“THE SPAWN OF ROMISH FROGS” : TO WHAT EXTENT WERE ALLEGATIONS OF ROMAN CATHOLICISM AGAINST EARLY QUAKERS VALID?

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ABSTRACT

During the Interregnum, the early Quakers' critics repeatedly made allegations that Quaker doctrines and practices resembled those of Roman Catholics, and that Quakers were Jesuits in disguise. The objective of this dissertation is to investigate whether there was any merit in these allegations. This is achieved by, first, comparing Quaker and Roman Catholic doctrines relating to the topics which were the subject of the allegations, namely salvation, the priority to be accorded to the Spirit and Scripture, sin, and the sacraments. Thereafter an examination is made of the specific allegations, in each case asking whether Quaker beliefs aligned more closely to those of Roman Catholicism than to those of the Reformed faith. Finally, a comparison is made between the principal characteristics of Quaker and Jesuit spirituality. It is concluded that on the doctrines of salvation, the primacy of the Spirit over Scripture, the possibility of achieving perfection in this life, and the fact of direct communication by God with human beings, Quaker beliefs resembled those of Roman Catholicism and were opposed to those of the Reformed faith. It is additionally concluded that Quaker practices resembled Roman Catholic practices only in minor respects and that there was no merit in allegations that Quakers derived their beliefs from Roman Catholicism, had been taught by Roman Catholics, had been infiltrated by Jesuits or were Jesuits in disguise. Further it is found that there were significant similarities between Quaker and Jesuit spirituality. It is suggested that these conclusions enhance the credibility of Quakers' claim that they derived their ideas and beliefs from their own spiritual experience. It is further suggested that Quakers should not properly by placed on the extreme radical wing of the spectrum of groups in mid-seventeenth century England within the Reformed faith.

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Chapter 1 Introduction

1.1 Introduction to the Thesis: the Research Question and Academic Value

In the disputes between early Quakers and ministers of the Reformed faith in England during the 1650s, Quakers were frequently charged with being Roman Catholics, or being led or taught by Roman Catholics. To some extent this allegation was merely a common contemporary slander, an attempt to brand an opponent as associated with the entity universally recognised in England as the arch enemy, the Roman Catholic church. But some ministers supported their allegations by citing specific Quaker beliefs and practices which they claimed resembled those of Roman Catholics. A number of twentieth and twenty-first century commentators have noted that the doctrines and practices cited by Quakers' critics do indeed appear to bear a similarity to those of Roman Catholicism[1] but none has investigated the apparent correspondence further. The object of this dissertation is to collect allegations of Roman Catholicism against early Quakers which are supported by some specification of doctrines and practices and to compare the cited doctrines and practices with those of the Reformed faith and of Roman Catholicism on the same topics in order to ascertain whether the allegations were valid. Additionally, this dissertation will also examine the veracity of allegations that Quakers were Jesuits in disguise, or were taught by Jesuits, by comparing the key characteristics of Quaker and Jesuit spirituality.

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[1] Geoffrey Nuttall commented that "although in point of fact there was no connexion between the Quakers and the Jesuits, it was less beside the point than might be thought", citing Richard Baxter's allegations relating to Quaker doctrines of salvation through attention to the Light within, infallibility and the subordination of Scripture to the Spirit. G F Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946; reprinted with new introduction by Peter Lake, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 163. William Braithwaite commented that the minister Ralph Farmer's claim that Quakers had come to Bristol "on Antichrist's errand" was buttressed by his suggestion "shrewdly enough, that Quakerism is tainted with the popish tenets of universal grace, freewill, satisfaction by our own sufferings [and] justification by inherent holiness…". William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (London: Macmillan, 1912, second edition reprinted Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 172.

Establishing the veracity of the allegations will contribute to the current and ongoing academic enquiries into the origins of Quaker beliefs. If the Allegations are found to be valid (that is, both a superficial resemblance in doctrine or practice, and a correspondence of belief at a deeper level is established) the thesis that Quakerism should be understood as an extension of radical Puritanism and that Quakers should correctly be placed on the extreme radical wing of the spectrum of English mid-seventeenth century religious belief will be challenged.[2] Additionally, if it is found that Quakers did not learn their doctrines from Roman Catholicism, the thesis that Quakerism should be treated as a novel Christian movement, separate and different from both Roman Catholicism and Protestantism, will be supported.

1.2 Definitions and Explanations

In order to avoid prolixity, some capitalised words used in this dissertation have specific meanings. 'Allegations' means charges of resemblance between one or more Quaker beliefs and/or practices and corresponding beliefs and/or practices of the Roman Catholic church or a group within it. 'Minister' means an adherent of the Reformed faith who made an Allegation against Quakers. 'Reformed' means the form of Protestant faith prevalent in England in the Interregnum to which the Ministers who were incumbents of parish benefices conformed. The description 'Reformed' is preferred to the term 'Puritan', often used by writers on Quakerism, partly because the Ministers do not seem to have regarded themselves as puritans[3] and partly

[2] In his Introduction to the 1992 edition of Nuttall's *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience,* Peter Lake describes the spectrum of religious opinions as "stretching from medieval Catholicism on the right to Quakerism on the left". Peter Lake, introduction to Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, xx. Nuttall himself refers to the range of opinions within Puritanism from "the fully conservative Puritan party", Presbyterianism, to "the fully radical party" consisting of "a series of positions which shade off, through increasingly complete Separatism, into pure and acknowledged individualism" at the end of which were George Fox and the Quakers. Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 11-12.

[3] In criticising Quakers for their stance on perfection, John Stalham admonished them "speak not with a stiff neck … but remember those who were nick-named Puritans in Queen Elizabeth's day, and since, for their sincere endevors after Purity …" John Stalham, *The Reviler Rebuked* (London: Henry Hills and John Field, 1657), 226.

on account of the acknowledged difficulty of using the term accurately in respect of any particular group.[4] Where the term appears in this dissertation, it bears the meaning attributed to it by whichever commentator's use of it is being discussed or alluded to.

The period considered by this dissertation begins with the emergence of Quakerism in the late 1640s and ends with the Restoration in 1660. The Restoration is taken as an appropriate final date because it brought to an end the dominance in English religious practice of the particular type of the Reformed faith of which Ministers were adherents and it, or more accurately the reaction of the authorities to Venner's revolt in January 1661, brought the period of relatively unrestrained publication of views by early Quaker leaders to an end.[5]

Moore has described both divergences between early Quaker leaders' doctrinal emphases in their published works[6] and noticeable variations and trends in Quaker writing over the course of the 1650s.[7] In attempting to describe early Quaker doctrines in comparison to those of the Reformed faith and Roman Catholicism, this dissertation perhaps asserts greater unanimity and consistency than existed. It must be recognised that early Quaker leaders frequently had a personal history of affiliation to different religious groups before joining the Quakers and it may

[4] Anthony Milton, for instance, uses the term puritan to denote "those Protestants who were distinctive in their enthusiasm and zeal for the cause of true religion, in a way in which both they themselves (regarding themselves as a 'godly' elite) and their hostile opponents (seeing them as overprecise hypocrites) could and did recognise", in that usage following principles laid down by Patrick Collinson and Peter Lake. Anthony Milton, *Catholic and Reformed: the Roman and Protestant Churches in English Protestant Thought 1600-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 8.

[5] Rosemary Moore records that orders banning all Quaker meetings were issued and four thousand Quakers were imprisoned. Rosemary Moore, *The Light in their Consciences: Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666,* twentieth anniversary revised edition (University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2020), 182.

[6] For instance, George Fox has a greater stress on "intensity of personal religious experience" than Nayler, while Fox and Richard Farnworth used the term 'the light' more than Nayler. Moore, *Light*, 83-4.

[7] For instance, Moore notes the tendency of Quaker writers "in the latter part of the 1650s … to pay less and less attention to the life and death of Jesus" instead concentrating on the light within as Christ, and that over the course of the decade "the more extreme language describing union with God or Christ was confined to letters, while material for publication was more cautiously expressed", perhaps due to Blasphemy trials or advice from Judge Fell. Moore, *Light*, 111, 150.

be assumed that they brought with them differing theological viewpoints.[8] Nonetheless, the common emphasis on personal experience of encounter with God or Christ, and the necessity to attend to the divine light within for guidance is the most striking feature of early Quaker writing. As Moore observes, "most early Quaker pamphlets and letters ... described a remarkable experience and a continuing consciousness of the presence of God."[9]

1.3 Context and Setting

The rapid expansion of Quakerism, first in the north of England in 1652-3 and then throughout the south of England in 1654, was marked by early Quaker leaders' aggressive verbal attacks on incumbent ministers of the Reformed faith, delivered in churches to congregations by diatribes after the minister had completed his sermon.[10] These attacks rejected the validity of ministers' beliefs, their authority to lead congregations and their right to be paid by means of tithes.[11] Not surprisingly, Quaker hostility generated strong resentment among ministers who retaliated by publishing pamphlets denouncing Quaker beliefs. Describing Quaker beliefs for the purpose of pointing out their erroneous nature, some ministers noted that there was a resemblance between Quaker and Roman Catholic doctrines and practices.

A number of factors contributed to ministers' allegations against Quakers. First, there was an element of suspicion. Notwithstanding the aggressive nature of Quakers' presentation of their views, Quakers argued a coherent theology opposed to that of the Reformed church. Quaker ideas were credible, and were consistently advanced by several different Quaker leaders at

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[8] "Early Quakers brought with them a diversity of beliefs based on their past experience, which were then interwoven to form Quaker theology." Daniel S. Zemaitis, 'Convergent Paths: The Correspondence among the Lollards, Hussites, and Early Quakers', Unpublished PhD thesis: University of Birmingham, 2010, 8.
[9] Moore, *Light*, 84.
[10] Rosemary Moore, "Seventeenth-century Context and Quaker Beginnings" in Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 17.
[11] Early Quakers "taught that the established church was not only erroneous but actually evil." Moore, *Light,* 18.

similar times and in several places. Quakers' ability to coordinate the articulation of a single set of doctrines and their adoption of standard practices seemed to point to a depth of organisation unmatched by previous radical or sectarian groups. On that ground it was not unreasonable for ministers to suspect that the resources of some substantial enemy lay behind Quakers, and there was no greater or more feared enemy of the Reformed church than the Roman Catholic church.[12]

Second, to some extent the allegations merely "pandered to a virulent anti-Catholicism"[13] widespread in England in the 1650s. As Milton has pointed out, in Jacobean times the written expression of anti-popery served a number of purposes, ranging from testimony of the writer's commitment to true religion, through confirming readers more deeply in their faith and preventing what was believed to be the constant threat of English individuals becoming converted to Rome, to counteracting what were perceived to be political and military threats from foreign Roman Catholic powers.[14] In Charles I's time, the feared infiltration of Roman Catholicism into England had become a reality through the King's devotion to his Roman Catholic wife Henrietta Maria, his own inclination towards "the Roman Catholic cultural ambience",[15] and the Laudian shift in church practice in favour of ceremonies, church decoration and a greatly increased accent on the divine presence at the altar and in the eucharist. With the overthrow of the hierarchy and apparatus of the institutional church in England in the 1640s, Roman Catholicism had again become the recognised universal enemy, and to brand an opponent as harbouring Roman Catholic sympathies was an easy way of inciting popular feeling against him, as James Nayler recognised in his response to one of the

[12] One of the Ministers who compiled a list of Allegations asked rhetorically where Quakers could have obtained their doctrines unless they had been taught them by Roman Catholics. William Brownsword, *The Quaker-Jesuite, or, Popery in Quakerisme* (London: Miles Harrison, 1659), 10.
[13] Barry Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution* (London: Temple Smith, 1985), 65.
[14] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 31-38.
[15] Milton, *Catholic and Reformed*, 62.

minister Thomas Weld's allegations: “and whereas you reckon us up among the Papists, thereby to make us odious unto people…”.[16]

Third, early Quakers were largely drawn from “the middling sort”, small businessmen and artisans[17] and all lacked university training (except Samuel Fisher). Ministers, by contrast, had all been educated at Oxford or Cambridge, with the exception of Richard Baxter and he amassed a substantial library, evidencing the importance he attached to learning.[18] Ministers must have resented attacks on the veracity of the fundamental beliefs of the Reformed faith by people they considered lacked the educational training to do so, fuelling suspicions as to the source from which such people might have obtained their ideas.

Fourth, the nature of Quaker attacks on them caused Ministers to perceive Quakers’ true aim to be to cause social disruption. The widespread belief that Roman Catholics had for many years aimed to upset social order in England in order to gain adherents to the Roman Catholic Church seeking stability and the avoidance of chaos, led to association between Quakers and Roman Catholics in Ministers’ minds.[19]

Fifth, the proclamation made by the Council of State in April 1655, after the Royalist uprising, announcing that the law requiring persons suspected of Roman Catholicism to take the Oath of Abjuration would be enforced provided an easy means for enemies of Quakerism to use the law against Quakers, knowing that they would refuse to take the oath. Charges of Roman Catholicism against Quakers thus came to be used rhetorically as an instrument of persecution, rather than a genuine objection of a doctrinal kind. Braithwaite suggests that

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[16] James Nayler, A *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, *Acting in A Mystery of Iniquitie, Pleading for his Kingdom, against the coming of Christ to take away sin* (London: Giles Calvert, 1655), 5.
[17]Moore, *Light*, 35.
[18] “Through omnivorous reading Baxter became one of the most learned of seventeenth century divines.” N.H.Keeble, ‘Richard Baxter (1615-1691)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. https://doi-org.bham-ezproxy.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/1734.
[19] Stephen Kent, “The Papist Charges Against the Interregnum Quakers” in *Journal of Religious History*, 12 (1982), 188-189.

Thomas Robertson and Ambrose Rigge were the first Quakers to be imprisoned as a result of refusing to swear the Oath of Abjuration at Basingstoke in July 1655.[20]

For their part, Quakers did nothing to diminish or apologise for the virulence of their attacks on Ministers. As Nayler explained in *Love to the Lost,*[21] Quakers perceived worldly wisdom to be the result of humanity's turning away from God and towards earthly attractions in the fall. Ministers' reliance on a rationally assembled system of soteriological doctrines simply evidenced their opposition to the ways of God and Christ. Quakers considered Ministers' 'pleading for sin', their asserting to their congregations that sin cannot be overcome during this life, to amount not merely to misleading the people but positively to be leading them towards damnation, thus necessitating the strongest condemnation. The Quaker position of vehement opposition to Ministers and their denial of the validity of the Reformed faith placed them, in Ministers' eyes, in the same camp as the avowed enemy of all Protestants, the Roman Catholics.

1.4 Sources and Approach

The approach adopted by this dissertation is, first, to establish the doctrines of the Reformed faith, Quakers, and Roman Catholics on each of the topics which was the subject of Allegations. Chapter 2 carries out this exercise, considering in turn the topics of salvation, the Spirit and Scripture, sin, and sacraments. Chapter 3 proceeds to an investigation of the Allegations, the Quaker responses to them, and the Roman Catholic doctrines relevant to each of them, again grouping the Allegations into doctrinal topics and dealing with them sequentially. The specific points at which the Allegations were aimed were more detailed than those grouped as topics in chapter 2 and are considered commencing with points which related to salvation, namely, the light; justification by imputed righteousness; inherent righteousness; and

[20] Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 446.
[21] James Nayler, *Love to the Lost, and a hand held forth to the helpless, to lead out of the dark* (London: Giles Calvert, 1656), 1-4.

perfection. The chapter then turns to the Spirit; sacraments; Allegations relating to the possibility that God communicates directly with human beings; practices; and finally the Allegation that Roman Catholics had infiltrated the Quakers. Each section of chapter 3 reaches a conclusion about the validity of an Allegation and asks whether, if there was a prima facie resemblance between Quaker and Roman Catholic doctrines, that resemblance was also present at a deeper level.

In order to examine the Allegation that Quakers were Jesuits in disguise, chapter 4 considers the principal characteristics of Jesuit spirituality. These are taken to be direct communication between God and the believer; conversion; Christocentrism; unity with Christ; mode of spirituality, divided into method, mysticism and individuality; and activity. Chapter 4 then considers the characteristics of Jesuit spirituality which appear to contrast with those of Quaker spirituality, namely, the church, forms and ceremonies; learning; sacraments; good works; and charisma. The chapter concludes with an evaluation of similarities and divergences.

Key findings are set out in chapter 5. An assessment is made of the original contribution of this dissertation and the implications which its key findings have for current scholarship. The chapter concludes with some suggestions of areas for future research.

As Carole Dale Spencer has pointed out, "in early Quakerism theology was experiential and mystical …"[22] Spencer goes on to assert that on account of its experiential basis Quakerism was best taught by means of the autobiographies of its early leaders. Certainly, in the first years of the Quaker movement its leaders made no attempt to set out their beliefs in a written document in a systematic way. They relied on Christ, the light, or the Spirit within as their guide and teacher, and rejected human wisdom or rational explanation as an appropriate means of achieving understanding of the divine and humanity's relation to it. For that reason, the books from which Quaker beliefs on the topics which are the subject of the Allegations can be

[22] Spencer, *Holiness,* 4.

ascertained are the accounts by early Quaker leaders of their own experience of encounter with God, and the defences which they wrote to the Allegations. Details of the latter are given in the introduction to chapter 3, while works within the former category by George Fox,[23] Francis Howgill[24] and Edward Burrough[25] have been drawn upon. In addition, as Quaker books and pamphlets proliferated during the 1650s and the written accounts of Quaker beliefs by different authors multiplied, attempts were made to set out Quaker ideas more comprehensively than was possible in the polemical context of responding to criticisms and allegations. Nayler wrote *Love to the Lost* and Fox himself summarised Quaker views on a range of topics which had been raised in disputes with their opponents in *The Great Mystery of the Great Whore*[26] in 1659. Fox also published a short account of Quaker beliefs entitled *Some Principles of the Elect People of God* [27] in 1661. These works have also been consulted as sources of Quaker beliefs for the purpose of this dissertation.

The Allegations considered by the dissertation are all set out in works published by Ministers which form part of the disputes between Quakers and their opponents in the 1650s. Details of the Ministers who authored the books and pamphlets containing the Allegations are set out in the introduction to chapter 3, as are details of the Quakers who responded to them.

In order to ascertain the doctrines of the Reformed faith relevant to the Allegations, the Westminster Confession[28] published in 1649 has been taken as an authoritative statement of

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[23] George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox* ed J.l. Nickalls (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952).
[24] Francis Howgill, *The Inheritance of Jacob Discovered, after his return out of Egypt* (London: Giles Calvert, 1656).
[25] Edward Burrough, *A True Declaration and Discovery to all the world of my manner of life* (the second part of *A Warning from the Lord to the Inhabitants of Underbarrow*) (London: Giles Calvert, 1654).
[26] George Fox, *The great mistery of the great whore unfolded, and antichrist's kingdom revealed unto destruction* (London: Thomas Simmons, 1659).
[27] George Fox, *Some principles of the elect people of God who in scorn are called Quakers* (London: Robert Wilson, 1661).
[28] '*The humble advice of the Assembly of Divines, now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a confession of faith, with the quotations and texts of scripture annexed presented to them lately by both Houses of Parliament'* (London, The Company of Stationers, 1647).

doctrines affirmed by the English church in the Interregnum.[29] Additionally, explanations of their own positions were often given by Ministers in the course of setting out Allegations.[30]

Roman Catholic doctrines on the topics which were the subject of the Allegations had been debated at the Council of Trent, held between 1545 and 1563 in three separate groups of sessions, and formulated in decrees.[31] The Council's decrees had been formally approved by Pope Pius IV in the bull Benedictus Dei, issued in 1564, and exhaustively expounded and explained by Cardinal Robert Bellarmine in his multi-volume work *Controversies of the Christian Faith* published between 1581 and 1592.[32] Several English theologians had published works opposing Bellarmine's exposition of Roman Catholic doctrines, of which that most frequently referred to by Ministers engaged in disputes with early Quakers was John Davenant's *A Treatise on Justification* first published in 1631.[33] Davenant was a moderate conformist in the spectrum of theological beliefs held by Ministers in the 1650s. Though an Episcopalian conformist, becoming Bishop of Salisbury in 1621, he had impeccable Calvinist credentials having been a

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[29] Although the recommendations of the Westminster Assembly for church governance were never fully, or wholeheartedly, implemented, as a result of the Presbyterians, who dominated the Assembly, having lost their control of the English church by 1650 due to the Independents' grip over the religious outlook of the Army, the expression of the elements of the Reformed faith in the Confession appears to have been widely accepted and adopted by the church's ministers.

[30] For example, Thomas Weld sets out the Reformed doctrine on salvation by imputation of Christ's righteousness in *The Perfect Pharisee under Monkish Holinesse, Opposing the Fundamentall Principles of the Doctrine of the Gospel, and Scripture-Practices of Gospel-Worship manifesting himself in the Generation of men called Quakers* (Gateside: Printed by S.B., 1653), 10.

[31] Quotations are taken from the compilation under the title *Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, transl. H J Schroeder (London: B Herder Book Co, 1941**).** It should be noted that this Dissertation's treatment of the Decrees and Canons of the Council of Trent as statements of Roman Catholic doctrine is adopted with the aim of achieving clarity and facilitating comparison with corresponding Quaker and Reformed doctrines. A more detailed depiction of Roman Catholic doctrines in the 1650s would have to acknowledge continuing debate and discussion within the Roman Catholic church, aimed at rendering more definite the compromises and ambiguities embodied in the Council's pronouncements, not least of which were the *De Auxiliis* Controversies in the 1590s and early 1600s attempting to resolve the apparent conflict in causal efficacy between God's grace and human free will.

[32] The work was originally published in four volumes, each divided into a number of parts. For the purposes of this dissertation, translations which have been consulted are St. Robert Bellarmine, S.J., *De Contoversiis Tomus VI, 'On the Sacraments in General', 'On Baptism' and 'On Confirmation'*, trans. Ryan Grant (Post Falls, ID: Mediatrix Press, 2021) and St Robert Cardinal Bellarmine, S.J., *Controversies of the Christian Faith, 'On the Word of God',* trans. Kenneth Baker, S.J. (Saddle River, NJ: Keep the Faith, 2016).

[33] The version used for the purposes of this dissertation has been the translation by Josiah Allport (London: Hamilton Adam & Co, 1846).

member of the English delegation to the Synod of Dort in 1618 where he articulated orthodox Calvinist views in opposition to Arminianism.[34]

In order to establish the principal characteristics of Jesuit spirituality, this dissertation draws chiefly on Ignatius Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises*, his *Autobiography* and his *Spiritual Diary*.[35] Further information has been obtained from those of Loyola's letters set out in compilations by Joseph A. Munitiz and Philip Endean, and George Ganss,[36] and from writers on early Jesuits and their spirituality.

1.5 Literature Review

A central topic in Quaker Studies is the origin or source of Quaker ideas, beliefs and practices. The major participants in the academic discussion on this issue have been noted in Angell and Dandelion's *Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*.[37] At the outset of the twentieth century, Rufus Jones identified the mystical element in early Quaker writing as its principal feature and traced Quaker ideas back to the Continental spiritual radical reformers of the sixteenth century.[38] Reacting against the notion of Quakers as mystics, in the middle and second-half of the 20th century, Geoffrey Nuttall and Hugh Barbour presented Quaker ideas as a development of the

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[34] Biographical details of Davenant are given by Vivienne Larminnie, 'John Davenant', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. https://doi-org.bham-ezproxy.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7196.
[35] The translations of these works which have been consulted are those set out in *Ignatius of Loyola, Spiritual Exercises and Selected Works* transl. George E. Ganss, S.J. (New York: Paulist Press, 1991) and *Saint Ignatius of Loyola, Personal Writings* trans. with introduction and notes by Joseph A. Munitiz and Philip Endean, (London: Penguin Books, 1996).
[36] *Saint Ignatius of Loyola, Personal Writings* trans. Munitiz and Endean; and *Ignatius of Loyola* trans. Ganss.
[37] Angell and Dandelion (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, 3-7. Historiographical summaries are also to be found in Carole Dale Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2007), 39-56; and Moore, *Light*, xv-xx.
[38] Jones' theory is presented in his introduction to the first edition of Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*.

radical wing of the Reformed faith, Nuttall explaining that Quaker focus on the Spirit within each person built on corresponding beliefs of earlier radicals like William Erbury and John Saltmarsh, and Barbour finding that "even characteristically Quaker teachings were often puritan attitudes pushed to severe conclusions."[39] A new approach was advocated by Lewis Benson[40] who saw Quaker belief as original, emanating not from the leaders' adoption of the ideas of any previous groups but from their personal experience of encounter with God. Benson claimed that when George Fox wrote that "Oh! then I heard a voice which said 'There is one, even Jesus Christ, that can speak to thy condition"[41] he meant exactly that, as Moore has commented.[42] Benson's view, summarised by Moore, was that "Quakerism was built on a direct encounter with Christ, and Quakerism was different in kind from other forms of Christianity".[43]

In the later twentieth century and in the current century Gwyn's delineation of Quaker understanding of the divine within themselves as Christ's promised second coming continuing to unfold in the lives of believers, thus a realizing eschatology, reflected Benson's finding of the novelty of Quaker beliefs.[44] Gwyn viewed Quaker emphasis on the experience of the divine within themselves as an "epistemological break, a decisive shift of attention and expectation from human sources to the inward teacher."[45] Spencer, by contrast, has pointed to a variety of earlier groups' beliefs as forming the building blocks of the paradigmatic theme of Quaker history and theology which she has described as holiness.[46] Spencer accepted that "in the

[39] Nuttall, Holy Spirit, 13 ; Hugh Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England* (London: Yale University Press, 1964), 2.
[40] Lewis Benson*, A Universal Christian Faith (formerly 'Catholic Quakerism'*) (Fritchley: New Foundation Fellowship, 2007).
[41] Fox, *Journal,* (Nickalls, ed.), 11.
[42] Moore, Light, xvi.
[43] Moore, Light, xvi.
[44] For instance in Douglas Gwyn, *Apocalypse of the Word: The Life and Message of George Fox* (Richmond, IN: Friends United Press, 1986).
[45] Douglas Gwyn, 'Seventeenth-Century Context and Quaker Beginnings' in Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion, *Early Quakers and Their Theological Thought 1647-1723* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 17.
[46] Spencer, *Holiness,* 2.

Puritan cradle where Quakerism was born"[47] a number of radical ideas and practices had been formulated before the advent of Quakerism and were adopted by early Quakers, but she also found echoes of the beliefs of other groups. Principal among such groups were the early eastern Christian church with its concept of theosis, that the Incarnation has introduced the possibility that human beings may become perfect during this life by wholly identifying themselves with Christ; and the mysticism of medieval Roman Catholics and the Continental radical spiritual reformers. Spencer saw "a greater continuity with medieval mysticism and monastic ideals than has been acknowledged in previous scholarship."[48]

Those writers whose primary interest was in tracing social, economic and political changes in former times have located the propagation of social revolution as the causative factor behind Quaker beliefs, finding "protest against the suppression of the 'good old cause'" as the Quaker motivating force.[49] Ted Leroy Underwood has argued that Quakers' wish to replicate the primitive Christian church, when the Spirit was active in the lives of its members, formed the dominant Quaker objective and their understanding of the characteristics of the primitive church provided the source of their ideas,[50] while Zemaitis has found that in aspiring to emulate the primitive church the Quakers drew from a similar theological stream as the followers of Wycliffe and Huss.[51] Finally, some writers have highlighted the diversity of origins of Quaker ideas. Stephen Wright noted that many early Quaker leaders had reached viewpoints similar to that of Fox before becoming Quakers and thus may be assumed to have brought into Quakerism the beliefs of the groups of which they were formerly members, rendering Fox "not the midwife

[47] Spencer, *Holiness*, 33.
[48] Spencer, *Holiness*, 2.
[49] Reay, *Quakers and the English Revolution*, 32. The 'good old cause' was the radical, republican cause. Reay builds on the work of Christopher Hill, for example in *The World Turned Upside Down* (London: Penguin Books, 2019).
[50] Ted Leroy Underwood, *Primitivism, Radicalism, and the Lamb's War* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 54-55.
[51] Zemaitis, 'Convergent Paths', 293.

of Quakerism but more the shepherd of individuals who had already arrived at the Quaker position."[52]

Although some writers have noted Ministers' Allegations and commented that at first sight there seems to be some validity in them, no writer has yet conducted an examination of the Allegations and their correspondence with Roman Catholic doctrines and practices, except for the article by Stephen Kent cited in section 1.3 above. In that article, Kent described the context of political and religious confusion in England in the 1650s and set out the ideas and practices which triggered the Allegations. He noted that some of the Quaker beliefs specified bore a resemblance to Roman Catholic doctrines but did not investigate the apparent resemblance further, asserting that Quakers "had no ideational connection with the Catholics. Their religious origins were strictly within English Puritanism, and even the attempts to link them to the Protestant mystical tradition on the Continent (especially with the Boehmists) have turned up little concrete evidence."[53] Accordingly, Kent's article is of interest in the information it has brought together concerning the Allegations but it does not pursue an investigation of similarity between Quaker and Roman Catholic beliefs and practices.

Of the writers who have investigated sources of Quaker ideas, Spencer came closest to finding elements of Roman Catholic doctrines in Quakerism. While noting that Quakerism may be seen as "part of a broad spiritual movement of 'affective devotion' that arose all over Europe as well as Russia", Spencer suggested that Quakerism "emerged as a new kind of spirituality movement that retained at its core a mystical Christian orthodoxy, but in a new context. It borrowed, reshaped and radically simplified the spirituality of an earlier Catholic mysticism and created a hybrid movement of popularised mysticism of Christian perfection for laypeople, which this

[52] Stephen Wright, 'An Investigation into the Possible Transfer of Theology and Practice from Continental Anabaptists to the First Quakers', Unpublished PhD Thesis: University of Birmingham, 2011, 16. Wright quotes Reay and Barbour who made similar points about early Quaker leaders having formed their views before joining the Quakers.
[53] Kent, 'The Papist Charges', 188.

study calls holiness ..."[54] Although Spencer included in her book appendices describing mysticism in the Roman Catholic church as exemplified by Augustine's ideas, the love mysticism of Bernard of Clairvaux, and monastic perfection, she did not consider the resemblance between Quaker and Roman Catholic doctrines or between Quaker spirituality and that of contemporary movements in the Roman Catholic Church such as Jesuits.

Spencer's thesis that Quakerism "rather than a Puritan culmination of Protestant radicalism taken to its ultimate conclusion ... was a radical holiness movement"[55] placed her perception of the origin of Quaker ideas in opposition to those of the writers who explain Quakerism as a development of radical Puritanism. Spencer noted that those writers' difficulty in identifying Quakerism with Puritanism arose from "the fluidity and breath of the seventeenth century Puritan movement and hence the impossibility of determining the outer limits of Puritanism and its overlapping with Quakerism"[56] but commented that Barbour had pinpointed the difference between the experiential component of the two as being exemplified by Quaker ideas about perfection. The Quaker feeling of real union with God rendered the overcoming of sin a possibility, one which all adherents to the Reformed faith denied. Although Spencer declared that the central Quaker notion of unity with God identified them with mysticism, she argued that Quakerism drew on both the Catholic mystical tradition and the ideas of Puritan radicals.[57] Her view that Quakerism absorbed and changed the ideas of a number of earlier religious groups additionally placed her in opposition to Benson's explanation of Quakerism as a novel form of religious experience. She described Benson's view as "a conception of Quakerism arising divinely out of the blue."[58]

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[54] Spencer, *Holiness*, 39.
[55] Spencer*, Holiness*, 2.
[56] Spencer, *Holiness*, 42.
[57] "... both the Catholic mystical and the Puritan radical provided fertile soil for the emergence of the Quaker movement, primarily because Puritanism itself was deeply steeped in the medieval mystical tradition." Spencer, *Holiness,* 41.
[58] Spencer, *Holiness*, 47.

Spencer referred to Rosemary Moore's research as providing "the most extensive documentation of the paradigmatic Quaker religious experience to be a sense of real union with God through Christ the Light."[59] Moore wrote that the earliest pamphlets criticising Quakers provide evidence that "the earliest Quaker teaching was mainly concerned with direct union with Christ or with God, expressed in terms of the body of Christ, or of divine sonship, or of divine indwelling."[60] Quakers' experience of personal encounter with God and their feeling for the divine element within themselves acting as their guide and teacher lie at the heart of their doctrines considered in chapter 2 and the Allegations relating to salvation examined in chapter 3. Mysticism is one of the characteristics of Quaker spirituality compared with Jesuit spirituality by chapter 4. The findings of these chapters of significant resemblance between Quaker and Roman Catholic beliefs relating to salvation arise to a material extent from noting that Quaker beliefs were developed from their fundamental personal experience of encounter with God. Taken with the additional finding that Quakers did not draw their doctrines from Roman Catholicism, there being no evidence of connection between Quakers and Roman Catholics, those findings support Benson's understanding of Quaker theology as consequential on their feeling of the presence of God within themselves, rather than the views of Spencer and other writers who have portrayed Quakerism as resulting from the assimilation of the ideas of previous groups, whether radical Puritans or mystics of any nature. Those findings additionally confirm Gwyn's description of Quakerism as epistemologically different from the Reformed faith, arising from feeling and not from the rational interpretation of Scripture.

In order to identify previous scholarship relevant to the subject of this dissertation, searches were carried out in a number of websites, first in March 2023 and again in August 2024. Searches were made against the words 'popery', 'papist', 'Roman Catholicism', 'Roman Catholic', and 'Roman Catholic church' in Friends House Library, yielding only primary sources,

[59] Spencer, *Holiness*, 43.
[60] Moore, *Light*, 78-79.

anti-Catholic books written in the later seventeenth century, and non-Quaker anti-Catholic books written before 1660, other than Kent's article referred to in section 4.1 above. Searches were made in the ethos website of the British Library (in March 2023 only, as the website remained unavailable in August 2024 as a result of cyber attack in April 2023) for the same words, finding eight theses relating to possible origins of Quaker ideas, or the disputes between Quakers and ministers, or the theology of individual early Quaker leaders. None of those dissertations appeared to contain sections directly relating to the Allegations although several of them were focused on possible origins of Quaker beliefs and ideas. Searches were carried out in etheses at Birmingham and Durham universities, searching against 'Quakers and papists' and 'Quakers and Roman Catholicism', in each case yielding a large number of results but no works apparently relating to the subject of this dissertation other than those already revealed by the search of the ethos website. Finally, searches were conducted in the website of the Journal of the Friends Historical Society and Tripod, the tri-college library catalogue hosted by Haverford College, for the same phrases as the searches in etheses, again resulting in no works ostensibly relevant to this dissertation other than primary works and anti-Roman Catholic works from the later seventeenth century.

1.6 Thesis Outline

The comparison of the doctrines of early Quakers and Roman Catholics, and their variance from those of Ministers, on the topics which were the subject of the Allegations carried out by chapter 2 concludes that in each case, except the topic of sacraments, Quaker beliefs approximated more closely to those of Roman Catholics than to those of Ministers. On the topic of salvation, both Quakers and Roman Catholics held the notion of the divine within each believer, working with the believer, at the centre of their understanding of how salvation is

achieved. In relation to the Spirit, Quaker and Roman Catholic beliefs gave preeminence to the Spirit over Scripture but diverged on how guidance from the Spirit may be obtained. Confidence in the presence of the divine within each believer encouraged both Quakerism and Roman Catholicism to declare that sin may be wholly overcome during this life, resulting in the sinlessness or perfection of a believer. Quakers' rejection of any utility or authenticity in prescribed forms, rituals or ceremonies rendered their understanding of sacraments opposed to that of Roman Catholics who believed in the necessity for the use of some specific words or acts to render the performance of any sacrament effectual. But the findings of this dissertation suggest a correspondence between Quaker and Roman Catholic understanding of the necessity for the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist at a deeper, spiritual level.

The examination of the Allegations and Quaker responses to them conducted by chapter 3 reveals conclusions in line with the comparison of doctrines and beliefs in chapter 2. On the additional topic of the possibility of direct communication by God to human beings, Quakers and Roman Catholics agreed, whereas Ministers denied the possibility of such communication. On the non-doctrinal topics of practices and the possibility of infiltration of Quakers by Roman Catholics, it is found that there was no, or at best very limited, validity in the Allegations. There was no connection between Quakers and Roman Catholics. It may be concluded that Quakers did not develop their beliefs from Roman Catholicism.

The comparison of Quaker and Jesuit spirituality in chapter 4 finds that there were similarities resulting from personal experience of encounter with the divine forming the basis from which ideas characteristic of both Quaker and Jesuit spirituality developed. Both Quakers and Jesuits could be correctly described as 'contemplatives in action'.

The findings of this dissertation that there was no connection between Quakers and Roman Catholics but that there was resemblance between Quaker and Roman Catholic doctrines on the significant topics of salvation, the precedence to be accorded to the Spirit over Scripture,

and the possibility of overcoming sin during this life, and additionally there were material similarities between Quaker and Jesuit spirituality, raise the question of the source of Quaker ideas. The answer which the comparisons and examinations carried out in chapter 2, 3 and 4 suggests is that Quakers developed their beliefs from their experience of direct contact with God and from guidance from the divine light within themselves. Although many Quaker ideas and practices closely resembled those of radical elements within the Reformed church and amongst the Continental spiritual radicals before them, none of the Quaker writings in response to the Allegations refer to the inheritance of ideas or beliefs from the Reformed faith or from any other religious group. Nothing is revealed by this dissertation which would give grounds to doubt the veracity of the early Quakers' own account of the origin of their ideas and beliefs.

The key findings of this dissertation set out in chapter 5 suggest that Quakers should not be considered a development of the radical wing of the Reformed faith at all. Their core doctrines were opposed to those of the Reformed faith, though the dissimilarities between Quakers and Roman Catholics, as well as the vociferous denunciations of Roman Catholicism by early Quakers themselves, make it clear that Quakers were not Roman Catholics and did not derive their beliefs from Roman Catholicism. Quakers were *ejusdem generis*. They did not fit into a spectrum of English mid-seventeenth century religious opinion ranging from Catholicism to radical Puritanism. They were a new phenomenon.

1.7 **Chapter Summary**

This chapter commenced with a brief description of the Allegations, and the objective of this dissertation of investigating their validity, as well as comparing characteristics of Quaker and Jesuit spirituality.

Definitions of capitalised words used in this dissertation were given, together with explanations of certain parameters applied in preparing it.

A description of the approach adopted by this dissertation was given, together with a description of the sources from which the beliefs of early Quakers, the Ministers and Roman Catholics have been ascertained.

The chapter continued with a review of the literature relevant to the subject of this dissertation. That was followed by an outline of the findings of this dissertation.

Chapter 2. Starting points: Beliefs and understandings of Quakers, Ministers and Roman Catholics

The Allegations, which will be examined in chapter 3, centred on early Quakers' beliefs concerning salvation and how it could be achieved. In addition to Quaker soteriology, the Allegations also focused on the primacy which Quakers accorded to the Spirit active within themselves, as a superior guide to, and interpreter of, Scripture and as superseding the necessity for ceremony or liturgy in effecting sacraments. The other groups of topics which were the subject of Allegations were Quaker claims to direct communication with God through revelations, miracles, immediate call and consequent infallibility, and distinctive patterns of behaviour or practices.

This chapter will set out the core beliefs and understandings of early Quakers, the Reformed faith and the Roman Catholics on the doctrinal topics to which the Allegations related, namely, salvation, the Spirit and Scripture, sin, and sacraments.

