'

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¹⁰³ Written in answer to Peter Annet's *Resurrection of Christ considered*.

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Mathematics and the sciences

Cheselden's *Anatomy*: William Cheselden, *The anatomy of the humane body*, Third edition, London, 1726.

Ditton's *Fluxions*: Humphrey Ditton, late master of the new mathematical school in Christ's Hospital, *An institution of fluxions, Second edition, revised, corrected and improved by John Clarke D.D., Prebendary of Canterbury*, London, 1726.

Drake's *Anatomy*: James Drake [1667-1707], *Anthropologia Nova, or a New system of anatomy, and a short rationale of the many distempers incident to human bodies*, 2 vols., London, 1707.

Maclaurin's *Algebra*: Colin Maclaurin [1698-1746], *Treatise on algebra*, London, 1748.

Martin's *Geometry*: Benjamin Martin, *Pangeometria; or the Elements of geometry, containing I. The rudiments of decimal arithmetic, logarithms and algebra, II. Euclid's elements, III. The elements of spherical geometry, IV. A compendium of conic geometry, V. An appendix containing the doctrine of fluxions*, London, 1739.

Martin's *Library*: Benjamin Martin, *Bibliotheca Technologica; or a philological library of arts and sciences*, Third edition, London, 1747.

Martin's *Optics*: Benjamin Martin, *A new and compendious system of optics*, 1740.

Martin's *Philosophia*: Benjamin Martin, *Philosophia Britannica: or a new and comprehensive system of the Newtonian philosophy, astronomy and geography. In a course of twelve lectures, with notes, containing the ... proofs ... of all the*

principal propositions in ... natural science, 2 vols., Reading, 1747.

Newton's *Optics*: Sir Isaac Newton [1642-1727], *Opticks: or a treatise of the reflexions, refractions, inflexions and colours of light. Also two treatises of the species and magnitude of curvilinear figures, [in three parts.]*, London, 1704.

Owen's *Dictionary*: Society of gentlemen, *A new and complete dictionary of arts and sciences; comprehending all the branches of useful knowledge. Illustrated with above three hundred copper-plates. By a society of gentlemen*, 4 vols., London (W. Owen), 1754-5.

Rowning *On the rainbow*: John Rowning, *A compendious system of natural philosophy, with notes containing the mathematical demonstrations and some occasional remarks, [in two parts]*, Cambridge, 1734-36.

Saunderson's *Algebra*: Nicholas Saunderson LL.D. [1682-1739], *The elements of algebra in ten books. To which is prefixed an account of the author's life and character*, 2 vols, Cambridge, 1740.

Universal *Dictionary*: John Barrow, *New and universal dictionary of arts and sciences*, London, 1751-1754.¹⁰⁴

History

Geddes' *History of Malabar*: Michael Geddes, *The history of the church of Malabar, from the time of its discovery by the Portuguezes in the year 1501. Together with the Synod of Diamper celebrated in ... 1599 ... done out of Portugeze into English*, London, 1698.

Gordon's *Tacitus*: Thomas Gordon [of Kircudbright], *The works of Tacitus [ca. 55-ca. 117], volume I, to which are prefixed political discourses upon the author*, London, 1728;

¹⁰⁴ A high quality folio work, sold in parts.

volume II, containing his five books of History, his treatise of Germany, and Life of Agricola, with political discourses upon that author, London, 1731.

Johnson's *Life of Julian*: Samuel Johnson [Rector of Corringham], *Julian the apostate, being a short account of his life, &c.*, Third edition, 1688.¹⁰⁵

Josephus, Hudson's edition: [Flavius Josephus (37 - ca. 100)], *The works of Flavius Josephus: translated into English by Sir Roger L'Estrange, viz. I, The antiquities of the Jews; II, Their wars with the Romans; III, The life of Josephus written by himself; IV, his book against Apion; V, the martyrdom of the Maccabees; VI, Philo's embassy. To which are added two discourses upon Josephus by John Willes, with notes by John Hudson, D.D., With maps, sculptures, &c.*, 1702.

Newton's *Chronology*: Sir Isaac Newton [1642-1727], *The chronology of ancient kingdoms amended; to which is prefix'd a short chronicle from the first memory of things in Europe, to the conquest of Persia by Alexander the Great, Edited by J[ohn] Conduitt*, London, 1728. [Priestley later made considerable use of this work in his own *Lectures on History and General Policy*.]

Novels, plays and poetry

Butler's *Hudibras*: Samuel Butler [1612-1680], *Hudibras, in three parts*, 1663, 1664, and 1678.¹⁰⁶

Congreve's *The Mourning Bride*: William Congreve [1670-1729], *The mourning bride, a tragedy in three acts*, 1697.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁵ The life of Emperor Flavius Claudius Julianus Augustus (331 -363). The interest lies in his attempts to restore a vanishing polytheistic paganism.

¹⁰⁶ A mock-heroic poem that satirizes the excessive and self-righteous Puritanism of the commonwealth period.

Dryden's *Almanzor*: John Dryden [1631-1700], *Almanzor and Almahide, or the conquest of Granada*, 1668.¹⁰⁸

Dryden's *Palamon and Arcite*: John Dryden [1631-1700], *Palamon and Arcite, or the Knight's Tale from Chaucer*.

Farquhar's *Trip to the Jubilee*: George Farquhar [1678-1707], *The constant couple, or a trip to the Jubilee*, 1699.

Francis's *Horace*: P. Francis, *A poetical translation of the works of Horace, in 4 vols.*, London, 1743-46.¹⁰⁹

Rambler: [Samuel Johnson, 1709-84], *The Rambler*, London, 1750-1752. [There were 208 numbers from March 20th 1750 to March 17th 1752].

Steele's *Accomplished fools*: Richard Steele [1672-1729], *The tender husband; or, the accomplished fools*, 1705.

Steele's *Grief à la Mode*: Richard Steele [1672-1729], *The funeral, or Grief à la Mode*, 1701.¹¹⁰

Steele's *Ladies' friendship*: Richard Steele [1672-1729], *The Lying Lover, or the Ladies' Friendship*, 1703.

Swift's *Works*: Jonathan Swift [1667-1754].¹¹¹

Thomson's *Seasons*: James Thomson [1700-1748], *The seasons*, London, 1730.

