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Unitarianism in the United States:
From Late Eighteenth Century to Early Nineteenth Century

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Dedication

I lovingly dedicate this work to all the lovers of God,

and the seekers of truth

To my beloved parents, brothers and sons

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Declaration

I hereby certify that this thesis is my own work, which has been done after registration for the degree of PhD at Oran2 Mohamed BENAHMED University, and has not been previously included in any other thesis or dissertation submitted to this or any other institution for a degree, diploma or other qualifications. I have read the University's current research ethics guidelines, and I am aware of and understand the university's policy on plagiarism.

Abstract

This thesis is concerned with a little-known aspect of the history of Christianity characterised by a theological movement known as Unitarianism. This Christian denomination, which caused a great deal of controversy within the Christian world, sought to revolutionise the Christians' view and approach to their faith in the sense that it put into question a key feature and one of the very foundations of this creed, which is the doctrine of Trinity. This work aims to explore this hidden part of the Christian history in the American context, with a particular focus on the period extending from the late eighteenth to early nineteenth centuries, which is often noticeably avoided in the various forms of written production by Christian themselves. Therefore, special attention will be focused on the origin of this religious movement, its ups and downs and the trajectory it followed in the United States as it grew into an annoying religious counter-current.

المخلص

تتناول هذه الأطروحة جانبًا غير معروف كثيرًا من تاريخ المسيحية التي تتميز بحركة لاهوتية تُعرف باسم التوحيد. سعت هذه الطائفة المسيحية، التي سببت الكثير من الجدل داخل العالم المسيحي، إلى إحداث ثورة في نظرة المسيحيين ونهجهم في إيمانهم ، بمعنى أنها وضعت موضع التساؤل سمة رئيسية وأحد أسس هذه العقيدة ، والتي هي عقيدة الثالوث. يهدف هذا العمل إلى استكشاف هذا الجزء المخفي من التاريخ المسيحي في السياق الأمريكي ، مع التركيز بشكل خاص على الفترة الممتدة من أواخر القرن الثامن عشر إلى أوائل القرن التاسع عشر ، والتي غالبًا ما يتم تجنبها بشكل ملحوظ في الأشكال المختلفة للإنتاج الكتابي للمسيحيين أنفسهم. لذلك ، سيتم التركيز بشكل خاص على الأصل ، الأوقات المزدهرة والأوقات الصعبة التي مرت بها هذه الحركة والمسار الذي اتبعته هذه الحركة الدينية في الولايات المتحدة حيث نمت في وسط تيارًا دينيًا مصادًا و مهيمنا.

Résumé

Cette recherche s'int éresse à un aspect peu répandu dans l'histoire du christianisme, caract éris é par un mouvement th éologique connu sous le nom d'Unitarisme. Cette d énomination chr étienne, qui a suscit é beaucoup de controverses dans le monde chr étien, a cherch é à révolutionner la vision et l'approche des chrétiens de leur foi dans le sens où elle remet en question une caract éristique clé et l'un des fondements m ênes de ce credo, qui est la doctrine de la Trinit é. Ce travail vise à explorer cette partie voil ée de l'histoire chr étienne dans le contexte am éricain, en mettant l'accent sur la période s'étendant entre la fin du XVIIIe et le d ébut du XIXe si ècle, qui est souvent sensiblement évit ée dans les diff érentes formes de production écrite par les chrétiens eux-m ênes. Par cons équent, une attention particuli ère sera port ée sur l'origine, les bons et les durs moments que ce mouvement religieux a connus et l'itinéraire qu'il a suivi aux États-Unis, lors de sa progression à contre-courant en présence d'une religion dominante.

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

General Introduction

Unitarianism is a Christian denomination that believes in the oneness or unity of God. Theologically speaking, it stands on the opposite side of Trinitarianism. Given the fact that it focuses more attention on love than belief, it has remained a creedless Christian denomination for centuries. The signs of the rich history of Unitarianism can be reflected by the fact that a great deal of Unitarian documentation can be found around the globe. Its long history can be traced back to the fifteenth-century Italian humanist movement that subsequently spawned Unitarian Churches around Europe and elsewhere, namely in Poland, Transylvania, Great Britain, and the British colonies.

Like in many other religious denominations around the world, the Unitarian practices are heterogeneous in the sense that they differ from one region to another. For instance, the practices observed in Kolozsvár, in Romania are significantly different from those observed in Khasi Hills, in India. One possible explanation to this heterogeneity is the difference in origin, time and factors since the first Unitarian Church of Kolozsvár was established 500 years ago as a result of the Reformation while the Khasi Hills' Unitarianism emerged only by the late nineteenth century and was the outcome of the encounter of several factors. Interestingly, both of these regions differ from the Unitarian practices of Berkley, in an American state, Michigan, where leadership was a tradition and from Toronto, in Canada, where ministers led through the incorporation of members.

Similarly, the American version of Unitarianism is quite different from the British one. Even within America itself, the Unitarians differ in their worshipping practices; for example, while some keep prayer books, others deny prayer categorically. Thus, Unitarianism, as a heterogeneous movement, is an umbrella of different colours; however, it is important to note the fact that it is essentially a non-creedal denomination. It is, instead, an ethical religious

denomination and ethics is its source. Both the revealed religions and Unitarianism are instructed from the supernatural.

The main distinction between a traditional Christian and a Unitarian lies in their different perception or belief about Christ. While the former believes in the exposure of God in the form of Jesus' life and death, meant to guide humanity, the latter highlights Christ's teachings. Therefore, the followers of Unitarianism assume that working for the community represents the main purpose of religion.

The general convictions about the Unitarian beliefs are nonspecific; nevertheless, in addition to the belief in the oneness of God, one can note other common beliefs, including:

- Everyone can design their own life in light of Jesus' life as it is a model for all.
- Faith-in-God can co-exist with rationalism, science, reason, and philosophy.
- Free will can be used constructively and ethically in coordination with religion.
- There is no inherited good or evil in human nature as it could be capable of both.
- The Holy Spirit or theological truth is not the property of a specific person but of all humankind.
- The Bible could have errors given the fact that it was composed by humans.
- The doctrines of the predestination, and eternal damnation.

Unitarians believe in the rational face of God, Jesus, the world, and the purpose of life. They use reason, philosophy, and science in their interpretation of the religious scriptures. Accordingly, they challenged the centuries-long established tradition assuming that there was no link between science and religion, a common assumption perpetuated by the Church people. Therefore, they were the first to believe in the compatibility between science and religion and the coexistence of reason and belief in Christianity. To put it in other words, the founders of Unitarianism were non-dogmatic, which implies that they heavily denied the widely held

concept that only people bound to a certain creed or a certain church will be saved by God on the Judgment Day.

Furthermore, Unitarians also eliminated the belief in the supernatural. The beginning of Unitarianism was accompanied by the people who believed in reading and who claimed to be the apostles of a true faith. However, present-day Unitarians, while remaining faithful to the basics as laid out by the founders, have refrained from reading the scriptures at all.

The heterogeneity of Unitarianism means that it supports the diverse opinions and faiths that made them accommodate customized worship. Devising the worshipping ritual is a choice of the congregation. The common practices found in the worship habits of Unitarian congregations include hymns, songs, sermons, prayers, and stories for people for all age groups.

The origin of this religious movement sprang from the need to read and put things to a free inquiry with the objective to liberate humanity from the obscurantism practiced by the religious people who claimed to control everything through the words of God. Towards this end, the early founders encouraged people to read so that they could discover and understand the word of God by themselves with the help of texts, away from any intermediaries, namely the clergy, who had for many centuries abused their knowledge and deliberately kept people in darkness.

Once this objective is met, people would become free from the control of churches. Lingo translations of the Bible were made available to common people thanks to the readings done by the Unitarian movement. This was a huge amount of effort which contributed to the building of a relationship between people and the Bible. Consequently, this was to lead to the development of higher criticism, comparative study of religions, archaeology, and evolution as a source of human rationalism or wisdom.

Above all, Unitarianism shifted the religious practices from what was ritualistic to what derived from the search for authenticity. Despite its higher-level, this denomination was committed to social causes like equality and empowerment of the weak. As for the Unitarian population, the rate is the highest in the region of its origin, namely Transylvania, which used to be a kingdom in the past and now has become part of present-day Romania. There are about 280,000 Hungarians in this region and their presence can be traced back to a thousand years ago. As can be noted, the centuries of oppression failed to suppress the growth of Unitarianism in Transylvania, and even the World War I, which affected the Hungarian language and the Unitarian lands, failed to do so. In other words, notwithstanding the Church oppression, the Unitarians survived as a notable percentage of the community. This is reflected by the fact that celebrities from different fields of life were Unitarians, including four US presidents named John Adams, John Quincy Adams, Millard Fillmore, and William Howard Taft. (see Appendix 1)

However, to reach this degree of acceptance, Unitarianism had to undergo a great deal of oppression and travelled diverse theologies in order to attain its modern form. The journey of Unitarianism differs from one region to another as each one has its own peculiar circumstances. This work aims to set out a part of this journey, its origin and epic in the context of the United States of America.

The Research Questions and Hypotheses

The nature of this topic dictates a qualitative analysis of significant religious events and accomplishments within a particular period in the US history, still unknown to a considerable number of people since it is not referred to in a great deal of history books. The research is exploratory and explanatory.

Broadly speaking, the main objective of the present work is to explore a hidden facet of the Christian history that is often discernible, but not tangible enough, in the various forms of literacy production by Christian proponents of Unitarianism as a counter-current to the centuries-long established rules laid out, or rather imposed, by the Church people. Interestingly enough, this aspect is often glossed over, out of subjectivity, in history textbooks in the Western world whose authors have a tendency to focus on the mainstream religious tradition.

Hence, the research questions that may be raised and to which four chapters have been devoted to attempt to provide the reader with an exhaustive response are: What are the characteristics of this religious little-known movement, Unitarianism, in the US, within the period between late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries? What is the significance of this period? How did it manage to clear its way within the dogmatic Trinity? How did this movement reach the United States of America? What is the impact of this theology on the American politics?

As an attempt to develop the ideas of this research, and taking account of chronology, this thesis has been divided into four main chapters whereby the beginnings and the evolution of Unitarianism in the American United States are set out. Hence, the first chapter traces the origin of Unitarianism as a theological movement and explores the various sources, being mostly from the Old World, which contributed to its emergence in the New World.

The second chapter, meanwhile, sketches out the beginnings of Unitarianism in the American United States and looks into the multi-dimensional challenges that it faced in its new context, the American context. While discussing the various twists and setbacks that this religious movement encountered during its development, a special importance is given to the instrumental role that education played in the process as well as the forms of resistance that were exhibited by the opponents of Unitarianism, who were mostly the reactionary and conservative elements of society. It goes without saying that this chapter also refers to some of the prominent contributors who responded positively to the movement and joined the cause.