2.1 Salvation

The common thread in the writings of early Quakers explaining their belief is their personal experience of encountering God or Christ or the divine within themselves.[1] They believed not only that God could be found within every person[2] but that, if received and attended to, the

[1] See, for example, Fox*, Journal* (Nickalls, ed.), 11; Edward Burrough*, Epistle to the Reader* in George Fox, *The Great Mystery of the Great Whore* (London: Thomas Simmons, 1659), unpaginated.
[2] Fox, *Journal* (Nickalls, ed.), 33-34. Belief in universality was pinpointed by Nuttall as "the contradistinguishing Quaker principle", held by Quakers but not by Puritans. Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 159.

divine within every person, the light, could and would teach and lead the way to salvation, the way of Christ,[3] and ultimately to union with Christ.[4]

Quakers believed that the indwelling light taught people to discern good from bad and thus showed them how to live. More than an ethical guide, though, the light was of the essence of that from which all such light came. Early Quakers spoke of the light as being Christ, or the Spirit of Christ, or the light of the Father.[5] For them, it was divine in nature and, consistent with their belief that the doctrine of the Holy Trinity approved by the Council of Chalcedon in 451 was a man-made, non-scriptural formulation, they were not concerned to be precise in their description of its relation to any member of the Holy Trinity.[6] They readily interpreted their experience of the divine within in eschatological terms as the beginning of Christ's second coming, while acknowledging that Christ would have a real second coming in time, thus adopting the Pauline notion of 'now but not yet'.[7] All those who turned to the light, and received it, had embarked on the journey to unity with Christ, and were or would become 'one in spirit', both united to the divine and, together with others similarly united, forming the body of Christ.[8] Such beliefs led Quakers to proclaim that those who had achieved the total subjection of their

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[3] "... it is now commonplace to recognize that the first Quakers' intense sense of the presence of Christ and his kingdom was their distinguishing feature." Moore, *Light*, xvi.

[4] "Belief in a real union with Christ, however, expressed, remained the keystone of Fox's theology." Moore, *Light*, 110.

[5] Moore wrote that "Quaker teaching about 'the light' was very confused. ... The problems were exacerbated because Quakers were not consistent in the ways they used the word 'light' ", pointing out that although for Fox and Farnworth " 'the light' was identified with Christ the teacher", equally "while plenty of examples can be found of Fox equating the light with the spiritual presence of Christ, he by no means always did so, and was often ambiguous." Moore*, Light*, 104, 83, 111.

[6] "And for your fourth thing, that God is three persons or substances, this is another of your lies, never such a word is declared of in Scripture: and thus have you made your folly manifest to all men ... God is a mystery ... and he is but one in all though ten thousand times ten thousand,." Christopher Atkinson, *The Sword of the Lord drawn and furbish'd against the man of sin* (London, Giles Calvert, 1654), 3.

[7] Moore has described how the initial eschatological understanding of early Quakers in the 1650s of Christ's second coming as a physical event in time turned to the perception of an inward spiritual arrival of the kingdom of heaven in each individual after the failure of the Barebones Parliament in 1653 effectively ended hopes for the establishment of a theocracy in England. Moore, *Light,* chapter 5.

[8] In advancing his argument against Weld that the Spirit is not to be tried by Scripture, Nayler wrote "And whereas you say the light, which a spiritual man hath, is a Scripture-light; I answer, a spiritual mans light, is the light of Christ, and is infallible, and cannot be altered; and therefore all that are guided by it are one, where there is no disputes or janglings ..." Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 35.

human natures to the divine within could be regarded as sinless and, in that respect, Godlike. Such claims inevitably caused the greatest offence to Ministers and led to prosecution for blasphemy.[9]

A significant consequence of Quaker belief that inspiration from the divine light within was the only authentic guide to correct religious practice was their conviction that anyone lacking that inspiration was not qualified to teach others. Accordingly, Quakers believed that Ministers could not be true mediators or interpreters of the Christian gospel and must be denounced as deceivers. Further, all knowledge derived from the use of human intellect, and not from feeling, guided by divine light within, was lacking in appropriate authenticity.[10] Quakers derided Ministers' academic qualifications as a proper foundation for ministry.[11] Although forced by the criticisms levelled at them in the disputes with Ministers to explain their beliefs, Quakers made no claim to formulate doctrines, regarding internal commitment to the divine light as the only authentic basis for belief and action. They distinguished between this internal enlightenment by the Spirit and external, rationally achieved, understanding.[12]

Quakers did not disagree with Ministers that Christ's death had atoned for the sins of mankind and rendered salvation a possibility for human beings. The disputed question was how human

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[9] The Blasphemy Act of 1650 required magistrates to prosecute anyone who claimed equality with God. James Nayler argued that George Fox had not asserted his equality with God but he had said "I and my Father are one", referring to Fox's complete submission to the divine, and that Fox had also said "I deny George Fox, he is dust, and must to dust". Nayler, *Answer to the Booke called The Perfect Pharisee under Monkish Holinesse* (London: s.n., 1653), 4.

[10] Nayler wrote that man's seeking after knowledge was the basis of the fall and placed man in opposition to proper reliance on God. Nayler, *Love to the Lost*, chapter 1.

[11] George Fox wrote that the Apostles "were called by power from on high, and were made Ministers by the gift of the Holy Spirit received from God… but your call is at Schools and Colledges, in such and such orders, which are attained through natural industrie… you are not according, but contrary to the true ministry and Ministers of Christ in practice; for they were led by the spirit of the Father which dwelt in them, and they preached the Gospel by the spirit, and spoke as the spirit gave them utterance." George Fox, *The Great Mystery,* unnumbered page.

[12] For example, John Audland in his answer to Ralph Farmer's *The great mysteries of godliness and ungodliness* (Bristol: William Ballard, 1655) wrote, "the mystery of Godliness was never known or opened to the wisdom of the world, nor by it, but was, and is, hid from that nature, and is not known but as it is revealed by the Spirit of God … and he reveals his secrets to them that fear him, and hides them from the wisdom of the wise and prudent." John Audland, *The Innocent Delivered out of the Snare, and the blind guide fallen into the pit* (London: Giles Calvert, 1655), 2.

beings could actualize that possibility. Quakers asserted that the element of the divine within all people was latent with a salvific power but had to be expressly acknowledged and then received or 'turned to', accorded primacy in the governance of a believer's life, in order to become effective to lead to salvation.[13] It was Quakers' emphasis on salvation by attending to, following, and becoming united to the divine within, rather than by faith in any historic event or its consequences, that led to criticism by contemporaries[14] and, later, commentators[15] for discounting the activities of the historical Jesus. The writings of early Quakers show that they did not, in fact, underrate the atonement achieved by Christ's passion and death. They understood the atonement as a precondition to the sending of God's Spirit to mankind, manifested in themselves and all people as the light within.[16]

Early Quakers used a number of images to emphasise that salvation is only possible by a believer turning spiritually within himself. Richard Farnworth explained Christ's death as the outward satisfaction of the first covenant, leaving salvation as an internal or spiritual matter for

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[13] James Nayler referred to the light being received: "... thus the Gospel is not a needless thing, but the power of God to all that receive it: for as many as received the light, to them he gave power to become sons of God ...", using a quotation from John 1:12. Nayler, *An Answer to The Quaker's Catechism*, 21.
[14] For example, Ralph Farmer in *The great mysteries*, 65: "... if every man have a light within him sufficient to lead him to salvation, then sure there is no absolute necessity for a saviour. Thus do they offer violence to Jesus Christ our Saviour, making him a mere shadow, a type, a temporary manifestation ..."
[15] Moore wrote that "the contemporary accusation that Quakers did not believe in a human Jesus had much evidence to support it." But Moore was commenting particularly on Quaker pamphleteers of 1657 and 1658, not on George Fox or Edward Burrough, and her statement "the drama of salvation.... was internalised by Fox to the point that the historical Jesus was almost an irrelevance" was made in the context of commenting that George Fox's purpose in writing was pastoral rather than theological, and his concentration was on the fact that the 'atonement was spiritualized'. Moore, *Light*, 102, 109. Spencer expresses a contrary view: "Quakers were emphasising the new life Christ brought, rather than history, but it is quite clear they never denied the history or its essentialness." Spencer, *Holiness*, 38. In her introduction to the Twentieth Anniversary Edition of *The Light in Their Consciences*, Moore noted that her comments on Quakers' discounting of the significance of the historical Jesus had been criticised, and wrote that after reconsidering the theology of the first Quakers she would wish to give more prominence to the views of early Quakers typified by Farnworth's references to salvation achieved by Christ's incarnation, death and resurrection which she had quoted in the first edition of *Light,* 87-88. She affirmed of early Quakers that "they themselves were convinced of their orthodoxy is beyond doubt." Moore, *Light*, xxi.
[16] Nayler, *An answer to a book called The Quakers catechism, put out by Richard Baxter* (London, s.n., 1655), Question 11.

each person to achieve by finding and responding to the law written in their hearts.[17] George Fox expressed the Quaker experience of the divine within in terms of sonship to God,[18] as also did John Audland.[19]

Early Quakers did not believe any action by God was necessary to cause a human being to receive the divine, declaring that all men could be saved by turning to the light within. They answered the question why, in that case, had preaching of the Gospel ever been required, by explaining that help was necessary 'to open the blind eyes'.[20] The Reformed church was differentiated from Roman Catholicism on this issue by its denial that human beings had the capacity to take any step towards their own salvation, placing the matter entirely at God's discretion. Roman Catholics believed that people must play a part in their own salvation, assisted by God's grace. Quaker belief was thus closer to that of the Roman Catholics than to that of the Reformed faith.

Early Quaker writing discloses an understanding of a believer progressing towards unity with Christ through a number of stages. Quakers commonly used apocalyptic language to indicate the struggle between the divine and the worldly powers which initiated the believer's spiritual

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[17] "he [Christ] hath satisfied his father's law and justice by suffering upon the cross at Mount Calvary for the transgressions that were under the first covenant… That law stood outwardly, and was fulfilled,… but now his law is written within, in the heart… so now the righteousness of the holy law of the Spirit of Life, tis to be fulfilled in us …" Richard Farnworth*, Antichrist's Man of War apprehended and encountered by a souldier of the army of the lamb*, (London: Giles Calvert,1655), 38. This idea that Christ had fulfilled the law, freeing the justified from the impossible obligation to comply with it and replacing that obligation for them by the new covenant of the spirit written by God on their hearts, was an application of Jeremiah's prophecy in Jeremiah 31: 31, a favourite early Quaker text. For example, "Then I saw the cross of Christ, and stood in it, and the enmities slain upon it, and the new man was made… and … the holy law of God was written in my heart." Francis Howgill, *The Inheritance of Jacob Discovered, after his return out of Egypt* (London: Giles Calvert,1656), 13.

[18] Rosemary Moore has pointed out that after his second trial for blasphemy Fox changed the images he used in his writing and began to use more biblical language. Moore, *Light*, 81.

[19] Audland claimed that believers were begotten by God rather than being adopted, as Paul had described the relationship. Audland wrote "they that are begotten of God are not distinct from him, as Christ said, I in thou, and thou in me, and thou saith these blasphemers say that as the Father and the Son is one without distinction, so are they that are begotten by him, which is agreeable to plain scripture…" John Audland, *The Innocent Delivered out of the Snare*, 1655,16.

[20] Nayler, *Answer to The Quakers' Catechism*, 40.

journey towards salvation.[21] Spencer has suggested that this experience can be equated with the purgation stage of the well-known medieval three-stage account of progression towards fitness for salvation, comprising purgation, illumination, and unity with Christ.[22] The first stage was necessary in order for the believer to acknowledge the sinfulness of his or her life and to undertake a permanent change away from it.[23] This purgation was also understood in the sense of abandonment of the self or denial of the will, with a corresponding leap of faith, a placing of trust in Christ to lead the believer's life towards salvation.[24] The result of this process was that the believer abandoned his or her worldly nature and became wholly united to Christ.[25] Notwithstanding the stages in the progression towards eligibility for salvation which early Quakers described, they did not themselves distinguish between vocation, mortification, justification and sanctification, disdaining these non-biblical terms and regarding the total process as the single act of turning to the light, or its consequence.[26]

Early Quakers acknowledged that the light or spirit within each person was not necessarily initially sufficient to assist him or her to reach sinless unity with Christ. It was a matter of the ‘measure' of grace which had been given. Nayler explained that as a person allowed himself to be guided by the light, so more grace would be given, enabling a progression of building towards

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[21] See, for example, Farnworth, *The Inheritance of Jacob Discovered*, 12-13, quoted by Pink Dandelion and Frederick Martin, “ ‘Outcasts of Israel’: The Apocalyptic Theology of Edward Burrough and Francis Howgill’”in Angell and Dandelion, *Early Quakers and their Theological Thought*, 127-128.
[22] Spencer, *Holiness,* 20.
[23] See, for example, Christopher Atkinson in *The Sword of the Lord*, Ninth Principle: that Christ has paid a ransom for sin: “if ye ever witness him a Redeemer, you must witness the vengeance of God which is upon the man of sin…”
[24] “[Christ is] the gift of God … offered freely to all that will receive it, and yet you cannot receive the gift in our own wills, but through the denial of your wills, for the light is contrary to the will … and as you receive the will of God, you deny your own wills …” Francis Howgill, *The Inheritance of Jacob Discovered*, 11
[25] ‘one spirit’, as Nayler explained. He wrote “all you who hearken diligently to the voice of the Lord, their souls do live, and follow the Lord, and are united to him …” Nayler, *Answer to The Perfect Pharisee*, 6.
[26] Early Quakers tended to place sanctification before justification in a list, contrary to Calvinist understanding. See, for example, Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 20 “[the Saints] witnessed Christ in them for sanctification, justification and hope of glory”; and John Audland, *The Innocent Delivered*, 3 “this Christ is our salvation, our wisdom and justification and … I declare that we own no other Christ for salvation or sanctification, wisdom and righteousness but that Christ which at Jerusalem was crucified …”

a sinless state.[27] In answer to criticisms that Quakers all believed they were perfect, Nayler responded that, on the contrary, Quakers believed that people needed to put effort into the progress towards a state of sinlessness.[28] The requirement for effort by believers suggests that early Quakers thought that good works were a requirement for a person's justification. But in dispute with Ministers, they denied that good works merited or even contributed to salvation. However, in making those denials they were responding to charges that, like Roman Catholics, they believed justification came through inherent righteousness, and they asserted that it was not they but Christ inside them who controlled their wills and actions.[29] They did not deny that conscious decision-making by a believer followed by action, both internally in spirit and externally in mode of life, was necessary.[30] Quakers also accepted that through their own weakness, a believer who had achieved a state of sinlessness in life might fall away and need to resume his or her spiritual progression after repentance. The case of Nayler's 1656 emulation of Christ's triumphal entry to Jerusalem made this realisation inescapable for early Quakers.[31]

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[27] "God freely gives a measure of his Spirit to every one of us, freely to profit withal; and improving that to his praise, we receive more freely ..." Nayler, *Answer to The Quaker's Catechism*, 10

[28] "it is a lying slander that we say every saint is perfect; for we witness the saints' growth, and the time of pressing after perfection." Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 6

[29] "And because I deny justification by our own works, and own him who worketh in us to will and to do, and herein deny self-works; this you say is an old threadbare shuffle of the papists:" Nayler is defending his assertion that Quakers are wholly subsumed internally into Christ; thus their claim to inherent righteousness relates to Christ in them, not to them as individuals. Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 22

[30] Hilary Hinds, "George Fox" in *Early Quakers and their Theological Thought*, 53, wrote "while turning to the light was not understood as an act of human will, but as a relinquishment of sinful adherence to darkness, nevertheless, in so turning, a degree of agency - divinely originating but animating the believing subject - is returned to that subject." Moore has suggested that Nayler did not believe that man could contribute to his own salvation ("Nayler was still something of a Calvinist, for human choice, it seems, played no part in salvation" Moore, *Light*, 103) but she made that comment in connection with Nayler's affirmation to Weld that we are justified by the grace of God and not by our own efforts: "I deny justification by our own works, and own him who worketh in us to will and to do." Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 21-22. By that statement Nayler was opposing the notion of the possibility of accruing merit through external good works and must be presumed to have not intended to deny that each person must turn to the light, receive it, and choose to follow it.

[31] And for Nayler himself, who wrote "but giving way to the reasoning part, as to some things which in themselves had no seeming evil ... and the body of sin and death revived again .." James Nayler, *To the Life of God in All,* (London: Thomas Simmons, 1659), 2.

The objective of Quaker progression in the light was the achievement of a state of sinlessness or perfection[32] which would enable and result in unity with Christ.[33] The suggestion of the possibility of perfection in this life was otiose to Ministers and, indeed, provided the basis for charges of blasphemy against early Quakers that they equated themselves with God. Quakers explained, however, that by perfection and unity with Christ, they intended to indicate a return to the state of Adam before the fall rather than a divine state of impossibility of sinning.[34] Quakers responded to Ministers' challenge by asserting that far from an impossibility, to lead men, sinless, up to the Father had been the principal purpose of Christ's incarnation. Spencer has described the Quaker understanding of the possibility of union with God or divine mutual indwelling as "the essence of their mystical faith",[35] and she lists perfection as one of the eight badges of holiness which she suggests is "the sine qua non of what it means to be a Quaker".[36] It was this belief which founded early Quakers' eschatological idea of Christ's second coming becoming actualized in themselves.[37]

The first, and perhaps most significant, difference between Ministers and early Quakers on the topic of salvation was that Ministers relied on a carefully, rationally considered and systematically coherent doctrine, based on the ideas set down in Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* as varied by second generation Reformers, and reflected in the *Westminster*

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[32] "We believe that the Saints upon earth… may be perfectly freed from the body of sin and death, and in Christ may be perfect, and without sin, and may have victory over all temptation, by faith in Jesus Christ." Edward Burrough, *A Declaration to all the World of our Faith*, (London: Thomas Simmons, 1657), 4.

[33] Quakers, inspired by their personal encounter with the divine within themselves, declared that a believer could totally subordinate his will to that of Christ in this life. "This is the whole of salvation … that God dwells in us … according to his promise … salvation is come unto us …" Edward Burrough, *A General Epistle and Greeting* (London, Thomas Simmons, 1657), 3, quoted by Moore, *Light*, 108.

[34] "Man's restoration is a repairing and giving again that which he hath lost by transgression, and Redemption is a recovering and winning again, and setting free from that wherein man hath been held (even all the Sons of Adam) because of disobedience, and Salvation is a saving, keeping, and preserving from sin, and death, and disobedience…", Edward Burrough, *A Standard Lifted up, and an ensigne held forth, to all nations* (London: Giles Calvert, 1658), 8.

[35] Spencer, *Holiness,* 49.

[36] Spencer, *Holiness,* 33.

[37] As Spencer notes: "The Parousia … became for early Quakers the real *presence* of Christ in the *present*, the experience of the immediate presence of Christ in them and through them." Spencer, *Holiness*, 18.

Confession's chapters 10 to 16, whereas early Quakers developed their notions of salvation from their personal experience. Exactly as charged by Quakers, with their accusation of 'worldly wisdom', the Reformed faith had worked out a scheme from scriptural references to explain how the merits of Christ's death could be grasped by individual believers. This distinction between the Reformed faith's intellectual approach and the Quakers' affective approach is the difference which justifies the assertion that there was an epistemological difference between Quakerism and the Reformed faith.[38] Part of Benson's argument is that Quakers were not attempting to reform an existing religion but to substitute direct communication with God through Christ for all religions.[39]

The Ministers who made Allegations against early Quakers belonged to a number of different religious groups or affiliations within the Reformed church including Presbyterians, Independents, Baptists and conformist Episcopalians. The vehemence and frequency of attacks by early Quakers against ministers of all shades of belief seem to have prompted them to coalesce in defence of the core doctrines of the Reformed faith, although on some of the topics which formed the basis of the Allegations some Ministers held views which were closer to Quakers than others.[40] In answer to the question who could be saved, Ministers replied that God had irrevocably decreed from eternity which human beings would be elected for salvation and which reprobated to damnation.[41] God's decision was wholly within His discretion, entirely free from any consideration of the merits or demerits of any individual.[42] A simple version of the

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[38] Gwyn, "Seventeenth-Century Context and Quaker Beginnings", 17.
[39] "The Lamb's war, as the Quakers saw it, was not a contest between two types of institutional Christianity, but a fight to the finish between institutional Christianity and non-institutional Christianity. For George Fox, the Quaker movement was a genuine breakthrough for the cause of non-institutional Christianity." Benson, *Universal Christian Faith*, 51.
[40] On whether revelations by the Holy Spirit were possible after the Apostolic age, the conventional view, held by Baxter and Owen, was that no such immediate communication by God could occur, but more radical Puritans, like Saltmarsh and Erbury, admitted the possibility, although they did not believe it had occurred in practice. Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 28-29.
[41] *Westminster Confession,* Chapter III, paragraphs 3 and 4, reflects the doctrine of double predestination.
[42] This belief was reflected in the *Westminster Confession* but was unlikely to have been held by all Ministers. In the debate between Calvinists and Arminians within the English Reformed faith, the

Calvinist doctrine of predestination is set out in the *Westminster Confession*, chapter 3. Quakers also believed that God's omniscience required that He must foreknow who would turn to the light and allow it to guide him or her to salvation, but the Reformed doctrine denied that predestination relied on foreknowledge.[43] Moreover, Ministers denied that any natural light of conscience remaining in human beings despite the fall could lead to salvation. Reflecting the Calvinist adoption of an Augustinian, pessimistic understanding of man's inability to exercise his free will to pursue any good objective, the Reformed doctrine asserted that only the grace of Christ, normally imparted through the preaching of the word, had the power to lead a person to salvation and that such grace was only conferred by God upon the elect.[44]

Ministers' belief in the externality of God's actions in saving human beings led to a significant disagreement with Quakers on the question of the possibility of a person's involvement in their own salvation. Quakers argued that God had placed in each person's conscience a seed of his divinity which was capable of growing into moral perfection, a state of sinlessness rendering a person suitable for entry to the kingdom of heaven.[45] Ministers denied both that man had naturally the capacity to advance towards salvation and that any person could achieve sinlessness in this life.

Ministers' explanation of how believers are saved distinguished their doctrine from both Quaker beliefs and Roman Catholic doctrines. Justification was by declaration of God, implemented by

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ascendancy of the Calvinists, demonstrated by James I's approval of their views being advanced at the Synod of Dort in 1618 as the view of the English church, was replaced by the revival of Arminianism at the Restoration. That more than half of the incumbent ministers in 1662 were able to conform to this shift in theological outlook indicates that amongst Ministers making Allegations against Quakers during the Interregnum it is likely that there was a diversity of view on the relative contribution of grace and free will, with the possibility of earning merit through good works, in each individual's salvation.

[43] "Although God knows whatsoever may or can come to pass… Yet hath he not decreed anything because he foresaw it as future…" *Westminster Confession*, Chapter III, paragraph 2.

[44] John Davenant, replying to the question whether "sufficient grace is not given to everyone for salvation" wrote that although the treasure of grace available is sufficient for the salvation of everyone, God is not bound to impart sufficient grace to all people. Additionally, he argued that the Scriptural references to the special mercy of God for the saved "refutes the notions of the patrons of universal grace", citing Paul in Romans 9:16,18. John Davenant, *Determinationes Quaestionem Quarundum Theologicarum,* trans. Rev Josiah Allport (London: Hamilton Adams, 1846), 501,507.

[45] See, for example, Nayler, *Love to the Lost*, Concerning Redemption, 48-49.

faith,[46] gifted to the believer, enabling him or her to become united to (or engrafted into) Christ with the result that, by imputation of Christ's righteousness, his or her sins were remitted and Christ's righteousness was infused into him or her. Weld stated the Reformed position, after citing a number of scriptural texts, when he wrote "nay, justification clearly imports… a non-imputation of sin, and a clothing with that which is the righteousness of Christ, fulfilled in the world, imputed through believing."[47] Thus justification was a single, immediate event rather than a process through a believer's lifetime. It was external to a believer, having a forensic nature.[48] It was devoid of any input by the believer.[49]

The Reformed doctrine of justification, however, was never devoid of an accompanying explanation of the Scriptural requirements for compliance with God's law during a justified person's lifetime. In his *Institutes*, Calvin explained salvation as achieved through a believer becoming united to Christ, the result of which was both justification and sanctification.[50]

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[46] The Lutheran idea of justification by faith alone was retained by English Reformed church, but its original impact, attributable to a sharp contrast with any merit of man, was diminished by the development of the doctrine of predestination and the recognition that faith itself was a gift. The *Westminster Confession's* Chapter XI declared that Christ's obedience and satisfaction is imputed to the justified, "they receiving and resting on him and his righteousness by faith, which faith they have not of themselves, it is the gift of God."

[47] Weld, *The Perfect Pharisee*, 10. Davenant concluded his chapter 'On the Word 'Justification' ' with the summary that all Protestants agree "that the obedience and righteousness of Christ imputed to us is the formal cause of justification." John Davenant, *A Treatise on Justification*, 1631, transl. Josiah Allport (London: Hamilton Adams, 1844),161. The *Westminster Confession* reflects this understanding: "those whom God effectually calleth, he also freely justifieth; not by infusing righteousness into them, but by pardoning their sins, and by accounting and accepting their persons as righteous;… by imputing the obedience and satisfaction of Christ unto them…" *Westminster Confession*, Chapter XI.

[48] Davenant argues that in his Epistles, Paul always uses the word justification declaratively: "with him then [the word 'justification'] always bears a forensic signification in this controversy, and denotes the act of God, absolving, like a judge, an accused person, pronouncing him just …" Davenant cites Romans 8:33 "It is God that justifies, who is he that condemns?" and concludes that 'justification' "denotes therefore an act of jurisdiction, not infusion." Davenant, *On Justification*, 158.

[49] "We therefore interpret justification simply as the acceptance by which God receives us in grace and treats us as righteous …" Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, ed John T McNeil, transl. Ford Lewis Battles (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), Book III, Chapter XI, 2, cited by Alister E McGrath*, Justitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, 4th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 221.

[50] In *Institutes*, Book III, Chapter 1, Calvin explains that so long as Christ is outside us, and we are separated from him, we can take no advantage of the benefits his passion and death have won for us. He goes on "Therefore to share with us what he has received from the Father, he has to become ours and to dwell with us." That is why we are "said to be 'engrafted into him' (Romans 11:17) and to 'put on Christ' (Gals 3:27) for, as I have said, all that he possesses is nothing to us until we grow into one body with him."

Sanctification was a process incepted by the infusion of Christ's righteousness and built up through the course of a believer's lifetime. In the mid-seventeenth century, English Reformed doctrine retained the understanding of justification and sanctification as two concurrent effects of the same divine declaration.[51] Yet, in contrast to Roman Catholic doctrine and early Quaker belief, the Reformed faith did not accept that the righteousness infused into a believer upon his justification could lead to perfection in this life because, notwithstanding the remission of the justified's past sins and the weakening of the concupiscence latent in all human beings, sin still remained in a justified believer.[52] Despite the ineradicable nature of sin in every human being, but in conformity with the primacy accorded by the Reformed religion to the doctrine of predestination, Ministers did not believe that the elect could fall away from their state of justification. Ministers did not believe that good works ("works of actual righteousness" as Davenant refers to them) were effective to merit justification.[53] They were enabled by the gift of the Holy Spirit and thus only evidenced that gift of grace, being helpful for a number of laudable but relatively minor purposes.[54]

From the Quaker viewpoint, Roman Catholic doctrine on the means to salvation or justification was susceptible of the same criticism as that which they levelled at Ministers, namely that it

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[51] In his chapter refuting Bellarmine's arguments that inherent righteousness (the righteousness of God) is the formal cause of justification, Davenant accepted that justification is not purely forensic. He wrote "for however we say that the term 'to be justified' is forensic, yet we do not mean that the act of justifying on the part of God is nothing else than a bare forensic declaration, resting on no foundation; for it contains, in the first place, a valid gift of true and perfect righteousness, on which is founded that sentence and declaration of being just." Davenant perceived that the infusion of righteousness was itself, together with the remission of the believer's sins, the basis upon which God was able to declare a believer just. Davenant, *On Justification*, 165.

[52] Davenant referred to the inherent righteousness infused at justification as "inchoate and imperfect." Davenant, *On Justification*, 164. The *Westminster Confession*, Chapter XIII, affirmed that the justified are really and personally sanctified by Christ's Word and Spirit indwelling them, but paragraph 2 of Chapter XIII stated that "this sanctification is … yet imperfect in this life; there abideth still some remnants of corruption in every part …"

[53] Weld contrasted the efficacy of faith with good works for justification: "… in the Gospel-state Jesus Christ purchased life for us to be received, not by working, but by believing. Romans 4,5,6." Weld, *The Perfect Pharisee*,13.

[54] The *Westminster Confession*, Chapter XVI, paragraph 2, provides that "… good works done in obedience to God's commandments are the fruits and evidence of a true and lively faith: and by them believers manifest their thankfulness, strengthen their assurance, edifie their Brethren, adorn the profession of the Gospel … and glorify God …"

was a scheme, rationally constructed and, if not wholly derived from Scripture, based significantly upon it. Yet in certain important ways, Roman Catholic doctrine was closer to Quaker understanding than that of the Reformed Church.

First, Roman Catholics did not share with the Reformed Church either the doctrine of the divine decree of predestination of the elect or the pessimistic view that the fall had rendered man wholly incapable of exercising free will to do good. Accordingly, Roman Catholics believed that a person's own efforts were essential in achieving justification. Although God initiated the process of justification by choosing which individuals to call and granting to such people sufficient grace ('prevenient grace') to predispose them to convert themselves to their own justification (the Quaker equivalent of turning to the light within),[55] Roman Catholic doctrine admitted that those called had a free choice whether or not to accept the grace given.[56] Conscious decision to accept prevenient grace and cooperate with it was required, similar to the Quaker notion of the individual's actions in receiving the light.[57]

Second, Roman Catholic doctrine declared that justification was a process which commenced with baptism and endured for the remainder of a believer's life. Contrary to the Reformed belief in justification as effected at a single point in time by God's declaration, Roman Catholics regarded the remission of sins and infusion of grace which occurred by means of the sacrament of baptism as resulting in a believer becoming a member of the body of Christ (as a branch is joined to a vine, to use the Scriptural analogy) thereby enabling further infusions of grace from

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[55] Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter V stipulated that God gives grace to those that are called so that they "may be disposed through his quickening and helping grace to convert themselves to their own justification by freely asserting to and cooperating with that grace; …"

[56] Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter V: "man himself neither does absolutely nothing while receiving this inspiration, since he can also reject it, nor yet is he able by his own free will and without the grace of God to move himself to justice in His sight."

[57] Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter XIII made the point that no one should mistake the commencement of justification for salvation. God himself gives the gift of perseverance but "nevertheless, let those who think themselves to stand, take heed lest they fall, and with fear and trembling work out their salvation… for knowing that they are born again unto the hope of glory, and not as yet unto glory, they ought to fear for the combat that as yet remains with the flesh, with the world, and with the devil…"

Christ which would be required to permit the believer to grow spiritually in a progression towards readiness for salvation.[58] Roman Catholics accepted that faith was the "foundation and root of all justification" but not that it was the instrument of justification. Faith, hope and charity, the 'divine virtues', were all infused into a believer at baptism, because, as the Council of Trent made clear, "faith, unless hope and charity be added to it, neither unites man perfectly with Christ nor makes him a living member of his body."[59] In contradistinction to the Reformers' view that faith alone led to salvation, Roman Catholics believed that "faith without works is dead" (James 2:17,20).[60]

Third, and most significantly, Roman Catholics' doctrine was that justification was factitive, not declaratory.[61] That is, a believer really was changed, was really made just, by the infusion of grace at baptism. For Roman Catholics, baptism, as the commencement of the process of justification, effected both the remission of sins and the infusion of grace into the baptised. But unlike Reformed belief, the formal cause of justification was not the imputation of Christ's righteousness to the believer but, as the central chapter of the Decrees of the Council of Trent's 6th Session declares, the infusion of "the justice of God, not that by which he himself is just, but that by which he makes us just, that, namely, with which we being endowed by him, are renewed in the spirit of our mind, and not only are reputed but we are truly called and are just, receiving justice within us each one according to his own measure…"[62] Quakers shared with Roman Catholics the belief that believers have an element of the divine within them and that

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[58] Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter XVI. "For since Christ himself, as the head into the members, and the vine into the branches (John15:1f) continually infuses strength into those justified,…"
[59] Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter VII.
[60] Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter VII. In his observations on the Council of Trent, O'Malley notes that "… while in adults justification certainly began with faith, it was accomplished not by faith alone but by faith conjoined with hope and charity, which made the cooperation of the individual with grace efficacious to salvation." John W O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council* (London: Belknap Press of Harvard University, 2013), 115.
[61] In discussing the doctrine of justification prior to the Council of Trent, McGrath wrote that "from its beginning to its end, the medieval period saw justification as involving a real change in the sinner …" McGrath, *Justitia Dei*, 81.
[62] Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter VII.

salvation is achieved by allowing or causing its growth or increase. Like Quakers, the Council of Trent observed that the measure of divine grace given to individuals is not equal in all cases.[63]

A further shared belief of Quakers and Roman Catholics was that sin in human beings may be eradicated through the infusion or growth of the divine within, and that people are capable, in this life, of achieving perfection or sinlessness. Unlike Quakers, however, Roman Catholics' doctrine was that sin was entirely removed by the infusion of grace which occurred at baptism, grace being incompatible with sin, and the grace received at baptism thus driving out all sin from the baptised person. Roman Catholics accepted that a baptised person could fall away, could sin, either in minor or major ways. Minor or 'venial' sins could be expunged by the grace received in the sacrament of the eucharist, whereas major or 'mortal' sins, which would cause the loss of grace received at baptism, could be rectified by contrition. True contrition would involve repentance, confession and making satisfaction (by "fasts, alms, prayers and other devout exercises of the spiritual life"[64]) as well as sacerdotal absolution in the sacrament of penance.

There was also a resemblance between the Quaker and Roman Catholic understandings of how spiritual growth of a believer towards a state of perfection was achieved. Both Quakers and Roman Catholics believed that human cooperation with divine grace was the means by which progression was accomplished, further grace being given as progress was made.[65] Unlike Quakers, and the Reformed religion,[66] however, Roman Catholics taught that good works in the

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[63] Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter VII.
[64] Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter XIV.
[65] "God freely gives a measure of his Spirit to every one of us, freely to profit withal; and improving that to his praise, we receive more freely …". Nayler, *Answer to The Quakers' Catechism*, 10. The Council of Trent declared the Roman Catholic belief that the justified "through the observance of the commandments of God and the Church, faith cooperating with good works, increase in that justice received through the grace of Christ and are further justified …" Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter X.

[66] McGrath comments that "the rejection of any form of works righteousness was one of a cluster of distinctive themes which came to be associated with the reformed theological communities 1510-1540." Alister E McGrath, *Justitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, 4th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 214.

form of obedience to the commandments of the law were not only necessary by the justified as evidence of the infused grace within them but positively merited justification.[67]

Finally, Roman Catholicism had for centuries accommodated different strands of religious experience, from the rational to the mystical. While the extreme rationalism of the scholastics had dominated theological exposition within the Roman Catholic church in the medieval period, individuals and movements according primacy to an experiential foundation to their belief were, though occasionally subject to suspicion, accepted into orthodoxy. An example of such a movement was the *Devotio Moderna*, a movement of devotional piety for laypeople as well as clerics, founded by a reformer, Geert Grote, in the Low Countries at the end of the fourteenth century.[68]

Quakers regarded Roman Catholicism as hostile to the true religion of the followers of Christ no less than Ministers. Quakers' rejection of 'the wisdom of the world' led them to regard the elaborate edifice of systematic theology and sacramental and sacerdotal religious practice developed by the Roman Catholic church as a work of man lacking the authenticity of

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[67] Bellarmine, opposing the views of Lutherans and the Reformed that justification freed people from the obligation to keep the law, cites a number of New Testament texts which require believers to keep God's commandments, and concludes "lastly, Scripture proclaims nothing more often than that God is going to reward each man according to his works." Bellarmine, *Controversies,* 'On Baptism', Book 1, Chapter XV, 393. The Council of Trent declared that "to those who work well until the end and trust in God, eternal life is to be offered, both as a grace mercifully promised to the sons of God through Jesus Christ, and as a reward promised by God himself, to be faithfully given to their good works and merits" citing Romans 6:22. Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter XVI.

[68] Grote was a reformer who reacted against the worldiness of religious practice of his day, particularly that of monks and friars. He began to set up groups of men and women living communally, but not under monastic vows, with the name Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life, who voluntarily subjected themselves to codes of conduct governing their lives which aimed for spiritual renewal through a Christocentric piety. The *Devotio Moderna* gained acceptance by the church, though it took a plea to the Council of Constance against a ban imposed by the papal inquisitor for the Northern Low Countries to achieve this, as related in John van Engen, *Sisters and Brothers of the Common Life* (Philadelphia, Penn: Pennsylvania University Press, 2008), 212-218. The principal published work written by a member of a house within the *Devotio Moderna*, Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ,* had by the mid-seventeenth century become "the most influential book in Western Christian history". John van Engen, *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings* (New York: Paulist Press,1988), 25. Even George Fox's library contained a copy. J.L.Nickalls 'George Fox's Library', *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* 28: 3-21, cited by Spencer, *Holiness*, 262. In its answer to the question how should man respond to the divine, the *Devotio Moderna* shared characteristics with the early Quakers. Those similarities of approach are interesting because the Devotio Moderna was an acknowledged influence, perhaps the principal influence, on the early Jesuits.

inspiration by the Holy Spirit.[69] Accordingly, Quakers readily branded the Pope as Antichrist in the same way as Ministers and denounced Roman Catholic doctrine and practice.[70] But where their own beliefs accorded with those of Roman Catholics, Quakers were not shy of accepting that compatibility, explaining that the veracity of propositions was unaffected by the nature or identity of those who made them.[71]

As will become apparent in the following sections of this chapter, Roman Catholicism had embraced the necessity for human contribution in cooperation with divine grace in order to progress towards the justification of a human being.[72] Notwithstanding widespread acceptance amongst leading members of the Roman Catholic Church of Augustine's pessimistic view of man's natural capabilities as a result of the fall,[73] the Council of Trent endorsed the optimistic view, credited to Thomas Aquinas, that man at least had the natural capability to make a decision to accept the initial gift of grace from God. The performance of good works formed a necessary part of Roman Catholic ideas about man's salvation.

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[69] "... let all the children of light judge you with the light to be in your own works with the Papists, which have gotten the form of words, as you have, but both deny the power; and with the power of God we deny you both, and see the curse upon you both." Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 22.

[70] Milton has explained that the stream of publications in the first half of the seventeenth century by members of the English church demonising the Pope as Antichrist had multiple causes, ranging from political anxiety of attack from Roman Catholic countries, to promotion of the writer's reputation for orthodoxy within the English church. Milton*, Catholic and Reformed*, 31-46.

[71] "... but the truth we own for the truth's sake, neither because the papists own it, nor you deny it..." Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, Position 7.

[72] Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter X.

[73] Seripando, General of the Augustinian Order, argued at the Council of Trent for a two-stage justification (known as double justification) because the enduring power of concupiscence prevented a human being reaching a state of sinlessness by the time of his death, so that a further imputation of Christ's righteousness was then required to fit him for heaven. David Steinmetz, "The Council of Trent" in David Bagchi and David C Steinmetz (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Reformed Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 240.

2.2 The Spirit and Scripture

"The Spirit say the Quakers, why that's our weapon!"[74] Intended as a parody, this exclamation encapsulates the foundation of the Quaker attitude in disputes with Ministers.[75] As Quakers denied the validity of education and rational thinking, 'worldly wisdom', to lead to God, so they asserted the role of the Spirit within believers for guidance.[76]

Quaker conviction that the light or Spirit within themselves was truly divine led them to accord primacy to it in all matters of judgement and thus to deny that status to Scripture.[77] Early Quaker distrust of education and the rational pursuit of truth in matters of faith found a focus in their opposition to Ministers' insistence that Scripture was the rule of faith and the only authority for discerning spirits.[78] In any case, Quakers argued, Scripture was not necessary to salvation, because salvation for human beings had been possible before the Scriptures were written down.[79]

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[74] Roger Williams, *George Fox Digg'd out of his Burrows*, 1676, ed. J L Diman (Narragansett Club Publications, v) 264, quoted by Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 136.

[75] Nuttall comments that this approach to the Spirit appears equally in any examination of radical Puritan devotion. Certainly, Ministers expressed outrage that Quakers should accuse them of being devoid of the Spirit. But they made no claim to being wholly occupied by the Spirit, as the Quakers did. Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 136.