Young's *Busiris*: Edward Young [1683-1765], *Busiris, King of Egypt, a tragedy [in five acts and in verse]*, &c, Fourth edition, London, 1735.

¹⁰⁷ Popular at the time, the play is now forgotten, except for the two quotations: 'Music has charms to soothe a savage breast', and 'Heav'n has no rage, like love to hatred turn'd, Nor Hell a fury, like a woman scorn'd.'

¹⁰⁸ A tragedy written under contract for the King's Theatre.

¹⁰⁹ Francis's translation work went into ten editions, the last being published by Joseph Johnson in 1807.

¹¹⁰ Steele's first play, a comedy performed at Drury Lane in 1701, it demonstrates the triumph of virtue and the downfall of a greedy widow.

¹¹¹ A comedy based on Pierre Corneille's *Le Menteur*. Avowedly moral, Steele's play was not widely popular being, to use his own words, 'damned for its piety'.

E S de Beer (ed.), *The correspondence of John Locke*, Vol. VIII (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 462pp., £60.00.

Peter H Nidditch & G A J Rogers (eds.), *John Locke, Drafts for the "Essay Concerning Human Understanding" and other philosophical writings*, Vol. I: Drafts A and B (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1990), xxvi + 299pp., £50.00.

John W & Jean S Yolton (eds.), *John Locke, Some thoughts concerning education* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 336pp., £50.00

These are all companion volumes of the ongoing Clarendon edition of *The works of John Locke*, which has already brought readers a reliable and affordable edition of Locke's *Essay*, edited by Peter Nidditch, who was at work on the drafts when he died. Nidditch's edition of the *Essay* and de Beer's edition of the correspondence prompted the formation of an editorial board to oversee the publication of all of Locke's works, including his journals. Apart from the above, Clarendon has also issued editions of Locke's economic writings and his posthumous paraphrases on the epistles of St Paul.

In volume VIII of the correspondence we see the culmination of a life's work by one of this century's greatest and most exacting scholars of the English Restoration period. E S de Beer was already justly famous for his magnificent edition of Evelyn's diary before he embarked on editing all of Locke's letters. And de Beer's own scholarly life closed with this very volume,

since, as a cover note records, he lost his eyesight in the final stages of preparing the text for press. Most of us would wish such a scholarly epitaph for ourselves, especially (apart from the index which comprises volume IX in the *Correspondence*) since this edition established and sustained the most elaborate and exacting editorial protocols. One might mention for example the continual cross-referencing of letters within the body of the edition; or alternatively de Beer's precise and lucid translation of the numerous letters in Latin both to and from Locke (see for example #3352 from Limborch). The *Correspondence of John Locke* thus stands perhaps foremost among a number of distinguished editions of Restoration authors: the standard editions of Pepys's *Diary* and *The Works of John Dryden* come to mind as comparable projects, though neither represents the work of a single editor.

As in earlier volumes, we are presented in volume VIII with what one might call the phenomenology of everyday life: Locke registers concern with his health (##3299; 3375), discusses medications (#3378), arranges for a chaise for the clearly ailing philosopher (#3539), attempts to ameliorate the difficulties, both small and great, of others' lives, frequently appeals to and instructs his cousin Peter King (e.g. #3364), sets up a trust for Francis Masham (#3414), apologizes to Edward Clarke that Sir Francis Masham seems disinclined to assist him (#3482), receives reports on his investments and rents (##3329; 3426; 3310), and so on.

There are a number of central narratives that unify the year and a half from June 1703 to October 1704. Perhaps most strikingly, it is Locke's rapidly deepening relationship with Anthony Collins, to whom he had first written in May

1703, so that volume VIII comprises the chief record of that friendship. It provides a bond that quite surpasses others, it seems, prompting Locke to meditate on its unusual depth and quality (##3474; 3537): "our concerns", he writes at one stage, "are blended into one" (#3500). At another juncture, Collins and Locke play with the topos of being lovers (#3504), as if to mark the peculiarity of their mutual feelings, which they regard as based on profound intellectual sympathies (see for example Locke's praise of Collins's intellectual range in #3424).

Two other themes are worth mentioning. We find Locke, as it were, constantly among his books: there are a number of letters between the Churchills - the publishers - and Locke (Locke successfully arranged for the posthumous publication of his paraphrases of the Pauline epistles [see #3615]). Books are being continually lent, returned, read, bought (##3306; 3311). Like later Augustan authors, Locke begins to feel at odds with the book trade (#3556). And like those same authors, Locke comments on his own reading habits and methods of interpretation, so becoming provocatively his own critic (#3418). There is some discussion about how Locke can give some of his books to Oxford (##3392; 3607); but this occurs within the context of increasing reports of hostility toward Locke from the universities, and at one point we hear that his books have been banned (##3461; 3467; 3477; 3483; 3511). Locke is nothing if not a controversial author at the end of his life.

And finally, even as he celebrates his life of retirement, a comfortable world of what he praises as "mediocrity" (#3566), Locke devotes his greatest intellectual focus not to what we now call philosophy, but to theology. Recent

work like Richard Ashcraft's *Revolutionary politics* has confirmed the degree to which Locke's political and ethical views are founded on a centrally theological conception of things. So that although there are some letters of 'philosophical' interest - notably on thinking matter and innatism (##3326; 3490; 3498) - as well as a long final letter on philosophical issues to Peter King (#3647), the energies given to theological matters far outweighs them. The tenor throughout is characteristic of Locke's urgently sceptical yet humble attitude allied with a deep commitment to toleration, and cites with approval numerous 'Latitudinarian' writers like Chillingworth, Pocke, Barrow, Tillotson, Whichcote, Poole, Hammond and Whitby (##3321; 3328; 3339; 3346). Cicero and Erasmus also preside. There is ongoing excitement about the progress and publication of Jean Le Clerc's *Harmony of the Evangelists* (##3311; 3318; 3332; 3342; 3351): a narrative reorganization of the Gospels symbolizes a radical scripturalism (or integralism) on the part of Locke and Arminians like Le Clerc and Limborch. Because such a reorganization forces us to attend to the particular and mutually qualifying circumstances of Christ's ministry, it serves to contain or undercut abstract theological doctrines (like the trinity), which, these writers believe, have been the instruments of ideological control. Thus Locke's engagement with theology in his last years only emphasizes his radicalism.