Regarding chapter three, it highlights the landmarks and the significant achievements of this denomination as well as the divisions that occurred within its ranks which occasionally served as an impediment to its evolution. The main focus of attention in the last chapter is on the person of Joseph Priestley, a key figure, whose contribution to the success of this religious movement cannot be overstated. This chapter elaborately unveils the founder of the movement in America and his religious and civil thoughts through letters and writings that popularised the broad principles of Unitarianism among common people and politicians.



CHAPTER ONE

CHAPTER ONE

The Origin of Unitarianism in America: Sources from the Old World

1.1. Introduction

The word Unitarianism comes from Latin “Unitas” meaning “unity, oneness”. It is a Christian movement that believes in the oneness of God. Trinity is an opposite Christian theology that believes that God is in three persons: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. Unitarians consider Jesus a saviour who, inspired by the moral teachings of God, is not a deity or personified God¹. Unitarianism differs from conservative dissenters in the sense that it does not comprise any Christian denominations but rather denotes existing and extinct Christian groups. Congregational Unitarianism considers only the need to believe in oneness as the historical links are not among the prerequisites to join Unitarianism². Unitarian communities have developed in various places around the world, most prominently in South Africa, Japan, India, Nigeria, Britain, and the United States of America

Along with denying the Doctrine of Trinity, the Unitarian also rejects the Doctrine of Original Sin, Doctrine of Infallibility of the Bible and the Doctrine of Predestination. (Earl

¹ See the definition of Unitarianism in: Knight, Kevin (ed.), *"The dogma of the Trinity"*, Catholic Encyclopedia, New Advent.

² Earl Morse Wilbur: In *"A History of Unitarianism"* stated Joseph Priestley's opinion as follows: "Joseph Priestley, one of the founders of the Unitarian movement, defined Unitarianism as the belief of primitive Christianity before later corruptions set in. Among these corruptions, he included not only the doctrine of the Trinity, but also various other orthodox doctrines and usages. (Earl 1947:302-303)

1947:302-303) Unitarianism belongs to the liberal churches as classified by the Encyclopedia of American religions, and its followers focus on independent interpretation of the scripture, which leads to freedom of thought. (Gordon 2011:611) Unitarians' faith also denies a strict monotheistic Christianity. The main emphasis of Unitarianism is on the fact that Jesus is a nobleman, prophet of God, a supernatural person, but not God Himself. They also state that Jesus never claimed to be God nor did he believe in the Trinity of God. They believe in the moral authority of Jesus but not in his divinity. "Unitarianism started, on the other hand, with the denial of the pre-existence... These opinions, however, must be considered apart from Arianism proper"³. Therefore, the Unitarian theology is quite opposed to the doctrine of the trinity that is accepted by other Christian denominations.

Unitarian Christology is classified on the basis of Jesus' pre-human existence. However, both of the Unitarian theologies believe in the oneness of God but deny Jesus as God. At the beginning of nineteenth century Robert Wallace, a Unitarian, identified three main classes of Unitarian doctrines:

- Arian: they believe in the pre-existence of Jesus but believe that Jesus was formed to live as human only.
- Socinian: who denied his novel divinity, but believe in worshipping Christ.
- Strict Unitarian: they believe in the undebatable divinity of God. They also deny the worship of Christ and the presence of Holy Spirit.

The decline of classical deism, which is a philosophy of rejecting revelation, was due to the appearance of Unitarianism. Accordingly, the deists preferred to be called Unitarians, who had buried deism. (Wallace 1819:7-10). Two Unitarian theologies can be distinguished:

³ See Hastings, James, *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, 2, 1911: 785.

-
- Conservative Unitarian theology, which hosted diverse understandings of God.
 - Radical Unitarian theology which rejected the importance of doctrine, rituals, and anything except the ethics and religion of love⁴.

Essentially, Unitarianism is linked to a fundamental analysis of reformation. The movement originated in the mid-sixteenth century in Poland and Transylvania simultaneously, but soon afterwards, Italy, where there were many followers, served as a principal host. However, the seventeenth century was full of oppression for Polish Unitarians, a context that impelled them to leave Poland and quite a large number of them were killed for their faith. Meanwhile, the period between the sixteenth and the eighteenth century was hard for the British Unitarians as they faced substantial political oppression with their notable alumni including Mary Wollstonecraft, John Biddle, and Theophilus Lindsey. (Melton 2005:543)

In Britain, the first English Unitarian Church was established in 1774 on Essex Street in London, the place where today's Unitarian headquarters is located⁵. In the United States, Unitarianism started in New England, which was made up of six states, as well as the Mid-Atlantic States. It was first officially accepted in there by King's Chapel of Boston. Following this acceptance, James Freeman started teaching Unitarian doctrine in 1784. He also revised the prayer book according to the Unitarian faith and later served as a rector in 1786⁶. The emphasis, however, is on England and English Unitarianism, given the fact that in the eighteenth and

⁴ Robert S. Corrington. "Unitarianism" . Caspersen School of Graduate Studies at Drew University: 7.

⁵ Erwin Fahlbusch: The encyclopedia of Christianity "Lindsey attempted but failed to gain legal relief for Anglican Unitarians, so in 1774 he opened his own distinctly Unitarian church on Essex Street, London, where today's British Unitarian headquarters are still located."

⁶ *American Unitarianism: or, A Brief history of "The progress and State of the Unitarian Churches in America*, third edition, 1815.

nineteenth centuries England was a powerful nation with subjugated territories spread all over the world.

The 1688 alliance between England and The Netherlands pushed the country into a nine-year war with other European powers, which formed an opposing alliance. The latter alliance, existing between France and Spain, sent waves that destabilised Western Europe. The outcome of this mess resulted in the emergence of England as a colonial power that exerted a great deal of influence over the Dutch who, in turn, saw their power decline as a result of overspending on the war efforts. Therefore, the eighteenth century was a period where England was as a dominant colonial power and France as its archenemy on the imperial stage. (Mansoor 2016:25)

In the War of Spanish Succession of 1701 England, Portugal, and the Netherlands supported the Roman Empire against France and Spain. This conflict extended the boundaries of the British Empire to French and Spanish areas including the Atlantic⁷. On May 1, 1707, the United Kingdom of Great Britain was born following the approval of the Trinity Union Church by the Scottish and English parliaments. This Act of Union merged the two parliaments as well as the royals. Queen Anne was the first occupant of the British throne after the implementation of Act. (Harris 2007:28-46)

The British colonisation also reached America. The colonisation of America by the British empire started in the sixteenth century with occupying the North American regions. As a matter of fact,, Jamestown was the first British colony in America that was colonised in 1607. The following decades British colonisation settled in South America, Central America, the Caribbean, and North America. This region was called New England at that time or British colonies rather than America. Thirteen of the British colonies got separated from Great Britain

⁷ For an exhaustive idea, see James Falkner, *The War of the Spanish Succession 1701–1714* (2015).

after the American revolution of 1776 and called themselves the United States of America. Thus, the British colonies of all regions accepted religious influences too. (James 1896:2-33)

All these areas as British colonies were influenced in several fields of life. The influence of European Unitarianism on American Unitarianism is the subject matter of this chapter.

1.2. Unitarianism in Eighteenth and Nineteenth-Century Transylvania and Hungary

Transylvanian Unitarian can be traced back to 1563 when an Italian Transylvanian poet Giorgio Biandrata appeared in Transylvanian court. He was a Unitarian and he influenced Ferenc David (1510-1579) who was the founder of the Transylvanian Unitarian church. The arguments on the link between the Islamic Ottoman empire and Unitarianism in Transylvania are also frequent. (Ritchie 2004:59-70)

Another point that needs to be clarified before dealing with the eighteenth and nineteenth-century Unitarianism in Transylvania and Hungary is the status of these territories at that time. Transylvania is part of Romania now but at that time Hungary, Transylvania, and Austria were part of a single monarchy.

The seventeenth century was full of oppressive events for the Protestants of Transylvania. They were the ones who turned into Unitarians later by merging with several other dissenting sects. At the end of the seventeenth century, protestants were facing a forced abandonment of their schools and churches. The beginning of the eighteenth century ended Leopold's reign in 1705. Joseph I, his successor, issued a verdict of persecution for Protestants in 1709. However, he died after six years of acceding to the throne.

The successor of Joseph I was Charles III who at first adopted mild policies. He started with the formal oath of preserving the rights of all religions of the country and assured this by initial verdicts. His actions of government reforms enhanced the hopes of peace in public.

First, four years of Charles' reign were equally peaceful for the Unitarians. However, the Catholic clergy surrounded the ruler and transformed his intentions towards the Unitarians. Under the Catholic influence, almost the next two generations faced trepidation. Violation of their rights was committed by taking advantage of poor civil rule in faraway districts. This was a period of stress for Unitarians. Their churches were taken from the Catholics and the church funds were seized. The foundation of new churches were almost impossible at that time due to the lack of permissions. (Jozsef 1879:20)

The steps of oppression made it hard to predict the survival of Unitarian churches. The first of these steps can be traced back to 1716 when Charles appointed a Bishop at Gyulafehervar. It was a major step as Sigismund Bathory banned Catholic Bishops and Leopold followed in his footsteps. The oppression events became more frequent throughout Transylvania and after the announcement of the Catholic Church as the state church in 1722, the violations became steadier; people attacked the Unitarian churches. A similar event in 1726 led to the forced seizure of the Unitarian church when the reformed failed to seize it.

The plan of forced seizure leaked, a thing that prompted men and women engulfed in consternation to protect the church with stones and stakes. The failure of force made them think of filing a legal petition that was based on the fact that the church was founded by the Roman Catholic community that belonged to them. The Unitarians' point of view was that the church is now under the Unitarian Church of Transylvania and they cannot transfer it to anyone. Catholics withdrew their claim. This was an example of a Unitarian win; unfortunately, there were no others after it. In other cases, the Catholics seized Unitarian churches either by force or by legal claims; all means were permitted.

The church of Torda was seized in 1721 and the main Unitarian center, the Church of Kolozsvár, lost in 1716. The provocative point behind its seizure was the annoyance of

Catholics caused by the fact that even after having a Catholic government the largest city was Unitarian center and the largest church was Unitarian. The in-charge of this operation was a new Bishop General Steinville who pillaged the citizen and the minister's homes at Kolozsvár for three days. The church was renovated at the benefit of the Catholic worship that started after three days of seizure without compensating the Unitarians. Even the Unitarian funerals were not allowed and they were liable to imprisonment if they gathered at any place even in a number of three. (Wilbur 1945:132-134)

After a protest of two months, ban on Unitarians was lifted. During this time the Unitarian homes and ministers were abused by the drunk soldier and so were the Unitarians' papers; there was traces of forgery documents. The Unitarian loss during this oppression was approximately fifty thousand florins (now: five hundred pounds). They lost of the press, repository, study tools, and restoration material. Steady efforts were made for the reimbursement or restoration of the property. The result of these efforts was the only reimbursement of 2000 florins for the press by a committee established to settle the matter. This committee was constituted of Catholic members only. Although that massive oppression made survival difficult, it failed to make any of Unitarians refrain from their faith. They found new places for congregations that helped in the survival of Unitarianism in the country.