[76] Nayler declares that what he has written he has received "by the revelation of Jesus Christ, which is contrary to the wisdom and will of man; nor to the wisdom and will of man do I commend them to be received; for the natural man's wisdom receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God …" Nayler, *Love to the Lost*, Introduction, unpaginated.

[77] An example is George Fox's address to the crowd after his acquittal on the charge of blasphemy at Lancaster Assizes in 1652, as recorded in his Journal: "this was I moved to declare, that the scriptures were given forth by the spirit of God and all people must first come to the spirit of God in themselves by which they might know God and Christ; and by the same spirit they might know the holy scriptures and the spirit which was in them and gave them forth" George Fox, *Journal*, ed. N Penney (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911), 70.

[78] Audland's reply to Ralph Farmer displays this early Quaker viewpoint well: "if all did know the mystery which have the Scripture which speaks of the mystery, then would the natural man know the things of God; but he cannot know them or discern them, for they are spiritually discerned and as none can know the things of God but by the spirit of God, so none can know and discern the mystery of iniquity, but by the spirit of God, …" Audland*, The Innocent Delivered*, 3.

[79] "the word of God which was in the beginning and which endures for ever, is not the scripture which was not in the beginning … but the scripture testifies of that word, and that word witnesseth to the scripture, and they are not contrary to one another …" Edward Burrough, *A Standard Lifted Up*,15.

Quakers expressed their viewpoint that too close attendance upon the words of Scripture could lead away from God, by distinguishing the letter from the Word or the Spirit.[80] The point which they pressed repeatedly was that believers needed to place their trust in the Spirit or the Word which authored the Scriptures, and not in the letter of the books of the Scriptures.[81] They did not deny that the Scriptures were indeed the word of God, and therefore essential for a knowledge of the background to the Christian faith and to facilitate a believer's correct approach to receiving the Gospel,[82] but they insisted that the Scriptures could only be properly understood by a person who was under the guidance of the Spirit.[83] Further, the Spirit within, and not Scripture, was the appropriate authority for trying or discerning spirits.[84]

Ministers agreed with Quakers that the Spirit indwelt believers, or at any rate the justified. But they had a very different appreciation of the mode of the Spirit's indwelling to that of Quakers. Baxter pointed out that although the Holy Spirit really indwelt, it would not operate save through some human faculty.[85] A more conservative minister, John Hollinworth, wrote that we speak of the Spirit indwelling only by metonymy: "when I speak of the Spirit's being, or dwelling in a Saint, I mean not an essential or personal in-being or in-dwelling of the Spirit, … The Spirit by a metonymy may be said to dwell in us … as when we say the Sun comes into a house, we mean not the *body* of the Sun … but the *beams* of it;".[86]

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[80] George Fox made the distinction in Saul's Errand: "The letter of the scripture is carnal, and the letter is death, and killeth, but the spirit giveth life, which was in them that gave forth the scriptures and that I witness, which is eternal and not carnal;" George Fox, *Saul's Errand to Damascus: with his packet of letters from the high-priests, against the disciples of the Lord* (London: Giles Calvert, 1653), 9.
[81] "this is the word which was before any letter was written, and all who have not this word, puts the letter before the word, and are in Cain's nature… all the Preaching, and all the Praying, and all your Reading, and all your Singing… which are invented from the letter, the carnal mind invents them… not knowing the word of God, but only the letter…" Richard Farnworth, *Discovery of Faith*, 11,
[82] "that we cry down the necessity of the Scriptures is false: for they are our own, and we see them of use every day in bearing witness with us against you…" Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, Preface.
[83] "and none can understand the Scripture without the same Spirit which gave it forth and to such who have the same Spirit the Scripture is profitable;" Edward Burrough, *A Standard Lifted Up*, 15
[84] "the infallible Spirit which is the Originall of all Scriptures is the tryall of all Spirits …" Nayler, *Answer to The Perfect Pharisee*, 16.
[85] "the Spirit itself is present as the immediate Operator: not so immediate as to be without means, but so immediate as to be no distant agent…" Richard Baxter, *Works*, xii, 209, quoted by Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 50.
[86] R Hollinworth, *The Holy Ghost on the Bench*, 8, 10f, quoted by Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 49.

Ministers summarily rejected Quaker claims to direct guidance by the indwelling Spirit.[87] In Ministers' view, the effect of the indwelling Spirit was subtle. The conservative strand within the Reformed church, represented by the Ministers, believed that the age of revelations and immediate inspiration by the Holy Spirit had ceased with the end of the Apostolic period of the early Christian church. Such close guidance of believers had been extraordinary. The ordinary manner in which the Spirit manifested its presence in believers, which was all that was available after the close of the Apostolic age, was by subconsciously nudging them in the right moral direction.[88] In contrast to Quakers, Baxter believed that the means within human beings which the Spirit enlisted to carry out its promptings was not the will but the intellect.[89] Ministers' belief that the Spirit operated within people by encouraging the rational faculty led them to distrust Quaker assertions that internal communication with the Spirit through prayer needed neither external mediation nor any set form.[90] Congregationalists favoured extempore prayer under guidance of the Spirit but even they would not go so far as Quakers in treating waiting in silence for internal communication with the Spirit as the normal form of communal religious practice.[91]

Ministers' belief that the immediate inspiration of the Holy Spirit belonged only to the Apostolic age was evident in their denial of Quaker claims that precedence should be given to the Spirit's guidance over the objective authority of the words of Scripture. As a consequence of the

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[87] "... certain experience telleth us, that most in our age that have pretended to prophecy, or to inspirations, or revelations, have been melancholy, crack-brained persons, near to madness, who have proved deluded in the end. No person more fit for a Quaker, a Papist, or any sectary to work upon, than a troubled mind." R Baxter, *Works*, v, 556; xii,500, quoted by Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 57.

[88] "the Spirit's working is not to make new laws or duties, but to guide and quicken us in the doing of that which is our duty before by the laws already made. And these are the motions that all Christians must now expect." Baxter, *Works*, iv, 294

[89] "Where is it that the Spirit gives us light, but into our own understandings; and how perceive we that light, but by the rational apprehensions and discourses of these understandings?... As reason sufficeth not without the Spirit, being dark and asleep; so the Spirit worketh not on the will but by the reason: he moveth not a man as a beast or stone, to do a thing he knoweth not why, but by illumination giveth him the soundest reason for the doing of it." Baxter, *Works*, xx, 299f; xxxii, 147 quoted by Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 47.

[90] Although accepting that the Spirit within facilitated direct, internal communication with the Father, Baxter preferred to use set forms for prayers in church services. Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 72.

[91] Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 73.

Reformers' abandonment of Roman Catholic reliance on tradition as well as Scripture, the Reformed faith, like the Lutheran, held that Scripture alone set out God's message to mankind. For the Ministers, the *Westminster Confession* expressed this orthodox Reformed doctrine. Chapter I of the *Confession*, after asserting that the revelation of God's will to his people had now ceased and that the books of the Old and New Testaments are "the Rule of Faith and Life", declared that "the whole Counsell of God concerning all things necessary for his own glory, man's salvation, Faith and Life, is either expressly set down in Scripture, or by good and necessary consequence may be deduced from Scripture: unto which nothing at any time is to be added, whether by new revelations of the Spirit, or traditions of men."[92] Baxter expressed exactly this understanding in his criticism of Quakers in *The Quakers Catechism*.[93] The Baptists repeated the doctrine in their General and Particular Confessions of the 1670s.[94] Moreover, Ministers believed that as the Spirit was the author of the Scriptures, to assert that the Scriptures must be the rule for the trial of spirits was to say no more than that the Spirit, through its own expressed words, should have prime authority.[95]

Ministers acknowledged, however, that the correct interpretation of Scripture came only from the Spirit within.[96] In this, they came close to Quakers in the theory of their understanding if not

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[92] *Westminster Confession*, Chapter I, paragraph VI.

[93] "I believe that the Scriptures or Laws of Christ being finished and sealed, we must hold these till the coming of Christ ... and that these are able to make men wise to salvation without any more additions; and therefore no more is to be expected." Richard Baxter, *The Quakers catechism, or, The Quakers questioned, their questions answered* (London: Thomas Underhill, 1655), 12.

[94] Underwood comments that all the Confessions "reflected the belief that the direct revelation of biblical times had ceased and that now in the Holy Scripture was recorded what was necessary for salvation. The Scripture was the supreme authority in faith and practice ..." Underwood*, Primitivism, Radicalism and the Lamb's War*, 22.

[95] Weld made this point: "we affirm that this eternall Spirit, hath left the written Word, as that which shall be the discovery, touchstone, and tryall of spirits, and Doctrines by authority and divine warrant from himself... So that our asserting the Scriptures to be the tryall of spirits, is but setting up the Spirit in his own authority and throne over the spirits and consciences of men..." Thomas Weld, *A Further Discovery of that Generation of Men called Quakers: By way of a Reply to an Answer of James Nayler to the Perfect Pharisee* (Gateside: S.B., 1654), 69.

[96] "God in Christ is the Sun, Men's Reason is the Eye, the Gospel or Word of God is the eternal Light flowing to us from the Sun. The Spirit closeth these two together, even the Gospel and our Reason, and by its powerful work in that closure, breedeth a special illumination in the soul which the Word alone could not produce." Baxter, *Quaker's catechism*, 12.

in their practice. The *Westminster Confession* ruled that although the Scripture was the Word of God, "our full persuasion… of the Divine authority thereof, is from the inward work of the Holy Spirit, bearing witness by and with the Word, in our hearts." [97] Baxter expressed the same understanding in *The Quakers' Catechism*: "but yet I believe… that all true Christians have the illuminating, sanctifying Spirit of Christ to help them to know all the meaning of Scripture which is of flat necessity to salvation…"[98]

In starting his exposition of Roman Catholic doctrine on Scripture, Bellarmine noted that Schwenkfeld had "rejected the written word as a killing letter, and commands us to be content with the internal spirit alone",[99] neatly summarising Quaker ideas, at least as perceived by Ministers, and indicating that Quaker feeling on this topic had a clear precedent among continental radicals of the sixteenth century. Bellarmine refuted this heresy and asserted that Scripture "is the true word of God and the certain and steadfast rule of faith".[100] He justified the Scriptures' status on grounds of Christ's express approval of them; their extensive use as authority by the Apostles Peter, Paul, John, James and Jude in their writing; the witness of the truth of the prophecies contained within them; and "the incredible and fully divine harmony and agreement of so many men who wrote the sacred volumes in different places, times, languages and occasions .."[101] He also raised the advantage of certainty,[102] using against those who claimed to be guided by the Spirit in their interpretation of the Scriptures the same argument which Quakers levelled at Ministers, that there was such a diversity of opinion amongst them that at least some of them must be guided not by the Spirit but by the spirit of darkness.[103]

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[97] *Westminster Confession*, Chapter I, paragraph V.
[98] Baxter, *The Quakers' catechism*, 12.
[99] Bellarmine, *Controversies,* 'On the Word of God', Book 1, Chapter I, 21.
[100] Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On the Word of God', Book 1, Chapter I, 22.
[101] Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On the Word of God', Book 1, Chapter I, 24.
[102] "the rule of Catholic faith must be certain and known", Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On the Word of God', Book 1, Chapter I, 24.
[103] Edmund Campion made the same charge against his Calvinist persecutors: "Why then do some of you tear out one piece of Scripture, and others another, whereas you all boast of being led by the same

A clear distinction between Roman Catholic doctrine and that of Ministers and early Quakers is evident in connection with the topic of the interpretation of Scripture. Bellarmine acknowledged that Scripture needed interpretation because its literal sense (he asserted that "it is certain that the sense which is derived immediately from the words is the sense of the Holy Spirit") could be either simple or figurative. He further asserted that the ultimate judge on interpretation must be the Spirit because "the Scriptures must be understood in the same spirit in which they were made, that is, the Holy Spirit." The difference between Roman Catholics, Ministers and Quakers became clear when he continued, "therefore the whole question comes down to where the Spirit is. For we think that the Spirit, although he is often conferred on many individual persons, nevertheless is certainly found in the Church, that is, in a Council of the Bishops confirmed by the Sovereign Pontiff of the whole Church".[104] Roman Catholic doctrine placed the authoritative interpretation of Scripture firmly in the hands of the Roman Catholic church.

Although Bellarmine declared Roman Catholic belief that the Scriptures were the rule of faith in opposition to his opponents' arguments concerning the primacy of the Spirit, later in his exposition he modified that statement to take account of the Council of Trent's decree concerning tradition. The Council declared that all saving truth and rules of conduct of the Gospel "are contained in the written books and in the unwritten traditions, which, received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ himself, or from the Apostles themselves, the Holy Ghost dictating, have come down to us, transmitted as it were from hand to hand."[105] Roman Catholic doctrine admitted tradition, that which originated with the Apostles and had been passed down in unbroken succession to the present church, as an equal authority with Scripture as a rule of faith, on the grounds that both Scripture and tradition contained the Gospel which "our Lord

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Spirit?" Edmund Campion, *Ten Reasons Proposed to his Adversaries for Disputation in the Name of the Faith*, 1581, trans. Fr Joseph Rickaby, 1910, (Project Gutenberg eBook 13133).
[104] Bellarmine, *Controversies,* 'On the Word of God', Book 1, Chapter III, 186.
[105] Council of Trent, 4th Session, Decree concerning the Canonical Scriptures.

Jesus Christ, the Son of God, promulgated first with His own mouth…"[106] Bellarmine expressed his full view in this way: "I say that Scripture, although it was not made primarily to be the rule of faith, nevertheless is a rule of faith, not totally but partially. For the total rule of faith is the word of God, that is the revelation of God made to the Church, which is divided into two partial rules - Scripture and Tradition."[107] In his argument, Bellarmine had earlier undermined the authority of Scripture by explaining that it is not necessary, religion having been preserved for two thousand years (from Adam to Moses) by tradition alone, and that Scripture by itself is not sufficient, obscurities within the books of Scripture rendering its meaning uncertain. Tradition must therefore be consulted to clarify Scripture, Bellarmine again supporting his view by citing the privileged position of the church: Scripture by itself being insufficient, God would not have provided well for the church without 'a word handed on'.[108]

2.3 Sin

In examining commentators' findings on Quaker understanding of the effect of the fall on human nature, Spencer notes that Endy affirms the basic agreement between Quakers and Puritans on original sin and total depravity, whereas Jones "projects a positive view of human nature on to the first generation" of Quakers but notes a more pessimistic tone starting with Barclay in the second generation. Spencer herself comments that "Quakers emphasised in particular the corruption of human reason" and points to "the greater affinity of Quakers to a pre-reformation medieval anthropology in which there is no precise differentiation between the natural and supernatural in the soul." Spencer states that a corollary of this belief "is that of an imminent capacity for God, a capacity for the divine not destroyed by the fall, which developed into the

[106] Council of Trent, 4th Session, Decree concerning the Canonical Scriptures.
[107] Bellarmine, *Controversies,* 'On the Word of God', Book 1, Chapter IV, 265.
[108] Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On the Word of God', Book 1, Chapter IV, 228.

Quaker doctrine of the Inward Light of Christ and the potential for perfection in all persons."[109] Certainly that was the central message of Nayler's account of the fall in *Love to the Lost*. Man lost the gift of standing in the same will as God by allowing the devil to lead him to knowledge 'without'.[110] But Christ came to preach repentance "that all might turn their minds from those dead works to the living God, who is a Spirit known in Spirit, and so worshipped, whose kingdom is within"; and "as many as repent of their following this way of self-wisdom and knowledge, and come to stand still, to such he shows his Salvation".[111] Nayler appeared to place choosing to attend to Christ's message firmly within man's fallen capacity. Although fallen man was kept in a state of sin by electing to be subservient to the devil, he nonetheless retained the ability to allow the divine within to lead him back to that state of sinless perfection enjoyed by Adam before the fall.

Early Quaker belief that, through Christ, man could, during this life, return to a sinless, or perfect, state was a major source of dispute with Ministers. Quakers accused Ministers of believing that man can never be free from sin in this life and that a person's sins could only be remitted by the external imputation of Christ's righteousness, not by any internal change. Hence, early Quakers' accusation against Ministers that they pleaded for sin, that they taught their parishioners that sin is a permanent feature for all in this life and can only be removed by God, at his discretion, at or after death.[112] Quakers taught, on the contrary, that the principal

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[109] Spencer, *Holiness*, 45

[110] Gwyn notes that Fox also attributes man's fall to allowing the serpent to draw their "consciousness outward, to look for truth in objects, by eating from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil." He comments that Fox's "concern was most of all to diagnose the *condition* of alienated consciousness from which [specific personal sins and social evils] arise." Gwyn, "Seventeenth-century Context and Quaker beginnings", 26.

[111] Nayler, *Love to the Lost*, 3.

[112] In his *Answer to the Perfect Pharisee*, Nayler charged his accusers that they "live in the fall, and are the contenders and pleaders for sin, which keeps the soul at a distance from God".[112] Nayler, *Answer to The Perfect Pharisee*, 6. In the final book of his dispute with Weld and others, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, Nayler levels the title Antichrist at his accusers because "whoever opposes the end of Christ's coming, which was to take away sin, and to set free from it, and to present perfect unto the Father, without spot or blemish, such are Antichrists, and the man of sin acts in them to uphold his own kingdom, which is sin." Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 4.

purpose of Christ's incarnation and atonement was to enable fallen humanity to choose to return to a state of sinlessness in this life, and that achieving such a state was possible.[113]

Early Quakers advanced the argument that Scripture declared that the blood of Christ washed the living from their sins, not the dead, in refutation of Ministers understanding that believers' sins would be remitted by imputation of Christ's righteousness after their death.[114] They further argued that the divine in man was incompatible with sin, with the consequence that any believer who became united to Christ must be sinless (praying in aid of this idea those texts in 1 John 3: 6-9 which affirm that he who is in Christ does not sin).[115] In reply to the question 'whether a believer is clean, without sin, in this life as Christ himself?' George Fox wrote in *Saul's Errand to Damascus* "he that believeth is born of God; and he that is born of God sins not, neither can he sin, because his seed remains in him; as he is, so are we, in this present evil world".[116]

Ministers were appalled by Quaker assertions that sinlessness was possible in this life and that they themselves had achieved it. Baxter expressed Ministers' outrage at this idea at the beginning of *The Quaker's Catechism* in his *Answer to a Young Unsettled Friend* : "they affirm themselves to be perfect without sin ... And is it possible that any man in this life, that is not mad with spiritual pride, can indeed believe that he hath no sin? What? That he transgresseth no

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[113] Nayler explained this as Christ's work of fulfilling the law in believers, when he wrote against Ministers "which work of Christ you have not in yourselves, who puts it far from you; for they who witness the work of Christ they know that he, who did fulfil the law, doth fulfil it in every generation of the Saints, who believe in him, and so by faith the law is established, and not made void". Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 28.

[114] "And you that would perswade people, that Christ will justify them in their ungodlinesse, count the blood of Christ an unholy thing, which is to cleanse people from their sins, and not to justifie them in their sins." Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 25

[115] Nayler makes this argument in his dispute with Baxter :"He that sees himself set free from all sin by that power [God's grace], and brought wholly unto Christ where there is no sin, selfshame, the body of sin put off, and nothing living in him but the life of Christ, if he declares this to his praise he is no lyar, and if such an one abide in Christ, he sinneth not ..." Nayler, *Answer to The Quaker's Catechism*, 42. Nayler goes on, however, that such a person needs to remain united to Christ if he is to continue sinless: "nor is this to say that [such a person] will not be beholding to God any more, which stands by faith in his power, and is beholding to him daylie, and to his blood daylie ..."

[116] Fox, *Saul's Errand to Damascus*, 12.

law? That he doth love God in the highest degree that he is bound to do? The devil himself hath either less pride or less ignorance, than to think himself to be perfect without sin."[117] Baxter's exasperation at the claim of sinlessness reflected not only Reformed doctrine but also his experience of mankind in his pastoral ministry. Moreover, Baxter had an additional reason for his expostulation, finding, as he did, support for his contention that Quakers were Roman Catholics in disguise in the Quaker assertion of the possibility of sinless perfection.

The Reformed faith's disagreement with Roman Catholicism in connection with sin related to the effect of the infusion of grace which both believed occurred at baptism. Davenant summed up the position: "whether, by infused or inherent grace, whatever hath the true nature and proper character of sin is forthwith eradicated and taken away in the justified. We deny it; the Papists affirm it." Davenant argued that the grace which God infused into the justified was "inchoate and imperfect" during this life and that sanctification was a gradual process. The grace infused at baptism did not and could not achieve the complete removal of sin from a believer.[118] The *Westminster Confession* confirmed the continuation of sin after baptism, stating that "this sanctification is yet imperfect in this life, there abideth yet some remnants of corruption in every part ..."[119] In arguing for the continuation of sinfulness in a justified person, Reformed theologians had to explain an apparent conflict between the remission of sins, which both Reformed and Roman Catholics agreed was an immediate effect of baptism, and the continuation of sin in the baptised. Their answer to the difficulty was to distinguish between sins actually committed and the inherent tendency to sin, described as concupiscence. They argued that the guilt of sins committed was wholly removed by baptism and that the dominion of sin over the believer was taken away, but concupiscence, though diminished, remained.[120]

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[117] Baxter, *The Quakers' catechism*, preface.
[118] "The remission is perfect, and is instantly accomplished; sanctification, or the purification of corrupt nature, is effected by degrees, nor is it completed before death." Davenant, *On Justification*, 27.
[119] *Westminster Confession*, Chapter XIII, paragraph 2.
[120] Another way of putting the same point was to distinguish between the believer's sinful act and his nature. Davenant argues that "baptism frees *the person* from *the guilt* of all sins; but it does not

Against Scriptural texts advanced by Quakers which appeared to stipulate that those who had become united to Christ could not sin because where God is, there can be no sin, Ministers turned to Paul in Romans who referred in several places in chapters 6, 7 and 8 to sin remaining in the regenerate, and to the story of Peter, while undoubtedly reconciled to God, denying Christ (Mathew 26:72).[121] Davenant cited scholastic thinkers who argued that sin did not expel grace by its nature but because God withdrew grace on account of the demerit of sin, treating the regenerate more leniently than the unregenerate, and did not entirely withdraw it. By that means righteousness and sin could coinhere in a justified person.[122] All Ministers cited the well known text in 1 John 1: 8 "if we say that we have no sin we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us" which, taken literally, asserts, as Davenant put it, "the regenerate themselves always have in them something of inherent sin."[123]

Roman Catholics agreed with Ministers that Adam's fall had altered humankind's will and understanding but they did not, like the Reformed faith, believe that human beings had totally lost the ability to turn to the good. The Roman Catholics' relatively optimistic understanding of humankind's natural capabilities provided a basis, or at least a context, for the principle that in justification the soul of the individual was truly changed for the better.[124] Roman Catholic perception that in baptism, the commencement of a believer's justification, the believer was really changed, not merely declared to be justified, and that the formal cause of the change was the infusion of God's righteousness, led, as a consequence, to the belief that the sins of the justified believer were eradicated. Roman Catholic doctrine was that not only were past sins

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immediately free *the nature* from the *operation* or *indwelling* of original sin", claiming the support of Augustine, Peter Lombard and Hugh of St Victor for this proposition. Davenant, *On Justification*, 56.

[121] For example, Weld, *Further Discovery*, 44.

[122] " … as to any stain contracted from actual sin, it may, in my opinion, quite consist with inherent or infused grace; because God does not deal with the regenerate according to their demerits." Davenant, *On Justification,* 40.

[123] Nayler answered this criticism of the Quaker claim of the possibility of sinlessness by arguing that John is referring to an unregenerate person. Nayler*, Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 24. According to Davenant, Bellarmine explained this text on the basis that John was referring to everyday, venial sins. Davenant, *On Justification*, 109.

[124] O'Malley, *Trent: What Happened at the Council*, 115.

remitted, totally taken away, but that everything sinful in the baptised person was removed. The result was that the believer was rendered sinless and thus in a state of perfection rendering him or her eligible for entry to the kingdom of heaven. The Council of Trent stated that "in those who are born again God hates nothing... but ... [they] are made innocent, immaculate, pure, guiltless and beloved of God, heirs indeed of God, joint heirs with Christ; so that there is nothing whatever to hinder their entrance into heaven."[125] In the section of his work on the controversies with the heretics dealing with baptism, Bellarmine listed a number of arguments from Scripture which supported the Roman Catholic view.[126] From these passages Bellarmine argued that there could be no question of sin being remitted yet actually remaining in a baptised person. He wrote that "either God altogether removes sin in justification, so that there is nothing which he can hate, or certainly he omits altogether nothing, not even being liable to punishment. If sin would remain, God would hate it; If he hates, he would mean to punish; if he meant to punish, he would not forgive. Therefore to say God does not impute sins which truly remain and also refuses to punish them is a manifest contradiction according to the Holy Scriptures."[127]

Notwithstanding its conviction that by baptism believers were truly made sinless, Roman Catholicism had to deal with the difficulty that common experience showed that the tendency to sin remained all too apparent in those who had been baptised. The Roman Catholic explanation for this was that the sinful tendency in mankind, concupiscence, did remain in justified people but it could not correctly be categorised as sin. In support of this contention, Roman Catholic doctrine distinguished between the tendency itself and a person's free decision whether or not to succumb to the tendency. Thus the Council of Trent provided that "in the one baptised there remains concupiscence or an inclination to sin, which, since it is left for

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[125] Council of Trent, 5th Session, Decree concerning Original Sin, paragraph V.
[126] These included those texts which referred to "cleansing, washing, taking away, destroying or removing", for example John 1:29; texts which taught that we are reborn by baptism, for example John 3:5; texts which taught that light and darkness could not dwell in us at the same time, for example 2 Cor 6:14-16; and texts which taught that God hates sin. Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On Baptism', Book 1, Chapter XIII, 382-386.
[127] Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On Baptism', Book 1, Chapter XIII, 386.

us to wrestle with, cannot injure those who do not acquiesce but resist manfully by the grace of Jesus Christ."[128] The Council further declared that "this concupiscence the holy Catholic Church has never understood to be called sin in the sense that it is truly and properly sin in those born again, but in the sense that it is of sin and inclines to sin."[129] Roman Catholic doctrine concerning sinfulness thus was similar to that of early Quakers in asserting the possibility of its eradication in this life and further in asserting that the maintenance of sinlessness was a matter within the capacity of each believer. Roman Catholicism differed from Quakerism, however, in its perception of the likelihood that justified believers would fail to maintain their initial sinless state.

Whereas the Reformed faith taught that a justified person could not lose grace unless he ceased to believe, a position founded upon the Reformed's insistence on the primacy of the doctrine of predestination and reflecting the belief in faith as the cause of justification, Roman Catholicism denied that baptism made believers incapable of falling into sin. Roman Catholicism believed that mortal sins which caused the loss of God's infused righteousness could be remedied if a believer truly repented, confessed his errors and made satisfaction for them. The sacrament of penance had been devised for this, implementing through the church Christ's delegation of saving power to the Apostles. Venial sins could be removed through a further infusion of grace in the sacrament of the eucharist. Thus either by means of penance for mortal sins or the eucharist for venial, the initially justified had available to them means by which they could regain the state of sinlessness achieved at baptism. Quakers believed that if someone who had achieved unity with Christ sinned, that sin itself showed that Christ no longer indwelt the person. But divine forgiveness was available to anyone who genuinely repented and by such means the repentant sinner could regain the former state of unity with Christ.[130]

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[128] Council of Trent, 5th Session, Canon 5.
[129] Council of Trent, 5th Session, Canon 5.
[130] Moore, *Light,* 45, citing James Nayler, *What the Possession of the Living Faith is* (London: Thomas Simmons, 1659), 11-13, 24. Nayler was referring to his own position after the Nayler Incident.

2.4 Sacraments

The Quaker position on the validity of sacraments was simple: the external form of all sacraments was an invention of man, 'carnal', and lacking validity. The spiritual purpose was only capable of taking effect if the sacrament was received spiritually. Quakers affirmed that the sacraments, at any rate baptism and the eucharist, could and should be understood and practised spiritually. Nayler, responding to the charge that Quakers deny "the Gospel Ordinances, Prayer, Baptism, Supper" wrote "Christ the Gospel Ordinance we own, and deny your carnal ordinances, and set forms; and the Supper of the Lord we own, which is spiritual; and deny your carnal sacrament, for which there is no Scripture; ... the Baptism of Christ we own, and are baptised by one Spirit into one Body. And the Holy Ghost and the fire we own, but deny your sprinkling of infants, for which there is no Scripture ..."[131] Nuttall has suggested that the diminished authority which Quakers accorded to Scripture, compared to the Spirit, permitted them to interpret the Scriptural texts which institute the sacraments in a more spiritual than literal way, and that in pursuing this approach Quakers adopted only a marginally more extreme stance than the radical Puritans who preceded them.[132]

Nuttall also notes that what prevented Puritans from themselves espousing an entirely spiritual attitude to the sacraments and dispensing with external forms was the "inexpungable evidence in Scripture for their dominical institution."[133] This barrier is evident in the *Westminster Confession's* declaration on sacraments which states "the grace which is exhibited in or by the sacraments rightly used is not conferred by any power in them; neither does the efficacy of any sacrament depend upon the piety or intention of him that doth administer it, but upon the work of the Spirit, and the word of institution which contains, together with a precept authorising the

[131] Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 11-12.
[132] Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 100.
[133] Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 100.

use thereof, a promise of benefit to worthy receivers."[134] After denying the validity of the Roman Catholic doctrines of sacrifice and transubstantiation in the eucharist, the *Westminster Confession* reflected the Reformed religion's emphasis on the spiritual benefits of the sacrament by providing that "worthy receivers outwardly partaking of the visible Elements in this Sacrament, do then also, inwardly by faith, really and indeed, yet not carnally and corporally, but Spiritually, receive and feed upon Christ crucified, and all the benefits of his death …"[135] The references to "worthy receivers" and "inwardly by faith" suggest that Roman Catholics were correct in criticising the Reformed religion for believing that faith alone was the cause of the gift of grace bestowed by sacraments and that grace would only be given to the elect.[136] The necessity for the appropriate state of receptivity to be established in a believer was the cause of the infrequency of the performance of the eucharist by Independent ministers, resulting in both discontent amongst conservative parishioners and a weakening of the perception of indispensability amongst the more spiritually inclined.[137]

Roman Catholic doctrine emphasised the necessity for specific external practices in the administration of sacraments, and denied that any particular attitude on the part of the recipient was essential. The sacraments worked 'ex opere operato', that is, as Bellarmine explained, they conferred "grace from the force of the very sacramental action instituted by God for this purpose, not from the merit of the agent or the recipient."[138] Yet Roman Catholics refuted

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[134] *Westminster Confession*, Chapter XXVII.
[135] *Westminster Confession*, Chapter XXIX, paragraph 7. The *Westminster Confession's* wording on how sacraments work reflected the dominance during the Interregnum of the faction in the Reformed church which emphasised the gratuity of predestination to salvation. The Arminian faction which, by contrast, stressed the necessity for the exercise of human free will in conjunction with grace for the achievement of justification and sanctification, was repressed at this time, though by no means extinguished. See Dewey D. Wallace, Jr, "Polemical divinity and doctrinal controversy" in John Coffey and Paul C. H. Lim (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to Puritanism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 206-222.
[136] The heretics "do not acknowledge any Sacrament as necessary *simpliciter*, as a means. And the reason is, since faith alone justifies, Sacraments are only applied to arouse and nourish faith. Otherwise, without the Sacraments, faith can be begotten by the word alone …" Bellarmine, *Controversies*, '*On The Sacraments in General'*, Book 1, Chapter XXII, 107.
[137] Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 95.
[138] Bellarmine, *Controversies*, '*On The Sacraments in General'*, Book 2, Chapter I, 159.

the charges of the Reformers that they taught that the physical matter used in sacraments had divine power. Bellarmine declared that "the will of God … is the principal cause. The passion of Christ is the meritorious cause". These both cooperate in a sacrament, along with the power and will of the minister and, in some cases, the disposition of the subject. But "that which actively, and proximately, as well as instrumentally effects the grace of justification is alone that external action which is called a sacrament…"[139] Thus, for Roman Catholics, the justifying grace which was given in a sacrament was the effect of many causes, though "it is not necessary that either the ministers or the recipients of the sacraments know how the sacraments are causes of justification… this is common with many mysteries of faith."[140]

There were, however, exceptions to the Roman Catholic insistence on external forms for the efficacy of sacraments. The Roman Catholic Church had long held that there could be effective baptism by blood (in the case of martyrs) or desire (in the case of "perfect conversion and penance").[141] In the case of penance, a real change of heart by the recipient was necessary "which we call a virtue, and without which exterior penance can avail very little."[142] More specifically, under the pressure of English laws prohibiting Roman Catholic ceremonies in Elizabethan times, there is evidence that priests ministering to English Roman Catholics taught that the spiritual benefits of sacraments, particularly penance and the eucharist, could be available without physical ceremonies. Lisa McClain cited the Elizabethan John Radford who advanced the argument that God is not limited to specific channels of grace[143] and repeated the

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[139] Bellarmine, *Controversies,* '*On The Sacraments in General'*, Book 2, Chapter I, 159.
[140] Bellarmine, *Controversies*, *'On The Sacraments in General'*, Book 2, Chapter I, 156.
[141] Bellarmine commented that "there cannot be any doubt that it must be believed that true conversion supplies for Baptism of water, since it is not from contempt, but from necessity that some men die without Baptism of water." Bellarmine, *Controversies*, '*On Baptism'*, Book 1, Chapter VI, 342.
[142] *Catechism of the Council of Trent*, trans. J Donovan (Baltimore: Fielding Lucas, 1829), 178.
[143] "Though Christ is the author of his sacraments, neither is God so bound to his sacraments, but that he can bestow his grace without them…" John Radford, *A Directorie Teaching the Way to Truth in a Briefe and Plain Discourse against the heresies of this time*, 1605, quoted by Lisa McClain, *Lest we be Damned*, *practical innovation and lived experience among Catholics in Protestant England, 1559-1642* (London: Routledge, 2004), 118. Bellarmine confirmed the applicability of this argument. When discussing the necessity for baptism, he wrote that no sacrament has absolute necessity for "it is certain that God could

old medieval church's argument in support of the practice of a priest receiving bread and wine on behalf of the whole congregation, that the laity were "beneficiaries of the merits of the Mass through their membership in the body of believers."[144]

2.5 Conclusions

This brief survey of the beliefs of early Quakers, Ministers and Roman Catholics on the topics of salvation, the Spirit, sin, and sacraments has shown that Quaker understanding of salvation approximated more closely to that of Roman Catholics than to that of the Reformed faith. Both Quakers and Roman Catholics perceived justification, the commencement of the process by which people could become united to, or integrated with, God through Christ, as being effected by real change by virtue of the action of an element of the divine within believers, whereas the Reformed faith understood justification to consist in an external declaration by God. Quakers and Roman Catholics regarded Scripture as inadequate by itself as a rule of faith, and further agreed that the Spirit, the author of Scripture, must be allowed precedence in teaching humankind. But they disagreed between themselves, and both disagreed with the Reformed faith, in the location of the Spirit for this purpose, Quakers trusting the Spirit in each believer to speak in a consistent manner, while Roman Catholics viewed the church itself and its collection of Apostolic traditions as authoritative. The Reformed faith asserted that only the Spirit's pronouncements in Scripture were available to humanity as a guide. On the topic of the possibility of eliminating sin, Quakers and Roman Catholics were agreed that mankind could achieve perfection in this life, while the Reformed faith denied this as a possibility. Quakers rejected all outward ceremony in connection with sacraments though they accepted the

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justify men without any Sacraments." Bellarmine, *Controversies,* '*On the Sacraments in General*', Book 1, Chapter XXII, 107.

[144] "But as every man did not eat the prohibited apple in his own person and by his own act… so it is not needful that every man in his own flesh eat the flesh of Christ… But it is absolutely needful that some or other eat it…" Radford, *A Directorie Teaching the Way*, 118 quoted in McClain, *Lest we be Damned*, 118.

necessity for their spiritual performance. The Reformed faith proclaimed that the forms of baptism and the eucharist were divinely ordained and must therefore be observed, though the effect was spiritual, whereas Roman Catholics believed the words and ceremonies of seven sacraments were in themselves instrumental in conferring spiritual benefits of grace on believers.

Having established the beliefs of Quakers, Ministers and Roman Catholics on the doctrinal topics which were the subject of the Allegations, this dissertation now proceeds to examine the Allegations in detail in order to consider the extent to which Quaker positions did resemble or to tend towards those of Roman Catholics.[145]

[145] Findings of resemblance between Quaker and Roman Catholic positions on specific points of doctrine, even points as significant and wide ranging as soteriology, do not, by themselves, imply or point to any deeper or wider similarity between Quakers and Roman Catholics. It is possible that Quaker espousal of ideas which resembled Roman Catholic doctrines may owe as much to the desire of early Quaker leaders to oppose the religious practice of the Reformed faith in the context of their polemical writings against Ministers as to any inclination to adopt acknowledged Roman Catholic doctrines. Indeed, early Quaker leaders made clear their wholehearted opposition to Roman Catholicism, as, for instance, James Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 5 and Richard Hubberthorne, *Rebukes of a Reviler*, 15.

Chapter 3 The Allegations

3.1 Introduction

All the Ministers who supported their Allegations with details of the Quaker doctrines or practices which they claimed resembled those of Roman Catholics were parish incumbents, with one exception.[1] The exception was William Prynne who, by the 1650s, had an established track record of detecting papistry as the unseen cause of chaos and upset in English public life.[2] The simplest and best supported set of Allegations was advanced by Thomas Weld in his *A Further Discovery of that Generation of men called Quakers*, 1654, a reply to James Nayler's *Answer to the Book called The Perfect Pharisee,* itself a response to Weld's *The Perfect Pharisee under Monkish Holiness*.[3] Weld was a prominent Independent Minister. He had been deprived of his parish by Laud in 1631 and had travelled to Massachusetts where he had been appointed pastor to a newly founded church in a town close to Boston. Appointed with two others by the Massachusetts general court to serve as agents in England, he returned to England in 1641 and soon became embroiled in pamphlet controversies, writing in defence of New England Congregationalism. Although recalled to Massachusetts in 1645, he elected to stay in England and was installed as minister for Gateshead in 1649.[4] He wrote the two books of his dispute with

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[1] Notwithstanding that virtually all the Ministers who made the Allegations were parish incumbents, their views on the doctrines which were the subject of the Allegations were by no means identical. Parish incumbents during the Interregnum included Presbyterians, Baptists, Independents and Episcopalians and despite the illusion of uniformity of view created by the Westminster Confession, the views of individual ministers will have ranged from supralapsarian Calvinist, through the moderate Calvinism of Richard Baxter, to Arminianism.

[2] In his book *Canterburies Doome*, a record of Archbishop Laud's trial in 1644, Prynne noted Laud's alleged "correspondence and confederacy with Priests and Jesuits to introduce Popish Superstitions and subvert the established Protestant religion". By 1647, "Pride's Purge, Charles I's trial and then his execution were all seen by Prynne as part of an orchestrated 'popish plot'." William Lamont, "William Prynne", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2011. https://doi-org.bham-ezproxy.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/22854.

[3] The written dispute between Weld and Nayler comprised four books. Weld made his initial attack in *The Perfect Pharisee*. Nayler replied with *An Answer to the Booke called The Perfect Pharisee*. Weld continued the dispute with *A Further Discovery* to which Nayler responded with *A Discovery of the Man of Sin*.

[4] Biographical details of Weld are taken from Michael P. Winship, "Thomas Weld", *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* revised version 25 September 2014. https://doi-org,bham-ezproxy.idm.oclc.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/28986.

Nayler as lead member of a group of five Ministers in Newcastle upon Tyne all of whom had been the object of Quaker attack in the first phase of Quaker expansion out of their heartland of the Northwest in 1653.