G A J Rogers has fully met the expectations of an excellent edition established by Nidditch and indeed the series as a whole. Rogers gives proper due to the work that Nidditch had already completed on the drafts of the *Essay* here published: Locke scholars already had access to typescript copies of both drafts put out by Nidditch's

department at Sheffield, although Rogers has gone further than Nidditch in refining and checking the text against the originals. This is editorial work of the most difficult kind, and Rogers is to be congratulated for having produced a text that is both readable and yet reproduces a most complex sense of the variations. Volume I offers a somewhat brief introduction because Rogers will present a fuller argument about the significance of the drafts in relation to the published *Essay* in Volume II. Although Aaron and Gobb did a useful job on Draft A, for example, both Draft A and Draft B needed more modern editing: these are crucial documents for understanding the development of Locke's thought. I would argue that many of the main features and proportions of the *Essay* already appear in Draft A, finished in 1671, almost twenty years before the *Essay* was published. What seem to have emerged in the course of the 1680s are the political nuances that Locke added to the epistemological and linguistic concerns he had already developed.

Many critics still seem to assume that Locke only stumbled upon the linguistic problem either logically or chronologically after he had been dealing with questions of knowledge and cognition. This view has some justification in the arrangement of the published *Essay*, which only deals with words in Book III; as well as in a statement by Locke himself that the problem with words only intruded upon his consciousness some time after he had begun his enquiries. But Draft A seems to contradict that view, in that the first sentence, in embarking upon the epistemological issue that centrally informs the *Essay*, also begins to play with the notion that forms of knowledge must be exposed to philosophical scrutiny by the

propositions in which they appear: language, that is, conditions the terms of the epistemological enterprise.

There is a related view that Locke also intended to eradicate metaphor from philosophical discourse, as if philosophy should proceed by a species of referential language. *Some thoughts of education* should help to qualify that view, for here Locke shows himself engaged in what one might call an anthropological enterprise, namely the construction of the gentleman not as a purely intellectual entity, so much as a social actor. Thus Locke not only offers syllabuses for the young child to follow, but courses in dancing and physical comportment, in order to develop "decency and gracefulness of Looks, Voice, Words, Motions, Gestures, and all the whole outward Demeanour, which takes in Company, and makes those with whom we converse, easie and well pleased" (200). In emphasizing the degree to which 'knowledge' is realized as a species of symbolic action, Locke recognizes that language partakes Wittgensteinian-fashion in the forms of life, and, as always with Locke, that engagement is imagined as entailing a high degree of ethical commitment. In short, Locke's view of the educated gentleman is, as he expressly writes, Ciceronian, although his Cicero is Christianized primarily (in this tract) through Chillingworth. As befits their standing in the Locke community, the Yoltons have also given us a beautifully-prepared text, which again poses enormous textual-critical challenges, since there are a variety of manuscripts bearing on the tract, as well as five separate printed 'editions' before 1705. Again the text is presented with model clarity, though the complexity of the editorial problem requires an equally complex means of marking variants. Some reviewers have felt that the introduction could have

been more substantial, as well as more historically inclined; but the Yoltons clearly recognize that finally having a good edition of this very important Lockean piece far outweighs the value of any introduction.

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William Cobbett, *Peter Porcupine in America: Pamphlets on Republicanism and Revolution*, ed. David A. Wilson. Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1994 [xvi]+288pp., \$29.95.

Political debate has always provoked vigorous writing on both sides of the Atlantic. The late-eighteenth century was the great age of the pamphlet. The days of the great political journals lay in the future, and although sets of newspaper articles attracted public attention on occasion - one thinks of the Junius letters in England and John Dickinson's *Letters from a Farmer in Pennsylvania*, which first appeared in the *Pennsylvania Chronicle*, - it was the pamphlet which was the principal medium of public contribution to political debate. The size, print-run and impact of pamphlets varied greatly. Commonly a tract might be no more than fifty pages or so, printed in a run of five hundred. Many were ephemera, most were printed at the author's expense, few were profitable. Tracts appeared on every conceivable issue on both sides of the Atlantic and can often be used as a measure of the perceived importance of particular issues to the educated population, the debate over the American Revolution being a particularly good example; Thomas R. Adams has located over 1100 titles for the period 1764 to 1783, and more have been discovered since he completed his listing. It is difficult to assess their impact, but the fact that the British government on occasion felt obliged to subsidize their own propagandists is a significant pointer.

Many of the pamphlets were characterized more by earnestness of argument than persuasiveness of style, but there were notable exceptions. Political writing on matters of general interest (as opposed to special concerns such as the

attempt to secure relief from the obligation imposed on clergy to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles) could express great passion - one thinks of much of the radical writing of the 1790s, for example - but all too frequently the fire of enthusiasm was unmatched by quality of style and like so many other writings more scholarly and intellectual in character, they have quietly faded into the background. But the late-eighteenth century produced three writers who each in his own distinctive way towered so high above the rest that their reputations have survived. Edmund Burke and Thomas Paine were two; William Cobbett was the third.

Cobbett made two visits to the United States, of which the first, from 1794 to 1800, was by far the longer. It was during this period that Cobbett learned much of his trade as a polemicist, and David Wilson has done a valuable service by printing nine samples of his rhetoric in an admirably helpful edition. The task of selection was formidable in view of the Niagara of words that Cobbett produced while in Philadelphia. What with *Porcupine's Gazette* as well as the pamphlets perhaps the only solution is publication on microfilm: a process which has made available many important collections which could never be reproduced in letterpress editions for reasons of expense. Faced with the difficulty the editor prudently decided to omit *Porcupine's Gazette*, published between 1797 and 1800, in favour of printing selections from the pamphlets, mostly published between 1794 and 1796. There can be no doubt that the extracts provide a full tasting of the rich, though seldom subtle, flavour of Cobbett's writings: here indeed is a foretaste of what was to come when he returned to England. His seven-league boots were firmly placed, one on each side of the Atlantic, and he swung his cudgel ferociously round his head. Woe betide any one such as Joseph Priestley, the

Unitarian radical fellow immigrant, or Benjamin Rush, the American doctor, who aroused his ire. As is well known, Cobbett was never consistent, and this characteristic is clearly visible in his American writings. Having arrived as a sympathizer with the Revolution and an admirer of Democracy, he rapidly became a Tory radical, a critic of American political behaviour and a trumpeting British patriot. The inconsistency is obvious and has caused much puzzlement among historians.