In the same year of 1719, Unitarians put forward an appeal to the ruler and submitted a confession of faith to the court. *Confessio fidei Christianae Secundum Unitarios*, confession of faith was composed by Benedict Wiszowaty, who was minister of exile church in East Prussia's Andreaswalde. This document was an effort to lessen the enmity by giving an overview of Unitarian faith; it is a link with the Scriptures and a soft presentation of controversial points⁸. The beliefs presented in Confession of Faith were supported by citations from scriptures. The

⁸ For further reading, Uzoni, *Historia*, ii, 1139 ff.

history does not comment on the resultant softness for Unitarians in the hearts of opposition; however, it is considered the first approach of the Unitarian church for the restoration of the Christian doctrine at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

In 1721, Catholics extended their demands and asked for a Unitarian school, a dormitory, and two of professors' houses⁹. The demand was fulfilled after a final prayer and the school moved to a smaller building nearby without doing any publicity. Similar property seizures were documented in other cities too. However, in 1735, Charles issued a verdict on Unitarians' elimination from public offices. This decision denied the Unitarian's political and social equality with the other citizens. The fear of losing the public honour weakened the oppressed resistance, that survived until this decision. Despite all these ruining actions, the superintendent of Unitarian Church replied to the emperor's inquiry at the end of the eighteenth century. His answer was symbol of faith at that time and the oppression means were used by prejudice. (Wilbur 1945:136-137)

The systematic repression of Unitarians includes their inability to hold any public office, even meeting all the merit criteria. The petitions filed in this regard were ignored by the emperor. In 1728, Catholics tried to divest Unitarian's freedom to worship, the governance of baptism, matrimony, and burial by their ministries. However, the successful execution of this plan was opposed by the other two received religions of Transylvania. After that, they attempted to declare the "received" status as "tolerated" and linked their freedom of worship to the permission of the prince. This action made the other two religions stand with Unitarians¹⁰.

⁹ Ibid

¹⁰ See Uzoni, *Historia*, ii, 1157-1163.

Unitarians then tried to forward a petition on their oppression by the throne. However, they were not even allowed to present the petition in the court. In 1724, the superintendent of Unitarian Church Almasi died. His death was linked to the imposed cut out of society and cause.

After Almasi Michael Lombard Szentabrahami was a fresh chapter in the Unitarian's history. He was born in 1683 in Szekler village. He was from a family of Unitarian ministers and on his return to Transylvania, he joined the Unitarian College at Kolozsvár. The church and the school were seized after his joining. He was the one to find a new place for school. In 1720 he became the rector of school than got promoted to the pastor, and in 1737 he became superintendent. His contribution consisted in extending and improvising the Unitarian schools by establishing a permanent endowment fund for churches. He is remembered as the second founder of the Unitarian church in history. At the end of his tenure with his death in 1758, the Unitarian church was most organised with an extensive school system that laid foundations of a bright future. (Jakab 1861:158-185)

Michael's work has been used to teach theology at Unitarian schools and the manuscripts were gathered by a teacher of school George Markos and published after almost thirty years of his death. The manuscripts were published as "*Summa Universae Theologiae Christianae Secundum Unitarios*" in 1787. There were four parts in the book named Of God, Of Christian Ethics, Of Christ, and Of the Church of Christ. The work was cited from scriptures only. To avoid the controversies, the doctrine of trinity was completely avoided and the focal points were Jesus' humanity, sanctions adoration, and his subordination to God. As compared to Enyedi's work, it was a little contribution to original theology. Enyedi's work established a point of view of Unitarian faith that attracted scholars from around Europe¹¹.

¹¹ Hungarian trans., *A Keresztény hittudomány összege az Unitáriusok szerint* (Kolozsvár), 1899.

After the death of Charles in 1740, the throne passed to Maria Theresia, his daughter. She reigned for forty years with the welfare of her people in mind. But her reign was full of oppression for the protestant and Unitarians. Her oath was as formal as her father's promised equal rights to every religion. However, she did not even initially facilitate the Unitarians as she refused to meet the delegation when it tried to show obeisance along with other religious delegates. She approved a systematic plan designed by her religious advisors in 1744. Throughout her reign, this plan was executed and the it started with substitution of two Unitarian deputies with Catholics. The oppression targeted individual churches. (Bodoczy 1908: 20-30)

Unitarians were compelled to be present in Catholic festivals. The renovation or establishment of churches was linked to the royal authority. Only two Unitarian books were published during her reign. To convert Unitarian children to Catholicism, the royal authority obliged them to join the Catholic schools. In 1754, Unitarian schools were closed and the children were pushed to attend Catholic schools and for higher studies they were sent to Switzerland, Holland, and Germany. She allowed only three students to attend a Unitarian university in Vienna and among them, the brighter ones were bribed to convert to Catholic. The heavy bribery has not fulfilled the expectations that led them to make use of force, which strained Catholic and Unitarian relationships within the population. (Jakab 1883:388-399)

This public tension cost to the Unitarians as they were charged and fined for peace violations. The church of Szokefalva was seized by the governor in 1744 and the church of Szent Rontas was attacked and seized by the Catholic in 1752. In the same city, a year before Unitarians helped the Catholic establish a church. The Unitarians restored the church by the use of force; however, the government suspended the use of church until the settlement of the case. The case settled in favour of Catholics after twelve years and in the celebration of victory, the

name changed to Szent Haromsag (Holly Spirit). After thirty years of struggle, the Laborfalva and the Sepsi-Szent churches lost in 1762¹².

The matter of Homord Karacsonfalva is a depiction of the government's mindset as the Jesuits provoked the public to attack the Unitarian church in 1777. As a reaction, the Unitarians resisted, then were arrested and forced to build a Catholic Church. Jesuits are called the society of Jesus. This movement is an order of Roman Catholic founded in 1540 with a deep influence on Hungarian and Transylvanian religion. There is an expanded list of attacks and seizures on Unitarian churches in the eighteenth century.

The Nyarad Szent Maron Church was saved by establishing a church league. It was an exception and there were only a few survival examples. The two centuries of oppression reduced the number of Unitarian churches in the country from 425 in the sixteenth century to less than 125 in the eighteenth century. Unitarians resist both physically and legally by forwarding petitions to preserve their equal rights under the decree of toleration, the Diploma of Leopold, and the other promises of monarchs. These were the verdicts of past emperors for the maintenance of equal rights. But these decrees and diplomas did nothing for the good of Unitarians. Oppression enhanced the inner strength of Unitarians. (Wilbur 1945:142-143)

A few years earlier, at almost the end of her reign, Maria Theresia relaxed Unitarians under the influence of his son Joseph II who was assisting her since 1765. Eventually, she comes to know the harms she did to her throne by submitting to Jesuit's policies. It made him expel them from her dominion in 1773. With Joseph II's holding throne in 1780, a brighter day in the history of Unitarians started because of his religious toleration policies. In Joseph's reign, they started regaining their strength and rebuilding their foundations laid by Szentabrahmi.

¹² See Bod, *Historia*, iii, 332.

Joseph II was trained by government officials, but Jesuit's treacheries made him oppose all the religious orders. He was known to stay in contact with the public to know and resolve their problems. The last decade of the eighteenth century was the time of the spread of liberal ideas in Europe. These ideas played their role in the French revolution, German enlightenment, and Austrian movement. Joseph was introduced to liberal ideas during his visit to Paris in 1777. His source of inspiration was the work of Voltaire. He was a French Enlightenment writer of the eighteenth century. (Wilbur 1945: 145)

Being a liberal he set his goal to establish a unified kingdom with a single official language and excess of happiness to everyone without differentiating based on nationality, religion, or rank. Since his accession in 1780, he started to fulfill his promise by introducing planned reforms. Among his reforms Edict of Toleration was opposed by all clergy. Eighteen articles of Edict were presented in 1781. It allowed private worship anywhere and public worship at inconspicuous places with the school to protestants. Their rights of building churches, trading, holding public offices, and equal citizenship were preserved under this verdict. The supervision of Catholic Bishops from their ministers was removed. Thus, most of their rights were restored¹³.

Stephen Agh the successor of Szentabrahami was allowed to publish the *Summa of Szentabrahami* in 1785. He was a Unitarian superintendent at that time. The church seizures banned and security of 5,000 florins offered for the loss of church of Kolozsvár. (Jakab 1882:65) Despite excellent favour for religious toleration, the Edict faced opposition because of imposing without paving the way to public approval by free discussions. He admitted the failure of his policies after ten years by withdrawing all his decrees and died in 1790 in disappointment.

¹³ See Johannes Borbis, *Evangelisch*, pp. 119-121.

Joseph failed because of his dictator mindset and because of some of the advancement of his policies.

Joseph's reign laid the foundation of a brighter future for the Unitarian Church of Transylvania. The dark period of the church with a membership of 32,000 people was the year of 1789. They revived from the dark period because of new superintendent Stephen Lazar (1786-1811). He contributed to the prosperity of the Church by utilizing his personal connections with good reputed men. The church earned big support in the form of a donation from Ladislav Suki, who was a former student of Szentabrahám and Agh. He died in 1792 and donated all his property of 80,000 florins to church. This donation made the church able to support the ministers and professors, to create an endowment fund and to build a new church building in 1796. While new buildings for school along with resident buildings for superintendent and professors build in 1806¹⁴.

Joseph II was succeeded by his brother Leopold II, who carried similar liberal policies in a better way by abandoning his brother's autocratic method. Thus, he successfully executed Edict of Joseph and strengthened the Protestant's position of equal rights in the country. Leopold II died after only two years of holding the throne¹⁵. He was succeeded by his son Francis I (1792-1835). Francis II's reign coincided with the French revolution, the European political revolution, and the Transylvanian radical conspiracies. The young inexperienced emperor under the influence of those events ended up a political reactionary conservative. But

¹⁴ See Lajos Nagy, '*Suki László &lete és alapítványa*' (Ladislav Suki's life and endowment), *Keresztény Magvető*, iii (1867), 125-132.

¹⁵ For a further reading, *Articuli Diaetales Anni MDCCXCI* (Claudiopoli, 1793), arts. 53, 55, 56, pp. 109-III.

he stayed loyal to his father's religious concerns and was called as "Restorer of the Rights of Unitarians" after responding to a Unitarian appeal of holding public offices positively in 1791¹⁶.

During Francis' reign, Unitarians restored their churches and strength and enjoyed peace as almost half-century country focused on political freedom than religious issues. At the same time, they came to know about people of similar faith with sound reputation and churches somewhere in Europe. While the English know about the Unitarian Church of Transylvania since 1624 from the reports of English tourist Paul Best, there was contact between the Unitarians of Transylvania, Poland, and Europe from 1660-1668 in terms of knowing one another's presence. This contact vanished with the banishment of Polish Socinians from Poland and the Transylvanian Unitarians felt alone in the Christian world with Unitarian faith¹⁷.