The most explicit set of Allegations was made by William Brownsword, Minister of Kendal in Westmoreland, who itemised twelve Quaker doctrines and ten Quaker practices which he specified as Roman Catholic in his booklet *The Quaker-Jesuite, or, Popery in Quakerism*, published in 1659.[5] Brownsword's publication is a summary statement of Quaker and Roman Catholic doctrines and practices, and makes the greater impact by being brief. He made no attempt to expound the Reformed church's views. A moderate approach might have been expected from Richard Baxter, organiser of the Worcestershire Association in 1652 which aimed at rapprochement between Baptist, Independent and even those Laudian episcopalian Ministers who remained active and in England, from his base as Minister of Kidderminster, Worcestershire. But Baxter was irritated by the repeated and, in his view, ill-informed Quaker attacks on him, as well as the abusive nature of the language Quakers employed, and he concluded that the Quakers' aim was to undermine any ministry of the church in England.[6] William Prynne's prolix attempt to identify a Jesuit origin in Quaker practices and, to a lesser extent, doctrines reflects his established position as a polemicist and his considerable learning in the Roman Catholic authors and texts to which he refers.[7] But it is rendered less plausible by his fascination with magic and sorcery, and his conviction that Quaker ideas, like those of all leading Roman Catholics, were the work of the devil.

Quakers responded to Allegations in three ways. First, they simply denied any connection between Quakers and Roman Catholics. John Story, responding to Brownsword's claim that Quaker "doctrines… are fetched out of the Council of Trent, Bellarmine, and others", stated "our

[5] Brownsword, *The Quaker-Jesuite*.
[6] Baxter, *The Quakers catechism*.
[7] Prynne*, The Quakers Unmasked*.

doctrines, which are the wholesome doctrines of the Gospel of Christ, which we have not received of man, neither were taught by men, but by the revelation of Christ, are not fetched out of the Council of Trent, Bellarmine, and others."[8] John Audland, who replied to Prynne's attack, informed Prynne that all the Quakers who came to Bristol "came forth of Westmoreland near unto Kendal, none of us having never been out of the nation, but we lived and walked in and at our own habitations…",[9] implying that there can have been no Jesuit influence on anyone who had never left England. Second, Quakers were content to acknowledge that in some cases there might be equivalence between their and Roman Catholic doctrines. Nayler told Weld: "as we receive not the ground of what we practice from the Papists or you; neither do we deny the truth because they or you may profess it, but shall own it before all the world…".[10] Third, they returned the charge of Catholicism against the Ministers, arguing plausibly that there were more reasons to identify Roman Catholic origins in Ministers' practice than in that of Quakers.[11] Against Weld, Nayler pointed to the continuing Roman Catholic practices in the English church.[12]

As noted in Chapter 2, the principal theological topic to which the Allegations related was Quaker soteriology. On that subject, Allegations centred on the light within; the efficacy of imputed justification; salvation by inherent righteousness; and the possibility of perfection in this life. Quakers' strident proclamation of the Spirit or the light as humanity's guide led to the next most commonly raised Allegations, those relating to Quakers' perceived denigration of

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[8] John Story, *Babilon's defence broken down and one of Antichrists warriours defeated in an answer to a scandalous pamphlet intituled , The Quaker-Jesuite, or, Popery in Quakerisme* (London, Robert Wilson, 1660), 4.
[9] Audland, *The innocent delivered*, 37.
[10] Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 5.
[11] Nayler told Baxter "thou falls to comparing us with the Pope, and would make us like him. I say, were it not we cry down his Worship, means and authority, that remains in you, we should not have so much of your malice. Are you not his dear children, as like as may be? Have you so forgot who begot you into your Parsonages, and Masterships, and Ordained you, and your place and form of worship?…" Nayler, *Answer to The Quakers' catechism*, 22.
[12] "Have they not builded the Idol's Temples and you worship in them? are not you one with them in observing many days, and times, and forms; as sprinkling infants, singing, and many such things? are you not one with them in bearing rule as lords and masters over the common people, and would have to do in ordering of State affairs? are you not one with them, as in your tithes and fat parsonages…" Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 5.

Scripture as mankind's rule of faith. Quakers' assertion that humankind can have unmediated contact with the divine led to a further category of Allegations, one which encompassed a range of experience of the divine in this world and included revelations, miracles, immediate calling and the resulting claim to infallibility. Additionally, Allegations were made based on Quakers' distinctive practices, ranging from outward appearance and behaviour (dress, fasting, address to others) to tactics (itinerant ministry in pairs, undermining parishioners' confidence in their ministers). Finally, Ministers' suspicion about the origin of Quaker ideas gave rise to the Allegation that Quakers must have learned their doctrines from papists because they could not otherwise have developed them.

This section will consider each of these Allegations noting, in turn, the extent to which each Allegation was justified.

3.2 The Light

Brownsword headed his list of Allegations with the Quaker teaching of the light. His charge was that Quakers taught "that all men have a light within them sufficient to convince of sin, and to lead men to repentance and salvation, if it is obeyed. This is their Master-Doctrine, asserted in most, if not all their books, and in their teachings. For it they urge John 1: 9..." For equivalence to Roman Catholic doctrine, Brownsword stated, "Papists affirm that all men have grace sufficient to salvation given to them; the Pelagians before them did assert the same, as Bellarmine shows, and both they and himself urge for it John 1: 9 which he explaining, saith, it must be understood of the light of grace which no man at all doth want ..."[13]

Baxter also suggested a similarity between Quaker ideas of the light and the Roman Catholic doctrine of grace. He wrote, "but let me tell you further in your ear, that we you so frantically

[13] Brownsword, *Quaker-Jesuite*, 3.

bawl against, have read Bellarmine and other Papists so oft, that we cannot be ignorant of who are your teachers, though you yourselves are ignorant. We know how earnestly the Jesuits would persuade us that there is a light in every man's conscience which, if he improve and husband well, God is bound to give such additions as shall make it become more saving, and that by the good use of natural light men may certainly get supernatural; and that it is in men's own power what light soever they have to improve it to salvation."[14]

Quaker doctrine of the Light was particularly obnoxious to Ministers for two reasons. First, in its assurance that a person could find within himself or herself a light to lead to salvation it denied the status of Scripture as the rule of faith. Second, in its promotion of interiority it rendered obsolete the whole apparatus of organised religious observance and, indeed, Ministers themselves. Ministers attacked the doctrine with vehemence. They acknowledged that all people had a natural light of conscience within them, a vestige of the spiritual state with which Adam had been created by God, but denied that the natural light was sufficient to lead people to salvation.[15]

The Allegations by both Brownsword and Baxter relating to the light made two assertions about Quaker belief: that the light was universal, and that the light was of a quality sufficient to lead to salvation. Baxter then added two more: that a greater quantity of light would be given by God in response to human efforts, and that it is in an individual's own power to use the natural light well and thus merit further light or grace. In response to the charges of universalism and

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[14] Baxter, *Quakers catechism*, 8.

[15] Given their insistence on the doctrine of predestination, Ministers were quick to deny the possibility of a universal inner light with salvific possibilities. Weld argued that the examples of the Indians, the Pagans and the Turks indicated, by plain experience, that the light within all people cannot have salvific power. Weld also summarised the scriptural citations which supported the Ministers' position. First, that Christ was not known by the light of nature; Matt 16:17 'flesh and blood hath not revealed these things unto you'; second, "God doth clearly show a distinguishing grace in the discovery of Christ; Matt 13:11 'to you it is given to know the mysteries of the Kingdom of heaven, to them it is not given'; in which, is apparent, all have not the knowledge of the Gospel given." Weld, *Perfect Pharisee*, 18-19. Ministers also argued that the light could not be Christ because Christ had ascended into heaven and now sat at the Father's right hand to mediate for believers, and so could not be within believers. See, for example, John Bunyan, *Some gospel-truths opened according to the Scripture* (London: J Wright, 1656), unnumbered page.

sufficiency of the light, Story, replying to Brownsword, simply asserted that the light "doth light every man that comes into the world, which is Jesus" and further that the light "is sufficient to convince of sin, and lead to repentance all them that to his call hearken; and is able to save to the utmost all them that his light, love and obey." [16] Nayler cited Romans 2: 12, 13 for the ability of heathens to achieve salvation by adhering to the law written in their hearts, having no knowledge of "the circumcision of the letter which the Jews stood so much on", and suggested that modern-day Indians and Pagans were in the same position.[17] Nayler also accepted that Quakers taught the necessity for believers to grow the light within in order to progress towards their salvation when he wrote "we know God freely gives a measure of his spirit to every one of us, freely to profit withal; and improving that to his praise, we receive more freely..."[18] As Leo Damrosch has pointed out, Nayler's understanding of the extent of light in each person, expressed in the concept of 'measure', was that the least measure of light, being divine in nature, was perfect.[19] Its deficiency lay in its quantity not its quality.[20] Further, early Quakers did believe that each person possessed within himself or herself the capability of turning to the light, without any additional divine stimulation. Although early Quakers expressly rejected any doctrine of free will, what they meant by that was the exercise of outward will in the world.[21] They positively advocated a turning to the light, standing still in the light and following the light,

[16] Story, *Babilon's defence*, 8. Story cites Heb 5:9 and 7:25, relating to Jesus, the true light of the world, becoming the author of salvation to all that obey him.
[17] Nayler, *Answer to The Quakers' catechism*, 21.
[18] Nayler, *Answer to The Quakers' catechism*, 10.
[19] "It is true, the light is but manifest in the creatures by degrees, but the least degree is perfect in its measure, and being obeyed, will lead to the perfect day, and is perfect in itself, and leads up to perfection all that perfectly follow it." Nayler, *A Few Words Occasioned by ... a Discourse concerning the Quakers*, 1653, quoted by Leopold Damrosch, *The Sorrows of the Quaker Jesus: James Nayler and the Puritan crackdown on the free Spirit* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1996), 101.
[20] "The attractiveness of the notion of measure was that it allowed Quaker writers to speak of *incompleteness* without having to acknowledge *imperfection*." Damrosch, *The Sorrows of the Quaker Jesus*, 100.
[21] "Man's free will we do deny for the will of man shall never enter to God ... and men hath free will unto that which is evil, but not to that which is good ..." Edward Burrough, *Truth Defended*, (London: Thomas Simmons, 1656), 12.

both in terms of outward activities (moral conduct in the world) and inner spiritual progress.[22] Nayler distinguished between the free will of carnal man, which is in bondage to the world, and the free will of the spiritual man, one who has been born again by the Spirit, which is from God.[23]

Quakers were clear that the light was of divine origin and was itself divine in nature, and therefore could be equated to God, Christ or the Holy Spirit, but there was no uniformity of practice in the identification of the light within as, or as emanating from, any particular member of the Holy Trinity. Moore has noted from one text that it is possible that Quakers understood by the light something additional to the three members of the Holy Trinity. She wrote "the light brought people to Christ, but was it unambiguously identical with Christ? Was it the Holy Spirit? In one pamphlet proclaiming the Quaker faith Fox writes, 'the Father and the Son, and the Spirit of Truth, and that of God in every one's Conscience shall bear witness unto us.' Such introduction of something like a fourth person to the Trinity caused problems…"[24] Fox's implication that the light is divine but not God resembles Roman Catholic notions of grace. Elsewhere, Fox equated the light with grace more explicitly: "….Come to the light wherewith Christ hath enlightened you, that with it you may see your salvation, …and the Grace which comes by him, which brings your salvation, which Grace teacheth us, which Grace is sufficient in weakness and temptation, which brings the salvation, and by it we are saved."[25] A similar idea appears in Spencer's writing. In explaining that early Quakers were orthodox in their understanding of the achievements of Christ's passion and death, Spencer suggested that Quakers saw the light within as "the inward work of the atonement" and that "the Light is the

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[22] The light of Christ in every man "in us we found sufficient to reprove us, and convince us of every evil deed, word and thought, and by it, in us, we came to know good from evil …And we found the light to be a sufficient teacher to lead us up to Christ from whence the light came, and thereby it gave us to receive Christ, and to witness him to dwell in us …" Edward Burrough, *Epistle to the Reader* in George Fox, *The Great Mystery of the Great Whore*, 1659.

[23] "and this will that is free, only those who abide in the light do feel the moving of it present, in the Spirit; and as the Spirit is quickened by the word of God… so is that will seen again in men which is free, wherein the creature is made free from the will of the flesh, which is bondage …" Nayler, *Love to the Lost*, 62.

[24] Moore, *Light*, 111.

[25] George Fox, *Some principles of the elect people of God in scorn called Quakers* (London: Robert Wilson, 1661), 30.

ongoing power of the Atonement to transform the individual who responds to the Light." She concluded that "this study argues that holiness for early Quakers was the mystical process of the transformation of the personality by the Light (or grace)".[26] The function which Quakers understood the light within to be capable of performing resembled the function of grace for Roman Catholicism, the active divine element within a person responsible for transforming him or her.[27] For Roman Catholics, grace was the means by which the justified could become sanctified.

Although Roman Catholic doctrine on grace displays similarities to the Quaker ideas about the light within, there are also differences. Roman Catholics did not believe in the universal possession by people of grace sufficient to lead them to salvation. In his exposition of the Roman Catholic teaching on the sacrament of baptism, Bellarmine made it clear that unbaptized infants would not be saved, no matter how free of actual (as opposed to inherent, original) sin they might be.[28] Further, while Quakers perceived the light as an active guide and teacher, Roman Catholics understood grace as affecting people at a deeper, less conscious, level, referring to the Holy Spirit as the operative divine person in assisting people towards salvation.[29] But, like the Quakers, the Roman Catholic church believed that different people received different amounts of grace. The Holy Spirit distributed grace in his discretion.[30] Moreover, the Roman Catholic church, while adopting a position which has sometimes been regarded as semi-Pelagian with regard to a person's capacity to exercise free will to choose the good in pursuit of his or her own salvation, believed that God must give the prevenient grace

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[26] Spencer, *Holiness*, 38.
[27] The Council of Trent defined justification "as being a translation from the state in which man is born a child of the first Adam, to the state of grace and of the adoption of the sons of God through the second Adam, Jesus Christ, our Saviour." Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter IV.
[28] "Children can be saved, but outside the Church there is no salvation; therefore it is necessary for them to enter the Church." Bellarmine, *Controversies,* 'On Baptism', Book1, Chapter VIII, 357.
[29] " ...yet this takes place in that justification of the sinner, when by the merit of the most holy passion, the charity of God is poured forth by the Holy Ghost in the hearts of those who are justified and inheres in them; ..." Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter VII.
[30] The justified "receiving justice within us, each one according to his own measure, which the Holy Ghost distributes to everyone as he wills." Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter 7.

necessary to allow cooperation by a person in making that choice.[31] Roman Catholicism taught that in order for progress to be made towards salvation there must be cooperation between the believer, in the carrying out of good works, and grace within, and that further grace would be given as a result of good works being carried out.[32]

In summary, the Allegation relating to the light was not justified in its suggestion that both Quakers and Roman Catholics espoused universality. However, it was accurate in its charge that both believed there was an element of the divine in each person (or, in the case of Roman Catholics, each justified person) of sufficient quality to lead to salvation; and that it was possible for each such person, by the exercise of free will, to reach for, and progress towards, salvation with the assistance of the divine element within.

3.3 No Imputed Justification

The first in Weld's seven charges of Papist doctrines and practices against Quakers was that "the Papists deny the imputed righteousness of Christ for justification … These also from the same spirit deny the imputed righteousness of Christ for justification."[33] Brownsword made the same charge, as his third accusation. He wrote that Quakers affirm "that we are justified by a righteousness wrought within us, and by obedience …. and G Fox p12 of *Saul's Errand* saith, every believer is born of God, and he that he is born of God is justified by Christ alone without imputation …" Brownsword stated that Papists affirm "that this is their Church's Doctrine and Truth, Bellarmine saith, in this ALL the Catholic Doctors agree, that the righteousness whereby

[31] "in adults, the beginning of that justification must proceed from the predisposing grace of God through Jesus Christ, that is, from his vocation, whereby without any merits on their part, they are called; that they … may be disposed through his quickening and helping grace to convert themselves to their own justification by freely assenting to and cooperating with that grace …" Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter 5.
[32] The justified "are renewed day by day, that is… they, through the observance of the commandments of God and the Church, faith cooperating with good works, increase in that justice received through the grace of Christ and are further justified…" Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter 10.
[33] Weld, *Further Discovery*, 9.

we are justified, is a real inherent righteousness within us, and not Christ's without imputed to us ..."[34] and referred to the Council of Trent's anathema in Canon 11.[35] Baxter included this charge in his series of Papists' strategies, practices and doctrines which he stated were shared by Quakers: "the Papists place their righteousness in their own works and perfection while they sleight the imputed righteousness of Christ, and so do the Quakers."[36]

As explained in section 2.1 of chapter 2, the Reformed faith held that a person is justified by the imputation of Christ's righteousness through faith alone and not as a result of any action by the believer.[37] Francis Higginson described an exchange between the Minister Coale and James Nayler at the Appleby Magistrates' hearing in 1652 when Coale put the Ministers' position: "Christ in me is my sanctification, but Christ fulfilling the law for me is my justification. Justification is an Act of God for Christ's sake, acquitting me and absolving me from the guilt of sin; not done in me but without me, in the Court of Heaven ..." Higginson recorded that "Nayler said nothing to this, but that which is without, is without." [38]

In responding to these Allegations, Quakers declared the necessity for any believer to recognise and rely on Christ within them for their salvation. Nayler answered Weld's charge by

[34] Brownsword, *Quaker-Jesuite*, 3-4.
[35] Canon 11 of the Decrees of the Council of Trent's 6th Session stated "If anyone says that men are justified either by the sole imputation of the justice of Christ or by the sole remission of sins, to the exclusion of the grace and the charity which is poured forth into their hearts by the Holy Ghost, and remains in them ... let him be anathema."
[36] Baxter, *Quakers catechism*, 27.
[37] The Continental Protestant churches agreed on this position. "Both the Lutheran and Reformed theological communities agreed that the objective grounds of justification are to be located not in any human achievement or merit, but in the satisfaction offered by Christ through his fulfilment of the law and his passion." McGrath, *Justitia Dei*, Chapter 16. The English Reformed church had embraced the doctrine, as Davenant proclaimed: "That the obedience and righteousness of Christ imputed to us is the formal cause of our justification. Now this is the common opinion of all our divines." Davenant, *On Justification*, 161.
[38] Francis Higginson, *A Brief Relation of the Irreligion of the Northern Quakers*, (London: TR,1653), 78.

acknowledging the potential efficacy of Christ's passion and death for justification but asserting that this was only achieved by a believer actively receiving Christ within himself or herself.[39]

A distinguishing feature of Reformed doctrine of salvation as against Roman Catholic doctrine was that the Reformed faith regarded justification as immediately accomplished by declarative act of God, to be followed by a separate process of sanctification which would endure throughout the believer's lifetime, even though the two processes, justification and sanctification, were inseparably linked as a result of the believer becoming united to Christ through faith.[40] The Minister John Stalham made the Reformed faith's understanding of the two stages of the process clear in his dispute with Richard Farnworth.[41]

Stalham criticised Nayler for having confused justification and sanctification in a Popish way in *Love to the Lost*: "imputing here is all one with infusing, to him. Justifying righteousness and sanctifying righteousness is the same individual obedience: which is pure Popery, or impure Babylonish Doctrine..."[42] Stalham's outrage with Nayler was justified, for in *Love to the Lost*,

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[39] "For I own no other Christ but that which suffered at Jerusalem, and by him am I saved from my sins: but had I not known him in me, my Redeemer and hope of glory, I had not known him at Jerusalem, nor should I have any more benefit by him, than covetous proud liars ..," Nayler, *Answer to the Perfect Pharisee*, 8.

[40] "In general, both Lutheran and Reformed theological communities began to crystallise their distinctive understandings of justification in terms of a forensic divine declaratory act of accepting someone as righteous leading into... a process of renewal and regeneration. Their Catholic counterparts, however, considered justification to consist of the process of making a sinner righteous which in effect enfolded what Protestants termed 'justification' and 'sanctification'." McGrath, *Justitia Dei*, 293. "Those whom God effectually calleth, he also freely justifieth, not by infusing righteousness into them, but by pardoning their sins, and by accounting and accepting their persons as righteous: not for anything wrought in them, or done by them, but for Christ's sake alone; nor by imputing faith itself...; but by imputing the obedience and satisfaction of Christ unto them..." *Westminster Confession*, Chapter 11.

[41] "The form, manner and way of our justification is by God's free act of imputation, reckoning, and account of Christ's obedience to us: the form of our sanctification is by infusion of holiness ... into our empty hearts. Justification causes a relative change, or it makes a change of relation, sanctification worketh in us a change of qualities, by the creation of the new divine nature, and mortifying of our old corrupt nature ..." John Stalham*, The Reviler Rebuked: or, A re-inforcement of the charge against the Quakers, (so-called) for their contradictions to the Scriptures of God, and to their own scribblings:* (London: Henry Hills and John Field, 1657), 125.

[42] Stalham, *The Reviler Rebuked*, 131. Stalham also attacked Quakers for adopting a Popish understanding of salvation as a process carried out within a believer, when, in *The Reviler Rebuked*, his reply to Richard Farnworth's response to his own *Contradictions of the Scriptures*, he criticised Farnworth's statement that "such as are born of God do truly believe, and faith in God purifieth their hearts, and giveth them victory over the world, and so frees them from sin" as placing sanctification before justification. He wrote "this is so popish a tenet as nothing is more unfound, for it makes sanctification wrought within man the material, if not the meritorious cause of their justification."

Nayler had indeed opposed the separation of justification and sanctification.[43] He had also described justification as a process of growth using the metaphor of the seed implanted by God in every human being to which the promise of redemption had been given.[44] Nayler went on to explain that redemption meant freedom from sin, not in the abstract way described by the Ministers' imputation argument, but so as to permit the believer freedom to follow and serve God.[45]

The Quakers' stress on salvation as a process to be accomplished within each believer was, as their Minister critics charged them, similar to the Roman Catholic understanding.[46] Roman Catholicism had, since Augustine in the fourth century, regarded justification as a matter of believers actually being made righteous by God, not merely being declared righteous.[47] The Council of Trent confirmed both that in justification believers "are renewed in the spirit of our

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Stalham, *Reviler Rebuked*, 119. Richard Farnworth, *The Scriptures Vindication against the Scottish contradictors* (London: Giles Calvert, 1655), 13.

[43] "Although the scriptures mention these three [justification, sanctification and mortification], yet not to divide them so as to make people believe that they may have one and not all, but as to show the several effects of that one work of man's redemption, all wrought by one thing in the creature." Nayler, *Love to the Lost*, 57.

[44] "... that is the seed of the Kingdom to which the promise is; and no further than that principal is raised to reign in thee above all that is contrary to it, no further art thou redeemed by Jesus Christ: for that's the plant of God's renown." Nayler, *Love to the Lost*, 48.

[45] "This is the true redemption to all that know it whereby this seed hath received redemption for us, who were transgressors even to purge the conscience from dead works to serve the living God. And for this he gave himself for us to redeem us from all iniquity..." Nayler, *Love to the Lost*, 49.

[46] Underwood has noted, in the context of John Bunyan's dispute with Edward Burrough, that Bunyan's charges of Quaker lack of belief in the objective salvation worked by Christ "were evoked by Friends' strong criticism of the emphasis on the objective, Godward side of the soteriological process and eschatological events that were so prevalent in the Puritan and non-conformist tradition. This criticism was complemented by the strong Quaker emphasis on the experiential, subjective human side that arose from their vigorous identification with primitive Christianity." Underwood, *Primitivism, Radicalism, and the Lamb's War*, 52. It is certainly the case that Quakers aspired to emulate the first Christians who had immediate experience of Christ or the Apostles, but it seems more likely that early Quaker emphasis on the divine within themselves stemmed from their own personal experiences of revelations than from any conceptual equivalence with the primitive church.

[47] "Augustine thus has an all-embracing transformative understanding of justification, which enfolds within a single conceptuality what some would later distinguish or separate - namely, both the event of justification (brought about by operative grace) and the process of justification (brought about by cooperative grace)." McGrath, *Justitia Dei*, 47. McGrath wrote that during the debates preceding the Council of Trent's 6th session "there was a general agreement over the nature of justification, summarised as follows by Marcus Laureus: "for all theologians agree on the matter, even if they diverge verbally. They affirm that, as a theological term, justification means 'justifactio', a making righteous, and that 'to justify' means 'to become righteous before God (justum fieri coram Dei). Justification is therefore the remission of sin by God through grace." McGrath, *Justitia Dei*, 309.

mind, and not only are we reputed but we are truly called and are just…"[48] and that, as Brownsword pointed out, justification was not accomplished by the imputation of righteousness to a believer.[49] Additionally, the Roman Catholic account of justification incorporated sanctification and justification into a single process so that although initial justification could be spoken of as effected by the remission of sins through the sacrament of baptism and the term sanctification could be taken to refer to the changes brought about in believers through the infusion of grace,[50] the progression of a believer towards salvation through his or her own efforts cooperating with grace could more properly be termed justification.

The Allegation concerning the efficacy to salvation of imputed righteousness was justified. Both Quakers and Roman Catholics believed people were justified by real change within them, and by a process of increasing presence of the divine within them, and not by imputed justification. On this central aspect of the doctrine of salvation the resemblance between Quaker and Roman Catholic belief was not merely superficial but true at a deeper level.

3.4 Inherent Righteousness

Notwithstanding that orthodox Reformed doctrine saw righteousness infused into a believer as an inseparable part of God's declaratory justification of a believer, in disputes with Quakers Ministers treated inherent righteousness as an alternative, mutually exclusive, to imputed righteousness as the means of believers' justification. Brownsword placed the two doctrines together as a single category, alleging that Quakers affirmed the former and thus denied the latter. Quakers saw the matter similarly, as the example of a Quaker, Anthony Hodgson,

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[48] Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter 7.
[49] Council of Trent, 6th Session, Canon 11.
[50] The opening words of Chapter 7 of the Council of Trent's 6th Session are "This disposition or preparation is followed by justification itself, which is not only a remission of sin but also the sanctification and renewal of the inward man through the voluntary reception of the grace and gifts whereby an unjust man becomes just…"

indicates. Weld quoted him as saying "I believe to be saved not by the righteousness of Christ imputed to me; but by the righteousness of Christ inherent in me." [51] Bellarmine confirmed the antithesis between imputed and inherent righteousness as the cause of justification when he opposed Calvin's view that "we are justified by the very justice of Christ imputed to us" and asserted that "it is false that we are *formally* justified by it. We are justified by our own justice adhering (*sic*) in us..." [52]

Weld placed Quaker belief in justification through inherent righteousness as the second in his list of Roman Catholic doctrines shared by Quakers. He wrote "the Papists in their controversies with us do positively affirm that justification is by inherent righteousness... that to justify is only to make righteous by inherent righteousness. So these men [Quakers] do as confidently affirm that they are only justified by inherent righteousness, or that righteousness within, which Christ within them enables them to perform."[53] Francis Higginson added to the concept of inherent righteousness the good works, actual righteousness, which was a part of Roman Catholic understanding of the requirement for salvation. He wrote of the erroneous opinions of the Quakers "some of them, and those no mean ones among them neither, hold the popish doctrine of justification by works, or inherent righteousness, which Christ in him enables them to perform."[54]

The Quaker response to this Allegation was to admit that they believed that salvation would be achieved through actual righteousness within them, rather than by virtue of any imputation of Christ's righteousness to them, but to deny that the righteousness which came to them through following and obeying the light within could properly be regarded as their own righteousness. It was the righteousness of Christ within them. Nayler thus responded to Weld's Allegation: "by

[51] Weld, *Perfect Pharisee*, 12.
[52] Bellarmine*, Controversies*, 'On Baptism', Book 1, Chapter XVIII, 406.
[53] Weld, *Further Discovery*, 10.
[54] Higginson, *A Brief Relation*, 6.

being made the righteousness of God in Christ and denying all our own righteousness, are we justified. And this Christ and this righteousness we witness within us in measure."[55]

To the extent to which Quakers believed justification was achieved by righteousness within people, and not by any remote declaration or imputation, their doctrine aligned more closely to Roman Catholic than to Reformed doctrine. Yet it would be untrue to categorise Quaker belief as the same as Roman Catholic. Quakers emphasised the suppression and eventual eradication of their own selves and wills in a process of allowing the growth of the divine seed within them.[56] When Nayler responded to Weld that justification would be achieved by "denying all our own righteousness" he alluded to the Quaker understanding that the believer's self must become subsumed to Christ within him. By such a process Quakers could declare that they had become united to God, or one with God, indicating that the individual concerned had allowed the divine within to take complete control of his self and will.[57] Roman Catholic doctrine, by contrast, stressed the continuance of a believer's self and will, though transformed by the infusion of grace; emphasised the cooperation of the human self and will with infused grace in the process of sanctification; and required the subjection of the believer to the authority and control of the church.

Although, like the Reformed doctrine, Roman Catholicism understood justification to comprise both an initial remission of sins and an infusion of grace leading to sanctification, Roman Catholicism viewed the remission of sins through the sacrament of baptism as a regeneration, a spiritual change effected in the believer by grace, rather than the result of a declaration in his or

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[55] Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 6.
[56] "In this seed as it is redeemed hath the Saint fellowship with the Father… and this is their freedom even their righteousness, which is everlasting as the seed is redeemed out of the pit. For where the seed is raised up, the creature receives from God of his fullness…" Nayler, *Love to the Lost*, 50.
[57] Before the Magistrates at Appleby in 1652, responding to the charge that 'George Fox said he was equal with God', Nayler answered: "that those words were spoken is not denied: but that they are the words of George Fox is denied… That George Fox was denied as dust; but the Spirit that spake in him is equal with God… Now George Fox being called before Rulers for the Name of Christ, he denies George Fox to speak, and the creature who is but dust, and witnesseth the Spirit of the Father speaking in him (though his words pass through George Fox)…" Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 13.

her favour.[58] The Council of Trent was clear that the formal cause of a person's justification was the justice of God infused into that person.[59] *The Catechism of the Council of Trent* emphasised both the divinity of grace infused at baptism and the change thereby wrought in the justified person.[60] That change could be maintained by receiving the sacrament of the eucharist to make good the loss of grace caused by venial sins, and the sacrament of penance, following proper repentance, in respect of mortal sins.[61] Roman Catholic doctrine envisaged that the justified would progress towards salvation through good works carried out with the benefit of additional grace "faith cooperating with good works", finally attaining eternal life as "the crown of justice… to be rendered… by the just judge".[62] As Ministers correctly complained, Roman Catholic doctrine asserted that the righteousness which inhered in the justified and would eventually be crowned with eternal life was not the justice of the human being but that of God which had been infused.[63]

The Allegation that both Quakers and Roman Catholics believed they would be saved through their own inherent righteousness was superficially justified. Quakers and Roman Catholics did indeed hold that the divine within each person saved him or her but their views on how each person attained and maintained their interaction with divinity differed, Quakers emphasising the necessity for each person to repudiate his or her self and will, Roman Catholics encouraging people to take action, in the form of good works, in cooperation with, and to evidence, the divine

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[58] *The Catechism of the Council of Trent* quotes Augustine on the baptism of infants with approval: "by the generation of the flesh we contract original sin only; by the regeneration of the spirit we obtain forgiveness not only of original, but also of actual guilt." *Catechism of the Council of Trent* transl. Rev J Donovan (Baltimore: Fielding Lucas, 1829), 'On the Sacrament of Baptism', 127.

[59] Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter 6.

[60] "But grace… not only remits sin, but is also a divine quality inherent in the soul, and, as it were, a brilliant light that effaces all those stains which obscure the lustre of the soul…" *Catechism of the Council of Trent,* 'On the Sacrament of Baptism', 130.

[61] Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter 14.

[62] Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter 16.

[63] " … thus, neither is our own justice established as our own from ourselves, nor is the justice of God ignored or repudiated, for that justice which is called ours, because we are justified by its inherence in us, that same is [the justice] of God, because it is infused into us by God through the merit of Christ." Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter 16.

within. Both Quakers and Roman Catholics, however, accepted that the inherent righteousness which saved a person was God's righteousness, not that of the person concerned.

3.5 Perfection

Weld expressed his third Allegation in this way: "the Papists again do confidently conclude that a man may perfectly keep the whole law… So the Quakers, their great assertion as a challenge to all is, that every Saint is perfect, that it is possible to be perfectly holy and without sin."[64] Brownsword worded his corresponding Allegation similarly.[65]

All parties were agreed that sinlessness was a condition of entry to the Kingdom of Heaven, and thus of a person's salvation. As described in section 2.3 of chapter 2 concerning Sin, the Reformed doctrine denied the possibility of perfection in this life on the basis that sin could not be eradicated, teaching the necessity of a further imputation of Christ's righteousness at death.[66] The Ministers who attacked Quakers all advanced that belief, distinguishing between justification, which was indeed perfect in that it perfectly removed past sins and guilt, and sanctification which, because the righteousness infused in consequence of a believer's faith always remained "inchoate and imperfect"[67] in this life, could never be completed in a perfect state.[68] Baxter argued that it was the Quakers' spiritual pride which led them to claim perfection. He believed this was a Papist error "a part of the Papists dung which they have taught you to

[64] Weld, *Further Discovery*, 10.
[65] Brownsword, *Quaker-Jesuite*, 3.
[66] "This corruption of nature during this life doth remain in those that are regenerated and … both itself and all the motions thereof are truly and properly sin." *Westminster Confession*, Chapter 6, Paragraph 5.
[67] Davenant, *On Justification*, 164.
[68] "Perfection of justification, by a most perfect imputed righteousness, we have as soon as we believe; but perfection in all degrees of sanctification we have not in this life, nor ever had it till death …" Stalham, *Reviler Rebuked*, 143.

feed upon."[69] Barbour has suggested that the question of the possibility of perfection was one which distinguished Quakers from puritans.[70]

Consistent with its belief that the process of justification of a believer was effected by the infusion of God's righteousness and that progress to salvation was achieved through cooperation between the believer and the infused grace within him or her, Roman Catholic doctrine held that perfection was achievable in this life. In direct opposition to the Reformed belief, Roman Catholicism declared that all sin, not merely past sins and their accompanying guilt, was removed by baptism,[71] and that the sacraments of the eucharist and penance had been created to keep believers in a sinless state by removing, respectively, venial and mortal sins.[72] Continuing concupiscence in a justified person was acknowledged, but the Council of Trent repeated the traditional teaching of the Roman Catholic church that concupiscence was not itself sin, merely a tendency which, if striven against, need not result in sin.[73] Divine grace and sin could not coexist in a believer.[74]

Quakers responded to the Allegation relating to perfection with a simple argument. They asserted that the divine within them was, by definition, perfect.[75] If believers totally sublimated

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[69] Baxter, *Quakers catechism*, 24. Baxter described the Ministers' position using imagery borrowed from Augustine: "Christ's Kingdom is an Hospital, he hath no subjects in it but diseased ones. The Father's Kingdom before had perfect subjects and so shall it have again when Christ hath perfected us …"

[70] "… the idea of perfectionism, the issue for which puritans took Quakers to task more often than any other." Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England*, 149.

[71] "If anyone denies that by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ which is confirmed in baptism, the guilt of original sin is remitted, or says that the whole of that which belongs to the essence of sin is not taken away, but says that it is only cancelled or not imputed, let him be anathema." Council of Trent, 5th Session, Canon 5.

[72] Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter 14.

[73] "Catholics do not deny that there is in man the oldness of the flesh and the newness of the Spirit when they affirm concupiscence is in us, which is the law of the members opposing the law of the mind (Romans 7: 23) but they deny it is a sin, except when we consent to its desires with our free will." Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On Baptism', Book 1, Chapter XIII, 386.

[74] Davenant noted that while Jesuits argued that inherent righteousness infused into a believer at baptism would drive out sin, other Roman Catholics argued that there is no incompatibility of grace with sin by their natures but rather that God withdraws grace where sin exists due to the demerit of sin. Davenant, *On Justification*, 218.

[75] "I say that we affirm self-perfection is but thy lying slander; or that we say we are Christ or God, as though saist we do, but that we witness perfection from sin, so far as we have received Christ, we own it

their selves and wills to the divine light within, or if they permitted the divine seed within to grow to full maturity, they themselves would inevitably be perfect, free from all sin.[76] Quakers argued that within a believer sin and the divine are incompatible.[77] In his response to Weld's Allegation, Nayler advanced three arguments to support the Quaker position. First, he relied on those scriptural texts on which the Roman Catholics had relied in their dispute with the Reformed.[78] Second, he argued that Christ had fulfilled the law and thus that those who became united to Christ benefitted also from that fulfilment in themselves.[79] Third, the effect of Christ's passion and death was to cleanse believers from sin now, not to do so after their deaths.[80] Further, as Fox declared, Quakers believed that God was just and would never impose on humankind obligations which they would be incapable of performing.[81]

Quakers accepted, as Roman Catholics did, that the state of perfection was not attained immediately but required effort by a believer to be achieved.[82] Both Quakers and Roman Catholics believed that although a believer might reach a state of sinless perfection, falling

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as God's command and gift, the end of Christ's coming, and of giving forth his ministry…" Nayler, *Answer to The Quakers Catechism*, 11.

[76] In discussing Nayler's reflections on his own falling away, Spencer wrote that a statement by Boehme reflected "the essence of the early Quaker understanding of perfection; it is the fully yielded will, true yieldedness. One is perfect 'in measure' to the extent that one has died to self. And the extent that one has died to self is the extent that Christ is revealed in measure. When the self is fully emptied (kenosis) then Christ is fully revealed, incarnated within (pleroma)." Carole Dale Spencer, "The Man Who 'Set Himself as a Sign': James Nayler's Incarnational Theology" in Angell and Dandelion (eds.) *Early Quakers and their Theological Thought*, 77.

[77] "For perfection is of Christ; and imperfection is of the devil; and these are two contraries, and comes from contrary grounds, and brings forth contrary fruits, for he that is of God is of perfection, and believes perfection, but who is of the serpent cannot own it…" Nayler*, Love to the Lost*, 21.

[78] Such as Matt 5:48 and 1 John 3:6,9. The debate on scriptural texts was obscure and inconclusive, partly because numerous texts could be found to support each side's contention and partly because of the different meanings for which the word 'perfect' was employed in different texts. A number of Ministers suggested that obvious inconsistencies pointed to the necessity for the application of interpretation rather than a literal reading. Weld, *Perfect Pharisee*, 14, 15.

[79] "It was the end for which God sent his Son manifest in the flesh, that by him the righteousness of the law might be fulfilled in us who walk not after the flesh but after the Spirit." Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 6.

[80] "The blood of Christ … is to cleanse people from their sins, and not to justify them in their sins." Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 25.

[81] "God is not unrighteous, or a hard taskmaster, to lay more upon a man than he can do …" George Fox, Works (1831), III, 553, quoted by Benson, *Universal Christian Faith*, 22.