Yet Cobbett's behaviour is a classic example of the psychic stress endured by many immigrants in his own day and since, no matter from which country they arrived, and especially observable among British migrants. Like many others, Cobbett had left his country of birth because he was forced to and because he was disillusioned with it. But Cobbett above all others could not cut himself off and was disappointed by the experiences he underwent in the United States. By comparison with eighteenth-century Britain, let alone mainland Europe, the American political system was far more liberal (at least as far as white men were concerned), but it was not democratic in the later or Cobbettian sense, and its politics were already far from pure. Culturally suspended between two systems he could not be happy in either, and it is hardly surprising that he chose to return home. Nor is it surprising that the great English democrat should ally himself with the Federalists rather than with the more democratic Republicans. For the Federalists were notably more sympathetic to association with Britain, a policy inescapably attractive to the former Regimental Sergeant Major. What is surprising, in view of the noise he made, is how little impact he had on the stridently active politics of the United States. A measure of this is the infrequency with which he is mentioned in the monographic surveys of the

1790s. Perhaps he was too idiosyncratic; certainly he waved the British flag too frequently. Possibly also, he was too independent. As Stanley Elkins and Eric McKittrick have recently pointed out, Federalist propagandists were not as tightly associated with their party as Republicans were with theirs, and this was particularly true of Cobbett. There was a place for Cobbett in British politics, but nowhere comfortable in the United States. But in America he sharpened his weapons, thickened his skin, and learned his trade.

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The Northumberland County Historical Society. Proceedings and Addresses Volume XXXII, June 1, 1994, xii + 196 pp., \$19.45 including postage; orders to 'The Friends of Joseph Priestley House', 472 Priestley Avenue, Northumberland, Pennsylvania 17857. Cheques made out to 'The Friends of Joseph Priestley House'. Pennsylvania Residents please add \$1.01 [6% sales tax].

This volume is a bicentennial publication marking Joseph Priestley's arrival in America, and is given over entirely to items concerning Priestley. It begins with an introduction by Dr. James J. Bonning which discusses Priestley's legacy to American Chemistry. He shows how a meeting in 1874 of American chemists in Northumberland, Pennsylvania, to commemorate the centenary of the Priestley's isolation of dephlogisticated air - oxygen - marked also the beginning of the setting up of the American Chemical Society, established two years later. This is followed by Professor George H. Williams' commemorative sermon on the bicentennial of Priestley's departure for America. Described as a 'homiletical meditation', it is arranged in three parts: the first is an elegant if rather slight and not always accurate biography of Priestley; the second a much more substantial discussion of the Priestley's eschatological ideas ultimately focusing on his *Fast Sermon* of 28 February, 1794. Here, it is with a certain irony that Professor Williams cautions against Priestley's 'sheer rationalism', for it was a rationalism driven by Biblical eschatology, as he well appreciates. In the third part, the humble and optimistic tone of Priestley's *Farewell Sermon* is succinctly captured. The focus moves away from Priestley in the contribution by Professor Derek Davenport. His paper, 'Reason and Relevance. The 1811-13 lectures of Professor Thomas Cooper', previously published in 1976, is well worth re-printing, being a nice example of the

author's lively style, combining ironic comment with sympathy for his subject. It offers a useful brief biography of Cooper before treating in some detail Cooper's fascinating lectures at Carlisle (Dickinson) College, Pennsylvania. His introductory lectures reviewing the history of chemistry were 100 pages long followed by 130 pages of notes and commentary. They demonstrate Cooper's mastery of the subject, which no doubt was derived in part from his work in Priestley's laboratory in Northumberland. These lectures, which conclude with a panegyric on 'knowledge is power', firmly locate Cooper in the Enlightenment tradition of Baconianism. As a onetime manufacturer and practising chemist, Cooper was always interested in practical results. Although some of his lectures would still stand up today, others belong to the age of folk medicine, and above all, like Priestley, he did not absorb fully the consequences of the chemical revolution in which he had participated. Like Priestley's, his chemistry was qualitative rather than quantitative. Professor Davenport's paper is followed by a fine paper by Dr. Michael Payne on an entirely different theme, namely that of pantisocracy. This is a discriminating piece in which the argument revolves around the two polarities within utopian thought: the desire to re-create the world as an ideal commonwealth (or republic) and the desire to escape from the taint of the existing world and create in the imagination a purified community. In so structuring the argument, Dr. Payne is able to lay out the differences between a number of thinkers whose thought contained important utopian dimensions from Blake to the early Romantics, notably Coleridge and Southey, and he relates these to Priestley's ideas. In this respect the discussion could have been developed further to examine the differences between essentially utopian thinkers and millennialists like Priestley. It is in this area that the paper is somewhat

uncertain. Dr. Payne's conclusion that Priestley was more realistic than Coleridge and Southey in that he realized that blood would have to be spilt for his ideal to be realised may be sound enough, but his interpretation of Priestley's use of revelation is shaky. Citing Priestly on Daniel 2, 'The little stone *smiting* the image, and *breaking it in pieces*, is far from giving an idea of a peaceable revolution, but one that will be effected with great violence and in a short time', he comments that Priestley 'devoted his intellectual and imaginative resources to arguing that religion ... must at all costs be kept from being turned into a stone, a sword, or a gun.' If that happens then just men, such as Priestley, were the sufferers. Unfortunately Priestley is not at all wary of the 'the little stone', nor does he want or he expect 'the image' to survive. In Nebuchadnezzar's first vision the 'future kingdom of heaven is represented by "a little stone..."' The little stone is therefore doing God's work in bringing down the existing corrupt earthly kingdoms and itself becomes the 'great mountain', the millennial kingdom which will fill 'the whole earth'. And it was in this kingdom that religion would be freed from service to the state. Whether that makes Priestley more realistic than the poets is a moot point, but at least he did attempt to set up his little community of friends in Northumberland.