The distance and language barriers keep them unaware of each other. These distances were shortened with the revoke of liberal dissents in England. As English Joshua Toulmin in *Memoirs of Socinus* (1777) and Theophilus Lindsey in his *Historical View of the Unitarian Doctrine* mentioned the Transylvanian Unitarian's presence in history. This annotation established the foundation of future revival. (Maty 1663:477)

Timid attempts to contact the English Unitarians were made by the Transylvanian Unitarians at the end of the century. An attempt was made by Janos Kormoczy, who was a Hungarian Unitarian student at Gottingen since 1794. He came to know more about the Chapel of Essex street from a fellow student. The letter of the future superintendent of Kolozsvar was probably miscarried; thus, he got no response¹⁸. The English came to know the details of Transylvanian Unitarian history in 1820 from the letter of John Kenrick, an English Unitarian

¹⁶ To find out more, read *A nemes Erdelyi Fejedelemség, etc.* (The noble Principality of Transylvania), Kolozsvar, 1791.

¹⁷ For a full description of the Transylvanian Unitarians, see Wallace, *Antitritin.*, i, 454-458.

¹⁸ The reasons dealt with can be found in *Inquirer* (London), 1935, p.4.

student at Gottingen. This publication coincided with the liberal's efforts to cope with the issues of unequal civil rights and the propaganda against their faith. The efforts to get more information about the Transylvanian Unitarian movement were as an inspiration, made seriously after this event¹⁹.

In 1806, the Unitarian Fund for Promoting Unitarianism was established in London to revoke strewn Unitarians in Great Britain. The secretary of this fund W. J. Fox planned a letter to spread words about Unitarian churches in England. This letter aimed to get support from the like-minded from around the world. This sequence highlighted all about Unitarian faith. Transylvanian Unitarians got a copy of this letter and started for an instant reply sent by a member of Unitarian consistory Lazar Nagy along with preparing for a comprehensive reply.

The comprehensive reply was written by George Sylvester, a professor at Kolozsvár that addressed the history, oppression, and current state of Unitarian Church Transylvania²⁰. The exchange of letters promoted allies between the two. The British and Foreign Unitarian Association further strengthened this alliance by the exchange of students and letters.

In 1831, Alexander Farkas, a Hungarian tourist visited the churches of Boston and published his travel experience of America with the account of Unitarian churches there. The name of his publication was "*Utazás Eszék Amerikában*" which means "Travel in America". The next was the American Unitarian Mr. George Summer to visit the Kolozsvár after some years. Besides these occasional mutual visits, there was a lack of continuous connection with the English Unitarian churches until the betterment of travel means. (Wilbur 1945:150)

¹⁹For a more detailed description about the event, see *Monthly Repository*, xv (1820), 193-199.

²⁰Find out the whole reply in *Unitariorum in Anglia fidei, historiae, et status praesentis brevis exposition* (London), 1831.

The first half of the nineteenth century was peaceful and prosperous for Unitarians as the churches reach 100 and memberships crossed 50,000. The bequest of 1827 enhanced this prosperity. Paul Augusztinnovics was the sponsor. He was from a Polish Unitarian family who migrated to Transylvania in 1660. He served royal law court in Vienna after graduating from the Kolozsvár college. Besides serving there, he also served at the Royal Hungarian Supreme Court. His efforts were recognised by two emperors and upon his death in 1837, he was declared as the legate of the Unitarian church. The total amount of his legacy was higher than the total funds of the church. (Buzogany 1864:11-36)

Hungarian revolution caused political disturbances that outdid the era of prosperity in the middle of the century. The union with Austria was unsatisfied for Hungarians because of the status of a province in a union. In 1848, Hungary declared its independence. The Hungarian government adopted a liberal constitution according to which Unitarianism was legal throughout the country. After a year the Hungarian revolution got crushed by the Russian and Romanian forces. Unitarians also faced the massacre. Austrians traced the roots of revolution to Protestant churches thus to eliminate all chances of the future revolution they targeted Protestantism. General Von Haynau took control of the country as a military dictator. His brutality was proved from his history in Italy. In Hungary, he maintained this reputation and in case of religion, he followed Jesuit policies to crush protestants. Until the establishment of an independent state under common monarch in 1867, Hungarian Unitarians faced all sorts of oppression²¹.

Unitarians were behind the Hungarian revolution, being as the strongest support; thus, the independent Hungarian government did not stop their oppression. The failing forceful methods made them bribe the Unitarian superintendent of that time Alexander Székely (1845-

²¹ The history the Hungarian Unitarians' oppression, see Maurus Jokai, *Egy az Isten* (God is One), presents true picture of the era.

1852). But he stayed faithful until his death by saying no to all monitory and honor rewards. After nine years of his death, Unitarians were allowed to select the next superintendent under the title of Bishop in 1861. (Jakab 1893: 199-205)

Unitarians were running schools and colleges in the country that faced a lag in 1856 because of the policies of government to level up the schools to the standards of Austrian schools. For this, they demanded to hire multiple teachers with high salaries. The schools unable to do so were threatened to shut down. Unitarian churches with a weak economy were not able to meet the demand; thus, government offer to fulfill the prerequisites on the cost of total submission of schools to them. This offer concerned the Unitarians as it means accepting Catholic teachings in turn²².

Less than 50,000 Unitarian population of Transylvania mortgaged their homes to meet the sum of 70,000\$. However, they still were unable to collect that amount; therefore, they contacted their American and English faith sharers. An appeal forwarded through an English Unitarian living in Transylvania. He contacted the British and Foreign Unitarian Association that spread the words to America. The Execution Committee of the American Unitarian Association planned to collect donations by appealing to all churches. However, the plan failed because of the worst economic recession in the country. The English Unitarians collected about 1230 euros that were sent in person by the secretary of Association Edward Tagart who visited Kolozsvár with his daughter in 1858. Thus, he became the first English to have visited Transylvanian Unitarians. Unitarians failed to meet the demand; however, the collections were accepted and the schools saved. (Tagart 1903)

This oppression strengthened their links and revived their faith. The revolution also eliminated the enmity between all received religions thanks to the fact of working together for

²²See *Christian Reformer*, N. S. xiii (1857), 301–304, 374–378.

the country by ignoring religious views at that time. From 1867 to the start of World War I Unitarian churches strengthened in peace, which was depictable in the improvised number of churches and memberships. The churches reached 167 and the memberships crossed 75,000 along with funds higher than five million²³. English churches also supported higher studies of Hungarian students by admitting them to Oxford, Manchester, and London institutes. Thus, the returning students were appointed at Kolozsvar and churches as ministers. In 1892, for the first time, Unitarian women were planned to be sent for a year at school in London. (Wilbur 1945:156)

The following years strengthened the link between the American and English Unitarians. They connected on occasions including the celebration of the 300th anniversary of Toda's religious proclamation in 1868 and several others. In 1879 they gathered to honor Francis David on the 300th anniversary of his death and in 1891, they joined hands to inaugurate a church at Budapest²⁴.

The first modern church of Hungary was founded in 1879. Another was established in the capital in 1891. Some of elementary Unitarian schools were handed over to children and the higher schools kept by the Unitarians. American Unitarians funded two professorships at the college of Kolozsvar and the translation of work of W. E. Channing published in Hungary 1870-1881. The start of the twentieth century expected to enhance the positive growth, but the political disturbances including the massacre from Romanian forces and World War II slowed down the prosperity. (Wilbur 1945: 157)

Despite a history full of oppressions Transylvanian Unitarians survived and stayed loyal to their faith. The other remarkable point is the development of contacts with American

²³See Joseph Ferencz, *Short Account of the Unitarian Church of Hungary* (Budapest,1907), pp. 27.

²⁴See S. A. Steinthal, "Account of a Visit to Transylvania, *Christian Reformer*, N. S. xv (1859), 477-48

and English Unitarians, which not only helped the Transylvanian Unitarians but also inspired the struggle of English and American Unitarians.

It is worth noting that there is a nexus between Unitarianism and Islam in the sense that numerous Unitarian doctrines intersect with the Muslim theology of Jesus and the Islamic theology of monotheism. (Setton 1969:466)

1.3. Islamic Ottoman Empire and Unitarianism

The fact of Unitarianism development in Transylvania and Hungary under the protection of the Ottoman Empire is still an arguable chapter in history. It was documented that Ottomans supported reformations by suspending the arrival of counter-reformation. Moderate historians accepted the notorious tolerance policies of Ottoman administration as behind the religious toleration in the region.

The Ottoman influence existed because of the Islamic teachings of respecting all monotheistic/ Holy Book religions. Thus, any monotheistic religion that does not violate Ottoman's governance rules is liable to get equal rights and protection in the empire. In fact, the specialists of Ottoman culture considered it the most prominent feature of the Ottoman empire. According to the scholar Holbrook, the Ottomans are most distinguished in contributing to the cultural elements of the area they rule. (Williams 1992:1105) They achieve this by promoting independence in the lives and beliefs of people of the land.

Ottoman interprets Islam as the most cosmopolitan religion; thus, religious toleration was their priority. *Reflexions Historique et Critiques sur le Mahom éisme et sur le Socinianism*

was published by Mathurin Veyssi ére de la Croze, a French historian²⁵. In this document, the historian talked about the link between the Transylvanian Unitarianism and the Islamic theology, particularly of the Quran. It claimed that the anti-trinitarian found the faith that coincided with the unity of God as described in the Quran.

Further literature available in this context includes M. Peter Perenyi, a Hungarian protestant of the sixteenth century, who advocated religious tolerance. Accused of disloyalty, he had to left his son hostage of Turks. The investigation proved his unorthodox Christian faith that has close familiarity with Islam. He got Ottoman refuge, getting targeted by other orthodox for advocating religious tolerance. (Fodor 2000:269)

The Ottoman influence was both direct and indirect of which indirect influence is hard to estimate. The Edict of Torda of 1568 can be because of indirect influence. An example of direct influence is of 1548 when Tolna's Catholic bodies were requested to the Sultan's representative Pasha of Buda to take action against the Protestant Minister Imre Szigeti. He refused this application and declared an edict of toleration. The edict of toleration state was as follows: "pastors of Luther's faith should be permissible to discourse the Gospel to anyone interested anywhere, independently without fear. The Hungarian and Slavs should also listen without any fear because this is the true Christian faith". (Compier 2010:7)

The less mentioned edict in history inspired the later edicts of toleration issued by Sigismund's court. The similarity in intention and descriptions is clear. Those edicts focused on free and fearless listening to the words of God as preached. Thus, Pasha's edict provided a baseline to link both the elements.

²⁵For a further reading, *The Birth of Orientalism*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010 (ISBN 978-0-8122-4261-4) (pp. 106–132).