[82] "We witness the Saints' growth, and the time of pressing after perfection." Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 6.

away was possible.[83] On this point they were both opposed to the Reformed understanding, as Brownsword noted in his fourth Allegation.[84] Once achieved, constant help from God was required for the maintenance of a state of perfection,[85] but the fact that a believer might fall away from perfection did not render perfection impossible to achieve.[86] Quakers argued that to present believers perfect to the Father was the principal purpose of Christ's establishment of the ministry.[87] Spencer notes that "in Catholicism, holiness is synonymous with perfection, and early Quakers often used the terms interchangeably" and that "Quaker holiness is closer to Roman Catholic understanding" than that of Puritans.[88] Roman Catholicism maintained that a justified person could fulfil the law,[89] and that God's requirements were not unduly onerous[90] but the emphasis of Roman Catholic doctrine was on the necessity for each justified person to strive, with the help of grace, to keep God's commandments.[91]

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[83] Nayler, *Love to the Lost*, 11. "If anyone says that men once justified can sin no more, nor lose grace … let him be anathema." Council of Trent, 6th Session, Canon 23.
[84] Brownsword, *Quaker-Jesuite*, 3. The *Westminster Confession* declared that "God doth continue to forgive the sins of those that are justified and, although they can never fall from the state of justification; yet, they may by their sins, fall under God's fatherly displeasure …" Chapter 11, Paragraph 5.
[85] "[If] he that sees himself set free from sin by that power of grace… abide in Christ, he sinneth not, neither doth such an one say he hath no knowledge of Christ, nor need of the Physician, nor that he will not be beholding to him for his blood … nor is this to say that he will not be beholding to God any more, who stands by faith in his power, and is beholding to him daily, and to his blood daily, which as it hath washed so keeps pure …" Nayler, *Answer to the Quakers' Catechism*, 42.
[86] "The falling into that which is not perfect, doth not make that which they fall from imperfect, for the angels that kept not their first stage, which was perfect, did fall from that which was perfect." Richard Hubberthorne*, The Rebukes of a Reviler fallen upon his own head*, (London: Giles Calvert, 1657), 44.
[87] "That all teaching which is given forth by Christ is to bring the Saints to perfection, even to the measure of the stature of the fullness of Christ, this the Scriptures doth witness and this I witness." Fox, *Saul's Errand*, 4.
[88] Spencer, *Holiness*, 3.
[89] "Regenerate men are, by the help of divine grace, and by the Spirit of faith and love infused into us in justification itself, competent absolutely to fulfil the law of God." Bellarmine, *On Justification*, Book 4, Chapter 10, quoted by Davenant, *On Justification*, Volume II, 4. "… they who love [Christ], keep his commandments … which, indeed, with the divine help they can do." Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter 11.
[90] "For God does not command impossibilities, but by commanding admonishes thee to do what thou canst and to pray for what thou canst not, and aids thee that thou mayest be able." Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter 11.
[91] "Nevertheless, let those who think themselves to stand, take heed lest they fall, and with fear and trembling work out their own salvation, in labors, in watchings, in almsdeeds, in prayer, in fastings and charity." Council of Trent, 6th Session, Chapter 13.

The Allegation relating to perfection was true, both superficially and at a deeper level. Both Quakers and Roman Catholics believed that the presence of the divine within a believer would, if allowed by the believer to control the believer's will, wholly eradicate sin from the believer.

3.6 Scripture

As explained in section 2.2 of chapter 2, by virtue of the experiential basis of their faith, Quakers accorded priority to the work of the Spirit in human beings over the authority of the word of Scripture.[92] As Ministers' Reformed faith had placed reliance on Scripture alone rather than the traditions or conciliar rulings of the Roman Catholic church as the cornerstone of its belief,[93] it was inevitable that Ministers should find early Quakers' hostility to their doctrines relating to the authority of Scripture offensive.[94] But did Ministers have valid grounds for branding Quakers' views on the Scriptures as Roman Catholic?

Weld included two claims relating to Scripture in his Allegations. First, that Quakers gave precedence to the Spirit over Scripture in the task of discerning good from bad spirits: "the Papists affirm that the Scriptures, or the written Word of God, are not the supreme judge of Spirits. So these people [Quakers], that the Spirits are not to be tried by Scripture."[95] Second, that Quakers belittled the authority of Scripture as the rule of faith: "the Papists call the Scripture a dead letter, and nose of wax, a scabbard without a sword… So these men also not

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[92] "The Scriptures we own to be true in themselves, as they were given forth from the Spirit of truth, which ruled in them that spake them forth, which spirit I witness, and their declaration I own, the life of it…" Richard Farnworth, *Light Risen out of Darkness now in these latter days* (London: Giles Calvert,1654), 11.
[93] "The Scriptures are the only visible and legible rule of faith, and judge of controversies, as all sound Protestants have hitherto maintained this truth against the Papists. And they that are of a sound mind in this British Isle … have asserted them to be a true ground of the believers' faith." John Stalham, *Reviler Rebuked*, 31.
[94] The Spirit gave forth the Scriptures as a declaration "but they are not that of which they are a declaration; the letter testifies of the eternal life, but it is not, it neither gives it; it testifies of the light of the glorious gospel shining on the heart… but it is not that light… it testifies of the way, but Christ is the way, and of the Word but God is the Word; and of redemption, but Christ is the redemption, and not the letter …" Richard Hubberthorne, *Rebukes of a Reviler*, 29.
[95] Weld, *Further Discovery*, 10.

only cry down the necessity of the written word… But also call it a dead letter, a carnal letter, that they are but a declaration of them that spake it…"[96] Baxter suggested that Quakers had borrowed a Roman Catholic notion: "The Papists' main error lieth in the contempt of the Scriptures. They say, they will not take it for the Word of God but on the authority of the Church, and that it is but part of his word; the Quakers say, it is not the Word of God. The Papists say it is but a dead letter, and so do the Quakers."[97] Immanuel Bourne, Minister at Ashover, Derbyshire, who had attended a dispute at Chesterfield in January 1654 between the incumbent John Billingsly and James Nayler, and published an account of the dispute to vindicate his own part in it, gave a clear formulation of the Allegation concerning Scripture. He wrote "as Moses did answer all doubts arising about the law of God, so there must be an outward visible judge of all controversies. And this is the Church, and the Spirit in the Church, or in the chief Pastor (the Pope) with his council of pastors (saith Bellarmine) and the Spirit speaking in holy men (saith Nayler), that is, in himself, and his fellow Quakers. And thus you may see from where the Quakers received this doctrine, even from the popish seducing Jesuits…"[98]

Ministers believed that the Holy Spirit had inspired the Scripture writers and thus that the text they had produced must be treated as divinely given.[99] For that reason, Ministers regarded the text of Scripture, denigrated by Quakers as the letter, as hallowed, its interpretation to be reserved to trained experts, not uneducated countrymen and women like Quakers who claimed to be divinely inspired. For their part, Quakers' rejection of the use of intellect to understand Christ's word led them to denigrate Ministers' claim to priority in interpreting Scripture.[100]

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[96] Weld, *Further Discovery*, 10.
[97] Baxter, *Quakers catechism*, 26.
[98] Immanuel Bourne, *A defence of the Scriptures, and the Holy Spirit Speaking in them* (London: John Wright,1655), 8.
[99] The writers of the Scriptures "were the holy men of God who wrote, but that which is written is the truth of God: they were imperfectly holy, but God's word, as written from the Spirit, is perfect in all degrees of holiness." Stalham, *Reviler Rebuked*, 254.
[100] "…they who are made ministers by the will of man say that the letter which is carnal is the light; and that the letter is the Word;… Hebrew, Latin and Greek these are the tongues; Oxford and Cambridge two well heads of divinity; and the letter and the Spirit inseparable; and the Spirit is the letter, and that learned

Ministers' accusations that both Quakers and Roman Catholics belittled the Scriptures were exaggerated. Quakers 'owned' the Scriptures, as was apparent from their extensive reliance on the text of Scripture as the best objective authority in their disputes with Ministers. Quakers described the Scriptures as the letter and not the word, but they readily conceded that the Scriptures were a declaration of the Word which inspired those who wrote or spoke the Scriptures.[101] Similarly, Roman Catholic doctrine pronounced Scripture to be the word of God, the divinely inspired rule of faith.[102] Where Ministers' Allegations were accurate was in the claim that both Quakers and Roman Catholics regarded the text of Scripture as a scabbard without a sword,[103] a dead letter,[104] and neither necessary nor sufficient to salvation.[105] But Quakers and Roman Catholics had very different reasons for describing Scripture in those ways.

Quakers regarded the text of Scripture as lying at the centre of the external, carnal religious practice of Ministers which could never lead to salvation.[106] They pointed to the danger of

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men must raise it out: now they who are made ministers by the will of God, their Word is God, their light is Christ… the Spirit is within them…" Richard Farnworth, *A discovery of faith; wherein is laid down the ground of true faith, which sanctifieth and purifieth the heart, and worketh out the carnal part* (London: Giles Calvert, 1653), 12.

[101] "That we cry down the necessity of the Scriptures is false. But if you mean the Scriptures, which we call a declaration of them that spake them forth; it is true, we do so; and they who spake them forth witness them with us to be a declaration; Luke 1: 3, 1 John 1: 3 and the letter and not the Spirit. But that we cry down the necessity of the Scriptures is false; for they are our own, and we see them of use every day…" Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 6.

[102] "… the prophetic and apostolic books are to be understood according to the mind of the Catholic Church … namely, that it is the true word of God and the certain and steadfast rule of faith." Bellarmine, *Controversies,* 'On the Word of God', Book 1, Chapter I, 22.

[103] "… There are two aspects in Scripture: the written words, and the meaning included in them; the words are like a scabbard and the meaning is the sword of the spirit." Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On the Word of God', Book 4, Chapter IV, 227.

[104] "The letter of Scripture is carnal, and the letter is death, and killeth, but the Spirit giveth life, which was in them that gave forth the Scriptures…" Fox, *Saul's Errand*, 7.

[105] "The written word is not the power of God, nor the Scriptures are not the salvation; but he that doth believe, hath the life of them. Who is born of God shall never die, as it is written, he that believeth is born of God; and he that is born of God hath the witness in himself that God is the cause of man's salvation, and not the Scripture, nor the Letter." Fox, *Saul's Errand*, 7.
Bellarmine argued that "Scripture simply is not necessary", citing the fact that "religion was preserved for two thousand years by Tradition alone", referring to the period from Moses' life until Christ's birth. He further stated that "we do not have … sufficient doctrine if everything is located in the Scriptures" pointing to the fact that "many truly sacred and canonical books have perished." Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On the Word of God', Book 4, Chapter IV, 222.

[106] "… all the Preaching, and all the Praying, and all your Reading, and all your Singing, and all your Expounding… the carnal mind invents them; all this is for the fire… for they are the works of the flesh,

reliance on text to the exclusion of its spiritual vitality by frequent allusions to the Pharisees who used the Scriptural writings of the Old Testament to convict Christ of blasphemy.[107] The criticism of the Scriptures as a dead letter or a declaration of those who gave them forth was aimed more at the lack of inspiration in Ministers' use of the text than at any deficiency in the text itself,[108] and their purpose was to turn their adversaries' attention from the written Scriptures to the Spirit from which they originated and which, Quakers declared, was speaking in the present time within them and all true believers.[109]

Roman Catholicism similarly regarded the text of Scripture as constituting only one of the aids to humankind's salvation, not the exclusive means. In addition to pointing out that holy men had been saved before the Scriptures were written, Bellarmine asserted that preaching rather than writing had been the principal concern of Christ and the Apostles, and thus the written text of Scripture should be treated as providing support to the preaching of the Word of the Gospel.[110] Additionally, the obscurity of certain passages of Scripture and apparent inconsistencies between different Scriptural texts required assistance from a non-scriptural source for elucidation.[111] But Quakers and Roman Catholics advanced different solutions for the

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proceeding from the first nature, and not knowing the Word of God." Farnworth, *A Discovery of Faith*, 1653, 10.

[107] "and the trial of spirits by the Letter without the Spirit is the same by which Christ was tried by the Pharisees who read the Scripture of the Prophets every Sabbath, but not understanding their voices, by the letter put him to death…" James Nayler, *Weaknes above wickednes, and truth above subtilty* (London: Giles Calvert, 1656), 6.

[108] "thou art no Minister of Christ, and knowest not the Word of God… and art a Minister of the Letter, not the Spirit, and thou goest about to try the living by the dead, the spirit by the letter; but they who are Ministers of God have the spirit of God by them…" Richard Hubberthorne, *Truth Cleared, and deceit made manifest* (London: s.n., 1654), 7.

[109] For instance, Nayler contrasts "all the world's teachers" those "who apply the Scripture" and "calls the Letter the Word" with the Saints whose "light was Christ" and whose "Word was God". James Nayler, *A discovery of faith, wherein is laid down the ground of true faith (London: Giles Calvert, 1653), 5*.

[110] *"The real and principle purpose of Scripture is not* that it be the rule of faith, but that it should be a useful instruction to help preserve and foster the doctrine received from preaching." Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On the Word of God', Book 4, Chapter XII, 265.

[111] Bellarmine cites the Fathers who characterised Scripture as obscure and then adds that reason reaches a similar conclusion. He states that some things said in Scripture "are very obscure" and that the way in which they are said poses "innumerable causes of difficulty", including apparent contradictions, ambiguity, incomplete sentences, distorted sentences, turns of phrase 'proper to the Hebrews', and figurative statements. Bellarmine, *Controversies,* 'On the Word of God', Book 3, Chapter I, 176-178.

deficiencies they perceived in Scripture. Quakers identified the Spirit speaking within them as the required source of all additional guidance whereas Roman Catholics turned to the unwritten Word of God, the traditions of the Roman Catholic church to fulfil that role.[112] Quakers denigrated all such tradition as carnal and man-made, refusing to allow any authenticity to any doctrine or practice which did not originate from the text of Scripture, thus evidencing the value which, despite their criticisms, they accorded to Scripture.[113] Notwithstanding their characterization of Scripture as, by itself, deficient, Quakers generally would not accept that any supplement to the text was required, other than the internal guidance of the Holy Spirit,[114] only hesitantly conceding that in some circumstances where the text of Scripture did not deal with circumstances which had occurred in practice, the Spirit might fill the gap.[115] Nuttall suggests that Quaker willingness ultimately to acknowledge that guidance from the Spirit could be accepted if Scripture proved inadequate represented a line of demarcation between Quakers and the most radical adherents to the Reformed faith before them.[116]

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[112] "and the spirit which gave forth the Scriptures, which was in the Saints, opens the Scriptures again, and leads into all truth." Fox, *The Great Mystery*, 1659, 5.
"... we say that the whole necessary doctrine, whether on Faith or morals, is not contained expressly in the Scriptures; and therefore that, besides the written word of God, also the unwritten word of God is required, that is, the divine and apostolic Traditions." Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On the Word of God', Book 4, Chapter III, 217.

[113] In reply to Weld, Nayler wrote "we deny your faith which you say is nourished by bread and wine which is carnal: and your sprinkling of infants we deny which you say, You can clear up to be an Ordinance of Christ, but doth not, nor can do it." Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 38. Replying to Brownsword, Story wrote "where we see either the Papists or you in error, we do rather pity you than scorn you; ... yet we do despise and reject the vain traditions of men, which is practised for the worship of God by you." Story, *Babilon's Defence*, 15.

[114] Scriptures "are of no private interpretation, but were given forth to be read and fulfilled in the Saints, as they were given forth by the Holy Ghost, without adding or diminishing; and were not given forth for man to make a trade on to get money by..." Nayler, *Saul's Errand*, 16.

[115] Concerning Quaker meetings, Fox wrote "And if there was no Scripture for our Men and Women's Meetings, Christ is sufficient." Fox, *Epistles* (ed, G. Whitehead, 1698), 388, quoted by Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 89.

[116] "It was this underlying principle of dependence upon God's Spirit, if necessary even without Scriptural precedent, rather than their actual practice, which differentiated Quaker worship from what had preceded it." Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 89.

Ministers, Quakers and Roman Catholics all agreed that only the Spirit had the ultimate capacity for judging controversies and interpreting Scripture.[117] But how could the Spirit's intentions be ascertained? Ministers were correct in the Allegation that Quakers and Roman Catholics believed Scripture itself embodied the Spirit only partially and insufficiently to act as final authority, whereas Ministers themselves held that the Scriptures were the Spirit's written legacy to humankind and must be regarded as the only means by which the requirements of the Spirit could be known.[118] The difficulty with Ministers' position was that it required an individual inspired by the Holy Spirit to rule on the correct interpretation of Scripture for revealing the Spirit's intention, thereby exposing them to the very criticism which they aimed at Quakers, namely that there could be no certainty that the spirit by which any individual claimed to be guided was the Holy Spirit and not a bad spirit.[119] This was an allegation which Roman Catholics did not hesitate to make against Ministers,[120] causing Weld to attempt to brush it aside, when raised against him by Nayler, as "a known threadbare Popish argument."[121] The Roman Catholic church had experience of advocates of individual spiritual enlightenment over many centuries and had concluded that the certainty delivered by the collective judgement of the Church

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[117] "The infallible Spirit which is the Originall of all Scriptures is the trial of all spirits … and by that spirit the Saints was to judge of all spirits." Nayler, *Answer to The Perfect Pharisee*, 16.
"It is confessed on all hands that the eternal Spirit is the original of Scriptures, and the trier of Spirits; who ever questioned that? But our question is what the Saints are to try the Scriptures by?" Weld, *Further Discovery,* 69.
"There is also agreement between us and our adversaries that the Scriptures must be understood in the same spirit in which they were made: that is, in the Holy Spirit." Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On the Word of God', Book 3, Chapter III, 186.
[118] "The supreme judge by which all controversies of religion are to be determined …can be no other but the Holy Spirit speaking in the Scriptures." *Westminster Confession*, Chapter 1, Paragraph 10.
[119] "They who have not that infallible spirit which gave forth the Scriptures, have the spirit of error and judge amiss both of the Spirit and Scripture, as the Scribes and Pharisees did, and you do." Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 6.
[120] Edmund Campion made this criticism of the Protestants' inability to agree on the texts which should form the canon of Scripture: "Why then do some of you tear out one piece of Scripture, and others another, whereas you all boast of being led by the same Spirit?" Edmund Campion, *Ten Reasons Proposed to his Adversaries for Disputation in the Name of Faith*, First Reason: Holy Writ, unnumbered page.
[121] Weld, *Further Discovery*, 71.

should be preferred to the enthusiasm professed by any individual.[122] Bellarmine supported Roman Catholicism's location of the Spirit's guidance in the church by explaining the virtue of certainty and pointing out that if interpretation of Scripture was properly the province of every individual claiming inspiration from the Holy Spirit, there would never be clarity because each individual also claimed that the spirit by which he was guided had priority over all other spirits.[123] In defence of their position, Quakers not only rejected tradition as a valid source of authority for supplementing Scripture but defended their identification of the Spirit within as the only valid judge of controversies and interpreter of Scripture by declaring that as the Spirit was one, so the guidance given to all believers by the Spirit should always be the same.[124]

As against Ministers' Allegations, Quakers denied that their commitment to the Spirit in priority to Scripture could correctly be characterised as Roman Catholic, pointing to Roman Catholicism's espousal of tradition and the authority of the church which they denied.[125] Bourne's Allegation was justified in its description of Quakers' and Roman Catholics' solutions to the difficulty of identifying the location of the Spirit for the judging of controversies and interpretation of Scripture, but unjustified in suggesting that these respective solutions indicated any connection between Quakers and Roman Catholics.

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[122] "No one relying on his own judgement shall, in matters of faith and morals pertaining to the edification of Christian doctrines, distorting the Holy Scriptures in accordance with his own conceptions, presume to interpret them contrary to the sense which holy mother Church, to whom it belongs to judge of their sense and interpretation, has held or holds …" Council of Trent, 4th Session, Decree concerning the Edition and Use of the Sacred Books.

[123] "There is no heretic who does not claim to have the spirit, and who does not place his spirit before the spirits of others." Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On the Word of God', Book 3, Chapter IX, 205.

[124] "Where that Spirit is, it is one, and admits of no disputes and janglings; but speaks one and the same thing in all that have it in their measure;" Nayler, *Answer to the Perfect Pharisee*, 16.

[125] "We say the Spirit is infallible; and they say their Church is infallible, so that for us to say the Spirit of God is infallible is Popery; but what religion is thine who cannot bear it, to say the Spirit is infallible?" Nayler, *Answer to the Quakers' Catechism*,

3.7 Sacraments

Brownsword made two Allegations relating to sacraments. First, “Quakers affirm that the baptism of infants cannot be proved by Scripture: the Papists affirm the same”; second, “Quakers affirm that the Lord's Supper, as administered by our churches, is common, nothing but a bit of bread and wine...: the Papists are of the same judgement.”[126] So far as they went, these Allegations were true. Both Quakers and Roman Catholics did deny any Scriptural basis for the baptism of infants[127] and any validity in the eucharist as performed by Ministers.[128] Although agreement between Quakers and Roman Catholics was an illusion, each group having different and incompatible reasons for holding their views, at a deeper level Quaker and Roman Catholic thinking was closer than either admitted in the polemical context of the disputes, and certainly was more proximate than Quaker beliefs were to those of Ministers.

Quakers not only denied that there was any Scriptural basis for infant baptism but also that water baptism had any merit. Quakers regarded baptism with water as carnal, an illustration of humankind's invalid focus on outside things following the fall.[129] Faced with Scriptural evidence, particularly of Christ having been baptised with water by John the Baptist, Quakers argued that baptism with water had been a figure for the baptism with the Holy Spirit which Christ would,

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[126] Brownsword, *Quaker-Jesuite*, 5.

[127] “And worshipping God in spirit, we deny carnal observances and traditions of men, as sprinkling infants, for which there is no Scripture, but the baptism of Christ we own and witness, and the supper of the Lord and prayer we do not deny.” Audland, *The Innocent Delivered*, 20.
“Therefore the things that the Church cannot rightly observe, unless they were instituted by God, and nevertheless does them, concerning them it is necessary to say that they were instituted by God, even if it is read nowhere. Such is the Baptism of infants…” Bellarmine, *Controversies,* ‘On the Word of God*’,* Book 4, Chapter IX*,* 246.

[128] “We do deny you and your Sacrament, and your bread and your wine, which is carnal, and feeds the carnal which must die, and your communion is in that which is carnal in the creatures…” Richard Hubberthorne*, The antipathy betwixt flesh and spirit*, (London: Giles Calvert, 1654), 2.

[129] In *Love to the Lost*, Nayler contrasts God's leading his people in spirit out of the world to follow Christ, “out of all the shadows and ceremonies and fashions of the world, to follow Christ alone…” with the confusion of the beliefs of all the different professions of the Christian religion of his day “which are all different one from another, though the Spirit of God be but one, and cannot be limited to any visible form or rudiment.” Nayler, *Love to the Lost*, 38.

and did, render possible.[130] For Quakers, baptism with the Holy Spirit was a spiritual matter, effected for each believer within himself or herself, and was the process by which a believer died to the world and was regenerated as a 'new man' into the body of Christ, the entirety of the human beings who were committed believers in Christ.[131] Similarly, early Quakers denounced the eucharist ceremony performed by Ministers as carnal while declaring the validity of spiritual sharing in the body and blood of Christ by all believers.[132]

Roman Catholics accepted that there was no Scriptural basis for infant baptism but turned to Apostolic tradition as evidence of the divine authorization, indeed commandment, of the practice. For Roman Catholics, faith, which for the Reformed was the instrument by which justification was effected, was merely a preceding disposition for a sacrament, not an active cause of the conferring of grace by the sacrament.[133] Roman Catholics therefore did not face the problem which confronted the Ministers in connection with infant baptism, namely that infants are incapable themselves of having the faith required by the Reformed religion to serve as the foundation of the sacrament. Roman Catholics also declared that any attempt by Protestant ministers to perform the eucharist ceremony had no validity, Bellarmine arguing that as God is the author of the sacraments and the words of no sacrament are effective instrumentally except

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[130] "John's baptism was but a figure, for he said he did but baptise with water, but Christ is the end of all figures, types and shadows, and did fulfil them…" Hubberthorne, *The Antipathy*, 2.

[131] Nayler explained Quaker understanding well in *Love to the Lost* where he wrote, using the imagery of Paul in Romans 6: 3 "in Christ there is but one baptism, and that is of the Spirit, and this is the baptism of Christ, and all that are baptised with it are baptised into his death, buried with him unto the world… and all that are baptised with this Spirit (and the old man dead and buried) they are raised a spiritual seed unto God… which is but one; and all as they are baptised herein, grow into one in God the Father… and so were all the Saints baptised by one Spirit into one body…" Nayler, *Love to the Lost*, 37.

[132] "The true Supper of the Lord is the Spiritual eating and drinking of the flesh and blood of Christ, Spiritually; which the Spiritual man only eateth, and is thereby nourished up unto eternal life; without which eating, there can be no life in the creature, profess what you will…" Nayler, *Saul's Errand*, 17.

[133] "Will, faith and penance in an adult recipient are necessarily required as dispositions on the side of the subject, not as active causes, since faith and penance do not effect Sacramental grace, nor do they give the efficacy of the Sacrament." Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On Sacraments in General', Book 2, Chapter I, 159.

when moved by God, so no sacrament is effective unless the words "are pronounced by the man to whom he consigned them", namely a priest of the Roman Catholic church.[134]

The basis of Quaker and Roman Catholic doctrine concerning infant baptism and the eucharist may thus appear to differ considerably, Quakers rejecting any ceremonies and traditions as carnal,[135] and Roman Catholics insisting on prescribed forms for sacraments.[136] But both Quakers and Roman Catholics placed the highest value on their own interpretation of baptism and the eucharist for the same reason, namely that through these divinely ordained means human beings become joined to Christ and thereby conducted towards their own salvation. Nayler summarised the Quaker belief in *The Discovery of the Man of Sin*: "and whereas you say we cry down Baptism and the Lord's Supper; it is false, for the Baptism of John we own, which is with water, and the baptism of Christ with the Holy Ghost and fire we own, and the Supper of the Lord we own, and our faith feeds upon him, and the eating of his flesh, and drinking of his blood is our life..."[137] On the Roman Catholic side, Bellarmine explained the Roman Catholic position that baptism and the eucharist are the means ordained by God for the transmission to believers of justifying grace which is divine in nature.[138] The form of the sacraments, which was the target of Quaker criticism, was, for Roman Catholicism, merely the physical manifestation of the gift of grace effected by any Sacrament. The underlying, spiritual core of each sacrament was the infusion to each recipient of divine grace.[139] Both Quakers and Roman Catholics held that by

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[134] Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On the Sacraments in General', Book 1, Chapter XXVII,143.
[135] "Your traditions, your word Catholic, your sprinkling infants which you call baptism, does not remit your sins, for there is no Scripture in it; so Church, traditions, sprinkling infants, all have got up since the days of the Apostles ..." George Fox and Francis Howgill, *The Papists strength, principles and doctrines ... answered and confuted* (London: Thomas Simmons, 1658), 24.
[136] Bellarmine wrote of what is required to constitute a sacrament of the New Law that "it is a sensible sign." Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On Sacraments in General', Book 1, Chapter IX, 32.
[137] Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 38.
[138] Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On the Sacraments in General', Book 1, Chapter IX, 34.
[139] In explaining the factors which together render a sacrament effective, Bellarmine asserted that the external actions, consisting of the due application of the form and matter, were the proximate and instrumental causes of the grace of justification but "the will of God , which uses the Sacrament, ... is the principal cause." Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On the Sacraments in General', Book 2, Chapter I, 159. Later in the same work, when listing Roman Catholicism's reasons for believing that sacraments operated directly to confer grace, not by arousing faith in a person, Bellarmine stated that "the Sacraments do not

means of baptism and the eucharist believers are really changed by virtue of (for Quakers) becoming part of the body of Christ and (for Roman Catholics) receiving within themselves God's righteousness. The similarity of thought on the need for, and effect of, baptism and the eucharist, notwithstanding differences of view on the necessity of physical forms and ceremonies, may be contrasted with the understanding of the Reformed faith that baptism and the eucharist are merely signs of the work of the Spirit in justifying a believer.[140] Justification itself is effected by God imputing Christ's righteousness to a believer through the instrument of faith.[141]

The narrow Allegation relating to the sacraments of baptism and the eucharist was valid. Quakers and Roman Catholics did deny any Scriptural basis for infant baptism and also denied the validity of the Reformed ceremony of the eucharist. Their rather limited denials did not demonstrate any overt similarity of doctrine between Quakers and Roman Catholics. Yet at a deeper level, Quakers and Roman Catholics both believed in the necessity for, and real effect of, baptism and the eucharist, whereas Ministers regarded both sacraments as mere signs of a justification which only faith could achieve.

3.8 Revelations, Miracles, Immediate Call, Infallibility

Weld's sixth Allegation was that "the great argument by which the Papists do go about to establish the truth of their way is immediate revelations and pretended miracles; the want of which they upbraid the Protestant Ministers and charge to be no Church. So the Quakers do in

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only depend upon the institution of God, but also on their very use, for he is the one who baptises through his ministers, consecrates, absolves ,etc ..." Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On the Sacraments in General', Book 2, Chapter VIII, 187.

[140] The *Westminster Confession* stated of baptism that it was "a sign and seal of the Covenant of Grace" and of the Lord's Supper that "worthy receivers ... inwardly by faith ...spiritually, receive and feed upon Christ crucified ..." Chapters 28 and 29.

[141] *Westminster Confession*, Chapter 11, Paragraphs 1 and 2.

their pretences to an immediate call, and their supposed miracle of quaking…"[142] Brownsword included the topic as one of the Quaker practices which he identified with those of monks and nuns: "Quakers lay claim to visions and revelations, boast of their more inward spiritual discourse than other men… Monks and nuns do the same…"[143] Other Ministers also saw Roman Catholic influence in this aspect of Quaker faith. Prynne equated Quakers with Jesuits: "and nothing (in my judgement) more clearly detects the popish Friars, Priests, Jesuits to be the principall inventors of, erectors, actors, rulers, speakers amongst our Quakers… than the pretended extraordinary sudden extravagant …quakings, shakings, raptures, visions… revelations, illuminations,…; their intimate familiarity and immediate communion with God and Jesus Christ…; their extraordinary callings…; all which are the very same in form and substance with those ridiculous lying… revelations, visions … of Popish Saints, Friars, Jesuits…"[144] Baxter could "hear the croakings of your Papist guides in that word [infallible]; that's the pillar of their kingdom and the master-point of their New Religion, that their Church is infallible."[145]

The subject of these Allegations, the possibility of direct communication between God and human beings, was a major dividing line between Quakers and Ministers, just as it was between Ministers and Roman Catholics. It was an easy judgement for Ministers to make that these similarities between their two enemies should have indicated wider and deeper connection.

Ministers' position was that direct communication between God and humankind had ceased with the Apostles and, though not impossible, was no longer to be expected.[146] Put on the defensive over Quaker claims that their lack of immediate calling rendered their ministry invalid, Ministers denied not only the possibility of an immediate call but also that the Scriptures

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[142] Weld, *Further Discovery*, 11.
[143] Brownsword, *Quaker-Jesuite*, 9.
[144] Prynne, *Quakers Unmasked,* 6.
[145] Baxter, *Quakers catechism*, 9.
[146] "I believe that the Scriptures or Laws of Christ being finished and sealed, we must hold these till the coming of Christ… and that these are able to make men wise to salvation without any more additions; and therefore no more is to be expected." Baxter, *Quakers catechism*, 12.

required one.[147] Going onto the offensive, the Baptist minister Jeremiah Ives demanded evidence of the Quakers' immediate calling, noting the absence of Quaker miracles which, Ives averred, was the conventional physical manifestation of a divine call.[148] In defence, having failed to persuade Ives that Quakers' faith was adequate evidence of an immediate call, Nayler could only fall back on asserting that the practice of early Quaker leaders in leaving their homes and livelihoods to begin preaching demonstrated the reality of their call. Ives dismissed this with the comment that if that was so, "this was to a greater degree found among the Jesuits, who did travel to Rome for Orders, and after come and preach here in England though there was a standing law that made it Treason."[149]

Quakers admitted that they had experienced divine revelations and immediate callings.[150] For Quakers, not only was an immediate call the basis upon which they were carrying out their preaching lives, it was also the foundation for their assault against the Ministers. In affirming his immediate calling, Nayler attacked Weld for remaining 'in the world' and purporting to act as a minister of the Gospel despite having been selected by a temporal authority and receiving payment from his congregation. In *Love to the Lost*, Nayler explained the Quaker view that "the ministers of Christ are ever called out of the world and contrary to the world … nor would God ever send by whom the Kings of the Earth did choose, nor the powers thereof, but such as they called and set up without his immediate call, was ever the great enemies to such as he sent…".[151]

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[147] Responding to the question whether all those sent out by the Lord as Gospel dispensers had immediate teaching, Stalham distinguished three categories of ministers of Christ described in Acts and the Epistles, namely Paul and the Apostles, who did; evangelists, assistants to the Apostles, who "had their light and knowledge by mediate ways" and therefore did not; and prophets, some of whom did and some did not. Stalham, *Reviler Rebuked*, 216.

[148] Jeremiah Ives, *The Quakers quaking: or, the foundation of their deceit shaken* (London: J Cottrel, 1656), 14.

[149] Jeremiah Ives, *Quakers Quaking*, 14.

[150] "For [God's] call is immediate, whereby he hath called his, and sent them forth; which call I witness from the mouth of the Lord." Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 7.

[151] Nayler, *Love to the Lost*, 59.

On the topic of miracles, Quakers admitted that quaking was a fact of early Quaker meetings.[152] Moore has suggested that the practice "was one of the most notable features of early Quakerism" and that the Quakers' device, particularly that of George Fox, of referring in publications to quaking as the manifestation of 'the power of the Lord' may have served to limit publicity given to it.[153] Apart from quaking, commentators have not found substantial evidence of miracles performed by Quakers. Some miracles are recounted in Quaker publications,[154] but it seems likely that Quakers were criticised more for the absence of demonstrations of miraculous powers than for claiming to have performed miracles.[155] Nayler responded to Ives' charge that if Quakers were the true church they would have been able to validate their claim by carrying out miracles, by denying that all who had received the baptism of the Spirit also received the power to perform miracles.[156] In her account of her own convincement, Mary Penington noted that her initial scepticism of Quakers' authenticity was due to the widespread objection that Quakers did not carry out miracles.[157] In responding to the Allegation that their claim to infallibility disclosed an origin in Roman Catholicism, Quakers explained, in the same manner as their replies to the Allegations relating to inherent righteousness and perfection, that infallibility was a characteristic of the Spirit within them and not of their own.[158]

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[152] "But for quaking and trembling we own it, as that which the Lord hath said shall come upon all flesh, and which the Saints have witnessed through the Scriptures …" Nayler, *Answer to The Perfect Pharisee*, 25.

[153] Moore, *Light*, 146.

[154] Barbour refers to John Banks having been cured of pain in his arm by George Fox. *John Banks, A Journal of the Life, Labours, Travels* (London, 1712), 66-67, quoted by Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England*, 152. Additionally, the Report of Nayler's interrogation by the Bristol Magistrates following his entry to Bristol in 1656 records that Dorcas Erbury, one of his companions, testified that he had raised her to life from the dead, in Exeter gaol. Damrosch comments that Nayler "acknowledged that a miracle had been enacted through him …" Damrosch, *The Sorrows of the Quaker Jesus*, 157.

[155] Moore found only one report of a successful miracle in early Quaker correspondence, and none in publications, though she suggests that failure to publish miracles may have reflected sensitivity to charges of popery or witchcraft. Moore, *Light*, 133.

[156] Nayler, *Weakness above Wickedness*, 7.

[157] "I had heard the objection against them that they wrought not miracles, but I said they did great miracles in that they which were of the world and in fellowship with it came to turn from it …" Mary Penington, *Experiences in the Life of Mary Penington* (London: Headley Brothers, 1911) quoted by Braithwaite*, The Beginnings of Quakerism*, 503.

[158] "As many as are the sons of God, are led by the spirit of God. And Christ acts all in them and for them … And that is it which leads the Saints to divide and discern all things both temporal and spiritual …but not

Ministers were correct in highlighting experience of immediate communication with God as a significant element of Roman Catholic faith. Eyre has pointed out that part of the utility for the Roman Catholic church of the reform of canonization procedures in the wake of the Council of Trent was that the very notion of the possibility of direct divine intervention in human lives was rejected by their Protestant opponents.[159] Contributing to the Counter-Reformation momentum of tightening and centralising the procedures for canonization, hagiographies became increasingly popular in Roman Catholic countries in the seventeenth century and, as Eyre notes, "hagiography was all about miracle."[160] Testimony of mystical encounters and miracles served to emphasise the continuity within the Roman Catholic church of a tradition, and the truth of that tradition, which witnessed Christ's direct action in the world. The widely circulated, published autobiographies of Ignatius Loyola and Teresa of Avila in the seventeenth century provided evidence of the recognition of the possibility of revelation and immediate calling within the Roman Catholic church. As to infallibility, the Roman Catholic church asserted that the Pope as Supreme Pontiff of the church could not err in teaching the church in matters of faith,[161] basing this belief on Christ's promise to Peter in Luke 22: 31-32; and that the Roman church itself cannot err in faith, meaning by this that though every individual within the church can err, there can never be a moment when all err at the same time.[162]

The Allegations based on revelation, immediate calling, and the possibility of miracles were true in that Quakers and Roman Catholics both acknowledged that these divine interventions in human lives occurred, and lauded them. But to the extent to which these Allegations sought to colour the Quakers as Roman Catholics, they did not overcome the defence advanced by John

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with their own, that comes to nought: and you that have not that which is infallible to judge in you, know not the Spirit of Christ …" George Fox, *The Great Mystery*, 5.

[159] "The very lives of these saints are models of heroic virtue, of precisely the kind of moral and spiritual perfection that Protestants deemed absolutely impossible." Eyre, *Reformations*, 400.

[160] Eyre sets out the statistics that in Spain 23 hagiographies were published between 1500 and 1599, whereas 350 were published between 1600 and 1639. Eyre, *Reformations*, 403.

[161] Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On the Sovereign Pontiff', Book 4, Chapter III, 958.

[162] Bellarmine, *Controversies*, 'On the Sovereign Pontiff', Book 4, Chapter IV, 965.

Story that Brownsword had "no more true ground to compare us to monks and nuns because we had true visions, than thou hast to compare Abraham and Jacob and others to the monks and nuns."[163] The Allegation concerning infallibility was justified by both Quakers and Roman Catholics claiming infallibility but their reasons for doing so were of a different nature, Quakers basing their claim on personal experience, Roman Catholics on Scripture and patristic interpretation.

3.9 Practices

Many Ministers alleged Quaker practices betrayed a Roman Catholic origin or exposed Roman Catholic leadership in Quaker ranks, but the practices specified varied from Minister to Minister. This section will examine the Allegations relating to practices by arranging them in five categories: those which were misconceived; those which were true but lacked any serious Roman Catholic connection; those which were true and could be identified as Roman Catholic but also as having some other origin; those which were true and also Roman Catholic; and finally those which were true, but evidenced paranoia more than Roman Catholic origin.

Both Weld and Brownsword singled out Quaker adoption of "beggarly apparel" as a Roman Catholic trait.[164] Brownsword had much to say about the monks' use of "plain and mean apparel", citing the Benedictine Rule and the Council of Trent's ruling that monks' clothing should be "such as is suitable to a state of poverty". Nayler answered Weld's Allegation by admitting that Quakers had "cast off needless pride and excess" but otherwise denied that Quakers had a custom of wearing mean clothes: "for no other beggarly apparel do I know used among us".[165] Quaker advocacy of the equality of all people, which was a consequence of their

[163] Brownsword, *Quaker-Jesuite*, 6.
[164] Weld, *Further Discovery*, 11; Brownsword, *Quaker-Jesuite*, 7.
[165] Nayler, *Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 7.

belief that the light was in every person, led Quakers to abhor social gradations and, particularly, the pride which they perceived such distinctions encouraged in individuals, and resulted in Quaker rejection of luxury and ornament in dress.[166] But Quaker preference for simplicity in dress was a long way from the prescription of uniform dress of a basic variety to which those in some Roman Catholic orders were subject.[167] Similarly, the Allegation by Brownsword[168] that Quakers professed poverty and abstinence while living well, thereby resembling Roman Catholic monks, ignored the reality which was the Quakers opposed excess in all worldly things, like the Puritans in the Reformed Church, but advocated hard work rather than begging or denial of ownership of property interests, as the means of livelihood.[169] Story answered Brownsword with a denial and the question "if God bless any of his people with outward increase, why dost thou envious wretch reproach them because of God's mercies?"[170] Similarly, the charges that Quakers "cast off respect due to their parents and relations" appears without foundation as a Quaker policy, though clearly friction between convinced children and their parents was likely, as in the case of Thomas Ellwood. Story simply denied that Brownsword's charge on this point was supported by evidence.[171]

The Allegations that Quakers "run up and down naked, though not constantly, yet at some times"; [172] "place their religion in mere circumstances and formalities" such as "keeping on the

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[166] This attitude is evidenced by the episode of the convinced shopkeepers of Malton burning their lace and ribbons in 1653, cited by Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 72; and also by Thomas Elwood's recording that when he was convinced, he "took off his lace, ribbons, and useless buttons, and ceased to wear rings." Thomas Ellwood, *The History of the Life of Thomas Ellwood, by Himself*, 1714, quoted by Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 490.