Northumberland was a frontier community when Priestley settled there. Deliberately shunning the city of Philadelphia where he would be a celebrity, though still a controversial figure, he chose to live in a homespun settlement. This caused problems in creating a suitably fine dwelling place. In his fascinating discussion of Priestley's American home, from which the following information is derived, Dr. William Richardson notes the difficulty of finding craftsmen to build the house, instancing the fact that the formal staircase,

probably constructed from a kit, is one step too short. The problem could have been solved by the insertion of an extra step with banister in the middle of the first run but none of the local carpenters were skilled or knowledgeable enough to attempt this. In consequence the symmetry of the first floor hall way was broken by the transverse landing (built, I assume to accommodate the staircase). Although it is, I think, clear enough that Priestley's life style did not greatly suffer from the move to America, insufficient is known to venture with any exactitude upon a comparison between his Birmingham standard of living and that in Northumberland. Probably many features of the house are derived from circumstance rather than deliberate choice, thus in its delineation and decoration, the house is in the American vernacular rather than the English high-style. We know that Priestley himself was anxious to re-create his laboratory and library, and evidence suggests that he succeeded in considerable measure with a library of some 1,600 books and a laboratory which included high temperature furnaces. We know, too, that after his wife's death in 1796. Priestley made use of the house for his own educational and religious vocations rather than for stylish social purposes; he did not choose to spend his declining days in gentlemanly repose. He would no doubt be pleased to know that his last home has not become yet another centre for the nostalgic heritage industry but is being used as important evidence for understanding the culture of the early American republic.

Following his death, in 1804 and then the return of his eldest son, Joseph, to England in 1811, the house has had a chequered history. In 1919 it was purchased by Dr. Gilbert George Pond, Professor of Chemistry and Dean of the Natural Sciences at Pennsylvania State Teacher's College. Pond appreciated the significance of the house and following

his death it passed into the ownership of the College. However, its future was not finally secured until it was acquired by the Pennsylvanian Historical and Museum Commission in 1959.

Pond had hoped to have the house moved *en bloc* to the State College Campus. He died before that ambition could be fulfilled, and the house remained in its original location on the banks of the Susquehanna river. Although within years of Priestley's death, Northumberland had ceased to be a frontier settlement, it did not become the prosperous community which the early settlers envisaged. In the 1890 census the population was only 2,744. Nonetheless it appears to have been an interesting community with a balance of commercial, industrial and agrarian interests. The volume reprints the history of the community from Herbert C. Bell's edited *History of Northumberland County, Pennsylvania* (1891) which is a nice survey of all its activities from its foundation. Finally, Part Two of this commemorative number is given over to another type of community, the community (or perhaps communities) of inheritance. Dr. Priestley Toulmin III has completed the family tree of the great scientist from his time to the present day, down to the ninth generation. In all I calculate some 1,080 descendants are indexed. This is an incredible achievement. It is not only a triumph of genealogical skill, it also creates a fascinating record for the historian. It shows that ability if not genius itself is transmissible. A combination no doubt of family tradition and of Priestley's genes have produced, as Dr. Toulmin notes, an unusually high proportion of 'physicians, writers, scientists, clergymen and others' of reputation and considerable distinction amongst the Priestley descendants. But not all of Priestley's attributes have been inherited; there are few active Unitarian ministers amongst his descendants, and amongst

those who have taken to the cloth in more recent time, Roman Catholics predominate. Another irony is that one branch of descendants at least became firmly aristocratic. Elizabeth, daughter of Hilaire Belloc, the distinguished man of letters, married Henry Stafford Northcote, Earl of Iddesleigh. Hilaire Belloc was the son of 'Bessie' Parkes, daughter of Elizabeth Rayner Priestley (1797-1877), granddaughter and a great favourite of Priestley. And so one could go on; suffice to say that the information here is of endless fascination, not least concerning Dr. Toulmin himself, who was 'the leader of the science team who first obtained in situ elemental analysis of the surface of the Mars in 1976'. Come the Millennium, which Priestley expected to have arrived a long time ago, he will certainly have some interesting descendants to meet. Meantime, this commemorative volume is a must for all those interested in his own life and work. Moreover, purchasers will be helping to preserve the memory and aid the understanding of his achievements for the profits go to the Northumberland County Historical Society and the Friends of Joseph Priestley House.

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W Bernard Peach (ed.), *The correspondence of Richard Price: Vol. III, February 1786 - February 1791* (Cardiff and Durham, N.C., University of Wales Press and Duke University Press, 1994), xxx + 382pp., £39.95.

This volume completes a remarkable collaboration between Bernard Peach and D O Thomas. Each had been editing Richard Price's correspondence independently when they became aware of the other's work and agree to collaborate and divide responsibility. Thomas was largely responsible for vol. I and exclusively responsible for vol. II. Peach assumed responsibility for vol. III which covers a period Price viewed as the twilight of his career. He increasingly felt unable to cope with external pressures and encumbrances even when his belief and support for a project ran very deep. His withdrawal from his commitment to teach at the New College in Hackney which he helped to found is a good example.

There are minor differences of style between the two editors. Thomas's annotations seem, on the whole, leaner, but the policies of both editors are uniform. In the preface to the first volume, they expressed an apprehension that many more letters than they had succeeded in tracing would come to light. So far it seems that this anxiety was groundless. It is a tribute to the thoroughness of their research how few other letters have come to light since they began to publish the correspondence in 1983. The result is an authoritative edition which establishes Price as a more central figure to late 18th century thought than had long been supposed.

A central theme in vol. III is death. Price's wife, Sarah, died in September 1786 after a protracted and progressive illness. Although Price had anticipated her death for some

time and was grateful that it occurred before the disease had affected her mind, it was the sternest personal test he had ever faced. For a time, it threatened his own will to live. On the day of Sarah's death Price wrote to Lansdowne in an exchange which lies at the emotional heart of the volume: "The anguish I feel on this occasion is inexpressible. I am now to wait by myself till some distemper takes me after her." (p.59) Lansdowne's letters of consolation are marvellously judged expressions of grief counselling, and vividly illustrate the deep and powerful personal bonds between the two men. Three years later Price was there to offer his support to Lansdowne on the occasion of his wife's death. Over the course of that year and the next, Price lost three especially intimate friends: William Adams, John Howard and Benjamin Franklin whom he felt privileged to have known.