Pasha's reply was in agreement with the narrated events of that time. For example, in 1574, two Unitarian pastors were mistreated by authorities before pre-toleration laws. The name of those pastors was Lukas Tolnai and George Alvinczi. Among them, Lukas Tolnai escaped while George was sentenced to death by the church court chaired by the Calvinist bishop. From that time significant Unitarians got documented to contact the Pasha of Buda to get support. (Wilbur 1952:84-85)

To relax the Unitarians after this injudicious decision Pasha announced the implementation of Alvinczi "inhumane" and sentenced death to the bishop and fellow judges. This order was suspended on the plead of pecc' Unitarian preacher instead of its heavy annual levy imposed on the whole area.

In short, it is safe to state that the foundations of the Edict of Torda were laid by a combination of Francis David's mindset, European humanist effect, and political and legal Ottoman empires' impact. (Unghvary 1989:48) Despite all these factors the experiences in everyday life of people incorporated in the establishment of Edict of Torda. They listened about the intermarriage concepts prior to any legal declaration of toleration. They were also familiar with Islam's attractions and the safety it offers to protestants.

All these factors lead to religious toleration and Unitarianism. There is still biasness in quoting Islamic influence, but one thing is universally accepted, which is: the emperors always left cultural and political stamps on lands they rule. Further research might clear all the suspects.

1.4. Polish Unitarianism

The signs of antitrinitarian views in Poland can be traced back to 1539. The first Synod of Calvinists presented in 1555. However, the term Unitarian took another forty-five years to appear in 1600. Unitarianism in Poland started as an Arian split from the Calvinist church in

1565. The faith was tolerated for the beginning of the seventeenth century. However, after 1660 the oppression similar to early oppression started²⁶.

The eighteenth-century started with a threat of Leszna academy's seizure by the Polish government that was Catholic. Count Stanislaw Leszczyński was the student of Jablonski who was a German theologian. Count Stanislaw later served as a king of country and his teacher was known for uniting the Lutheran and Calvinists. The king converted to Catholicism but did not ignore to protect the academy but his efforts were not comparable with the efforts of his ancestors.

During the struggle between Charles XII of Sweden and Peter of Russia Leszna supported Charles XII as he was a protestant. The academy burned by the Russian troops in 1707 and reconstructed by Samuel Arnold. He was rector of the academy. After reconstruction, the growth slowed down. The withdrawal of patronage by the Polish noblemen and Leszczyński family²⁷ left the academy with students from German origin only. However, the language of instruction stayed Polish even after the seizure of the academy by Prussia. In the nineteenth century, Leszna academy became a German school under the influence of the German majority.

Jablonski, as a preacher at the Prussian court, tried to influence the Prussian rulers for protection. Jablonski's efforts were centered around uniting all Protestants under one religious organisation as it was the dream of Komensky and John Dury. Komensky was a German Unitarian while John Dury was a Scottish Unitarian. Jablonski's English links helped him during his efforts. He studied divinity at Oxford in 1706 and supported his son Powel's studies in England in 1716. Later, he was appointed as professor in Frankfort. An order for the relief

²⁶*Encyclopedia of Protestantism*: Hans Joachim Hillerbrand - 2003 "The religious doctrines of the Polish Unitarians after the Rakow episode retained many Calvinist elements" (Hillbrand 2003)

²⁷Leszczyński family was a Polish magnate family with role in Polish Lithuanian Commonwealth.

and preservation of Episcopal churches in Poland and Russia was issued by the Privy council in 1715.

Jablonski's 1709's visit to England and attendance in the Privy council's meeting is considered as the stimulant of this order. The meeting was chaired by Lord Sommers²⁸. He also met with Marlborough during this visit. He also collected funds from throughout England for the Moravian Brothers who were facing persecution by the state and Catholic churches for their faith. Moravian is a Christian protestant denomination with almost similar faiths. The fund collection was allowed by the Bishop of Canterbury and George-I,²⁹ who were friends to Jablonski. The collection amount of 237,000 marks was divided equally between the Moravian communities of Hungary and Poland.

Sending students to England and the fundraisings continued in the next eras. Krystian Sitowski visited England in 1717 for fund collection. He was a minister at Unitas Fratrum, which is another name for the Moravian church. In the next year 1718 Boguslaw Kopijewicki who was a Unitarian flee to England for study and stayed there for eight years. The conversion of Polish King Stanislaw Leszczynski to Catholicism made the financial condition of the academy more vulnerable. Even the payment of four teachers was made by the contribution of Polish nobles in 1717. In 1738 the academy sold to prince Sulkowski,³⁰ who was a Polish general. Under his supervision, the academy knew a positive growth . During the bad financial and political condition of Polish Protestants Jablonski's links with the Church of England paved the way for Polish protestants to England. The history of Polish protestants in England is quite elaborative.

²⁸Lord Sommers was an English statesman and Jurist. William L. Sachse, *Lord Somers. A Political Portrait*, 1975, p. 15. (Sachse 1975:15)

²⁹ King of Great Britain from 1714 to 1727.

³⁰ Alexander Joseph Sulkowski was a saxon-Polish general. He was friend with August III the Saxon.

The first Polish group that flees to England was led by a Czech carpenter that migrated from Bohemia and settled in the estate of Count Nikolas Ludovik Zinzendorff in 1722. They established an asylum by the name “Herrnhut” there. The owner of estate Zinzendorff joined the Moravians in 1729. Jablonski stayed in contact with him and sanctified him as Unitas’ Bishop in 1737. Zinzendorff had connections with English aristocracy that helped him in getting the act of Parliament for the Unitas Fratrum as an Episcopalian church in 1749 which will be in community with the Church of England. After approval from the parliament, Zinzendorff promoted the permanent settlement of a group in England.

In 1737 first English converted to Unitarianism. He was James Hutton whose marriage was arranged by Zinzendorff in 1740. James was also in contact with John Wesley who was an English theologian. Wesley first considered joining Unitas Fratrum but on disagreement with Zinzendorff, he started his revival movement in the church of England. However, James Hutton accepted the influence and his conversion to Unitarianism, he started leading the English Moravians.

James’ broad-mindedness made him a friend with English Unitarians. He was also a friend of Benjamin Franklin. Under his supervision, English Unitarians established their own academies where they employed Komensky’s principles. The English Moravian missionaries settled in north and south America. Thus, the links of Polish and English finally led to the development of the English Moravian church inspired by Komensy’s faith.

For more than a century Leszna academy stayed connected with the Cassius family which originally belong to Kaszkow, Pomerania. They were called Kaszkowski that Latinized as Cassius when a branch migrated and settled in Leszna in the middle of the seventeenth century. Another branch of this family settled in Germany and Germanized. David of Cassius family was the first one to be connected with the Leszna academy. He joined as a teacher in

1660 and promoted to co-rector of the Leszna academy in 1669. During one hundred and half a century connection of Cassius family with academy about twelve members of family educated in the institute.

David Cassius was the first one to serve as a rector in the academy after his matriculation from Franeker in 1692. He was a different person than co-rector David. David Cassius was Jablonski's student and assistant in all his movements. After the 1707 burning of academy, David first visited Germany, then Holland in 1714 for fund collection. He started as rector in 1716 and one of his policies was to send students in England, Frankfort, and Leyden. His service as a rector was of almost forty-eight years that enhanced the number of students to 200.

His son Christian Theofil succeeded him in 1788. Christian also studied from Frankfort and Leyden. His writings on Geography, History, Antiquities, and logic were part of the academy's teaching module. Christian resigned in 1797 to let his cousin, Boguslaw David Cassius, be the next rector. Boguslaw promoted from pro-rector ship to rectorship. He served from 1800-1824. As of last Polish rector, he maintained and favoured Polish as a medium of education at the academy. He resigned in 1824 and the academy became German school.

Leszna academy is a major part of Polish Unitarianism history. Other than Leszna Polish Unitarian academies are Kiejdany, Sluck, and Rakow. These academies were of secondary school level, but they instructed university-level theology. Polish academies were inferior to the English protestant universities in terms of resources and teaching faculty. Therefore, they sent students to western Europe for higher studies. From the seventeenth to nineteenth century a remarkable number of students studied at Oxford, Cambridge, London, and in Scottish universities. Besides these cities, Polish students also studied in Holland and Frankfort-on-

Oder³¹. The students had both German and Polish origins and they studied law, mathematics, philosophy, and medicine mostly along with theology.

1.5. Unitarianism in Great Britain

English Unitarianism can be traced back to the Father of English Unitarianism, John Biddle (1615-1662). Thus, it is safe to say that English Unitarianism started in the seventeenth century. History document Anabaptism of sixteenth-century as roots of English Unitarianism. Anabaptism was a Christian movement that opposed baptizing the infants and considered to baptize only an individual declaring his/her faith in Jesus. Anabaptism was also known for its revolutionary ideas³².

In the beginning, the movement attracted non-conformists in the early eighteenth century. The journey is summarized in the following lines and the next paragraphs are elaboration of the summary. In the beginning, the movement attracted non-conformists in the early eighteenth century. English Presbyterian which leads to Unitarianism populated the city of Norwich, which was famous for its enriched scientific community. Presbyterians emphasized God's supremacy, Holy Scriptures' authority, and faith in the Christ. These migrants were the first formal denominations Theophilus Lindsey and Joseph Priestley's meetings. These meetings laid the foundation of the First Unitarian Congregation of the country in 1774 at Essex Street Church London. In 1791, Lindsey and John Disney established "*First Organized Denominational Unitarian Society*" for the promotion of Christian values by distributing related literature. This society was called the Unitarian Book Society. This step led to the establishment

³¹ To find out about the Polish Students' journey, see *The Slavonic and East European Review*, Vol. 37, No. 88 (Dec., 1958), pp. 196-220.

³² "*Unitarian Missionary*". *The Unitarian*, Vol, III, No. 9, 1908, p.314.

of the Unitarian Fund in 1806 for the support of financially suffering missionaries and congregations. (Rowe 1959: chpt.3)

Salter's Hall is a historical place for Unitarians as 110 ministers discussed Trinity in 1719. The need for this meeting appeared after the revision of the Book of Common Prayers by Samuel Clarke. Thus, it was an effort to resolve issues of the Exeter population. The voting ratio of 57:53 made the interpretation of scriptures difficult. The losing site was subscribed to the Trinity's Doctrine. Thus, the dissenters fragmented into subscribers that include Independents and Particular Baptists and Non-subscribers that comprised of Presbyterians and General Baptists. Non-subscribers are considered to give rise to Unitarians. Thus, the roots of Unitarianism shifted from Baptists to non-subscribers after this split at Salters Hall. (Greenwood 2011:41)

They believe that all people could be saved as documented in Holy scriptures. The space created by the English Civil War provided Baptists with an opportunity to get legitimacy. These Baptists were mostly universalists and behind the Unitarianism.