[167] Braithwaite commented that "the pattern of Quaker plain dress was at first simply puritan daily clothing with a working class accent." Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 168.
The Council of Trent, 14th Session, Chapter 6, prescribed penalties for those in orders who "do not wear a becoming clerical dress conformable to their order and dignity …".

[168] Brownsword, *Quaker-Jesuite,* 9.

[169] Moore observed that "Quakers had no objection to a comfortable way of living", citing Thomas Ellwood's comment about the quality of the dinner he received in the Pennington's house at Chalfont St. Giles before his convincement. Moore, *Light*, 122.

[170] Story, *Babilon's Defence*, 18.

[171] Story, *Babilon's Defence*, 16.

[172] Brownsword, *Quaker-Jesuite*, 8.

hat, thouing persons";[173] exhibited "rude and uncivil behaviour in refusing to salute, or show any reverential respect, honour or humble deportment towards Magistrates or other persons of what quality so ever …";[174] promoted the practice of quaking;[175] and allowed women to preach,[176] all pointed to distinctive Quaker practices but not to anything similar in Roman Catholicism. Brownsword made a futile attempt to link the Quaker practice of going naked to Roman Catholicism by suggesting this had been the habit of Ignatius Loyola and by referring to medieval flagellants' practice of removing their shirts. Neither Brownsword nor Prynne advanced any instance of Roman Catholic practice of denying customary social courtesy by failing to remove hats or using 'thou' rather than 'you'. Prynne suggested that quaking indicated the presence of popish Friars and Jesuits amongst Quakers on the grounds that Ignatius Loyola "upon his first resolution to enter into this new strict kind of life… fell into a fit of quaking and trembling" and thereafter was often subject to quaking, but offered no supporting written evidence.[177] In response to Weld's claim that Quaker quaking is not to be compared with the trembling recorded by Old Testament prophets but must be attributed to "Satanical ecstacies" of which there are "amongst the Papists multitudes of examples of pretended raptures and ecstacies",[178] Nayler admitted "quaking and trembling … as that which the Lord hath said shall come upon all flesh" but ignored the papist charge.[179] Prynne equated Quaker acceptance of women as preachers with "the new order of Jesuitesses… who presumed to wander abroad, and preach publicly in England",[180] almost certainly a reference to Mary Ward's Jesuit-style congregation for women which flourished between 1611 and 1631.[181] But Prynne himself notes

[173] Brownsword, *Quaker-Jesuite*, 9.
[174] Prynne, *Quakers Unmasked*, 5.
[175] Weld, *Perfect Pharisee*, 41.
[176] Prynne, *Quakers Unmasked*, 18.
[177] Prynne, *Quakers Unmasked*, 22.
[178] Weld, *Perfect Pharisee*, 42.
[179] Nayler, *Answer to the Perfect Pharisee*, 25.
[180] Prynne, *Quakers Unmasked*, 18.
[181] Gemma Simmonds, "Women Jesuits" in Thomas Worcester, *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 123-128.

that this attempt to introduce women preachers into Roman Catholicism had been suppressed by Pope Urban VIII in 1631.

Allegations which described practices which Quakers did not deny and which were evident in at least parts of the Roman Catholic church but which were also adopted by non-Catholic groups were fasting, and favouring silence in communal gatherings. Weld alleged of Quakers that they "place abundance of their holiness in fasting"[182] and Brownsword charged that "they practice fasting much in their entrance upon this way, and afterwards as a special means of spiritual knowledge."[183] Fasting had been a customary practice in the pre-reformation English church[184] and continued in Roman practice after the Council of Trent,[185] but it was not limited to Roman Catholicism. Seeker communities, from which many Quakers were drawn, practised fasting on their meeting days,[186] and, as Damrosch has pointed out, during the Interregnum "official fasts and Days of Humiliation were frequently mandated on a national scale at times of crisis."[187] Story admitted that Quakers "have practised, and do practice, waiting in the will and council of God". Observing silence was a practice required by the rules of certain Roman Catholic orders, but it was also a custom of some of the separatist groups which preceded the advent of Quakerism.[188]

The ostensible resemblance of Quakers' itinerant ministry to the Ministers' archenemy, the Jesuits sent from the Continent to sustain the recusants in England, gave rise to an Allegation

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[182] Weld, *Further Discovery*, 11.
[183] Brownsword, *Quaker-Jesuite*, 9.
[184] Eyre alludes to the practice of fasting for four weeks before each of Christmas and Easter. Eyre, *Reformations*, 34.
[185] The Council of Trent, 25th session, *Exhortation concerning the Choice of Food, Fasts and Festival Days*, exhorted all pastors that they "both command to the faithful all things declared by the Council and themselves comply with all these things, particularly those which tend to modify the flesh, as the choice of foods and fasts…".
[186] Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 165, quoting Charles Mitchell, *Works*, referring to a Seeker community at Bristol.
[187] Damrosch pointed out that the distinctive aspect of Quaker fasting was its duration, in which it was contrary to Roman Catholic customary practice. Damrosch, *Sorrows of the Quaker Jesus*, 136.
[188] Braithwaite quoted Penn in his Preface to Fox's Journal referring to the Seeker practice of meeting in silence, and to silence as an aspect of the religious practice of Familists. Braithwaite, *Beginnings of Quakerism*, 23.

from many Ministers. Prynne instanced Quaker "rambling about from place to place by two and two together, to vent and spread their errors, as the Franciscan Friars by the rules of their order are bound to do, and the Queen's Franciscans did here of late",[189] and Farmer similarly complained that Quakers like "morrice-dancers from the North, by two and two, two and two" had invaded Bristol.[190] This was a true Allegation in that both Quakers and Roman Catholics from Elizabethan times into the seventeenth century adopted the tactic of sending preachers or priests in pairs to preach, in the Quakers' case, or, in the Roman Catholic case, visit the Roman Catholic community. A weightier Allegation was that made by Baxter and Prynne that Quakers mimicked Jesuits in making it their initial aim to shake the people's confidence in their ministers in order more easily to draw them towards thinly disguised Roman Catholic doctrines.[191] Denouncing the authenticity of all Protestant ministry was a Roman Catholic tactic aimed, in part at any rate, at unsettling people's confidence in ministers of all Protestant churches. Nayler responding to Baxter did not deny the charge but went on to the offensive by suggesting that it was Ministers who were really the Papists, not Quakers.[192]

If Allegations relating to a wandering ministry with the aim of attracting followers by winning them from allegiance to their ministers were justified, those which detected undeclared objectives in Quaker ministry reflected paranoia amongst Ministers rather than any real similarity or connection between Quakers and Roman Catholics. Both Baxter and Prynne claimed that Quakers' strategy was to win converts to Roman Catholicism by gradually

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[189] Prynne, *Quakers Unmasked*, 5.
[190] Farmer, *The Great Mystery,* Letter to the Secretary of State, John Thurloe.
[191] "Their first endeavour is to unsettle the people, by taking them off all dependence on their guides, and that by bringing the ministers into contempt with them; … and by drawing men to separation and Anabaptism; and then by persuading them that these are glorious truths of God which their former teachers are unable to receive…". Baxter, *Quakers Catechism*, 26. Prynne wrote "the Jesuits make and profess it one of their principal designs, to… alienate the people's affections from… the true Protestant ministers …; and is not this the Quakers and their disciples principal design… to withdraw the people wholly from… all our lawful Orthodox ministers…". Prynne, *Quakers Unmasked*, 20.
[192] "And whereas though sayest that the Papists have begotten the present sect of Quakers: I say, the devil is not divided against himself: had we been begot by the Papists we should have had more favour from you, who are come of that line, as having hopes of us to have been restored to your former kingdom…" Nayler*, Discovery of the Man of Sin*, 13.

introducing them to Roman Catholic doctrines.[193] Prynne cited Jesuit clandestine infiltration into the courts of Protestant German princes in order to "promote the Popes and Papist affairs with more facility ..."[194] It may be that Prynne had seen and been influenced by the spurious work *Monita Secreta*, written by an offended, expelled ex Jesuit, which purported to be an instruction manual in political intrigue written by Claudio Acquaviva, a Superior-General of the Jesuit order.[195] Farmer argued that Quaker subordination of Scripture to the Spirit was "that so the authority thereof being rejected, they may be the better prepared upon a new assault... to entertain the infallible authority of the Roman Chair. For the same course the Papists take to render [the Scriptures] of small esteem do these men run."[196] Farmer was amongst those Ministers who exhibited a xenophobic tendency in his criticism based on the origin of Quakerism in the north of England, that Quakers "may come upon Antichrist's errand; and not much impossible, for Lancashire and those parts is as famous for Papists as Witches."[197] Prynne echoed that fear: "the Scripture informs us Jeremiah 1:14, 4:6, 6:1, 22 that out of the North an evil shall break forth upon all the inhabitants of the land... Westmoreland is well known to have abounded with Jesuits, Popish Priests, Friars ...".[198]

Most Allegations relating to Quaker practices failed to identify corresponding Roman Catholic practices and none of them suggested convincingly any connection between Quakers and Roman Catholics. Such similarity as existed could more simply be ascribed to the aim of attacking the Reformed religion and religious practice than to any identity between Quakers and Roman Catholics.

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[193] "They put a handsome dress upon many of the grossest points of Popery, and recommend these as new and rare discoveries. But this they do not do in the name and garb of Papists, but they turn Anabaptists and then rise a step higher and lead others after them; so that the silly people shall never know that it is Papists that are their leaders..." Baxter, *Quakers catechism*, An Answer to a young unsettled Friend, unnumbered page.
[194] Prynne, *Quakers Unmasked*, 20.
[195] Eyre, *Reformations*, 463.
[196] Farmer, *The Great Mysteries*, 68.
[197] Farmer, *The Great Mysteries*, 77.
[198] Prynne, *Quakers Unmasked*, 36.

3.10 Origins of Quaker Doctrines

Both Brownsword and Baxter appealed to their readers to answer the question where else could Quakers have obtained their doctrines if not from papists?[199] They hoped that their exposition of similarities between Quaker and Roman Catholic doctrines and practices would lead their readers to conclude that Quakers must have had a direct connection with Roman Catholics. The closest which any Minister could come to finding evidence of any such connection[200] was the sworn statement of George Cowlishaw obtained by Prynne, reproduced in full by Baxter.[201] Cowlishaw stated that in September 1654 he had met an old acquaintance named Coppinger who claimed to have become a Franciscan and to have attended numerous Quaker meetings in London. He warned Cowlishaw to expect Quakers in Bristol imminently. Cowlishaw stated that about eighteen days thereafter Quakers did arrive in Bristol. Replying for the Quakers to Prynne's triumphant blandishing of Cowlishaw's statement, John Audland contradicted it, stating that Quakers knew the names of all who had spoken at their meetings in London and Coppinger was not amongst them; and that he and John Camm had been the first Quakers to arrive in Bristol and had held their first meetings in July 1654.[202] Audland was able to list the dates in early and mid-September when Quaker meetings had been held in Bristol. Prynne

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[199] Brownsword, *Quaker-Jes*uite, 10; Baxter, *Quakers catechism*, unnumbered page.
[200] In *A New Discovery of some Romish Emissaries*, printed in 1656, Prynne related a story to the effect that an Englishman named Charles Chester had met two Capuchin Franciscans in Marseilles who told him they had recently been in Bristol and upon being asked who they knew in England had named men and women who were amongst the principal Quakers in Bristol. Further, Chester had later seen his two informants talking to Quakers at a Quaker meeting in Bristol. Prynne wrote that this account had been given by Chester to persons of credit in Bristol from whom Prynne himself had heard the story. William Prynne, *A New Discovery of some Romish Emissaries* (London: Edward Thomas, 1656), 9.
Prynne's information about Chester's meeting with alleged Roman Catholics in Marseilles goes no further than suggesting that two Roman Catholics were acquainted with persons in Bristol who were Quakers. To be fair to Prynne, his intention in A New Discovery was to reveal that missions to England and Ireland by emissaries from Rome continued in some strength rather than to demonstrate any close connection between Quakers and Roman Catholics.
[201] Prynne, *Quakers Unmasked*, 3-5; Baxter, *Quakers catechism*, unnumbered page
[202] Audland, *The Innocent delivered*, 36-40.

replied to Audland claiming that Cowlishaw could not have known about Audland and Camm's meetings before September because they were with Anabaptists and Independents, and that the meetings in September occurred after Cowlishaw's meeting with Coppinger and thus almost fitted his timescale.[203] The matter thus ended with an argument about dates.

The fragility of Cowlishaw's statement as evidence of connection between Roman Catholics and Quakers was exposed by the Baptist Henry Denne who, in the course of criticising the minister Thomas Smith for accusing George Whitehead of being a papist for refusing to swear the Oath of Abjuration, pointed out that "'tis a fallacious way of arguing to proceed to prove that a thing really is, because it is possible that it might be; and yet no better is the argument of the Papist Adversaries in this case."[204] Merely because popish priests and Jesuits were known to be zealous in prosecuting their religion and seeking to gain proselytes did not mean the Quakers were Roman Catholics because they also energetically sought to win people over to their beliefs. Denne noted that Cowlishaw's statement could not be verified because his informant Coppinger had allegedly left England for Ireland the day after the meeting with Cowlishaw. He went on to point out that claims of Roman Catholic infiltration of various religious groups had been widespread for some years and asked rhetorically "was there ever any such thing duly proved? Was there ever any Jesuit or priest taken under such mask or disguise?" [205] The only instance of anyone being apprehended which had come to his notice was that he had heard that "an idle fellow (one Ramsey)" had many years since being brought from Newcastle on the suspicion of being a Roman Catholic in disguise and imprisoned in London but no effort had

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[203] William Prynne, *Quakers Unmasked,* 2nd edition, including *A brief reply to John Audland's rayling paper* (London: Edward Thomas, 1655), 34-35.
[204] Henry Denne, *The Quaker No Papist* (London: Francis Smith, 1659), 20.
[205] "In the beginning of the Scottish War, what was more rife in the mouths of the Prelatical clergy than that the Papists concurred under-hand with the Presbyterians, and the Presbyterians made use of the Papists, to advance the Geneva Government against Bishops, thereby to destroy Order in their Church, and Monarchy in their Government? No sooner was that war ended, and the Bishops pulled down, but both Prelatist and Presbyterian frame the like accusation against the Anabaptists and other Sectaries … that they concurred and plotted with Papists, and Papists with them, to hinder Reformation, and to introduce Popery …." Denne, *The Quaker No Papist*, 20.

been made to examine or try him and he had been released after a long imprisonment. If anyone had had information against him, why had they remained "as silent and mute as fishes?"[206]

In the absence of any convincing evidence having been adduced by Ministers to support the Allegation that Quakers were taught or led by Roman Catholics, or that Quakers were Roman Catholics in disguise, or that Jesuits had infiltrated Quakers, it must be concluded that the Allegation failed. There was no connection between Quakers and Roman Catholics.

3.11 Conclusions

The Allegations which related to the means of salvation for human beings were largely justified in identifying doctrinal resemblance. Quakers and Roman Catholics held similar views concerning the reality of light or divine grace within people, the necessity for believers to strive towards their salvation by effort assisted by the divine within them, and their salvation by virtue of their own real joining with the divine within them rather than any external divine imputation of Christ's righteousness to them. Quakers and Roman Catholics believed it was possible for people to achieve perfection in this life. Quaker and Roman Catholic doctrines were by no means identical but their understanding of the process of human salvation was closer than Quaker views were to those of the Reformed faith.

The Allegations relating to Scripture succeeded only in that both Quakers and Roman Catholics denied that Scripture was necessary or sufficient as a rule of faith and agreed that the Holy Spirit was the judge of controversies, trier of spirits and interpreter of Scripture. But the Allegations were unsuccessful in showing any stronger similarity between Quakers and Roman Catholics, by virtue of the very different solutions advanced by them to the problem, Quakers affirming the primacy of the Spirit within them both for supplementing and interpreting Scripture

[206] Denne, *The Quaker No Papist*, 21.

and for judging controversies, Roman Catholics pointing to Apostolic tradition as the source of all knowledge required to fill out Scripture, and the Spirit working through the Roman Catholic church as the ultimate authority for resolving controversies and interpreting Scripture.

Quakers and Roman Catholics' attestation of the reality of divine contact with human beings rendered the Allegation relating to revelations, miracles, immediate calling and infallibility valid. In a limited number of instances, the Allegations relating to practices specified behavioural characteristics which both Quakers and Roman Catholics exhibited.

The Allegations failed to establish any connection between Quakers and Roman Catholics, or any origin of Quaker doctrines or practices in Roman Catholicism. Indeed, with the exception of Prynne's statement from Cowlishaw which alleged infiltration of Quakers by Franciscans, Ministers made no attempt to specify a connection between Quakers and Roman Catholics, contenting themselves with demonstrating similarity of views and then asserting a connection merely on that basis. They smelled a rat where there was none.

Yet there can be no denying a similarity between Quaker and Roman Catholic ideas on the topic of salvation, and more generally on how human beings can and should relate to the divine. On those vital questions, Quakers ostensibly bore a closer resemblance to the Jesuits than to orthodox Roman Catholic doctrine. The Ministers' suspicions of connections between early Quakers and Jesuits were better founded on the doctrinal side than on visible practices, the characteristics where the two groups were most obvious to Ministers. To an investigation of alleged similarities between early Quakers and early Jesuits Chapter 4 now turns.

Chapter 4: Quaker Spirituality and Jesuit Spirituality

4.1 Introduction

In the popular mind, itinerancy and refusal to swear the Oath of Abjuration in 1655 were the characteristics which marked Quakers out as Jesuits.[1] Braithwaite pointed out that Burrough "was tried as a vagabond and examined for a Jesuit" at Waterford in Ireland;[2] Hall was ejected from Monk's army in Scotland for being "a vagabond, a Jesuit and spy";[3] and although the Oath of Abjuration was directed against Roman Catholics "the widespread idea that Quakers were Jesuits in disguise frequently caused it to be put to them."[4] Baxter and Prynne pointed to similarity between Quaker and Jesuit practice in attempting to win converts by, first, shaking their confidence in their Reformed ministers' authenticity and, then, cautiously advancing Roman Catholic doctrine.[5] Additionally, Prynne had read biographies of Loyola and noticed a similarity of behaviour between Loyola in his early years and that of Quakers. Prynne described how Loyola

> pretended a divine call from God, and Jesus Christ; appearing to him...; whereupon he left his former profession (soldier), cast off his former apparel and donned sackcloth, wandered up and down professing the study of poverty, penance, mortifications and contempt of the world, leading a life of austerity,... conversing with the poorest and meanest sort, teaching and preaching to them often gratis in the open streets and woods... And is not this the very practice of our Quakers and Shakers now, who exactly imitate him herein? [6]

[1] Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit*, 164.
[2] Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, 214.
[3] Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, 229.
[4] Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism*, 446.
[5] Baxter, *Quakers Catechism: an answer to a young unsettled friend*, unpaginated; Prynne, *Quakers Unmasked*, 7.
[6] Prynne, *Quakers Unmasked*, 21.

As noted in section 2.2 of chapter 2, Ministers did not admit the possibility of divine revelation to human beings or direct communication between God and mankind. Accordingly, they were unable to accord any credence to the experiential foundation of Quaker and Jesuit faith and thus the spirituality which both Quakers and Jesuits practised and advocated. Perhaps with the benefit of hindsight it is easier than it was for Ministers to note that there were additional similarities between Quakers and Jesuits. The founder of each group was a layman, lacking university education, at the time of his intense, interior encounters with the divine. Each founder experienced those encounters as life changing,[7] precipitating in him not a desire to withdraw from the world and seek further mystical union with God but the urge to evangelise and save souls. Each founder gathered around him a small group of individuals who shared both the founder's experience of encounter with the divine and the resulting drive to carry the gospel to the world. Each group was intended to operate within the community, not to be cloistered and not to be static or resident in any place. True to the experiential basis of their faith, each founder chose to draw others into spiritual change and renewal by indirect modes of writing and by their actions, providing an example to others, rather than by attempting any written doctrinal formulation.[8] Each group was very successful in winning recruits and perpetuating its spirituality.[9]

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[7] Spencer wrote of Fox, "Fox was a puritan lay Mystic whose own personal experience transformed him and convinced him that holiness (perfection) could be embodied in all lay persons through a direct experience of God.) Spencer, *Holiness*, 63. O'Malley wrote of Loyola's *Spiritual Exercises* that "they encapsulated the essence of Ignatius's own spiritual turnaround and presented it in a form meant to guide others to analogous changes of vision and motivation." John O'Malley, *The First Jesuits* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1993), 4.

[8] In *Holiness*, Spencer pointed out that "In early Quakerism theology was experiential and mystical… therefore developed and formulated most effectively as autobiography. Autobiography was supplemented by biography and then sanctified by hagiography." Spencer, *Holiness*, 4. A similar comment could be made concerning Jesuitism, noting Loyola's *Autobiography* and the numerous biographies and hagiographies of both Loyola and the other founders of the Society of Jesus.

[9] Founded in 1540, by 1565 the Society of Jesus had "well over three thousand members" spread around twelve geographical provinces in Western Europe and in Brazil, India and Ethiopia. O'Malley, *First Jesuits,* 51-54. The Jesuits remain active worldwide today. From inception in 1648, it has been estimated that there were 30,000 Quakers by 1660. Moore, *Light in their Consciences*, 35. Quakerism remains active today though its form and practice have evolved since its early days.

These similarities of inception between two groups which might be considered to stand at opposing poles of the seventeenth century theological spectrum, coupled with the similarities of behavioural characteristic noted by Prynne, invite a comparison of the spiritualities of the two groups. Chapter 3 has established that Quakers did not derive their doctrines from Roman Catholics. If Quaker spirituality resembles Jesuit spirituality, from what source did the resemblance derive? If Quakers developed doctrines closer to Roman Catholics than to those of the Reformed faith, and formulated a spirituality which resembled that of early Jesuits, what conclusions should be drawn about the correct placing of Quakers on the spectrum of English mid-seventeenth century religious groups?

This chapter will carry out a comparison of early Quaker and Jesuit spirituality by examining those characteristics of Jesuit spirituality consisting in direct contact with God, conversion, Christocentrism, unity with Christ, mode of spirituality (separated into method, mysticism and individuality), and activity, and the Quaker correspondence with those characteristics.[10] The chapter will also briefly consider features of Jesuit spirituality to which Quaker spirituality appears opposed or which do not seem to be present in Quaker spirituality.

4.2 Direct Contact with God

Both Quakers' and Jesuits' origins lay in the experience of their founders of an encounter with God which profoundly altered the purpose to which they devoted their lives. The leaders of both groups were unshakeably convinced that immediate communication between God and human beings was not merely possible but was intended by God to be the foundation and guide in life for every person. Numerous religious groups have commenced existence with an exceptional

[10] These are the most significant elements of Jesuit spirituality picked out by John O'Malley in his chapter entitled "Early Jesuit Spirituality: Spain and Italy" in Louis Dupré and Don E. Saliers (eds.), *Christian Spirituality: Post-Reformation and Modern* (New York: Crossroad Publishing Company, 1989), 3-27.

religious experience of the individual founder of the group. Both Quaker and Jesuit spiritualities are notable for the extent to which the spiritual practice of members of the group aimed closely to follow that of the founder.[11]

Jesuit spirituality aimed to replicate the spiritual experience of Ignatius Loyola.[12] Loyola encapsulated his personal experience in a work which he probably composed during the time he spent at Manresa in 1522-3[13] which takes the form of a guide for use by an adviser helping an individual through a four week long period devoted to spiritual reflection and meditation, called the *Spiritual Exercises*.[14] The *Spiritual Exercises* proved hugely popular with both lay and ordained people, conferring upon the incipient Society of Jesus an immediate distinctiveness as well as the pattern for the way of life of its members. The *Spiritual Exercises* has been called by H Outram Evenett in his lectures on *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation* "the quintessence of the process of Ignatius' own conversion and purposeful change of life."[15] Ostensibly, the

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[11] For Jesuits, the spiritual experience of Ignatius Loyola was the pattern from which the *Spiritual Exercises* was developed, as described below. For Quakers, George Fox's personal encounter with God was not recorded in writing until publication of his *Journal* in 1694. But the significant elements of Fox's experience (his consciousness of God's presence, the necessity to attend to the light within, and to follow guidance from the light) as recorded in his Journal are very similar to the experiences declared by other prominent early Quakers and may be regarded as forming a template for the spirituality of recruits to Quakerism. The possibility remains, however, that when Fox dictated his *Journal* after several years had elapsed since the events recorded, he chose to describe his experience in the manner which by then had become the common way for all Quakers.

[12] Loyola was born in northwest Spain in the late fifteenth century and for the first thirty or so years of his life pursued a career as courtier and soldier. During a period of convalescence following serious injury to his legs at the siege of Pamplona in 1521, Loyola found himself drawn to God through musing on the few books available to him to read. When physically recovered, he devoted himself to penance and meditation for a year at Montserrat and Manresa in 1522-3 and, following a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, thereafter to eleven years of study, initially in Spain at Alcala and Salamanca universities and from 1528 to 1535 in Paris where, with six co-founders he resolved to take steps to establish the Society of Jesus. After a short period back in Spain, he travelled to Italy, was joined by his six co-founders of the Society and, following a period of itinerant preaching and charitable working among the poor interspersed with lobbying within the senior ranks of the Roman Catholic church in Rome for the establishment of a new religious group, the Society of Jesus received papal approval in 1540 under the bull *Regimini militantis ecclesiae*.

[13] O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 4.

[14] "The [*Spiritual Exercises*] encapsulated the essence of Ignatius's own spiritual turnaround and presented it in a form meant to guide others to analogous changes of vision and motivation." O'Malley, First Jesuits, 4.

[15] H. Outram Evenett, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 45.

principal aim of the *Spiritual Exercises* was to allow God to guide the exercitant to make a particular, significant decision (described as an 'election') and, by repeated use, decisions in his spiritual life more generally. By assisting an exercitant, the Jesuits aimed to facilitate for that person "an immediate experience of God that would lead to an inner change of heart or a deepening of religious sensibilities already present,"[16] although as George Ganss has noted alluding to the grouping of scholars of the *Spiritual Exercises* into 'electionists' and 'perfectionists', the *Spiritual Exercises* can be seen either as focusing on the election which an exercitant wishes to make or on the openness to guidance by God's will which precedes the election.[17]

Loyola was convinced that God communicates directly with the individual human being and that human beings need to be trained in attending to Him. His conviction was impressed upon the *Spiritual Exercises*, a note early in the text requiring that precedence be given to allowing an exercitant to be free to receive communication from God.[18] Attending to God's moving of the soul required education in the discernment of spirits, the recognition by the exercitant of the good or evil originator of thoughts and moods which came to him or her. The *Spiritual Exercises* provided two sets of rules for discerning spirits, one appropriate for those in their first week and a further set for those in their second and subsequent weeks.[313] to [327] and [328] to [336].[19]

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[16] O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 19.

[17] Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 390. Ganss suggests that these two ends are complementary, not mutually exclusive, and notes that Loyola "found the principles in the text leading to an election to be equally suitable for guiding exercitants to lofty union with God …"

[18] In a preliminary Introductory Explanation Loyola indicated to the tutor giving the exercises that he should be careful to avoid imposing his views on the exercitant because "during these *Spiritual Exercises* it is more opportune and much better that the Creator and Lord communicate himself to the faithful soul in search for the will of God, as he inflames her in his love and praise, disposing her towards the way in which she will be better able to serve him in the future." [15] Note: Quotations from the *Spiritual Exercises* and Loyola's *Autobiography* in the text are cited by the standard paragraph numbers, using the translations of Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, unless otherwise specified.

[19] Both sets indicated the characteristics by which an exercitant might detect the source of a thought or feeling. In inculcating this skill, Loyola incorporated his own experience into the *Spiritual Exercises*. He recorded in his *Autobiography* that while convalescing in Loyola in 1522 he noted that the thoughts with which he was left after reading devotional works caused him to be satisfied and joyful, while those

The inheritance of the importance Loyola attached to Jesuits cultivating direct communication with God emerges from a passage in a letter from Jeronimo Nadal, envoy to all Jesuits from Loyola in his capacity as general of the order, commending the Word within to Jesuits rather than the Word of Scripture as their guide.[20]

The centrality of personal encounter with the divine to the subsequent conduct of their lives appears in the autobiographies of several of the early Quaker leaders. Many appear to have undergone periods of spiritual sterility, unable to find religious satisfaction through the practices of the Reformed church or the teaching of its ministers before unexpectedly encountering God directly within themselves. The similarity in account reflects the uncertain but intense religious climate of the period immediately following the conclusion of the Civil Wars and the execution of the King. It also testifies to the existence of a considerable number of people with religious cravings unsatisfied by the existing practice in England, whether active members of Seeker communities or not. George Fox's account from his *Journal*[21] is perhaps the best known example but the account given in respect of the Quaker movement as a whole by Edward Burrough in his *Epistle* which formed the preface to George Fox's *The Great Mystery of the Great Whore* declares that all came to know the Light within them which "gave us to receive Christ, and to witness him to dwell in us,.." [22] A strong similarity in these accounts is noticeable. Identification of the light within initially led all early Quaker leaders to a stark realisation of their

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produced in him after reading chivalric tales left him dry and unsatisfied. [8] In the *Spiritual Exercises* he advised that the originator of thoughts may be identified by the nature of the effect of those thoughts on the exercitant, either consolation, a lasting spiritual increase in love for the Creator or desolation, the opposite, being "an impulsive motion toward low and earthly things, or disquiet from various agitations and temptations." [317]

[20] "We know in the Spirit, my brothers, that Christ is also the infinite Word of God. We are ministers of that Word - for he sends us to preach; he teaches us; he is the Word inside us; he grants that we hear the Word of his teaching and know that it proceeds from him; he gives us our effectiveness..." Jeronimo Nadal, *Epistolae P. Hieryonymi Nadal Societatis Jesu ab anno 1546 ad 1577*, 4 Vols (Madrid: 1878-1905), 5:832, quoted by O'Malley*, First Jesuits*, 103.

[21] Fox, *The Journal* (Nickalls, ed.), 11.

[22] Edward Burrough, *Epistle to the Reader* forming the preface to George Fox, *The Great Mystery*, unpaginated.

sinfulness and commenced a period of painful purgation.[23] The factor which was common to all early Quaker accounts of the path to redemption was the necessity for each believer to turn to the light of the divine within them and adhere to it, "stand in it", while waiting for guidance to help them progress spiritually towards God. Early Quaker leaders proclaimed to all people the necessity for each person to follow the course described in the leaders' autobiographies, to seek direct engagement with God within themselves by following the light of Christ which is in every person.

4.3 Conversion

For both early Jesuit and early Quaker leaders, the effect of the intense, personal experience of encounter with God was a change in the purpose for which they led their lives, together with an impelling motivation to exhort others to change theirs. Conversion, a change of life, was the aim for which both early Quakers and early Jesuits actively proclaimed their spirituality to others.[24] To that end, Loyola placed the making of an election for a change of life at the centre of the *Spiritual Exercises*' four week duration, in that way restating the process of conversion and change of heart which he had experienced during his convalescence and as he came to be more experienced in discerning God's will during his year at Manresa in 1522-3.[25] The type of changes in life which Loyola suggested an exercitant might have in mind were quite mundane.[26] The *Spiritual Exercises* made clear that no matter what path in life an exercitant chose or was already committed to, the service and glory of God should be the ultimate purpose of living and

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[23] As Moore summarised, "many of the first Quakers had experiences of intense despair before reaching spiritual peace." Moore, *Light*, 20.

[24] The call to conversion of lifestyle was a common feature of many religious groups. More particular to Quakers and Jesuits was that the conversion to which they both called believers was not merely to moral reformation or to an awakening or reawakening to faith in Christ but to the possibility, and even necessity, of personal experience of direct encounter with the divine.

[25] The *Spiritual Exercises* represent the "quintessence of the process of Ignatius's own conversion and purposeful change of life." Evenett, *Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, 45.

[26] These were the taking of a benefice or undertaking marriage. [169]

all circumstances to which the election related should be the means to achieving that purpose.[27] The conversion to which the spirituality of the *Spiritual Exercises* led an exercitant was a change to, or strengthening of, a life ultimately devoted to the service of God and thereby salvation of the exercitant's soul.

That the early Quaker leaders understood their vocation as encouraging people to change their lives emerges clearly from George Fox's *Journal*. Fox records

> Now I was sent to turn people from darkness to the light that they might receive Jesus Christ, for as many as should receive him in his light, I saw that he would give power to become the sons of God, which I had obtained by receiving Christ... I was to bring people off from all their own ways to Christ, the new and living way, and from their churches, which men had made and gathered, to the church in God,... And I was to bring people off from all the world's religions, which are in vain, that they might know the pure religion...[28]

Early Quakers saw the purpose of their preaching, and of their post-convincement lives, as the convincing of other people to realise the invalidity of the Reformed faith and instead to "come to know Christ their teacher,... , and to know their bodies to be the temples of God and Christ for them to dwell in" as Fox explained in his preaching to a thousand people on Firbank Fell in 1652.[29] Spencer emphasised the dynamic element in early Quaker preaching when she wrote

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[27] The main narrative of the four weeks of the *Spiritual Exercises* starts with a declaration of Principle and Foundation that "human beings are created to praise, reverence, and serve God our Lord, and by means of this to save their souls" [23] and that objective is often repeated, as in the First Method of Making a Sound Election, where in reasoning out the benefits and advantages which a certain decision will bring, the exercitant must ensure that "all of them [are] solely for the praise of God our Lord and the salvation of my soul." [181]

[28] Fox, *Journal* (Nickalls, ed.), 34-35.

[29] Fox, *Journal* (Nickalls, ed.), 109.

"early Quakers were thoroughly biblical, evangelistic, even Apostolic in their concern for conversion of individuals and transformation of the world."[30]

4.4 Christocentrism

The means by which people were directed by Jesuit teaching to serve God and save their souls was by following Christ, imitating the qualities of his life whilst incarnate.[31] Again, this approach replicated that of Loyola himself, as revealed in his Autobiography[32] and by the *Spiritual Exercises*. The significance to Loyola of being spiritually placed with Christ appears from the *Spiritual Exercises* in which it is made clear that contemplation of incidents in Christ's human life would lead the exercitant to love of Christ and fervent desire to follow him.[33] The purpose of the centrality of the imitation of Christ in Jesuit spirituality is made apparent in the Constitutions where, in a section dealing with matters to be brought to the attention of anyone wishing to join the Society, it is stressed that the Society welcomes the opposition of the world and aims to imitate Christ by suffering affronts and false accusations, and being esteemed fools "for he gave us an example that in all things possible to us we might seek, through the aid of his grace, to imitate and follow him, since he is the way which leads people to life".[34]

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[30] Carole Dale Spencer, "Quakers in Theological Context" in Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 144.
[31] R. Garcia-Villoslada declared that "Jesus Christ is at the centre of Ignatian spirituality" in his article on 'Ignatian Spirituality' in the *New Catholic Encyclopaedia* (Washington DC: Catholic University of America Press).
[32] In his *Autobiography*, Loyola recorded how he prayed to the Virgin Mary "to be pleased to put him with her son" and that, while praying in a church at La Storta prior to his arrival in Rome in 1537 "he sensed a change in his soul, and he saw so clearly that God the Father was putting him with Christ…". [96]
[33] In the colloquoy (an informal, conversational prayer to follow a contemplation) after the first exercise of the first week, the exercitant is to imagine Christ on the cross and to ask himself how it came about that the Creator made himself man and died for our sins. "Then, turning to myself I shall ask, what have I done for Christ? what am I doing for Christ? what ought I to do for Christ?" [53] These questions point to the exercise entitled 'the Call of the Earthly King' at the beginning of the second week, in which the *Spiritual Exercises* compares the call to arms by an earthly king with Christ's call to the human race. Loyola wrote that those who wanted to respond in a spirit of love would offer themselves, saying "my resolute wish and desire, and my considered determination… is to imitate you in enduring every outrage and all contempt, and utter poverty, both actual and spiritual, if your most holy Majesty wants to choose me…" [98]
[34] *Constitutions of the Society of Jesus, General Examen*, Part 1, chapter 4, paragraph 44, set out in Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 286.

Jesuit spirituality bears a striking resemblance to that which is integral to Thomas à Kempis' *Imitation of Christ,* probably the most popular and widely distributed devotional work of the late medieval period,[35] a resemblance emphasised by the fact that in the *Spiritual Exercises* Loyola recommends to exercitants that they should read the *Imitation of Christ*. [100] No other book is recommended for study apart from the Bible and Lives of Saints.[36]

The aim of life taught by the *Devotio Moderna* was by means of humility, poverty and obedience to purge the soul to fit it for illumination by Christ and ultimately ready it for unity with Christ. Jesuit spirituality matches the *Devotio Moderna* in the aim to rid the soul of earthly attachments through the rigours of humility, poverty, obedience and suffering, with the anticipation of thereby rendering it ready to become one with Christ. The program of the four weeks' duration of the *Spiritual Exercises* loosely follows the common path of medieval monastic spirituality of purgation, illumination and unity.[37]

The extent to which Quaker spirituality may be said, like Jesuit, to be Christocentric might be thought to depend upon whether the central feature of Quaker teaching, the light, should be identified with Christ. Some commentators assert there is no clarity on this. Hugh Barbour wrote that "Friends spoke of light, the spirit, and Christ within so interchangeably that no uniform distinction can be made clear... The sense of a personal presence, of the inward

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[35] John van Engen has called it "the most influential devotional work in Western Christian history." van Engen, *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*, 7.

[36] Loyola was given *The Imitation of Christ* to read at Montserrat in 1522 . That he formed such a favourable impression of it suggests that the spirituality he developed thereafter was influenced by the *Devotio Moderna*, the school of lay piety which originated in the Low Countries at the end of the fourteenth century. When he wrote *The Imitation of Christ*, Thomas à Kempis was resident in one of the houses of the Brothers and Sisters of the Common Life, a group which followed a pattern of living in accordance with the *Devotio Moderna*.

[37] Loyola perceived detachment from created things in the widest possible terms: "we need to make ourselves indifferent to all created things... we should not want health more than illness, wealth more than poverty, fame more than disgrace, a long life more than a short one..." [23] Loyola's commitment of the Society to poverty in the interests of freeing Jesuits to the maximum extent possible from the lure of worldly temptations appears from his *Spiritual Diary* where his deliberation on poverty forms a significant part of the content of the diary for February and March 1544. Loyola was insistent that all Jesuits should embrace obedience to their superiors. He pointed out that mere compliance with instructions was wholly insufficient. True obedience required an identity of wishing with that of the Superior and a making over of one's understanding to the Superior. *Constitutions*, Part III, Chapter 1, Paragraph 23.

fellowship of Christ's personality, was quite rare among early Friends", though noting that "Fox was more Christ-centred than most early Friends."[38] Moore concluded that Fox was ambiguous about the identity of the light: "most often he described the light as something that comes from Christ, or God, 'the light that Christ hath enlightened you withal', without actually being Christ or God."[39] Much the same could be said of Nayler's writing. For instance, in *Love to the Lost*, 'Concerning Christ', Nayler wrote in consecutive sentences, "this is he whom ... is the Eternal Word...; which Word became flesh, and dwelt among us... he ascended far above all Heavens, to prepare a place for all that follow him by faith in his Light... And this is he who is the Light of the world... So, if you desire to know him who is not of this world... then mind that light in you, for as Christ is, so is his light that leads to him."[40]

Perhaps there is no need to investigate too closely the early Quaker writers' failure to distinguish clearly between the light and Christ, when asking whether Quaker spirituality was Christocentric. Early Quakers undoubtedly placed the opportunity to grasp the salvific effect of Christ's atonement achieved through his obedience, suffering and death at the centre of their exhortation to all people. Whether that which is in all people is Christ or something of Christ is insignificant when set against the necessity perceived by early Quakers for people to let that which is within them guide them to Christ. Spencer adopted this approach when she wrote that "for early Quakers, Christ's overcoming of sin in the human soul is the primary focus, and it is in that framework, above all, that Quakers spoke of the Light." As she explained, "the Light of Christ brings the soul to perfection. The Light is both saving and perfecting because it is the inward work of the Atonement. The Light is the ongoing power of the Atonement to transform the individual who responds to the Light."[41]

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[38] Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England*, 110.
[39] Moore, *Light*, 111.
[40] James Nayler, *Love to the Lost*, 56.
[41] Spencer, *Holiness*, 38. In any case, early Quakers' lack of precision in the use of the term the light probably owes as much to their wish to avoid emphasising the triune basis of the godhead, due, as they

Early Quakers asserted that the means by which a person must seek conversion of life was by attending to and following the light. By this they meant not an ethical modification or a renewed demonstration of belief in Christ's atoning death but a fundamental reorientation of belief and behaviour. All attachment to self and the world must be abandoned, the old person must be rejected, and the new person must be liberated, freed to devote himself or herself exclusively to following Christ.[42] Quaker spirituality counselled waiting in silence in the light for guidance concerning spiritual growth.[43] That growth would be achieved in the seed of Christ in all people which, if encouraged to grow, would replace the 'old man' of this world, as Nayler explained in 'Concerning Redemption' in *Love to the Lost*.[44]

4. 5 Unity with Christ

The 'Contemplation to Obtain Love' which Loyola placed at the conclusion of the fourth week of the *Spiritual Exercises* expresses the destination of the spiritual journey mapped out in the Exercises. The exercitant "will ponder with deep affection how much God our Lord has done for me, and how much he has given me of what he possesses, and consequently how he... desires to give me even his very self ..."; and will respond "as one making an offering with deep affection, and say 'take, Lord, and receive all my liberty, my memory, my understanding, and all

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explained, to the absence of any specific reference to the Holy Trinity in the Bible, as to any wish to distance the light from Christ.