The correspondence illustrates wonderfully the tension Price felt between a strong desire to retreat from the world of affairs which constantly pressed on him and an inability to disentangle himself from it. His position as a public figure exposed him to persistent requests for help that a more ruthlessly self-protective person would have been more successful at parrying. Among others, Yale University owes him a considerable quantity of scientific apparatus. In a letter to Benjamin Rush in July 1786, Price wrote: "...I am disposed to think it hard that at a time of life when my powers are declining fast, and when tranquillity is becoming every day more necessary for me, and when for this reason I am thinking of withdrawing from the world, my engagements should increase. This, however, is at present my condition. I am by no means a *Franklin*, who at 80 preserves so wonderfully his abilities and vigour; but a poor weak creature, who at 63 finds himself under the necessity of considering the working time of his life almost over." (p.54-

55). To Lansdowne a few months later he was more definitive: his writing and working days were over (p.92). He dreaded the possibility that "the imbecilities of old age" might overtake him unawares (p.92; 106). But this fear proved without foundation and reflects the modesty of his self-assessments. Much of significance still lay ahead.

In surveying his life's employments, Price noted with characteristic economy: "To Politics I owe little. To Divinity, most of all. To mathematics much and, particularly, the pleasure I am now deriving from seeing the prosperous state of the Society at Blackfryars Bridge..." (p.106) This last is a reference to the Equitable Life Assurance Society. One beneficiary of the publication of Price's correspondence should be an enhanced appreciation of the scope of his contributions to 'political arithmetic': not only his notions about the control and retirement of public debt, but also the principles and practice of life and disability insurance. The correspondence testifies to how many - particularly in America - applied to him for his expertise. In the last months of his life he was at work on a fifth edition of his work on annuities.

However much Price owed to politics, politics owed him more. His support for civil (which for him encompassed the political liberty Priestley, for his part, sharply distinguished from civil liberty), religious and intellectual liberty runs through the volume like an unbroken thread. In the mid-1780s he anxiously followed constitutional developments in America and was worried about the security of the union and the achievements of the rebellion. America's separation of church and state was one achievement he more than once identified as fundamental to a flourishing condition of civil liberty.

These anxieties about the union were replaced by confidence as America set its constitutional house in order at just about the time that he began to take the measure of developments in France and the promise they held for a general revolution. They lifted his spirit markedly and, indeed, inspired him. The correspondence allows us to follow the development of his reactions very closely. A casual observation to Thomas Jefferson that he wished that he might be better informed than he was led to the best possible reward: a series of informed and perceptive letters from Jefferson in Paris about the changing situation.

The correspondence shows how remarkably free Price was from any limiting nationalist prepossessions. As he wrote to Jefferson: "I have learnt to consider myself more a citizen of the world than of any particular country." (p.182) But the promise held out by France provided a powerful counterpoint for what Price viewed as the degenerating condition of his own country caused by "an unaccountable obstinacy" in its attachment to absurd positions in politics and religion (p.239). All of this provides marvellous background to one of Price's most celebrated works, *A Discourse on the love of our country*, now no longer viewed as it once may have been, as little more than the occasion for Burke's *Reflections on the revolution in France*.

In his last years Price was strongly encouraged by Priestley to write his memoirs. Priestley sent him the manuscript of his own, as had Franklin his own manuscript a little earlier, although Franklin's rejection of Christianity pointedly disturbed Price. Still it is notable how non-dogmatically Price expressed himself about his own religious convictions. His faith, he made clear, was based not on any certainty, but rather a settled judgement about the balance of probabilities.

He wrote to Lansdowne: "I feel difficulties and wonder at the confidence of the men who think that on this point no honest man can doubt." (p.256) On his view, what mattered was not one's particular religious beliefs or the zeal with which they were professed, but being an honest enquirer with "an honest heart" (p.190). Equal virtue, he believed, would be equally rewarded (p.299). If so, he could be confident that he and Franklin once more enjoy each other's company.

Price was on the verge of writing his own memoirs, although he wryly noted that if he did, what he would say of himself would be "less...minute and much shorter" than what Priestley wrote (p.337). Alas, the memoir was not written, although during most of the period covered by this volume of letters Price maintained a journal to which Peach frequently refers and which has been deciphered from the shorthand and published by the *National Library of Wales Journal*. It is a pity that it could not have been reissued together with the letters because it so clearly is a natural companion to them.

The three-volume set of the complete correspondence, edited and printed to a very high standard, is a splendid achievement in which the editors can take justifiable satisfaction. It is a pleasure to read and does what its editors hoped by adding substantially to the appreciation of the scope and significance of Richard Price's contribution to the enlightenment.

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Alan P.F. Sell, *Commemorations. Studies in Christian Thought and History*, University of Calgary Press/University of Wales Press, 1993, xi + 394 pp., £19.95.

These studies range widely in Christian history, substantially from the Reformation to the present day. They are all occasional pieces, not in a pejorative sense, but they are all the product of particular stimulus, whether for a series of public lectures, which constitute Part One on the book or whether they are 'occasional commemorative studies', which constitute Part Two. In all there are fourteen papers. Some of these have already been published, one in this journal, but in such diverse places that their bringing together in this volume is especially welcome. Professor Sell writing of the lectures in Part One of his book, notes that they 'raised questions which the churches need to address with renewed zeal as they anticipate Christianity's third millennium'. The same might be said of the other studies in the volume. Sell writes not as a closet academic, but as a teacher and preacher whose work is informed by his formidable expertise as a theologian, philosopher and historian. He has no historiographical hang-ups about learning from the past.¹ His ever-present concern is to probe the ways in which Christians can learn from the problems and conflicts which Christianity has encountered in the past. At the same time he accepts that Christianity is facing formidable problems never encountered before: those of a world 'as bewildering and interestingly irreligious and multireligious'.(p.5) The adverb 'interestingly' give a considerable clue to Sell's approach. He never ceases to be engaged by the variety of problems encountered by Christians, he is never dismissive of those who exist on and

¹ This is particularly explicit in chapter VII, 'The message of the Erskines today', see esp. p.165.

beyond the fringes of his own broad Christian highway² and he has a sharp eye for the foibles of the orthodox.³