Baptists transformed to Unitarians after the oppressing previous century. Anti-trinity developed in Baptists and other oppressed rebellions that lead them to Unitarianism by 1750. During the early nineteenth century Welsh Unitarian Society was established in 1802. Individuals with orthodox principles split their way from society and established new links. (Greenwood 2011:41)

Unitarians' demand and preaching of equality, freedom for the individual, and reasoning portray them as disrupting forces for social order in Great Britain. An event pointing out to this mindset was farmer's revolt that was linked to Wycliff's theology and Unitarians were believed

to provoke the revolution. Some of that is true as Cookites³³ support several dissenters. Joseph Cooke was an inspiration behind the Cookites or Methodist Unitarians. He was expelled from Wesleyan Methodists in 1803 because of different preaching practices and the Wesleyan Methodists. The Methodist Unitarian's support and cooperation with laborer friendly economic reforms were considered upheaval at that time.

Unitarians were intensely attacked after the American revolution. The exchange of ideas between the English and American Unitarians posed a risk to the already fading away British World Power. English policies instead of eliminating nurtured this risk. Thomas Emlyn's³⁴ booklet was published in America in 1756 and John Murray left England in 1770 to house in New Jersey. New Jersey had an intense influence of dissenters that left during the last religious oppression events.

Theophilus Lindsey (1723-1808), filed Feather's Tavern Petition³⁵ in 1772, demanding acceptance of the Bible of Anglican Clergy's declaration of belief by the parliament. This petition wanted that acceptance to eliminate subscription to thirty-nine Articles of Faith. The denial of this petition costs the reputation of Lindsey who became a dissenter after the event. Lindsey crossed ways with two friends Benjamin Franklin and Joseph Priestly in 1774 after the Unitarian worship service, that was conducted at Essex street.

Joseph Priestley (1733-1804), is a renowned part of Unitarianism history in England. Priestley, being from an Evangelical family, was already linked to a dissenting branch. He refrained from subscription to Calvinism in his adulthood and joined Presbyterian ministry after

³³ Cookites or Methodist Unitarians founded by Joseph Cooke. Cooke was a free Christian and Wesleyan Methodist. Davies, Rupert; George, Raymond; & Rupp, Gordon (ed.) (1978) " *A History of the Methodist Church in Great Britain*, volume 2".

³⁴ Thomas Emlyn was a Presbyterian Letitia's chaplain known for remarkable contributions to Unitarian literature. (David 1993:130)

³⁵ Whelan, Timothy D. (2009). *Baptist Autographs in the John Rylands University Library of Manchester, 1741-1845*. Mercer University Press. p. 417.

appearing in Daventry's dissenter's academy. He was an active science teacher until his dismissal from the job as a result of his support for colonists of the American revolution. The next place for him to serve was Birmingham first, in which he attended Essex street service and was introduced to Unitarianism for the first time. He learned and supported Unitarianism by his writings that were heavily attacked. Lindsey supported Priestley through all of this. Priestley wrote 'The Importance and Extent of Free Inquiry' to present his doubts on reformatations³⁶.

He also challenged his readers in the following words:

“Let us not, therefore, be discouraged, though, for the present, we should see no great number of churches professedly Unitarian ... We are, as it were, laying gunpowder, grain by grain, under the old building of error and superstition, which a single spark may hereafter inflame, to produce an instantaneous explosion; in consequence of which that edifice, the erection of which has been the work of ages, may be overturned in a moment, and so effectually as that the same foundation can never be built upon again” (Gibbs 1997:173)

American colonies earned independence by the support of multiple such Unitarians and a Chapel established in Essex street after reaching this milestone.

William Hazlitt was a British preacher with preaching activities along Atlantic seaboard in 1783. Hazlitt influenced James Freeman the most. Freeman said, “because of Hazlitt, there are now many churches in which the worship is strictly Unitarian”³⁷. During the French

³⁶ Priestley, Joseph. *The importance and extent of free inquiry in matters of religion: a sermon, preached before the congregations of the Old and New Meeting of Protestant Dissenters at Birmingham. 5 November 1785. To which are added, reflections on the present state of free inquiry in this country.* Birmingham: Printed by M. Swinney; for J. Johnson, London, 1785.

³⁷ J. D. Bowers, *Joseph Priestley and English Unitarianism in America*, 2007, p. 50.

revolution, Emlyn's pamphlet printed in America. Rational dissenters' enthusiasm for the Republic of Virtue was because of its ability for social reforms. These reforms promise citizenship without owning land and enhanced personal value. 1789's events were a relief for British Unitarian writers. Some British writers including William Blake³⁸ and Mary Wollstonecraft were furious about Edmund Burke's statement that named Unitarians traitors or Levelers. (Greenwood 2011:45) Edmund Burke was an avid supporter of the American revolution.

Levelers' demand for equality was a threat to British order. This mindset can be traced back to the reign of Henry VIII and Elizabeth. The dissenters believe was to apply the truth of the religious sphere to all other life fields. A progressive movement developed by linking the English, American, and French Revolutions. The protests were against the global economy that affected their trade routes with colonisation and handling people's lives. Colonisation effects can be observed across Asia, Nova Scotia, Africa, Australia, and Jamaica. (Greenwood 2011:43)

1791 was not a pleasant year as Unitarians tagged as traitors by the English. It affected almost all of the Unitarians. Wollstonecraft migrated to Paris, Joseph Priestley was expelled from Birmingham and migrated to Pennsylvania³⁹, and publisher Joseph Johnson who worked with many Unitarian writers was jailed. (Schofield 2004:324) The beginning of the nineteenth-century brought unity for Unitarians.

Thomas Belsham⁴⁰ (1750-1829) purposefully preached Unitarianism in Essex street. His preaching was organized, providing a structure that attracted many other compatible people. From the time of Belsham's accepting Unitarianism to 1825, Unitarian congregations reached

³⁸ *William Blake and Religion: A New Critical Review*, 2009. (Magnus Ankarsjo 2009)

³⁹ Schofield, Robert E. *The Enlightenment of Joseph Priestley: A Study of his Life and Work from 1733 to 1773*.

⁴⁰ Lavan, *Unitarians and India*, p.36

from 2 to 200 in England. (Jennett 1885:202) Another most important milestone of Unitarian history was achieved by the acceptance of the Doctrine of Trinity Act in 1813. This improvement is supported by the Trinity Bill of 1813, which announced Unitarianism as legal practice.

This bill was presented in parliament by William Smith. It is also called Unitarian Relief or Unitarian Toleration Bill⁴¹. Even after this act Unitarians were not able to get full civil rights as the Corporation Act and Test act was in place. Thus, “*The Association for The Protection of Civil Rights of Unitarians*” established in 1819. It was the third remarkable Unitarian society that merged with the other two to form the British and Foreign Unitarian Association⁴² in 1825.

British and Foreign Unitarian Association and Sunday School Association joined to form the General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches in 1928. Thus, a journey started from the first society at Essex street London in 1774, ended up gloriously. (Rowe 1959: chpt.3)

The literature of 1812 fueled the conservative Unitarians to attack liberals as Belsham named Congregationalists as Unitarians in his *Memoirs of Theophilus Lindsey*⁴³. However, the conflict vanished soon because of the needs of the war era. British and American Unitarians were against the war and financing war respectively. They opposed the British actions together.

Meanwhile the British destroyed Washington DC in 1814. However, the event did not affect the rights of Unitarians in Britain and their diplomatic exchanges with American Unitarians. The issues of civil, intellectual, and literature freedom were recognized as global

⁴¹Maclear J.F., *Church and State in the Modern Age: a documentary history* 1995.

⁴² Rowe, Mortimer (1959), *The History of Essex Hall*. (Rowe 1959:chpt.3)

⁴³ Thomas Belsham, *Memoirs of the Late Reverend Theophilus Lindsey*, 1812.

Unitarianism even after the splits in New England Clergy on theology and traditions. (Greenwood 2011:47) Another milestone reached by the publications of that time was the extension of discussion on Christian principles in the public. Among those publications, one was Robert Aspland's Monthly repository of 1806. His journal documented the chronicles of renowned religious persons to link the rational theology and anti-authoritarian philosophy⁴⁴.

His journal also published chronicles of martyrdom or conversion that ignited the Unitarians. Robert's support enhanced the legitimacy of religion in society. Such efforts led to the establishment of British and Foreign Unitarian Associations in 1825. These associations ruled out the need for institutional base building. Thus, Robert quitted the Repository and devoted to serve as a minister until he died in 1845. (Greenwood 2011:48)

After the retirement of Robert, internal factors weakened his established institutions. Under William Fox as his successor, Repository established a name in publishing controversial articles on Unitarianism, poetry, women's liberty, and education. This reputation attracted many dissenting writers to contribute to the reshaping of civil lives. Thus, religion was perceived as the base of impartial society that certainly needs trust than authority. It also minimized the requirement of a solid institutional basis for this sort of society. The contribution of the Repository is remarkable. The repository was folded after the spread of news about Fox's affair. (Greenwood 20:48)

The need for a broad church was in the hearts of several Unitarians. Broad Church was a mid-nineteenth century movement that demands the comprehensive role of the church rather than exclusive in the lives of people. The reason behind this wish can also be the perception of institutional buildings as sectarians⁴⁵. The efforts of James Martineau (1805-1900) was part of

⁴⁴ Isobel Armstrong, "The Monthly Repository and Unitarian Chronicle," Nineteenth Century Serials Edition.

⁴⁵ Cross, F. L. (ed.) (1957) *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*. London: Oxford U. P.; Broad Church, p. 199.

a journey to establish a broad Church. James was not sure of the Unitarian status of Congregationalists⁴⁶. He started to dig out the links alone. His self-perception of his efforts was morality and devotion, but the perception of his followers was contradicting. As they consider him self-absorbed and cut out from followers' needs⁴⁷.

Martineau believed in separating the zones of ministry in order to reach broad Church Worship. For example, education and social reforms are distinct. Religion can be a reason behind the motivation for service but is distinct. Martineau believed and acted on the above statement throughout his service as a student of Lant Carpenter and teacher of Ragged schools. Worship was not considered to play any role in social change. (Greenwood 2011:48-49)

In Martineau's story, a twist with a dispute about the trinity's nature with Anglican Clergy of Liverpool came. This dispute helps him work as a professor at Mental and Moral Philosophy at Manchester New College in 1840. He was promoted as principal of the college where he worked to train clergy for seventeen years from 1869-1885. Another contribution of Martineau was the Dissenters' Chapels Act of 1844. This act protected the Unitarian funds and rendezvous. (Greenwood 2011:49)

His influence was far beyond the fifty years he worked with ministry's apprentices. Martineau is the British Unitarianism's face for all his efforts and literature. He wrote several prayers and hymns. Even after this reputation, Martineau had some contradicting points. He thought of considering Unitarians congregations as rigid. He was intended to name "Free Christian" and also established a Free Christian Association that was almost similar to the British and Foreign Unitarian Association. He was devoted and know the costs of establishing a church only on the words of God. Anglican clergy was also among Martineau's sermons' fans

⁴⁶ "Obituary - Dr. James Martineau, London - January 12, 1900", 1900. p. 5.