[42] The process was validly referred to as rebirth or regeneration. Francis Howgill gives a good account of the process when recounting his personal experience in *The Inheritance of Jacob Discovered,* where after describing the purgation of his soul in apocalyptic language he concludes "then I saw the cross of Christ, and stood in it ... and the new man was made ..." Francis Howgill, *The Inheritance of Jacob Discovered*, 13.

[43] George Fox, *To all that would know the way to the Kingdom* (London: Robert Wilson, 1660), 7. "Therefore waiting in the light, which Christ has enlightened you with, that's Scripture within you, and that will open the Scripture according as you grow in the light, ... and as you are cleansed and made free with the Son of God, for it is he that maketh free; who are made free from sin, from the world, and are made free by the Son of God ..."

[44] "That is the seed of the Kingdom, to which the promise is, and no further than that principle is raised to reign in thee above all that is contrary to it, no further art thou redeemed by Jesus Christ: for that's the plant of God's renown, the Lilly among the thorns ...." Nayler, *Love to the Lost*, 'Concerning Redemption', 48.

my will - all that I have and possess…" [234] What is desired is a gift of the full person to God and the receipt of God in return. All worldly attachments will be severed and the person will be placed unconstrainedly at the divine disposal. By such means, perfection will be achieved.

Quaker spirituality similarly aimed at unity with the divine, but the articulation of the achievement and effect of that state was very different. The major difference lay in the extent of the transformation worked by unity with Christ. Jesuit spirituality never questioned the continuing applicability of temporal parameters to its spirituality. No matter how complete the unity with the divine achieved by an individual, a normal human life must still be lived and salvation would become a possibility only upon death at the end of it. Until then, God or Christ might dwell in a believer but the believer would remain in and of this world. Quaker spirituality, at least as explained by George Fox, questioned those assumptions. Recognising that if a believer turned to the light, the speed with which, and extent to which, he or she would be led up to Christ would depend only on the extent to which he or she was prepared to leave worldly attachments behind, Quakers understood that complete unity with Christ could be achieved now, in this life, without waiting for the death of a believer.[45] If Christ was allowed total control of a believer, then salvation of that person had already occurred, for as Nayler explained, justification, sanctification and mortification of the worldly self are all effected by Christ and thus are one, achieved simultaneously by unity with Christ.[46] If a believer had achieved perfection and unity with the divine, then as Fox saw, that person had entered a spiritual world united not only with God but with all others to whom God was united, whether in this world or out of it. As Hilary Hinds has put it "recognition of the light, and accession to it, reunites the believer with the God from whom he has been estranged: the unity conferred by the light thus

[45] Moore has commented that "belief in a real union with Christ, however expressed, remained the keystone of Fox's theology." Moore, *Light*, 69.

[46] "And this is the just one, who by faith lives in the creature, and the creature in him; and so becomes the justifier, and sanctifier, of all that believe, and the mortifier of that nature which is out of the faith, and one of these is not alone without the rest. For that which sanctifies, that mortifies, and the same justifies…" Nayler, *Love to the Lost*, 50.

extends between the divine and his creation."[47] Christ's second coming had already occurred for that person.[48] From these realisations stemmed early Quaker eschatological references to God's Kingdom coming and having come. Early Quaker writing wrestled with the paradox of the entering of the eternal into a human being in the temporal world, just as it and all other Christian writing wrestled with the paradox of God having been incarnated in a human being. Fox's attempt to witness to his understanding of the transformation effected by unification with the divine was set out in *Saul's Errand to Damascus* in his Answer to the matters charged against him by the Petition of various gentlemen of Lancashire.[49] Acceptance of a spiritual state not of this world may account for Nayler's behaviour in connection with the Nayler incident of 1656, not in the performance of the triumphal entry to Bristol, but in his actions and writing after it, his quiescence in the suffering meted out to him and his humble submission acknowledging fault as the commission of 'spiritual adultery'.[50]

4.6 Mode of Spirituality

In their different ways, Jesuit and Quaker spirituality taught believers to aim for spiritual unity with Christ through divestment of self and worldly attachments, and allowing Christ to control the will. Was there similarity in the way the two spiritualities suggested this could be achieved?

4.6.1 Method

[47] Hilary Hinds, "Unity and Universality in the Theology of George Fox", *Early Quakers*, 54.
[48] Sally Bruyneel describes the significance for Margaret Fell and other early Quakers of the belief that the indwelling Christ constituted the second coming in "Margaret Fell and the Second Coming of Christ", *Early Quakers*, 106-109.
[49] "And this I witness to be fulfilled; for the same Spirit where it is, is equal with God: for he that sanctifieth and they that are sanctified are all of one, and it is God that sanctifieth. He that hath the Word, hath God, for God is the Word; …." George Fox, *Saul's Errand to Damascus*, 6.
[50] Nayler, *To the Life of God in All* (London: Thomas Simmons, 1659), 2, quoted by Spencer, 'The Man who Set Himself as a Sign', 76.

The *Spiritual Exercises* set out a four week long programme of examination of conscience, prayer, meditation on the implications of Christ's life and passion, and imaginative contemplations focused on scenes from Christ's life. The different types of prayer and contemplation were aimed at achieving affective attachment of the will to Christ rather than an intellectual understanding of the purposes of Christ's incarnation, passion and death. The *Spiritual Exercises* was detailed and prescriptive in the order in which prayers, meditations and colloquies (informal conversations with the person to whom a prayer was addressed, incorporating requests for the gift of grace) should be undertaken and the topics which should form the subject of those exercises.[51] These forms of mental and interiorised prayer were recognised by Jesuits as the Society's particular contribution to the revivification of the spiritual life of the Church.[52] The entire regime of the *Spiritual Exercises* was one to be worked on by the exercitant in solitude, save for times of guidance by the supervisor and for attending Mass. Evenett picked out methodical forms of prayer as one of the distinctive features of the Counter-Reformation and pointed to the Jesuits as the clearest example of the practice.[53]

Although Jesuit spirituality, through the *Spiritual Exercises,* was prescriptive as to the method to be followed in building a communicative relationship with God, it left it to the individual to learn

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[51] Three modes of prayer were explained. First, a consideration of the ten commandments and seven capital sins in order to identify failings, using the three powers of the soul and the five senses, and if failings were noted, to ask for forgiveness; second, a contemplation of the meaning, word by word, of a set form of prayer (for instance, the Our Father, Hail Mary or the Creed) for an hour; third, a rhythmic progression through a set form of prayer, saying one word with each successive breath, reflecting both on the meaning of the word and on the exercitant's lowliness compared to the person to whom the prayer was addressed.[228] to [260] In addition, the *Spiritual Exercises* stipulated short preparatory prayers at the commencement of each exercise and colloquies,

[52] O'Malley commented that this was "how the first Jesuits thought they brought succour to the 'collapsed' religion of their times. Like the *Devotio Moderna* and similar movements, they wanted to promote a more intensified interiority, and they found in mental prayer the most direct and efficacious means of doing so on a long term basis … they certainly put an emphasis on [non liturgical] prayer as constitutive of an authentic Christian life." Jeronimo Nadal, Loyola's close assistant who was given the task of promulgation of the Constitutions to members of the Society both by Loyola and his successor as General, Lainez, wrote that the *Spiritual Exercises* was the means by which prayer could be saved from complete collapse. O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 163-4.

[53] Evenett, *Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, 32.

to discern spiritual guidance from God and to allow God to move his will.[54] The *Spiritual Exercises* aimed to teach individuals how to recognise movements of the will by God, acknowledging that the Spirit could effect such movements in many and varied ways. Exercitants were encouraged to try to achieve spiritual indifference, total detachment from creaturely attractions, so that they were free to follow God's promptings, as the pointer of a balance, ready to register any movement of the will by God. [179] [55] An individual's objective should be to prepare to receive the intimation of God's will, not to take any positive action to detect it or to adopt any particular spiritual means of making contact with God.[56]

By contrast, Quaker spirituality was entirely nonprescriptive. No regime or specific practices of prayer or meditation were recommended. On the contrary, Quakers expressly rejected all practices developed by the church since Apostolic times on the basis that these were all man-made, worldly constructs.[57] Instead, Quaker spirituality required believers to wait in the light in silence, attentive for any leading from God. Quaker spirituality proceeded from the understanding that the spirit or the light would teach and guide believers itself, and should be left entirely free to do so. Fox wrote that transforming encounter with God had taught him that "there is one, even Jesus Christ, that can speak to thy condition".[58] Richard Farnworth was the

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[54] O'Malley commented of Jesuit spirituality that "while being methodical in the aids it provides to prayer and spiritual discernment, it is more profoundly nonprescriptive in the outcome it foresees for the direct intervention that is its basic premise."[54] O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 6.

[55] They should be like those in the third of 'the three classes of persons' in the example which the *Spiritual Exercises* gave of different approaches people might adopt to the use of a large sum of money. Of those who were indifferent, the *Spiritual Exercises* said "all they want is simply that their wanting or not wanting it should be in accordance with whatever God our Lord inclines them to want…" [155]

[56] Loyola declined to specify in the Constitutions any particular regime of spiritual exercises for members of the Society to follow. The Constitutions note that by the time any individual is ready to be admitted as a vowed member "it is presupposed that they will be men who are spiritual and sufficiently advanced to run in the path of Christ our Lord…" and simply declare that "in what pertains to prayer, meditation and study and also in regards to the bodily practices of fasts, vigils and other austerities or penances, it does not seem expedient to give them any other rule than that which discreet charity dictates to them…".[56] Constitutions, Part VI, chapter 3, paragraph 1.

[57] As, for example, Burrough wrote: "All your Carnal Worship and Ordinances, and Observances, is but mocking of God and dissembling with him, and is but an imitation and an image and imagination of the mind of fallen man." Edward Burrough, *A warning from the Lord to the inhabitants of Underbarrow* (London: Giles Calvert, 1654), 5

[58] Fox, *Journal* (Nickalls, ed.), 11.

same.[59] Quaker feeling that the light or spirit within must take primacy over all other forms of instruction led to Quakers' disputes with Ministers concerning the status of Scripture, discussed in previous chapters. Even when Quakers were obliged by their fast expanding membership to adopt some simple administrative framework in the interests of keeping order and consistency amongst themselves, in the *Epistle from the Elders at Balby* of 1656, they still found it necessary to include a postscript to the effect that the letter of the rules must not be interpreted in such a way as to restrict the freedom of the Spirit, "for the letter kills, but the spirit gives life."[60] In the waiting for the inspiration of God, divested of all self-will and rational thought, Quakers resembled the Jesuits making themselves indifferent ("without any disordered affection" [179]) so as to allow God "to be pleased to move my will and to put into my mind what I ought to do…"[180].

4.6.2 Mysticism

O'Malley wrote that "the Jesuits often described the theology they espoused as 'mystical'"[61] in contrast to the scholastic theology of their Roman Catholic contemporaries. By 'mystical' they meant not "the transports and ecstacies usually connoted by the term" but "according to Nadal, an inner understanding and relish of the truth translated into the way one lived".[62] It was at the centre of the Jesuit approach that affective devotion, the appeal of the divine to the heart, should provide the means by which a person detected God's guidance and that the intellect should be utilised to translate God's will into action.[63] Loyola seems to have had little interest in

[59] Richard Farnworth, *Heart Opened by Christ* (London: Giles Calvert, 1655), 12.
[60] *Epistle from the Elders at Balby*, 1656, quoted by Moore, *Light*, 140.
[61] O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 243.
[62] O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 244 citing Jeronimo Nadal, *Orationes Observationes*, ed. Miguel Nicolau (Rome: Institutum Historicum Societatis Jesu, 1964), paragraph 464.
[63] Commenting on Loyola's apparent disinterest in the doctrinal disputes which were so prominent in Continental Europe in the 1520s and 1530s, O'Malley wrote that "Loyola showed himself singularly detached from that controversy. … For him 'Christian doctrine' dealt in the first place with virtue, prayer, repentance , and conversion, and then 'consolation' – with reform of life. …. For Loyola, the central issue

doctrinal matters and the *Spiritual Exercises* reflected his emphasis on affection over intellect. The way of life signposted by the *Spiritual Exercises* as the way to salvation was the imitation of Christ's life of poverty, humility, obedience and suffering, not by use of the intellect to attempt to understand divinity or Christ's atonement. Nadal famously summed up the Jesuit manner of proceeding as acting "spiritu, corde, practice"; in the spirit, from the heart, practically.[64]

Aiming for affective devotion in priority to rational understanding no doubt reflected the fact that the formation of Loyola's spiritual relationship with God took place while he was unlearned. He recorded in his *Autobiography* that it was only when he returned from his abortive pilgrimage to Jerusalem that he decided to devote himself to studying, which indeed occupied the next decade or so of his life thereafter. The *Spiritual Exercises*, accordingly, was concerned with movement of the will and affections ahead of the intellect. Its principal recommended aid to affection was imaginative and empathetic participation in scenes from Christ's life. All recommended topics for contemplation ('Mysteries of the life of Christ Our Lord' listed in [261] to [312]) were scenes from Christ's life and passion. Even the mystery concerning the Sermon on the Mount emphasised action ("let your light so shine before men …" Matt 5:16) rather than understanding.[65] The pre-eminence which Loyola accorded to an affective response to God is evident in his *Spiritual Diary* where references to tears of consolation or desolation, his reaction

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was right living and loving, based on a general spirituality in which certain affectivities were fostered and sustained." O'Malley, "Early Jesuit Spirituality", 11.

[64] Nadal, *Epistolae P. Hieronymi Nadal Societatis Jesu ab anno 1546 ad 1547*, 4 Vols (Madrid, 1898-1905), 5 – 227-231, quoted by O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 251.

[65] In a commentary on early Jesuit spirituality, O'Malley noted the precedence of affectivity for Jesuits, writing "in summary, I would stress that the *Spiritual Exercises*, and with it Jesuit spirituality, while being rationalistic in its language and arguments, is more profoundly concerned with right affectivity". O'Malley, "Early Jesuit Spirituality", 6. O'Malley further noted that Polanco, Loyola's secretary, had himself underscored the superiority of affection over rationality when he pointed out that the second time for making an election, specified in the *Spiritual Exercises* [176], "when sufficient light and knowledge is received through experience of consolations and desolations, and through the experience of the discernment of different spirits" was superior to the third time, a tranquil time appropriate for the use of the natural faculties of the soul.[178] Polanco explained that in the second way the person is guided by "a better light than human reason", the direct action of God upon the individual experienced through feelings. Juan Polanco, *Monumenta Ignatiana. Exercitia spiritualia S. Ignatii de Loyola et eorem directoria*, 2nd edn, 2 Vols (Madrid 1919), 2: 314-315, cited by O'Malley, *First Jesuits, 42*.

to God's presence or absence, are almost a daily occurrence. His emphasis was made clear in Introductory Explanation 2 in the preamble to the *Spiritual Exercises* where he advised supervisors not to explain the exercises in any detail but to leave it to the exercitant to discover for himself, and concluded "for it is not so much knowledge that fills and satisfies the soul, but rather the intimate feeling and relishing of things." [2]

If Jesuit spirituality aimed to place affective devotion before the use of intellect, Quaker spirituality was exclusively affective. Quaker concentration was entirely on a response of feeling to God's leadings. Any attempt to rationalise guidance received from the light was outlawed as being the use of worldly wisdom. There was no equivalent in Quaker spirituality of the Jesuits' turning to God for advice on decisions to be made, in the manner of Loyola's many days of indecision concerning the advisability of permitting the Society to own property.[66] Quakers looked for direct instruction from the divine and were inclined to consider the advice they received more authoritative if it directly contradicted their instincts and inclinations (as in going naked for as a sign).

Commentators have held differing opinions on whether Quaker spirituality can be correctly termed mystical. Barbour did not see Quakers generally as mystics.[67] On the other hand, Spencer perceived Quaker apprehension of the reality of the indwelling Christ as mystical: "Quakers were mystical. Knowledge of God came through direct experience..."[68] Spencer has noted correspondence between Quaker spirituality and both medieval Roman Catholic mysticism and the apophatic mysticism of the English fourteenth century mystics, though a

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[66] Loyola, *The Deliberation on Poverty* in Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 225-228.

[67] "Pennington was a mystic, but most early Friends were not. There were mystics in puritan England, such as John Everard and the Ranter Joseph Salmon... Quakers spoke not of such self-emptying but of self-crucifixion."[67] Barbour, *Quakers in Puritan England*, 108. Barbour continued by observing that most Quaker accounts do not treat their discovery of peace and joy as a mystery. Concentrating on the light to reveal their sins and lead them out of the world "they accepted both struggle and joy as inseparable gifts of the truth that saved them".[67]

[68] Spencer, *Holiness*, 14. Elsewhere she wrote that "early Quakers had a deep inner experience of the indwelling Christ as the mystical reality that lies beneath ritual and dogma." Carole Dale Spencer, "Quakers in Theological Context", 142.

distinction may perhaps be drawn between the aim of those mystics for fleeting, ecstatic union with God and the Quaker objective of permanent unity with Christ. If the categorisation of Quaker spirituality as mystical is uncertain, there is no doubt that their concentration was on affective devotion rather than the use of intellect. In that approach they mirrored early Jesuits.

4.6.3 Individuality

Jesuit spirituality departed from the norm of medieval practice by stressing the possibility for an individual to pursue his religious objectives otherwise than as part of a community. In this, the Jesuits were of their age. In his lectures on 'The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation' Evenett acclaimed individuality as one of the "powerful and distinctive traits" of Counter-Reformation spirituality.[69] He pinpointed "the systematisation of the meditative form of mental prayer" as one of the sources of counter reformation spirituality, tracing its flowering in the *Spiritual Exercises* back through the innovation effected by Abbott Garcia Cisneros at Montserrat (where Loyola's confessor was resident during Loyola's spiritually formative period at Manresa) to the practice of the *Devotio Moderna* in the north. Evenett noted that the *Devotio Moderna's* method of meditative prayer proved attractive and useful as much to laymen as to the religious, reflecting an increased requirement for individual religious practice and a corresponding decline in the importance of communal observances.

If the *Spiritual Exercises* encouraged an individual to pursue his or her own spiritual growth, Loyola was careful to assert the subservience of the individual to the ministry of the church.[70] The firmest warning that all who undertook the *Spiritual Exercises* must observe the authority of the church was included in the 'Rules for thinking, judging, and feeling with the church' at the

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[69] Evenett, *The Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, 41.

[70] In the notes to the section dealing with the making of an election, Loyola included a directive on those matters upon which an election should be made, declaring that they should all be morally indifferent or good in themselves "and that they are on the side of our holy mother, the hierarchical church, and are not bad or opposed to the church." [170]

end of the *Spiritual Exercises*.[71] The requirement of the *Spiritual Exercises* that all minds must be subservient to the church created a tension between the objective of direct communication between the individual and God which the *Spiritual Exercises* aimed to facilitate, and obedience to the authority of the church.[72] The conviction that God can and would work directly with an individual, as Endean has observed, "at least raises the logical possibility that what the individual discovers in this way may go beyond what is ecclesiastically sanctioned." [73] The possibility that the immediacy of individual devotion could lead to ignoring the offices of the church was precisely the difficulty which Loyola encountered early in his religious career when studying and also engaging in public spiritual direction at Alcala and Salamanca in 1526 and 1527. Here the suspicion that he had been influenced by the Alumbrados was first raised.[74]

The Alumbrados were those in sixteenth century Spain, never a well defined group, who advocated an exclusively unmediated spiritual approach to unity of an individual with God. Lou Ann Homza has summarised their essential views in this way: "they conceived of themselves as illuminated because they abandoned themselves to the love of God, focused on the reception

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[71] Here Loyola advised that "laying aside all our own judgments, we ought to keep our minds open and ready to obey in everything the true bride of Christ our Lord, our holy mother, the hierarchical church." [353] Further, in Rule 13 of those Rules, he insisted that "we must always maintain that the white I see, I shall believe to be black, if the hierarchical church so stipulates" [365]' because there is but one Holy Spirit between Christ and the church and by that same Spirit the church is governed, a view consistent with his requirement of total obedience from members of the Society.

[72] O'Malley commented that Nadal "revealed and somewhat overstated the priorities" when he wrote to his fellow Jesuits that "public prayer consists principally in the Mass, which has supreme efficacy as sacrament and sacrifice. … Private prayer is the prayer that each one does in his room, and it … should always take order and priority over public prayer because of its power …" Nadal, *Platicas espirituales del P. Jeronimo Nadal, SJ,* ed Miguel Nicolau (Granada: Facoltad Teologica de la Compania de Jesus, 1945) quoted in O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 164.

[73] Philip Endean, "*The Spiritual Exercises*" in Thomas Worcester (ed.) *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008), 62.

[74] On two occasions he was questioned by Dominicans, acting on behalf of the Spanish Inquisitors. In his *Autobiography* Loyola described the line of questioning put to him at Salamanca.[65]-[70] It concerned his preaching about virtues and vices. His inquisitors believed that no one could preach on this subject unless they were learned or inspired by the Holy Spirit. Loyola was not learned: so he must have been inspired. That was what the Dominicans wanted to question him about. Loyola managed to convince his inquisitors that such inspiration as he might have received was within the boundaries of acceptability to the church and he was released, though prohibited from distinguishing between mortal and venial sins for others until he had studied for four years.

of direct spiritual impulses, spurned priests as intermediaries, and discarded the external rituals of Catholicism."[75] Jesuit spirituality was distinguished from that of the Alumbrados principally by its accent on methodical prayer and contemplation in contrast to the Alumbrados' favoured complete passivity. Nevertheless, the Jesuit aim for complete elimination of an individual's will and corresponding openness to unmediated, direct divine promptings favoured an individuality which gave rise to concern among the Roman Catholic church authorities.[76]

Quaker spirituality might be thought similar to that of the Alumbrados in its negation of self, its stress on unmediated communication between God and the individual, and rejection of ceremonial. Those factors were certainly present in early Quaker spirituality. But Quaker spirituality reflected that of the Jesuits rather than the Alumbrados in its omission of the medieval mystical abandonment of the individual into union with the divine, and its understanding of Christ indwelling the individual. Quakers perceived achieving spiritual unity with Christ as 'walking in the light', leading a life subject to Christ, and in some respects outside the temporal constraints of the world, but not transported from self into ecstacy.

Quaker spirituality further resembled Jesuit spirituality in its treating communication with God as a matter for each individual rather than for any communal religious practice, although Quakerism did attach importance to individuals meeting together to wait for inspiration from God. Spencer has suggested that the individual inspiration received by Quakers attending to the

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[75] Lou Ann Homza, "The Religious Milieu of the Young Ignatius" in *The Cambridge Companion to the Jesuits*, 24. The Alumbrados attracted the attention of the Inquisition partly on account of their mystical ideas and partly because many of them seem to have been 'conversos', those who had converted from Judaism. Alumbrados' leaders Isabel de la Cruz and Pedro Ruiz de Alcarez were arrested in 1524 and the movement was declared heretical by the Inquisition in 1525.

[76] Loyola and his companions had to respond to allegations that they were Alumbrados when seeking Papal approval for their new Society in Rome in 1538. Loyola's Letter of 19 December 1538 to Isabel Roser explains the extent of the opposition he and his co-founders of the Society encountered in Rome, and how Loyola himself had informed the Pope that he had been questioned and arrested by the Inquisition at Salamanca and Alcala. Munitiz and Endean, *Ignatius of Loyola: Personal Writings*, 150-155. In Spain in 1553, the Dominican theologian Tomas de Pedroche attacked the Jesuits, singling out the sections of the *Spiritual Exercises* stressing the importance of being ready to receive and attend to God's will as heretical in the same way as the Alumbrados.

light was converted into sanctification through the collective attentions of Quaker meetings.[77] Significance was attached to the interpretation given by a meeting to such spiritual promptings as were received by any of its members, and the meeting was the body which provided spiritual guidance and assistance to less experienced Quakers who were members. Following the great expansion of Quakerism into the South of England in 1654, formal administration of Quaker meetings began to be adopted, signified by the *Epistle from the Elders at Balby* in 1656.[78] Although Quakerism never ceded control of the individual member's religious experiences to the central organising body in the manner of Jesuit subservience to the Roman Catholic church, the tension between individual experience and the requirements of organisational discipline to preserve good order and uniformity of practice resulted in the adoption of rules of conduct in the late 1650s and later.

4.7 Activity

Activity, the desire to serve God by serving others, was from the first a marked element of Loyola's spiritual orientation. Evenett observed that an effect of the Council of Trent's decrees was to ensure that personal activity would be a dominant factor in Counter-Reformation spirituality, both internally in the form of work on the acquisition of self-control and virtues, and externally in carrying out good works and labouring for the salvation of souls.[79] In summarising Evenett's discussion of Jesuit spirituality, Bossy concluded that "an intuition of the power of human action, and anxiety to release this power for the pursuit of divine enterprises, were surely... the most distinctive features of Ignatius' spirituality."[80]

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[77] "Although the conversion experience generally happened individually and privately for each person, perfection, the process of ever deepening intimacy with God, took place within the church, the community of the convinced." Spencer, *Holiness*, 33.
[78] Moore refers to the Epistle as "the earliest, and probable model for the rest" of "several highly prescriptive documents covering all aspects of church order and discipline ..." Moore, *Light*, 139.
[79] Evenett, *Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, 32.
[80] John Bossy, Postscript to Evenett, *Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, 131.

Loyola's tendency toward action rather than contemplation is noticeable in the very first stirrings of his spiritual awareness.[81] He appears always to have conceived of reacting to his encounter with God in terms of service rather than any desire for prolonged unity or devotion. In his Autobiography, in commenting that he could see that God was treating him "just as a schoolmaster treats a child whom he is teaching" [27] during his year at Manresa, he continued that he did not know whether that was because of his lack of education "or because of the strong desire God himself had given him to serve him." [27] At a critical point in his life, after the failure of his pilgrimage to Jerusalem in 1523-4, when he was wondering what to do with his life "he was rather inclined to study for some time so he would be able to help souls." [50]

Activity was made the hallmark of the Society of Jesus by its foundation document. The Formula of the Society drawn up by the co-founders for the purpose of the application for papal approval in 1539 states the purpose of the Society as "the propagation of the faith and the progress of souls in the Christian life and doctrine."[82] Nadal coined the phrase 'contemplatives in action' to characterise Jesuits, and wrote of them that "the world is our house", emphasising the Jesuit commitment to mission, and distinguishing the Jesuit aspiration to be active in the world from the practice of contemplative orders in withdrawing from it.[83] The *Spiritual Exercises* suggests a call to activity as the likely result of an exercitant's contemplations.[84] Action, for Jesuits, implied

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[81] In his *Autobiography* he records that while convalescing in 1521, as a result of his reading of chivalric tales he used to dream of "what he would do in the service of a certain lady... the feats of arms he would perform in her service." [6] He was given Ludolph of Saxony's *Lives of Saints* to read and found himself speculating on how he could do what Saint Dominic or Saint Francis had done.[7] While the latter thoughts brought lasting satisfaction whereas the former left him dry and unsatisfied, both thoughts related to taking action.

[82] Evenett wrote that no other sixteenth century order "had so clear a perception as Ignatius and his companions of what the life of a community of reformed priests dedicated as much to the good of their neighbour as to the salvation of their own souls - seeing indeed, the one almost entirely in the other - should be..." Evenett, *Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, 76.

[83] Quoted by O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 68. O'Malley commented that "again and again Nadal reiterated this point."

[84] For instance, the presentation of worldwide evangelization as the consequence of being received under Christ's standard in the meditation of the two standards [136] to [148] dictates such an outcome.

two characteristics. First, that Jesuits would be committed to mobility of operation.[85] Second, Jesuits' daily commitment was to ministry. The Formula drawn up by Loyola and his co-founders specified five forms of ministry as the Society's objectives.[86] These were the outward facing objectives of Jesuits, by which the world would know them. Prayer and contemplation were left to the individual Jesuit to arrange for himself as he saw best. As Eyre has put it "prayer was important and the early Jesuits had their share of mystics - including Ignatius himself - but undisturbed contemplation driven by asceticism was not their goal."[87]

George Fox recorded in his *Journal* that he was entrusted with a mission to save souls by calling people to mind the light inside them. He wrote of his early years, before he heard a voice inside telling him that Jesus Christ could speak to his condition, as a period of constant moving from one location to another.[88] Following his realisation in 1646 that Christ himself would lead him, he continued an itinerant lifestyle but now preaching, as moved to do so by God, and participating in the first Friends' meetings.[89] In 1648 he experienced a spiritual vision of paradise, followed by various openings concerning the true state of the spiritual position of humanity and "how that every man was enlightened by the divine light of Christ."[90] After being informed by God that "thy name is written in the lamb's book of life" he was commanded by God

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[85] Loyola was vehemently opposed to any imposition on the Society of a requirement to recite the daily office in choir. The effect was to liberate Jesuits from the necessity to remain in their houses. Loyola's opposition to members of the Society being permitted to accept prelacies or benefices ensured that they would not become tied to remaining in any single location. The fourth vow of obedience to the Pope, taken by all full members of the Society, was intended to leave them always available to be sent on any mission directed by the Pope. Jesuits continued the practice first established by Loyola and his co-founders of the Society upon their arrival in Venice in 1537 of preaching in the open air and in the streets. They believed they were replicating the practice of Jesus, his disciples, and Paul, and they saw that in order to reach the people who were most in need they must preach wherever people gathered.

[86] They were: first, ministry of the word in the form of public preaching and "other ministrations whatever of the word of God, and further by means of the *Spiritual Exercises*"; second, education of children and unlettered persons in Christianity; third, spiritual consolation of Christ's faithful through sacraments and confession; fourth, reconciling the estranged, in prisons and hospitals; and finally, other works of charity. Quoted by O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 5.

[87] Eyre, *Refor*mations, 451.

[88] Fox, Journal (Nickalls, ed.), 4-11.

[89] Fox, *Journal* (Nickalls, ed.), 19ff.

[90] Fox*, Journal* (Nickalls, ed.), 33.

"to go abroad into the world."[91] Fox records that "I was sent to turn the people from darkness into light that they might receive Jesus Christ" and that "I was to bring people off from all the world's religions."[92] Other early Quaker leaders recalled divine leadings to preach or move to particular locations rather than a general mission to save souls. Thus Nayler told the court at Appleby in 1652 that he had received a divine command to "get thee out from thy kindred and from thy father's house", coupled with a promise "that God would be with me: which promise I find made good every day".[93] William Edmundson in Ireland wrote in his *Journal* of being moved by God to go to various places to preach at Friends' meetings.[94] Early Quaker leaders conformed to a pattern of practice or both holding or attending meetings at which to wait for divine inspiration, and moving from location to location, as moved by God, to broadcast their message. Just as Loyola had instructed Jesuits that deeds were better than words so Fox admonished Quakers "be patterns, be examples in all countries... wherever you come; that your carriage and life may preach among all sorts of people, and to them."[95]

If both early Jesuits and early Quakers were contemplatives in action, the action they embarked upon differed. Jesuits were operating within the Roman Catholic church and, in consequence, their ministry involved administering sacraments and strengthening already existent faith as well as winning new converts to the church. Expressly obedient to the doctrines of the Roman Catholic church, Jesuits had no interest in developing new doctrines or in questioning those of the church. With the exception of those Jesuits deputed to engage in disputes with Protestants, their interest in Roman Catholic countries was in strengthening the faith of existing members of the church rather than in introducing them to new ideas. Notwithstanding the extensive Jesuit

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[91] Fox, *Journal* (Nickalls, ed.), 33.
[92] Fox, *Journal* (Nickalls, ed.), 35.
[93] Nayler, *Saul's Errand*, 30,31.
[94] "At this time I travelled in truth's service, for the Lord had given me a testimony for his truth in meetings and public places, sometimes at worship-houses, where I met rough usage, but truth gained ground , many received it and came to meetings, we having meetings in several places ..." William Edmundson, *Journal*, (Dublin: Christopher Bentham, 1820), 58.
[95] Fox, *Journal* (Nickalls, ed.), 263.

missionary effort during the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries to the Far East and to Central and South America, numerically their concentration was on opening and operating schools in European countries and on preaching the ministry of the word. Quaker efforts were devoted to winning converts from all existing forms of Christian practice to a new (or, in Quakers' view, the original Apostolic) way of relating to God through Christ. By comparison with Jesuits, their charitable works were limited. Their major concentration was on winning people from adherence to the Reformed faith to direct communication with God free from the encrustation of forms, rituals and ceremonies of the existing church. Hilary Hinds has suggested that Quakerism's major appeal lay in the freedom it gave to people to take charge of an active communication with God and the consequences of that communication in their lives.[96]

4.8 Contrasts

The brief investigation of Jesuit and Quaker spirituality under the topics of direct contact with God, conversion, Christocentrism, unity, mode and activity suggests similarities between them. However, there are significant facets of Jesuit spirituality which prima facie appear to contrast with Quaker spirituality. This section will consider those facets under the headings: ecclesial matters, sacraments, learning, works, and, finally, charisma.

4.8.1 The church, forms and ceremonies

Jesuit policy and practice with regard to the church and Roman Catholic tradition was equally positive. Unqualified adherence to church teaching and approval for Roman Catholic religious practices was required from members of the Society by the 'Rules for thinking, judging and

[96] "Fox's theology returned the possibility of an active, effective, and godly engagement with the possibilities and the constraints of living in faith. It is this *activity* - literal and metaphorical, lived and conceived - that helps account for Fox's gathering of 'a great people' in the hills of the north-west of England in 1652 and beyond." Hilary Hinds, "Unity and Universality in the Theology of George Fox", 61.

feeling with the church' at the end of *the Spiritual Exercises*.[97] Jesuit respect for and subservience to the church, its traditions, teachings and practices was embodied in the fourth vow to be taken by all full members, that of obedience to the Pope as Christ's representative on earth.

There was a potential conflict between the immediate communication with God which Loyola's personal experience caused to be fundamental to Jesuit spirituality and the claim of the church to a monopoly in facilitating divine contact with believers through the infusion of grace by means of the sacraments. As a result of his interrogation by the Inquisition in Spain while at Salamanca, Loyola was aware of the potential for disaster which would attend upon any attempt on his part to assert superiority for the type of immediate communication which Jesuit spirituality promoted over the grace ministered by the church through sacraments. But this does not seem ever to have concerned him. His *Autobiography* portrays him as maintaining the closest contact with the church in terms of attendance at Mass, the location of many (though not all) his revelations during or immediately before or after Mass, and his willingness to seek and abide by guidance and direction from church representatives and authorities. He seems to have achieved a masterful compromise of the potential conflict by placing the Society in subservience to church orthodoxy but defining for it a way of life and form of service which left it free to develop and advocate to others a form of spirituality based on unmediated contact between God and human beings.

Quakers were famously opposed to all religious constructs, whether of liturgy, ceremonial, administration or the existence of ministers, parishes and church buildings. The early Quaker

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[97] Rules 2-9. By Rule 10, this approval was to extend to "the decrees and regulations of those in authority, and their conduct as well notwithstanding that such conduct has not always in the past merited approval", on the grounds that any other course would be to encourage criticism by "ordinary people".[362] Both positive theology, the teaching of Saints Augustine, Jerome and Gregory, aimed at increasing devotion in the service of God, and scholastic theology, that of the more recent doctors Thomas Aquinas, Bonaventure and Peter Lombard, aimed at defining and explaining "for our times what is necessary for salvation and for more effectively combating and exposing all errors and fallacies" [Rule 11] were expressly praised.

leaders regarded all such things as created by man since Apostolic times and at best unnecessary for assisting any person turning to the light within. Early Quakers' message, vigorously preached during the 1650s, was that every person had the ability to turn to the light within and pursue his or her own redemption unaided, though help from those experienced in spiritual matters might facilitate that pursuit. Yet in practice Quakers were unable to maintain a position entirely free from organisation, hierarchy and rules. In the early years of Quaker expansion, Margaret Fell acted as administrator, fundraiser and storer of correspondence for the itinerant Quaker leaders.[98] That there must have been some form of centralised planning is implied by the coordinated missions to the major cities of the South of England by prominent Quakers in 1654. Following that expansion, and coinciding with the major publicity difficulty of James Nayler's parliamentary trial, rules for the conduct of meetings and penalties for breach by Friends were found necessary and were promulgated in the *Epistle from the Elders at Balby* in 1656. Thus notwithstanding their opposition to any form of prescription, Quakers did evolve some constraints on the freedom of Friends in religious practice and a certain uniformity of ethical behaviour which gave Quakers an objectively recognisable identity.

4.8.2 Learning

Loyola's understanding that learning would be a major benefit in helping achieve his aim to serve God and serve others appears from his *Autobiography* in which he recorded that on his return from Jerusalem in 1524, after much rumination on how he should devote his life "in the end he was inclining more towards studying for a time in order to be able to help souls." [50] The Jesuit Constitutions made clear that the Society's approach to the acquisition of learning was purposive.[99] There was anyway a significant limitation on the use to which learning acquired by Jesuits could be put. The total subjection of the Society to the doctrines of the Church

[98] Rosemary Moore, "Seventeenth-century Context and Quaker Beginnings" in *Early Quakers,* 17.
[99] The preamble to Part IV which deals with learning states that "the aim which the Society of Jesus directly seeks is to aid its own members and their neighbours to attain the ultimate end for which they were created. To achieve this purpose … learning and a method of expounding it are… necessary." [307]

prevented any criticisms of those doctrines being made: "no truth defined by the Church should be questioned. No conclusion of the intelligence incompatible with the Church's defined dogma could be entertained", as Evenett observed.[100] Jesuit knowledge was to be applied in defence of orthodoxy: creative thinking on matters of doctrine was disallowed.[101]

Like Loyola, almost all early Quaker leaders were not learned in the sense that they had not been to Oxford or Cambridge. They disapproved of the increased emphasis on learning as a condition to entering ministry in the church during the Protectorate, identifying learning with other trappings of religious observance which they considered objectionable as tending to stand between God and an individual human being.[102] Quakers' sense of the universal indwelling of the light, and their belief that all people could, of their own volition and without intervening ministration, turn to the light, pointed them to the absence of any necessity for learning in pursuing their spirituality.

Quakers may thus appear to have adopted an attitude to learning wholly opposed to that of the Jesuits. Yet the contrast may not be as clear as initially appears. As Jesuits wanted learning for the purpose of saving souls, so Quakers disapproved of using education not because they were intrinsically opposed to the acquisition of knowledge but because they perceived that ministers used it to mislead their parishioners. Quakers attacked ministers' use of their superior education to assert and preach the doctrines of the Reformed church which Quakers believed

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[100] Evenett, *Spirit of the Counter Reformation*, 79.