Sell's prescription is often to 'retreat from the heat of the moment' and to 'take our bearings' from the past (p.7). But the retreat is not so much from the heat as from the moment, for he invariably seeks out contention in the past, and tries to show how it so often precluded sober analysis and the realization of genuine points of contact and similarity as well as real differences. He also skilfully shifts from the past to the present to show how the same painstaking technique of examining contrary viewpoints might well help to resolve current differences. For example, he shows Martineau and Newman had more in common than they assumed through their respective devotion to conscience. This leads to a detailed examination of Newman's concept of conscience, and on to a discussion of how such a concept can be reconciled with Papal authority. Finally, he moves to consider contemporary claims about papal authority, drawing attention to shared beliefs. He cites Vatican II on Church Authority. It claimed that only the Church could give 'an authentic interpretation of the word of God' (p.12). Hardly, so it appears, a sign of common ground in sight. But Sell goes on to show Vatican II did not claim that Church authority was superior to the word of God, rather it 'insists that the Spirit, through the Word, gives the Church what it must say'. (p.14). Of course, many thorny problems remain in understanding the word of God and in elucidating Rome's claim to be the sole authentic interpreter. It would be misleading to suggest that Sell in seeking common ground is not profoundly aware of

² I accept that Professor Sell does not always express things in such terms.

³ See for example, p. 69 fn. 32 in which he spots the heretical potential of the hymn in which Charles Wesley celebrated his conversion.

differences, and problems which often seem irreconcilable. He can even be impatient with those whose simple-mindedness leads them to think that they can claim sole authenticity. He is dismissive of one form of fundamentalism when he declares that 'Any suggestion that biblical literalism is non-interpretive (sic) is ludicrous' (p.28). Indeed, as he dwells on the richness of the Protestant Dissenting traditions, seeing essential and unrealized truths within and beyond the polemics, he is also acutely aware of the failure to live up to spoken ideals and also to limitations within the tradition itself.⁴ In so doing, he maintains a unique blend of involvement and dispassionate observation, and has a marvellous eye for the telling reflection. Here are a few: 'the deepest form of scepticism is seen in the mind in haste to believe' (p.21) [Martineau]; insecurity 'welcomes manacles to prevent its hands shaking' (p.50) [Walter Lippmann]; 'Persons, who herd together in corners with those who share their prejudices, are apt to take the whisperings of a coterie for the verdict of the "civilised world," or even of the Almighty' (p.56), [Robert Mackintosh]; and finally, 'When there are no modernists from which to withdraw, fundamentalists compensate by withdrawing from one another' (p.180), [E.J. Carnell].

There are perhaps times when Sell is susceptible to the same criticism as some of his heroes. Like Richard Baxter he

⁴ Professor Sell, for example notes that 'Reformed theology ... still has not produced a clearly articulated doctrine of the development of doctrine' (p.272). One wonders how these essays might have differed if Protestants had addressed more fully the role of providence in history. H.F. Lovell Cocks's views on historical truths are discussed (pp. 326-7) but briefly. Given that reflecting on history is a major aspect of these essays, and given that Professor Sell cautions against simple-minded interpretations of the workings of providence in history, the relationship between faith, providence and history would be a fruitful topic for further investigation by the author.

can perhaps be accused of 'mediating', even 'trimming', or perhaps more appropriately, in Baxter's words of going 'sometimes both sides the Hedge' (pp.36, 40-1). In his chapter on 'Through suffering to liberty', he concludes by warning like Bunyan against the wandering down 'By Path Meadow'. Citing Matthew 7, 13 against the broad way, we are enjoined to 'Enter by the narrow gate'.(p.146) Yet if he exhorts his hearers to remain faithful to the 'ever sustaining, never failing gospel of the grace of God', it is equally clear that he employs scholarly wisdom and Christian charity in his notion of faithfulness and grace. Another more characteristic dimension of his thinking can indeed be found in his paper on Richard Baxter in which he envisages all manner of Christians, Catholic, Protestant, Orthodox, sectarian et al., meeting at the communion table (pp.57-8).

Like Baxter, Professor knows exactly where he is going, yet there are times when the discussion is so dense that one would wish that he provided a few more signposts. His familiarity with so many dimensions of his subject is such that he weaves his way through an array of material and issues at considerable speed. In his essay on George Fox and John Wesley, he navigates deftly through the controversial historiography concerning Fox's spirituality, offers his own assessment - that Fox 'blurs the distinction ... between natural and revealed theology'⁵ - and then moves to consider more generally the nature of religious experience and some philosophical criticism of its validity. Once again his stance is measured as his range of reference is formidable. He argues that 'it would be a mistake so to elevate religious experience that its connection with knowledge were severed'. At this point, I must confess, that for me the argument moves so

⁵ Cf. For similar worries about Robert Barclay, see pp.161-163.

swiftly as to leave gaps. Thus Sell takes issue with Julian Huxley's suggestion that 'the change in our conception of God necessitates the stressing of religious experience as such, as against belief in particular dogma, or in the efficacy of ritual'. Stressing the interrelationship between concepts of God and experience of Him, Sell asserts that 'we cannot experience divine forgiveness if we do not believe in a God who forgives'. That worries me slightly since it does not appear to encompass the revelatory dimension of religious experience. But perhaps that is not quite what Sell intends, for he goes on to argue that, 'faith in the sense of trust (as distinct from, propositional assent) incorporates knowledge' citing Donald Baillie's view that, 'the belief and the experience are one ...[R]eligious experience simply *is faith*. And this is precisely what is forgotten by many who have spoken of faith as based on religious experience.' Sell's subsequent observation that faith should be neither reduced to rational assent nor to religious experience is surely correct, but equally that does not mean that one has to accept Baillie's solution which appears to roll reason, experience and faith in to one [all this pp.81-83]. But if these are treacherous waters, and the historian naturally seeks dry land, one can recognize the way in which Sell stands as a voice of sanity drawing out the merits of a whole variety of views and stances. He accepts that religious experience does not provide proof against scepticism, that it cannot be proved right or wrong, that there is no absolute safety in experiential numbers, but also argues that the testimony of characters who are beyond reproach has to be respected, and that critics of testimony rely upon their own *faith* to suggest that witnesses are in error. He concludes that, although religious experience does not confer infallibility, it is, following Wesley, 'sufficient to *confirm* a doctrine grounded on Scripture' (p.83).