⁴⁷ Jackson, A.W. (1901). "James Martineau - A biography and Study".

thus, they positively recognised theological Unitarianism. He insisted on openness and diversity but only within the Anglican Christian setup⁴⁸.

Martineau also presented two opposite perspectives regarding following ethical models and morality. If the models are followed then there are chances of the institution to suffer and if not, then the corruption can infiltrate the institution. The influence was observed on the establishment of University College London in 1828 that was established for non-Anglicans. The effects were also visible on the colleges' affiliations, including the Manchester college. Martineau's point of view was established by 1866 that supports non-sectarianism. According to this, leaders should be without any specific religious identity. This prerequisite was expected to create freedom, but it limited the Unitarian clergy to excel. (Greenwood 2011:48-49)

Martineau's contrast was William Gaskell⁴⁹ (1805-1884) who served as minister in Birmingham for almost fifty years. He was from a Unitarian family that was linked to several other Unitarian families. Gaskell's also had a family affiliation with the precursor of Manchester college Warrington academy where he served as professor of literature and his father as theology's teacher.

The affiliation of Manchester college with University College London imposed non-sectarian views that made Gaskell stay in Manchester. He was also among the founders of Home Missionary Board and Unitarian College Manchester. He claimed to have no division in worship, reform, and education. It was also depicted from the name of the institute⁵⁰.

⁴⁸ James Martineau, *The New Affinities of Faith-A Plea for Free Christian Union* (1869).

⁴⁹ Hughes P. "William Gaskell", Unitarian Universalist Historical Society, 2007.

⁵⁰ Shercliff WH. *Manchester: A Short History of its Development*, pp. 35-38.

His institute supported the women, mill workers, and people with limited or no access to education. The majority of these workers were from Wales. Gaskell focused on serving people. His sermons addressed the real-life issues practically. Martineau as compared to Gaskell opened new doors to Unitarians by establishing an institute that issue degree. This opportunity was the first time achieved in history and it means a lot in terms of acceptance for Unitarians. (Greenwood 2011:49)

The Unitarians in England were mostly conceived for the wrong country. Many failed to believe in faiths. It took them a lot of effort to reach where they are today, their efforts can be estimated by considering the fact that not even one generation had grown under favourable institutional environment unless the industrial revolution made the climate favourable for them. Eventually they were the most influential in the new order. (Greenwood 2011:49)

The society established because of Unitarianism does not consider a personality influential for the wealth or position he has. The industrial centralized economies of big cities also divided the Unitarians. Even though the industry enhanced their status, the Unitarians are still linked to the poor, the alienated, and the workers of factories⁵¹. Unitarian faith considers owners as land controllers, but they stay loyal to the ones who work hard. Thus, Unitarians can change society. Their reputation is well enough to do this without demanding a separate identity than the Anglican communion. The problem with the institutional Unitarianism was their claim for legitimacy along with fearing any affiliations that limit them.

British and Foreign Association was the first one to accept individual and congregation memberships. Because of less interest in congregations, this category dropped out in 1867 and only the individual memberships accepted. During the nineteenth century, there are almost a

⁵¹ D.W. Bebbington, “Unitarian MPs in the nineteenth century,” *Transactions of the Unitarian Historical Society*, Vol.24, No.3 (April 2009), pp. 153–175

hundred congregations established that pointed out the bright future. But the theological conflicts of Unitarianism hindered their way to success and the twentieth-century showed much less progress⁵².

Furthermore, the positive perspective the progressivity of human nature was destroyed because of World War I. This disappointment made the Reorganisation efforts of 1928 fail. Even though the congregations stabilised for some time, but the memberships decreased sharply. World War II further harmed the Unitarianism. (Greenwood 2011:50)

At the end of the twentieth century, the Council of Churches denied the membership and observer status of Unitarians in England. The history of Unitarians in England is full of inspirations that can ignite the resistance against oppression in the faithful.

1.6. Unitarianism in the British Colony India

The time of Priestley's expulsion from England and the beginning of East India Company's rule in the Indian Sub-continent was almost the same. Indian history can be called a history of invasions as the land invaded by outsiders several times. Muslims' rule on India is a story of almost a thousand years. After five hundred years of Muslim invasion, Akbar, the Great's (1543-1605) era can be called an era of unity as he worked on harmony among Hindus, Muslims, and other local communities. His level of harmony was compromised by his heirs, which led to severe religious tensions in the seventeenth century. East India Company's ruling model was different from the Portuguese and Dutch models as it established a local government than governing from home. Establishing internal governing bodies made the British won the race of power in 1800. (Greenwood 2011:44)

⁵² Charles Howe, *For Faith and Freedom*, 1997, p. 160.

The British invasion was entirely business, focused with no preaching or religious aims. The diversity and no religious aims of the ruler made the climate of region favourable for the intellectual and academic activities and comparative religion studies. In 1799 Joseph Priestley published “*Comparison of the Institutions of Moses with those of Hindus and Other Ancient Nations*”. This book was the first publication on religious studies that revived interests in primitive culture of the land that was not affected by the invasions. The love for the primitive culture of the land and the East India Company’s need for Civil servants merged to give rise to Orientalism. British with such interests established schools in India to educate people in their long-forbidden texts of languages. (Greenwood 2011:44)

Orientalism was a road built by the British that leads Hindus to learn their historical cultures. Revitalization of Bengal and the religious liberalism originated from Orientalism and contributed in Unitarianism. Indian Unitarianism declined with the same speed of its hype because of the class issues in the local Hindu community. The case-study of the Indian Unitarianism will lead to the understanding of the role of idealism and class issues as hurdles in progression. It also clarifies the association of reason and texts for the Unitarians.

Moodelliar Vellazha was a Tamil Hindu who converted to Islam. His parents killed in religious riots and he was sold by a Muslim trader in Europe at the age of 9. In 1789, Vellazha embraced Christianity at St. James’ Church and named William Roberts. He was a servant at that time. He was introduced to the Tamil translation of the Bible in the next year that was published by Dutch missionaries. The study of this version of the Bible made him rethink his decision as there was nothing to support the faiths he learned from church. Robert’s introduction to Unitarians was because of his fellow servant. Unitarians’ literature escorted him to Madras (Chennai) in 1794. He diversified his studies by reading more Unitarian literature, English translation of Quran, and Priestley and Lindsey’s work that he bought in 1806 from England.

Lindsey's work inspired Robert in creating a Tamil prayer book and in establishing a Unitarian center in Madras in 1813⁵³. He contacted Thomas Belsham to get support for the Indian Unitarianism, but he was disappointed.

He was an orphan who served as a slave and stayed Muslim and Christian. All these live and religious experiences of Robert lead him to self-awareness. He stayed on Unitarianism and worked to educate poor children of his area Madras. Indian (Madras) Unitarianism grew under Great Britain but was not much appreciated or contacted by British Unitarians. Madras' Unitarians are an independent group which can be credited to the establishment of a climate created by the British Empire. The worship center established by Robert was founded as a Unitarian center that stayed Christian under a native governance ⁵⁴.

British Unitarians supported the Calcutta's Brahmo Samaj even after being uncertain about the Rammohun Roy⁵⁵, the founder's beliefs about Unitarianism as a religion. Baptist William Adam⁵⁶ and Roy worked to translate the New Testament in Bengali and both realised that the doctrine of Trinity is non-biblical. In 1821, the shared interests laid the foundations of the Calcutta Unitarian Committee. British Roy's work tested and authenticated protestant religion at the same time. The source texts of authority were based on the study of Vedas and Upanishads. Roy's search met with the British Unitarian faith that made him anxious about his religious identity and excited about the discovery.

In 1828 Brahmo Samaj⁵⁷ replaced Calcutta Unitarian Committee. Brahmo Samaj promoted native language Bengali. History tells about Belsham's support for Roy even though

⁵³ Spencer Lavan, "*Unitarians and India: A Study in Encounter and Response*", 1972, pp. 24–31.

⁵⁴ Ibid

⁵⁵ Soman, Priya. "*Raja Ram Mohan and the Abolition of Sati System in India*", 75–82.

⁵⁶ McWilliam, Colin (1978) *The Buildings of Scotland: Lothian (except Edinburgh)*.

he was aware of his religion that was not Christianity. Thus, what made him neglect William and support Roy? The answer is in his excitement for building prosperous and magnificent links⁵⁸.

Let's dive deep into Roy's works that demoralized some of the British preconceptions. He focused on the revival of traditions and denial of false interpretations of Hindu practices. Roy's ideology was more towards enlightenment than conversion to Christianity. This enlightenment made him think about training science and literature faculty. He knew that the goal of social education enrichment can only be achieved by connecting the enriched and deprived societies. So, he designed programs for cultural exchange between England and India. But his programs consider only upper-middle-class of liberals from both the countries. He was also aware of the importance of media thus he established a private press in Calcutta. This press promoted the ancient and purer justice that was not affected by any religion. Thus, it was an effort of lessening outer influences on Hindus. (Greenwood 2011:44-47)

1.7. Unitarianism, Socinianism, and Arianism

Generally speaking, rights and justice are universal. However, geography, history, and language nourish it. On the other hand, faith is linked to people and their habitats. If the above conditions are fulfilled by a single religion; then, it is universal and precise at the same time. This model enriches human habitats with healing properties.

Liberals and reformers sometimes debate on the combination of tribalism and universalism. Tribalism is the link of faith to people and their home and universalism are the global statuses of rights and justice. An example of this conflict is Lindsey and William Ellery's call for tolerance and broader faith. One of them calls broader faith and tolerance within the

⁵⁷ J. N. Farquhar, *Modern Religious Movements of India*, 1915:29.

⁵⁸ Lavan, *Unitarians and India*, p.41.

third largest Christian communion called Anglican Communion founded in 1867 while the other call within the Independent Standing Order of Massachusetts. The conflict between two points of view was not significant as both were proved true after merging into a single domain “Unitarian”. Unitarianism a domain that merged the British and mid-Atlantic Socinianism. Socinianism was an anti-trinity theology of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. British Unitarianism accepted Socinianism but rejected Arianism that’s why British liberals considered Unitarianism far too political.

1.8. American and English Unitarianism

Priestley-Belsham’s Unitarianism was associated with determinist philosophy. This philosophy believes that the past causes influence the current events. William Ellery Channing’s work influenced this approach of Unitarianism. W.E. Channing (1780-1842), was the first American Unitarian preacher. Channing’s work republished and widely appreciated⁵⁹. Robert Spears was the one behind spreading Lindsey’s, Priestley’s, and Channing’s work in the country. His efforts were to recall the mentioned ones’ beliefs.