[101] Notwithstanding Evenett's observation and the prohibition imposed by the Constitutions of the Society of Jesus on novelty in doctrine, Jesuits in practice managed to expand the church's doctrines, as, for instance, in the influence of probabilism in the development of casuistry for which Jesuits were well known, if not acclaimed, by all parties within the church, and in the commitment of the Society to Molina's hypothesis of middle knowledge to solve the apparent conflict between God's predestination of each individual's salvation and humanity's ability to exercise free will. See Emanuele Colombo, "The invention of probabilism" and Sylvio Hermann de Franceschi, "Catholic theology and doctrinal novelty in the quarrel over grace" in Ulrich L. Lehner, ed., *Innovation in Early Modern Catholicism* (London: Routledge, 2021), 126-144 and 28-47.

[102] Fox wrote in his *Journal* that even before the pivotal occasion when he heard a voice telling him that Christ within could speak to him, it had been opened to him by the Lord "that being bred at Oxford or Cambridge was not enough to fit and qualify men to be ministers of Christ." Fox, *Journal* (Nickalls ed.), 7.

to be wrong. It was more the purpose to which ministers put their education, and the exclusivity which it apparently bought for them, which attracted Quaker criticism than any inherent vice in learning itself. Fox appears to have amassed a considerable library during his lifetime, perhaps indicating an interest in the acquisition of knowledge.[103] Further, all early Quaker leaders exhibited not only a significant knowledge of the Bible but also the ability to use that knowledge to support their arguments in disputes with their opponents. Howgill's later doctrinal works demonstrate familiarity with the writings of the patristics. Quakers did not disapprove of learning for the purpose of the advancement of Quakerism. But they did not believe there was any need for it by any person trying to progress spiritually in his or her relationship with Christ. Neither Jesuits nor Quakers placed any emphasis on the use of learning in their spirituality, both placing an affective response to the divine above intellectual understanding.

4.8.3 Sacraments

Evenett saw an increase in the attention paid to the sacramental system in the sixteenth century as complementary to the upsurge in individual mental prayer, both constituting hallmarks of Counter-Reformation spirituality, of which Jesuit spirituality was the leading exponent.[104] He suggested that the link between the increased sacramentalism of the age and the tendency to individual prayer was that the eucharist provided the increase in grace for which individuals were striving in their meditations.[105] Certainly the receipt of grace and the proximity to Christ rendered possible by the sacraments were vital to the spiritual life of Jesuits. Loyola's *Autobiography* and his *Spiritual Diary* make clear his yearning to receive the eucharist as frequently as he could and his experience of close contact with Christ as a result.[106] The pre-

[103] But note that Stephen Wright comes to the opposite conclusion after considering the possible extent of Fox's library, based on the written testimony of Fox's step-daughters of him: "though of no great literature, nor seeming much learned as to the outward". Stephen Wright, "*An Investigation into the Possible Transfer of Theology and Practice from Continental Anabaptists to the First Quakers"*, 210.
[104] Evenett, *Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, 36.
[105] Evenett, *Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, 40.
[106] For instance, the entries in his *Spiritual Diary* for February 23 -March 4, 1544. Ganss, *Ignatius of Loyola*, 248-249.

eminence of the eucharist in his life is demonstrated by each daily entry in his *Spiritual Diary* being headed by a note of the title of the principal Mass for that day, and his experience of tears, consolations and visitations generally occurred at or in connection with Mass. For the Society, the foundational Formula specified the giving of the sacraments and confession as the third of the five ministries for which the Society was established.[107]

In the same way that they rejected all church liturgy and ceremonial as post-Apostolic and man-made, Quakers also rejected the liturgy of the sacraments as human attempts to translate spiritual things into matters of this world. On a spiritual level, however, early Quakers readily acknowledged the validity of at any rate the sacraments of eucharist and baptism. Burrough's account of his own spiritual progress in *A True Declaration and Discovery to all the world* provides an example.[108]

Like Jesuits, Quakers regarded the effect of the sacraments of baptism and eucharist, the spiritual joining of the human being with Christ, as the culmination of their spiritual quest. Unlike the ministers of the Reformed faith who regarded sacraments merely as signs of divine activity occurring remotely from human beings, both Quakers and Jesuits believed real union of Christ and believers could occur during this life and that a way of describing that union was to talk about baptism and reception of Christ's flesh and blood. In spiritual terms, therefore, Quakers and Jesuits did not differ in their understanding of the validity of baptism and the eucharist but they were wholly opposed in their attitude to ceremonials and rituals, and in their understanding of the exclusivity to the Roman Catholic church of the authority validly to administer sacraments.

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[107] O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 5.

[108] He wrote "true communion of Saints I own, for we have union, and the bread which we break is the body of Christ, and the cup which we drink is the blood of Christ, by which we are nourished and fed up to eternal life, for he that eats not Christ's flesh and drinks his blood, he hath no life in him… But your communion I deny, for it is heathenish and no more but an imitation, having proceeded out of the imagination of the proud." Edward Burrough, *A True Declaration and Discovery to all the world of my manner of life*, 6.

4.8.4 Good Works

As discussed in section 4.6 above, early Jesuit leaders felt propelled by their encounters with Christ and love for God to a life of service which was manifest in love of God through contemplation and love of their fellow human beings through ministry. Their lives were devoted to these two pursuits.[109] Good works thus acquired significance for them in representing the best way in which a life could be spent in progression towards salvation. And yet Jesuits cast works of ministry as the way in which their love for, and unity with, God could be demonstrated in their lives rather than as the means by which they could acquire merit for themselves as a form of assistance in their own salvation. Good works might in this way be classified as the consequence of the achievement of unity with Christ.

Quakers rejected any notion of merit attaching to good works, believing in the same way as all Protestants that good works would, and indeed must, evidence the progressive sanctification of the soul throughout life. While denying that good works benefited the believer in God's eyes, Quakers nonetheless developed ethical guidelines for the conduct of believers' behaviour which, in their view, evidenced believers' interior unification with Christ. Sober lifestyle and appearance were the most noticeable examples of this, together with the more obtrusive eccentricities of hat culture, absence of social conventions and rigid adherence to honesty in their commercial dealings. Once again, a clear distinction between Jesuits and Quakers in relation to external works is less apparent when the motive cause of the carrying out of those external actions is considered.

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[109] These central aspects of Jesuits' objectives and outlook were encompassed within Nadal's descriptive summary "spiritu, corde, practice." O'Malley commented that Nadal "perhaps most succinctly and effectively captured the fundamental aspects of the ideal within his triad "in the Spirit, from the heart, practically" – "spiritu, corde, practice." O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 371.

4. 8. 5 Charisma

In the exuberance of early Quaker spiritual encounter with God was a manifestation of charisma which appears lacking in Jesuit spirituality. Moore has pointed out that quaking, a feature of early Quaker meetings, was a defining characteristic of Quaker spirituality, though Fox and other early Quaker leaders sought to play down the references to the phenomenon in their writing by using the phrase 'the power of the Lord'.[110] Quaker acceptance of unity with Christ as a reality in this world, enabling them to treat perfection as a practical possibility in this life, rendered the demonstration of divine power only too possible.

Although the *Spiritual Exercises* did not indicate that the Spirit was likely to become manifest in any charismatic phenomena, O'Malley has suggested that Jesuit concentration on the Word of God as Spirit rather than as Scripture rendered it possible and accurate to refer to their Spirit-inspired preaching as charismatic. In noting that Jesuits appear to have encouraged their scholastics to preach with little theological training, O'Malley commented that "this charismatic aspect of the Jesuits' appreciation of preaching needs to be underlined because it is so often overlooked and because it reflects the charismatic origins of the Society itself. In the Jesuits' understanding of what they were about, that aspect was an essential component. It was a straightforward expression of the central role that conversion of heart and its results were meant to play in their own lives and in the lives of those to whom they ministered."[111]

The reality for Jesuits of the unity with Christ which they anticipated would be achieved by their spirituality was, perhaps, not so different from the unity experienced by Quakers.

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[110] Moore, *Light,* 147.
[111] O'Malley, *First Jesuits*, 102.

4.9 Conclusions

This brief investigation of the principal characteristics of Jesuit spirituality and comparison with Quaker spirituality has shown that Prynne's suspicions that there were similarities was not wholly wide of the mark. But that he based his accusation on his observation of external characteristics shows that it was not an informed accusation. The characteristics of outward appearances, fasting and itinerancy which Prynne picked out were not regarded as significant by either Quakers or Jesuits. Indeed, both counselled moderation, if also sobriety, in behavioural matters.

Both Quakerism and Jesuitism were experiential spiritualities, strongly oriented towards the personal encounters with God which their founders had undergone. From this shared nature of originating motive flowed those characteristics of the two spiritualities which consisted in the emphasis on direct contact with God, conversion, individuality, and activity, the impetus to urge others to make a purposeful change of life as a result of their own personal experience of approach to God. From the common characteristics that the founders of both spiritualities were lay people and had not received university education at the time of their experience of encounter with the divine arose the consequence that both spiritualities were focused on affective devotion rather than the use of the intellect to apprehend the divine.

Dissimilarities between the two spiritualities are more apparent in external characteristics than in their essential components. The accent on methodical prayer and contemplation in Jesuit spirituality which almost certainly owed its origin to the *Devotio Moderna,* transmitted to Loyola through the *Imitation of Christ*, and the prominence which Jesuit spirituality accorded to the discernment of spirits clearly mirrored Loyola's own experience and the lessons which he learned while at Manresa. Quaker perception that the light within would itself guide and lead to Christ if a human being permitted it to do so, precluded Quakers from advising any methodical

assistance to people. Jesuit spirituality's provenance within the Roman Catholic church dictated its adherence to the church's ceremonials and to the importance of sacraments in supplementing with grace the communicative relationship between God and person achieved by human effort. But a tension has been noted between early Jesuit emphasis on unmediated contact between God and the believer and the claims of the Roman Catholic church to exclusive control of mediation. That Quaker spirituality was intended to replace all human constructions in the nature of church organisation, liturgy or ceremonial, similarly reflects the climate within which it was born, one of religious practice dominated by separatist trends hostile to any centralising uniformity.

The Jesuits' attention to learning may be regarded as an aid to disseminating and administering Jesuit spirituality rather than as integral to it, while the accent on good works was an inevitable consequence of a person becoming united to Christ, in the same way as it was for Quakers. The most significant difference between Jesuit and Quaker spirituality, one which was a defining part of the spirituality and not only a consequence of the working out by the founders of the implications of the unity with Christ which they had achieved, was the Quakers' understanding that an individual indwelt by Christ was to some extent transported from this physical world into a spiritual one where time no longer existed, such that it could be said that the indwelling of Christ amounted to his awaited second coming. Jesuit spirituality, while comprehending that unity with Christ would entail perfection in this life, retained its location in this world and in this life. For Jesuits, Christ's second coming remained a future event.

The comparison conducted by this chapter has found that there was a resemblance between early Quaker and early Jesuit spirituality, and that this derived from the origins of both spiritualities in experience of direct contact with God by their founders and from their emphasis on affective devotion ahead of intellectual understanding. The implications of these

conclusions for the correct categorisation of Quakerism on a spectrum of religious opinions will be discussed in chapter 5.

Chapter 5 Conclusion

5.1 Summary of Previous Chapters and Key Findings

Chapter 2 described the core beliefs and understandings of early Quakers, Ministers and Roman Catholics relating to the doctrinal topics which were the subject of the Allegations, namely, salvation, the Spirit and Scripture, sin, and sacraments.

Quakers believed that salvation was commenced by each person turning to, and being guided by, the divine light within himself or herself, thereby receiving the benefit of the atonement achieved through Christ's death and resurrection. Salvation was attained through abandonment of worldly attachments and progressive subordination of the will to Christ so that ultimately unity with Christ, a state of sinless perfection in this life, could be achieved. Ministers believed that only those predestined by God could be saved. Through the fall, people had irrevocably lost the capacity to take steps towards their own salvation with the consequence that redemption could only be achieved by declaration by God imputing Christ's righteousness to a person, activated by that person's faith. Righteousness was infused by God into a justified person and would be evident in that person's performance of good works. But sin in a human being could never be eradicated. Roman Catholic doctrine asserted that a person must initiate his or her salvation, though prompted by prevenient grace. The sacrament of baptism was the normal means by which a believer could achieve justification. By baptism a real change in the baptised was effected, sin was expunged and God's righteousness was infused into that person. Falling away from sinlessness during life was inevitable but the adverse effect could be counteracted by the infusion of further grace by means of the sacraments of the eucharist and penance.

Key finding 1. Quaker understanding of salvation was closer to Roman Catholic than that of the Ministers by virtue of Quaker and Roman Catholic belief that justification was a process rather than an event in a believer's life; was centred on the element of the divine within each

believer which effected real change in the believer; and required a believer to abandon worldly attachments in order to seek unity with Christ.

Early Quaker experience of the divine and the affirmation of the element of the divine within every person as the guide to salvation led to the assertion that the Spirit must have primacy over Scripture. Quakers distinguished the vital Spirit which had been the source and origin of all that was written in the Scriptures, and which together with Christ, the Word, was active as the light in all people, from the written letter of the books of the Scriptures. Ministers accepted that the Scriptures had been inspired by the Spirit and that the Spirit indwelt believers but the potentially liberating effect of that understanding had been discounted in favour of the certainty afforded by Scripture so that the letter of Scripture was to be treated as the rule of faith, and the Spirit in believers as a remote presence operating at a subconscious level.[1] Roman Catholics treated the divine grace infused into human beings through the sacraments in similar manner to Quakers' treatment of the light or Spirit within. They rejected the possibility that any individual could receive instruction from the Spirit in any way contrary or additional to Scripture, accepting that Scripture was divinely inspired, but believed that Scripture was only one part of the rule of faith. The other part was contained in the traditions of the church. Because the church was unarguably inspired and guided by the Spirit, a group of duly authorised senior representatives of the church was the only body entitled to rule on matters of interpretation of Scripture or discernment of spirits

Key finding 2. Quakers and Roman Catholics both believed Scripture was inadequate as the rule of faith. Quakers, Roman Catholics and Ministers all agreed that the Spirit, as the author of Scripture, was the ultimate authority for humankind but whereas Quakers believed that the

[1] As a generality this was true of the views of Ministers whose Allegations related to the issue of the relative precedence to be accorded to the Spirit and Scripture, but within the Reformed faith there existed a diversity of views on this topic, witnessed by the controversy over the rise of antinomianism, the notion that to look to a believer's good works for evidence of justification was to restrict too severely the freedom of the Holy Spirit and the gospel of grace.

Spirit speaking inwardly to each believer should be accepted as preeminent, Roman Catholics perceived that the church, together with its collection of Apostolic traditions, held the dominant authority for human beings, and the Reformed faith believed that only Scripture had that status.

Quakers believed that Christ had come to redeem believers from sin during this life. Individual believers could therefore become perfect during this life, sinless as Adam was free from sin before his fall. Susceptibility to sin remained and falling away was possible though a believer could be restored by means of repentance and divine forgiveness. Ministers denied that sin could ever be wholly expunged during this life due to continuing concupiscence. Roman Catholics held that the sacrament of baptism entirely removed sin from a believer. Concupiscence remained but could not correctly be categorised as sin. If a believer fell into sin, as was foreseeable, the sacraments of penance and eucharist provided the necessary further grace to return him or her to the state of sinlessness attained at baptism.

Key finding 3. Quaker doctrine concerning sin and the possibility of perfection aligned closely with that of Roman Catholicism and differed from that of the Reformed faith.

A clear differentiation between the three groups existed concerning the external ceremonies and forms of sacraments. Roman Catholics believed that these were essential to the operation of every sacrament, while Quakers rejected any utility in any form or ceremony or words. Ministers believed forms and ceremonies were required but that the effect of sacraments was spiritual and not directly caused by the words or form of the ceremonies. Notwithstanding their rejection of all external observances in connection with sacraments, Quakers nonetheless agreed that the spiritual baptism of every believer into one body and the spiritual eating of Christ's flesh and drinking of Christ's blood were essential parts of a progression towards unity with Christ.

Key finding 4. There was no similarity between Quakerism and Roman Catholicism concerning the forms and ceremonies of the sacraments. At a deeper level, both groups believed in the necessity for baptism and the eucharist spiritually.

Chapter 3 considered the Allegations in turn, asking whether there was a superficial similarity between Quakers and Roman Catholics in connection with the doctrines or practices in question and, if so, whether there was also a correspondence at a deeper level.

There was a resemblance between the Quaker notion of the light within every person and Roman Catholic understanding of grace infused into believers at baptism. Both Quaker light and Roman Catholic grace were divine though not to be equated with any specific member of the Holy Trinity. Quakers treated the light as the prime actor for each person in leading towards and achieving that person's salvation, whereas Roman Catholics accorded that role to the Holy Spirit.

Key finding 5. The Allegation relating to a resemblance between Quaker understanding of the light within and Roman Catholic understanding of grace within was valid. Although the understandings were not identical, the resemblance was valid both superficially and at a deeper level.

Quakers and Roman Catholics both believed salvation was achieved by each believer working with the divine within themselves and not by any declaration by God remote from an individual. Quaker understanding was similar to that of Roman Catholics and both were opposed to the belief of the Reformed faith that justification was effected by a declaration by God imputing Christ's righteousness to a believer.

Key finding 6. The Allegation that neither Quakers nor Roman Catholics believed justification was by imputation of Christ's righteousness to a believer was valid both in superficial resemblance and at a deeper level.

Both Quakers and Roman Catholics believed that the light or grace within believers effected a real change to the believer and that salvation could be attributed to the inherent righteousness of the believer. Both Quakers and Roman Catholics further understood that the saving righteousness within a believer was divine righteousness and thus could not correctly be described as the believer's own righteousness though inhering in the believer. However, there was a significant difference between Quakers' and Roman Catholics' understanding of the practical effect of the divine indwelling of believers, Quakers aiming to place the conduct of their spiritual and ethical lives entirely in God's hands whereas Roman Catholics saw each human being as retaining control of their lives, though assisted by grace and subject to the authority of the church.

Key finding 7. The Allegation relating to Quakers and Roman Catholics believing that human beings were saved by their inherent righteousness was successful superficially. But it failed at a deeper level due to the divergence in understanding of Quakers and Roman Catholics concerning the effect of the divine indwelling in believers.

Quakers and Roman Catholics both held that Scripture was deficient as the rule of faith. It required supplementing and interpreting by the Spirit. They pointed to different sources for this purpose. Quakers insisted that the Spirit could and did speak through individual believers, while Roman Catholics asserted that the unwritten word of God in the form of Apostolic traditions collected and promulgated by the Roman Catholic church must supplement Scripture and that the church itself, as the only human institution inspired by the Spirit, had the authority to interpret Scripture and discern spirits.

Key finding 8. The Allegation that Quakers and Roman Catholics denied that Scripture was the rule of faith and the only competent authority for discerning spirits succeeded at a superficial level. At a deeper level it failed because Quakers and Roman Catholics pointed to different sources of ultimate authority for supplementing Scripture.

Both Quakers and Roman Catholics denied there was any Scriptural basis for infant baptism and rejected the validity of eucharist ceremonies conducted by Ministers. But whereas Quakers rejected any requirement for forms or ceremonies for sacraments, Roman Catholics insisted on specific forms and the use only of prescribed words. At a deeper level, however, Quakers and Roman Catholics both believed in the necessity for believers to be spiritually baptised into one body and spiritually to eat Christ's flesh and drink his blood.

Key finding 9. The Allegation relating to sacraments succeeded in its limited ambit of claiming that both Quakers and Roman Catholics denied there was a scriptural basis for infant baptism and that the eucharist ceremony performed by a minister of the Reformed Church was valid. This resemblance did not extend any further in relation to the performance of sacraments. But at a deeper level, both Quakers and Roman Catholics admitted and accepted the requirement for spiritual baptism and eucharist.

Quakers and Roman Catholics both believed direct communication from God to human beings was not only possible but frequently occurred in the form of revelations, miracles, and immediate calls, and that God's directly delivered communication to human beings had the quality of conferring infallibility. Ministers denied that any of these things could occur as the Apostolic age had terminated.

Key finding 10. The Allegation relating to divine direct communication through revelations, miracles, immediate calls, and conferring infallibility was valid. A resemblance between Quaker and Roman Catholic belief was established. Further, at deeper level both Quakers and Roman

Catholics believed direct communication by God to humanity in these forms occurred and was authoritative.

The Allegations based on Quaker practices in many instances failed to establish a corresponding Roman Catholic practice to that of Quakers. In other instances, Ministers failed to show that a specific practice common to Quakers and Roman Catholics was not also shared by other religious groups. Only the practices of conducting an itinerant ministry and pursuing the tactic of seeking to shake congregations' confidence in their Ministers were limited to both Quakers and Roman Catholics.

Key finding 11. The Allegation relating to Quaker practices succeeded only in showing a resemblance with Roman Catholic practices in very limited circumstances.

Ministers made no attempt to adduce any evidence to prove that Quakers were Jesuits in disguise or were taught or led by Roman Catholics, with the exception of the production by Prynne of the sworn statement by Cowlishaw, which Audland contradicted. Ministers appeared to consider that the recitation of doctrinal similarities between Quakers and Roman Catholics would speak for itself.[2] Quakers denied that there was any connection between any of them and any Roman Catholics. They did not deny that some of their beliefs resembled those of Roman Catholics.

Key finding 12. The Allegation that Quakers' leaders were Roman Catholics in disguise or that Quakers were taught or led by Roman Catholics or that Jesuits had infiltrated the Quakers failed. Ministers did not adduce any substantial evidence to support it.

[2] Such was the prevailing level of popular antipathy towards Roman Catholicism during the Interregnum that Ministers may have felt that merely to indicate some similarity between Quaker and Roman Catholic doctrines would achieve their objective of tipping the judgement of readers of pamphlets in which the Allegations were set out against the Quakers. For a description of the extent of popular hostility to Roman Catholicism see Robin Clifton, "The Popular Fear of Catholics during the English Revolution", *Past and Present* 52.1 (1971), 23-55.

Chapter 4 examined the Allegation of similarity between Quakers and Jesuits by comparing key characteristics of Quaker and Jesuit Spirituality.

To a significant extent resemblances between Quaker and Jesuit spirituality arose from the personal experience of direct communication with God of the founders of the two groups. The founders instilled into the spirituality of their followers the centrality of direct relationship with God and the necessity for a change of life in each believer. Both Quaker and Roman Catholic spirituality reflected their doctrinal belief in the necessity for human beings to aim for unity with Christ by seeking to follow Christ's example when incarnate. The emphasis on activity and evangelism, seeking to persuade other people to join their group or to follow their group's teaching, was in the case of both Quakers and Jesuits a consequence of the nature of the call from God which the founders had experienced. But there were significant differences between Quaker and Jesuit spirituality. Jesuits embraced methodical prayer and spiritual practices; total subordination of the will to the authority of the church; enthusiastic acceptance of the forms and ceremonies prescribed for the performance of sacraments; and emphasis on learning for all full members of the Society. Quaker spirituality lacked or opposed each of these features. The apparent significance of these differences diminishes when account is taken of the contexts in which Jesuitism and Quakerism arose. The similarities in core beliefs and teaching of the two similar spiritualities is unaffected by these differences in approach and practice.

Key finding 13. The Allegation of resemblance between Quaker and Jesuit spirituality succeeded superficially. There was resemblance in the key characteristics of direct communication with God, the importance attached to conversion, the Christocentrism and individualism of the approach of the two spiritualities, and the objective of achieving unity with Christ. Further, 'contemplatives in action' was a fitting description of both Quakers and Roman Catholics. They shared an emphasis on evangelism. There were significant differences in relation to the attitude

of the two spiritualities to their modes of practice; the relationship of each believer to the governing body of the group; the performance of sacraments; and the approach to learning.

In summary, the Key Findings point to a resemblance between Quaker and Roman Catholic beliefs on the topics of salvation, the relation between the Spirit and Scripture, the possibility of achieving perfection in this life, the spiritual value and necessity for sacraments, and the possibility of direct communication between God and believers. In each of these areas, Quaker and Roman Catholic beliefs were opposed to those of the Reformed faith. But there was very little resemblance between Quakers and Roman Catholics in terms of their practices, and Allegations that Quakers had derived doctrines from Roman Catholicism or that Quakers were Jesuits in disguise were invalid. It was the case, however, that there were significant similarities between Quaker and Jesuit spirituality, largely resulting from the similarities in the experience of encounter with God of the founders of the two groups.

5.2 Discussion and Original Contribution

The comparison of the doctrines of early Quakers, Ministers of the Reformed church in England and Roman Catholics on each of the topics which was the subject of the Allegations, as well as the examination of the validity of each of the Allegations and the comparison of Quaker and Jesuit spirituality bring together information concerning the alleged similarity of Quaker doctrines and practices to those of Roman Catholics which had not formerly been collected. The key findings of chapters 2, 3 and 4 outlined above suggest that in important areas of belief Quakerism resembled Roman Catholicism more closely than the Reformed faith. That suggestion can play a part in the continuing debates concerning, first, the origins of Quaker doctrines and practices and, second, the correct place of Quakerism in the spectrum of English mid-seventeenth century religious beliefs.

The primary conclusion to which the comparisons and examinations carried out in this dissertation points is that in an important, perhaps the most significant,[3] area of doctrine, namely soteriology, Quakers' understanding aligned more closely with Roman Catholic than with that of Ministers. That is a surprising suggestion when set against the view of prevailing scholarship that from whatever sources and origins Quaker ideas may have derived, Quakerism should be seen as arising from its context of origin, the disturbed and faction-ridden but nonetheless universally accepted Reformed faith of England in the 1650s. Spencer may be taken as typical in writing of "seventeenth century England in the Puritan cradle where Quakerism was born", presumably using the term Puritanism to refer to the prevalent Reformed faith of the time.[4]

The key findings of this dissertation include that the Allegation that Quakers had been taught their doctrines by Roman Catholics was unsubstantiated.[5] Accordingly, the conclusion reached by this dissertation must be that doctrinal similarity between Quakers and Roman Catholics did not originate or derive from any contact between early Quaker leaders and any Roman Catholic sources. In negating a possible source of Quaker ideas, this dissertation joins the work by Stephen Wright, which concluded that no link between early Quakers and Continental Anabaptists could be proved,[6] and that of Daniel Zemaitis which did not find any direct influence from Wycliffe or Huss on early Quakers though concluded that early Quakerism "drew heavily from a similar theological stream as Wycliffe and Huss".[7] During the course of this dissertation it has been noted that Quakers derived the beliefs which approximated more to

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[3] In his introduction to the part of the Institutes dealing with Justification by Faith, Calvin refers to Justification as "the main hinge on which religion turns …" John Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (ed. John T. McNeill and trans. Ford Lewis Battles), (Louisville, Kentucky: Westminster Press, 2006), Vol 1, Book III, Chapter XI, 726

[4] Spencer, *Holiness*, 33.

[5] Key Finding 12.

[6] Wright*, "An Investigation into the Possible Transfer of Theology and Practice from Continental Anabaptists to the First Quakers"*.

[7] Zemaitis, "*Convergent Paths: The Correspondence Among the Lollards, Hussites, and Early Quakers"*, 293.

Roman Catholicism than to Protestant understanding from their own experience of the divine, achieved through their encounter with the light or the Spirit within themselves, as, indeed, they so proclaimed in their writings.

The summarised conclusion of this dissertation, and thus its original contribution, is that Quaker beliefs on certain core doctrines aligned more closely with those of Roman Catholicism than with those of the Reformed faith; and that as Quakers did not derive those beliefs from Roman Catholicism, this conclusion enhances the credibility of their claim that their ideas and beliefs originated in their own personal spiritual experience. Additionally, the similarity between Quakerism and Roman Catholicism, and opposition to the Reformed faith, on core doctrines suggests that Quakerism cannot properly be regarded as an extension of the radical wing of the Reformed faith, no matter what similarities of behaviour, practices and peripheral beliefs may have existed.

5.3 Implications for Existing Scholarship

This dissertation has concentrated on the early Quaker doctrines which were the subject of the Allegations. On that account it exemplifies the approach of the majority of writers in *Early Quakers and their Theological Thought, 1647-1723* described by the editors of that work as being "to start with the Quaker experience and to try and untangle its own theological logic" and may be thought to fall into the trap identified by the editors of tending to emphasise Quaker ideas as distinctive and radical and "seeing Quakerism as unique."[8] Quakerism did, of course, arise in its context, but different commentators have discerned different factors or precedents as of principal contextual or derivational significance for it. The findings of this dissertation contribute to that continuing investigation of the origins of Quaker ideas.

[8] Angell and Dandelion, *Early Quakers*, 8.

The key findings of resemblance between those elements of early Quakerism and Roman Catholicism concerning soteriological doctrine which relate to the indwelling of the divine and real change in a believer point away from the notion that "Quakerism can best be understood as a wing of Puritanism".[9] The resemblance between Quaker and Roman Catholic ideas on this topic marks a significant break with the Reformed faith. Although it might be true to say that "Quakerism comes out of Puritanism, yet it is anti-Puritan"[10] as Spencer did in the course of explaining that in the polemical context in which the earliest Quaker writings were composed the differences between Quakerism and the Reformed understanding might be expected to be highlighted, it could as truly be said that Lutheranism came out of Roman Catholicism. The cultural context was evident in the swathe of undisputed shared beliefs which marked both groups out as Christian but the disputed areas of doctrine rendered them irreconcilable opponents. The findings of significant resemblance between Quaker and Roman Catholic core ideas relating to soteriology point to a reaction by Quakers against what they had experienced as the unsatisfying Reformed theology and a departure from the Reformed faith through the adoption and development of new beliefs based on the personal experience of early Quaker leaders' encounters with the divine within themselves.

In his spectrum of religious opinion comprising Puritanism, from Presbyterianism on the most conservative wing, through Congregationalists and Baptists, to the fully radical party, Nuttall places Quakers at the extreme radical wing, being "in the exclusive sense… not Puritans but the Puritans' fiercest foes, but who yet repeat, extend, and fuse so much of what is held by the radical, separatist party within Puritanism, that they cannot be denied the name…".[11] The finding of this dissertation that some core beliefs of Quakers resembled those of Roman Catholicism, both superficially and at a deeper level, more closely than those of the Reformed faith suggests

[9] Angell and Dandelion, *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, 4, describing the views espoused by Nuttall, Barbour and Frederick Tolles.
[10] Spencer, *Holiness*, 38.
[11] Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 13.

that Quakerism should not be treated as an extension of the radical wing of the Reformed faith but as a reaction to it. That is not to deny that Quakers were in many respects similar to the radical Puritans. Nuttall may have been right in perceiving that early Quakerism "indicates the *direction* of the Puritan movement as a whole."[12] In reflecting the more conservative viewpoint within the Reformed faith, both the Ministers and the *Westminster Confession* espoused doctrines with which the radical element were uneasy. That Quaker beliefs on salvation resembled Roman Catholic more than the Reformed suggests either that Quakers had crossed a boundary of Puritan faith which radicals would not cross or that the radicals were approaching a point in the development of their beliefs at which it would no longer be accurate to classify them as adhering to the Reformed faith.

In his article considering the Allegations,[13] Kent argued that the principal causative factor inducing the Allegations was the Quakers' aggressive behaviour against Ministers. Kent noted Brownsword's conclusion that the Jesuits must have been responsible for the Quakers' religion when he commented "how could they else be so well versed in their most absurd Doctrines?"[14] but, as noted in section 1.3 of chapter 1, Kent dismissed the possibility of any similarity between Quaker and Roman Catholic ideas, asserting that Quaker ideas were Puritan ideas. He preferred to concentrate on Ministers' sensitivity to social and political unrest which caused them to discern in Quaker attacks the purpose of disrupting parishioners' dependence and reliance on their Ministers and thus the disruption of society generally. This line of argument was similar to that favoured by writers who discerned in Quakerism principally an aim to effect economic and social change, pointing particularly to Quakers attacks on the tithe system by which Ministers were funded.[15] The findings of this dissertation suggest that the similarity of

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[12] Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, xxviii.
[13] Stephen A. Kent, 'The 'Papist' Charges Against the Interregnum Quakers', *Journal of Religious History*, 12 (1982), 180-190.
[14] Brownsword, *Quaker-Jesuite*, 10.
[15] Reay perceived Quaker pressure for the removal of tithes in 1659, together with their calls for law reform ("they wanted lawyers removed, trial by jury, and Anglicization and codification of the law"), as provoking "a hostility tinged with both fear and hatred" against them. That hostility was a major

Quaker doctrines to Roman Catholicism on the topics which were the subject of the Allegations did not result from any aim on the part of Quakers to achieve social, political or economic disruption. Rather, early Quakers developed their beliefs on the topics of salvation, the Spirit and Scripture, sin, and sacraments from their experience of the divine within themselves and their progression towards salvation through receiving and being guided by the divine light within themselves. Their hostility towards ministers derived not from any objective of disrupting the social or political order but from their perception that ministers were deceiving their congregations in 'pleading for sin'.

The key findings of resemblance between Quaker and Roman Catholic doctrines on soteriology and the indwelling divine are not incompatible with Spencer's understanding that "holiness... provides the ongoing thread that serves as the common denominator of normative Quakerism".[16] Many of the characteristics of Quaker spirituality which this dissertation finds to resemble Jesuit spirituality featured in Spencer's list of the eight elements which "characterise historical Quakerism in its first generation..."[17] namely conversion, charisma, evangelism, mysticism and perfection. Yet Spencer's emphasis on the derivation of Quaker doctrines from ideas promulgated by earlier Christian groups (as she finds the notion of perfection to embody the doctrine of theosis advanced by the early Eastern church[18]) or from earlier mystical traditions,[19] does not give sufficient emphasis to the finding of this dissertation of the preeminence accorded by early Quaker leaders to the possibility of direct communication

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contributory factor to the Restoration: "hostility towards Quakerism persuaded many to look to the monarchy as the only salvation from social and religious anarchy." Reay, *The Quakers and the English Revolution,* 83, 91, 81.

[16] Spencer, *Holiness*, 2.

[17] Spencer, *Holiness,* 14.

[18] "Early Friends found the idea of perfection primarily in the Bible, yet they also reflected the perfectionist teachings of the early Fathers of the Church with their emphasis on deification, ..." Spencer, *Holiness*, 37.

[19] "Quaker holiness combined many historical types of holiness, including such non-Protestant types as asceticism, contemplative mysticism, and apophatic theology, and synthesised them into a new form of ethical and mystical perfection". Spencer, *Holiness*, 2.

between God and believer, and to God or Christ, through the light in each person, teaching directly the way to salvation.

The key findings of this dissertation sit best with Benson's perception that "Fox and the early Quakers believed that their faith grew from an entirely different root system from that which nourished the several Protestant denominations, and because of this, they saw Quakerism not as a branch of Protestantism but as a new thing ..." and that the new thing was the establishment of a direct dialogical relationship between each person and Christ, through the experience of hearing and obeying.[20] In particular, Benson's view that Fox derived from his own experience his understanding that Christ will speak directly to each believer in order to guide him or her into righteousness consisting of the example given by Christ himself[21] is borne out by the findings that Quakers perceived salvation as the result of receiving the light within to guide a progression towards unity with Christ through perfection, that this idea more closely resembled Roman Catholic doctrine than that of the Reformed faith, but that Quakers did not learn their doctrines from any Roman Catholics.[22]

5.4. Future Research Ideas

Mention has been made during the course of this dissertation of the *Devotio Moderna*, the movement of lay devotional piety originating in the Low Countries in the late fourteenth century. Loyola impliedly acknowledged his debt to *Devotio Moderna* ideas by recommending those carrying out the Spiritual Exercises that they read Thomas a Kempis' *Imitation of Christ*. Many commentators have suggested that Jesuit spirituality was modelled on that of the *Devotio*

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[20] Lewis Benson, *A Universal Christian Faith*, 11, 16, 18.
[21] These views are set out in chapter 2 of *A Universal Christian Faith*.
[22] Fox declared Quakers to be a novelty, or, more accurately, a return to the tradition of primitive Christianity, rather than another offshoot of the Reformed faith. "Now mark, we are not persons that have shot up out of the old root into another appearance, as one sect hath done out of another till many are come up one after another, but the old root of Jesse hath been made manifest in us, and we have been transplanted by the everlasting power of life and a real change brought forth in us ..." Fox, *Some principles of the elect people of God*, 1-2.

Moderna.[23] Themes in Jesuit spirituality which are evident in *Devotio Moderna* spirituality include an emphasis on each individual striving for unity with Christ through abandonment of worldly attachments by means of the three stage progression from purgation, through illumination to unity. This progression was clearly articulated by the *Devotio Moderna* adherent Gerard Zerbolt in his book *Spiritual Ascensions* written in the final decade of the fourteenth century.[24] Other commentators have noted the influence of the mystics of the Rhineland tradition, including Master Eckhart, John Tauler, Jan Ruysbroeck and the anonymous author of the *Theologia Germanica* on both the continental spiritualist radicals of the sixteenth century, including Schwenkfeld, and the *Devotio Moderna*.[25] Eyre has noted the similarity of Schwenkfeld's ideas with those of Quakerism, commenting that "Schwenkfeld's legacy also lived on in later movements, especially among the German pietists and the English and American Quakers."[26] An attempt to identify common beliefs amongst the *Devotio Moderna* adherents, Continental radical spiritualists like Schwenkfeld, Quakers and Jesuits would, if successful, contribute to the shared understanding of those whose spirituality was based on experience of encounter with the divine.

The key finding of this dissertation concerning Quaker and Jesuit spirituality was that there were similarities between the two, and that these arose both from the experience of encounter with God of the founders of the two groups and from the call to service felt by the founders (Key Finding 13). It would be interesting to investigate other contemporary personal experience of communication with God accepted by the Roman Catholic church as orthodox, such as the spirituality of the Spanish mystics St Teresa of Avila and St John of the Cross, and compare it with Quaker spirituality.

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[23] In his editorial postscript, Bossy commented that Evennett "came down carefully but rather firmly in favour of taking [the Spiritual Exercises] as a culmination of the northern devotio moderna tradition", Evennett, *Spirit of the Counter-Reformation*, 126.
[24] *Spiritual Ascensions* is set out in van Engen, *Devotio Moderna: Basic Writings*.
[25] Eyre*, Reformations*, 277.
[26] Eyre*, Reformations,* 279.

Extending research into spirituality further, a comparison of Quaker spirituality with earlier groups in the history of Western Christianity who claimed the authority to develop different doctrines from the prevailing orthodoxy by virtue of direct contact with the Holy Spirit or God, starting with the Montanists in the late second century, would show whether the principal features or Quaker spirituality were novel or were shared with other, former groups. Finding that a material number of central features of Quaker spirituality reflected those of earlier groups would invite the suggestion that Quakerism should properly be regarded as a member of a class of Western Christian spiritualist movements rather than a development of the English radical Reformed faith or a unique group whose principal doctrines absorbed and built on those of a wide variety of antecedent Christian movements.

The limited time available for this project has prevented deeper examination of doctrinal beliefs of the different early Quaker leaders. Such an examination would enable a more refined articulation of early Quaker doctrines to be deployed in comparison with Roman Catholic doctrines. On the Roman Catholic side, the part of Bellarmine's *Controversies* relating to Justification has yet to be translated from Latin into English. Consideration of the Latin text would facilitate a wider understanding of the Roman Catholic doctrines summarised in the decrees of the Council of Trent.

5. Final Summary

This dissertation has shown that there were similarities between key Quaker beliefs and corresponding Roman Catholic doctrines, and that there were sufficient similarities between Quaker and early Jesuit spirituality to justify the arousing of suspicions of closer identity in the minds of Quaker opponents amongst Ministers. Those similarities do not imply or indicate any deeper proximity between Quakers and Roman Catholics or

any interpersonal contact between any Quaker and any representative of the Roman Catholic church. But they do render questionable the portrayal of Quakers as a development of Puritan or Reformed religious practice and suggest that to depict Quakers as closer to groups or movements founded on personal experience of the consciousness of God's presence may be a more accurate presentation.

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