These essays are thus meeting points of philosophy, history and Christian theology, and it is inevitable that the intersections are loaded with meanings. In the most urbane way they are also challenging and confrontational. They are not meant to be an easy read. They are not intended as purely academic expositions. They are a special type of historical encounter, and because the history lives it has a lot to teach academic historians, not least of the eighteenth century. We gain a sense of the vitality of the issues with which a Doddridge, a Wesley, or even a John Aikin wrestled, and although there are few papers directly treating eighteenth century Christianity, there is hardly a paper which does not occasion reflection upon the range of problems facing churches and churchmen in that period.⁶ For example a paper on the martyrs of 1593 is in fact a compelling discussion of church - state relations from the early church to the present day, and characteristically ends with some sage reflections from Sell. And if the unjustified suspicion creeps in to suggest that not enough attention is paid in the paper to the need to guard against the temptation of churches to misuse worldly authority, then one finds that the very next paper is on the subject of 'Through suffering to Liberty: 1689 in the English and Vaudois Experience'. Again this follows the same pattern, using 1689 as a peg to hang a much more extended discussion of religious liberty from the English Reformation to the Toleration Act of 1689. Sell is anxious to avoid the 'tunnel vision' which so often characterizes denominational histories. He certainly succeeds, giving scrupulous attention to the views and the sufferings of the various groups of dissenters, and the ways in which notions of toleration

⁶ There is, however, a fascinating insight into the Genevan Church in the years following the trouble caused by D'Alembert's suggestion that the pastors of the Church were Socinian in chapter VIII, 'Revival and Secession in Early Nineteenth-Century Geneva: the British Connection'.

came be accepted by them. Characteristically, he concludes with reflections on the process of freedom. Here one detects just a little regret at the access of freedom which the Toleration Act brought and the loss of authority which was its result. He suggest that the act 'encouraged the distortion of the congregational (including Baptist) ecclesiology' (p.144). Given the long term problems caused by freedom, there is a temptation to endorse the somewhat pejorative view of one of Sell's favourite authorities, P.T. Forsyth, namely, that 'mere liberty is a negative idea apart from a creative authority'. Forsyth goes on to suggest that freedom comes from the authority of the Gospel: 'the authority that sets free must always be prior to the freedom it makes' (p.145). One can understand that the Toleration Act might be viewed as a mixed blessing, conveying 'mere liberty' which arguably led to a loss of zeal and a weakening of adherence. But if one compares the mixed blessings on offer in the late seventeenth century - suffering and the fortification of faith, toleration with the temptation of indifference - one might see liberty in a more positive light. If faith is stronger under suffering, few would follow the logic that one should not seek toleration? Could it not be the case that toleration is a greater challenge to faith than suffering; that liberty is valuable in its own right as a test for faith and authority. If so, perhaps Forsyth's tendency to separate mere liberty from creative authority, or in another instance 'free thought' and 'free conscience' (p.101), diminishes authority as much as it devalues the liberty which allows for it to be freely acknowledged. It is an argument of which Sell, however, is well aware, and I can see that my own stance is close to that which he describes as that of a 'benighted old fashioned liberal'. For him, following Forsyth's notion of freedom, we all stand in the same relationship to Jesus as did the Apostles who were reminded by Jesus in the last hours before his

arrest, 'You did not choose me, I chose you' (John 15:16) [see pp. 170-1].

I hope that my own reaction to these essays demonstrates the challenge which they proffer. They give rise to a whole series of reflections, historical, philosophical and theological. Yet, though they are highly recommended, it is wise to take them one at a time, even a page or a footnote at a time. The latter are a delight in themselves; typically they purvey erudite information, guide one though the historiography of a subject, offer discriminating judgements, wry insights and amusing anecdotes.⁷ They illustrate in miniature Sell's wisdom and generosity of spirit. Indeed, if there is much in these essay which is critical of Enlightenment religious attitudes - the tendency to over-value reason, to universalize revelation and naturalize Christianity - he more than adequately fulfils the challenge of the Enlightenment that we should seek to know and to understand.

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⁷ See for example p. 160, fn. 56; pp. 256-7, fn.54; p. 340 fn. 161.

Books Received:

We have received the following books, some of which will be reviewed in future numbers:

Jenny Graham, *Revolutionary in Exile. The Emigration of Joseph Priestley to America, 1794-1804*, Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, vol. 85, part 2 (1995), Philadelphia, 1995, xii + 213 pp.

Hartmut Lehmann and Guenther Roth eds., *Weber's Protestant Ethic: Origins, Evidence and Contexts*, German Historical Institute, Washington D.C., Cambridge University Press, 1987 hdbk, 1995 pbk., xii + 397 pp.

M.A. Stewart and John P. Wright, *Hume and Hume's Connexions*, Edinburgh University Press, 1994, xvi + 266 pp.

Richard Bellamy ed., trans by Richard Davies with Virginia Cox and Richard Bellamy, *Beccaria. On Crimes and Punishments and Other Writings*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, Cambridge University Press, 1995, xlix + 177pp.

John M. Cooper and J.F. Procopé eds and trans., *Seneca. Moral and Political Essays*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, Cambridge University Press, 1995, xl + 324 pp.

Kate Langdon ed. and trans, *Christine de Pizan, The Book of the Body Politic*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, Cambridge University Press, 1994, xli + 113 pp.

David Leopold ed., *Max Stirner. The Ego and Its Own*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, Cambridge University Press, 1995, xl + 386 pp.

Arthur Stephen McGrade and John Kilcullen eds, trans by John Kilcullen, *William of Ockham. A Letter to the Friars Minor and Other Writings*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, Cambridge University Press, 1995, xl + 390 pp.

Patrick Riley ed. and trans., *François de Fénelon. Telemachus, son of Ulysses*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, Cambridge University Press, 1994, xxxiii + 338 pp.

Marshall Shatz ed., *Peter Kropotkin, The Conquest of Bread and Other Writings*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, Cambridge University Press, 1995, xxxiv + 263 pp.

Sylana Tomaselli ed., *Mary Wollstonecraft. A Vindication of the Rights of Man with A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, Cambridge University Press, 1995, xxxviii + 349 pp.

David Williams, ed. and trans., *Voltaire. Political Writings*, Cambridge Texts in the History of Political Thought, Cambridge University Press, 1994, lii + 290 pp.

David Wooton ed. and trans., *Niccolò Machiavelli. The Prince*, Hackett Publishing Co., Indianapolis/Cambridge, xlvi + 83pp.