Theodore Parker (1810-1860), was another American Unitarian. He was the reforming minister of the Unitarian Church and the one to influence Abraham Lincoln and Martin Luther King. His work reduced the limited but rigid supernaturalism from Belsham’s work. (Hankins 2004:143)

James Martineau’s work and services are remarkable in English Unitarian history. His work was first resisted but then appreciated⁶⁰. In fact, the American and English Unitarianism are linked and influenced by each other almost equally.

⁵⁹ Mendelsohn, Jack (1971). *Channing: The Reluctant Radical*. Little, Brown & Co. p. 209.

⁶⁰ Jackson, A.W. (1901) James Martineau - A biography and Study.

1.9. Notable People and Institutions of English Unitarianism

English Unitarian alumni is a list of stars. Well-known scholars of that time include James Yates (1789-1871) and Samuel Sharpe (1799-1881). The famous English preacher was George Harris (1794-1859).

The educational institutes established by English Unitarians include Oxford's Manchester college that rooted in Richard Franklin's 1670's academy. Unitarian Home Missionary College was founded in 1854 by John Rely Beard and William Gaskell at Manchester.

Presbyterian College Carmarthen was also among the Unitarian institutions. Unitarianism not only produced scholars but also nourished a generation of politicians including Chamberlain family, Courtauld, and Tate industrial families.

1.10. Notable publications of Unitarianism Era

Priestley's Theological Repository was the pioneering Unitarian journal. This periodical published from 1769-1788. This journal worked to answer theological inquiries as well as Unitarian and Arian doctrines. Priestley committed to publish all points of views but the journal attracted like-minded writers that's why Priestley provided most of the content⁶¹.

Another periodical named Monthly Repository was established by Robert Aspland. This journal was published from 1806 to 1838 with an emphasis on rational dissent. Christian Reformer or New Evangelical Miscellany was another effort of Joseph Aspland. It was published in 1815⁶².

⁶¹ Schofield, Robert E. *The Enlightenment of Joseph Priestley: A Study of his Life and Work from 1733 to 1773*. (Schofield 1997:193-201)

⁶² See Whitehouse, Tessa. *The Textual Culture of English Protestant Dissent 1720-1800*. Oxford University Press, 2015.

The Hibbert Journal⁶³ was published with the subheading “*A Quarterly Review of Religion, Theology, and Philosophy*” in 1902. This journal was first published by Hibbert Trust established by Robert Hibbert. This trust also established an Anti-trinitarian fund in 1853. This fund offered scholarships and fellowships to students. Annual lectureship from 1878 to 1894 was also funded by the trust at Manchester college. A chair of the church history at Manchester College from 1894 was also maintained by this fund.

1.11. Unitarianism in America

The development of Unitarianism in America followed the pattern observed in other countries. The pattern moved from Arminianism to Arianism, Rationalism, Modernism, and finally Unitarianism. The development might be because of the results of comparative studies of religions or because of latent thoughts of the mind.

The early signs of Arminianism showed up in the eighteenth century of New England, a region comprised of six states in the present era’s America and that times’ British colonies. The way to Unitarianism made easy by the Great Awakening⁶⁴ which was the eighteenth century’s Christian revival movement that flounced the British and North American colonies. The first awakening was led by Jonathan Edwards⁶⁵ and George Whitefield. Jonathan was a North American preacher and George was an English evangelist.

Individual events of Arianism traced before the war of independence. The War of Independence was an event of 1775-1783 when thirteen colonies stood against the British

⁶³ See, Royce, Josiah. *The basic writings of Josiah Royce/2 Logic, loyalty and community*. Fordham Univ. Press, 2005

⁶⁴ Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People* (2nd ed.) ,2004, p.280-330.

⁶⁵ Smith, John E, Lee, Sang Hyun (ed.), Protestant Virtue and Common Morality in *The Princeton Companion to Jonathan Edwards*,2005, pp.34-41.

empire. The colonies accepted the influence of deism which was not a given word by any religious bodies. (Leslie 2010:356)

During the middle of the eighteenth-century Harvard College denoted the utmost beliefs of the time and it was Unitarianism. The teachings preached by several ministers of New England matched the Unitarianism faith. One of those preachers was Jonathan Mayhew (1720-1766) who was Boston's west church's minister. His service started in 1747 and ends in 1766. His teachings centered around the unity of God, the secondary nature of Christ, and redemption by character.

Charles Chauncy (1705-1787), was another of them. He served as the minister of First Church from 1727 to his death. He was an opponent of Edward during the great revival. He was a Unitarian and universalist⁶⁶. The other remarkable Unitarians of American history include Ebenezer Gay, Samuel West, New Bedford, Thomas Barnard, Newbury, John Prince, William Bentley, and Aaron Bancroft. Ebenezer Gay (1698-1787) was a businessman with the militia in the revolution war. Samuel West (1730-1807) was a liberal minister of Massachusetts and an opponent of doctrines of Edwards. While Thomas Barnard (1748-1814) was an Anglican minister who served the church of Ireland. The contribution of all of them shaped the American constitution along with contributing to the American Unitarianism.

King's Chapel of Boston⁶⁷ was the first one to approve the Unitarian faith officially as a congregation. James Freeman the minister of chapel settled in 1782 and the first translation of the prayer book to Unitarian clergy took place in 1785. William Hazlitt (1737-1820) a Unitarian minister with remarkable contributions in English and American Unitarianism visited

⁶⁶ Griffin, Edward M. (1980). *Old Brick: Charles Chauncy of Boston, 1705-1787*.

⁶⁷ Greenwood, Francis William Pitt. *A History of King's Chapel in Boston: The First Episcopal Church in New England: Comprising Notices of the Introduction of Episcopacy into the Northern Colonies*. Carter, Hendee, 1833.

the United States from 1783-1785 and published the presence of Unitarians in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Cape Cod, Charleston, Hallowell, Pittsburgh, and Boston⁶⁸.

The organisation of Unitarianism in Portland and Saco can be traced to 1792. Thomas Oxnard was behind this organisation. A congregation established by Tourists in 1620 converted to more liberal faith in 1800. This congregation is also called the First Church of Plymouth. Joseph Priestley migrated to the United States in 1794 and established Unitarian churches in Pennsylvania and Northumberland. In 1796 another Unitarian church established in Philadelphia. Joseph's writings also influenced American Unitarianism heavily.

Thus, the flourishing period of Unitarianism in New England and other American areas was the time from 1725-1825. The first individual appearance of the change Unitarianism bringing was the appointment of Henry Ware⁶⁹ at Harvard college as a professor of divinity. Henry Ware (1764-1845) a preacher and Unitarian were appointed in 1805. Thus, the conservative faith of Harvard school transformed into the Unitarian faith. Unitarian Books published the same year by John Sherman and Noah Worcester. John Sherman (1772-1828) was a pastor at Mansfield and Noah Worcester⁷⁰ (1758-1873) was a Unitarian minister and a remarkable person in the history of American Unitarianism.

The beginning of the nineteenth century brings Unitarian domination to all churches of Boston except one. The charge of Unitarian preachers in churches also influenced the journals and organisations. During the same period, Unitarian churches were established in Baltimore, New York, Charleston, Washington, and many other places.

⁶⁸ Wu, Duncan (2008). *William Hazlitt: The First Modern Man*.

⁶⁹ Ware biography from *The Unitarians and the Universalists* by David Robinson.

⁷⁰ Samuel Atkins Eliot, Noah Worcester in *Heralds of a Liberal Faith*, vol. 2, 1901.

Till now the time mentioned was the time of sowing seeds that turned to crops in the next seasons. The next time was 1800-1835. This time was the result of influence from English philosophy that was rationalistic yet supernatural and that promoted philanthropy and practical Christianity devotedly. Dr. William Ellery Channing was a remarkable part of English influence.

Joseph Stevens Buckminster a Boston based Unitarian joined the Brattle Street Church as a minister in 1800. His sermons and literary actions were dazzling. His academic activities were centered around the German “New Criticism” that contributed to shaping the successive Unitarianism growth in New England. William Ellery Channing (1780-1842) joined Federal Street Church Boston as pastor in 1803 and later he led the Unitarian movement. Channing’s theology was mystical at first missing the element of rationalism. He also worked with Catholic Christians for some time because of their claim to harmonize Christianity and the progressiveness that was the demand of time.

W. E. Channing turned out to be a great supporter of Unitarianism after the publication of his works *The System of Exclusion and Denunciation in Religion* (1815) and *Objections to Unitarian Christianity Considered* (1819). At Baltimore’s first Unitarian church, his sermon addressed the Unitarian Christianity. Jared Sparks ordained him. Jared was a Unitarian and president of Harvard. Another sermon of Channing at New York established his reputation as an interpreter of Unitarianism after 1821.

The first quarter of the nineteenth century was of debate on theology in New England. This time is known as Unitarian controversy. It attracted intellectuals from Harvard, Yale, and other big educational names along with attracting church members. The Unitarian controversy is a tough subject to deal with as it is hard to dig and link its themes. However, the present age’s Unitarianism in America is largely shaped by the Unitarian controversy’s themes. Unitarian

controversy⁷¹ in 1815 divided the congregational churches that pronounced further after ten years with the establishment of the American Unitarian Association in Boston.

Unitarian Association aimed at knowledge verbose for the promotion of pure Christianity. Association published books and literature, financially supported deprived churches, directed missionaries to all parts of the country, and help in the establishment of new churches in all estates.

The growth of the Unitarian movement was slow at first and it was mainly because of the cultural support and literature published. The non-sectarian nature of the movement is also considered behind slow growth. Many of Unitarian ministers trained from the schools of different denominations. However, Harvard divinity school was established as a Unitarian institute in 1816 and it stayed Unitarian until its conversion to non-sectarian institute in 1870⁷².

The other Unitarian schools include the Meadville Lombard Theological School and the Star King School for the ministry. Meadville school was established in 1844 in Meadville; Pennsylvania and the Star King school in Berkeley California in 1904. Mortimer Rowe documented the history of twenty years of Essex Hall in 1959. Mortimer was chief executive of General Assembly of Unitarian and Free Christian Churches. According to his publication *The History of Essex Hall*, the establishment of British and Foreign Unitarian association and the American Unitarian Association took place on the same day of 26 May 1825 and it was coincident. (Rowe 1959: chpt.3)

The third section of the history of Unitarianism in America starts in 1835 and ends in 1885. This time depicts the remarkable influence of German idealism on American theology.

⁷¹ George Ellis, *A Half-century of the Unitarian Controversy*, Boston 1857.

⁷² Eliot, Samuel Atkins, ed. *Heralds of a Liberal Faith: The preachers*. Vol. 3. American Unitarian Association, 1910.

The main elements of German theology were rationalism and mysticism. As a reaction to German influence, National Unitarian Conference organised in 1865 that emphasised on adoption of a clear Christian forum. The affirmation of the forum was the status of the members that set as followers of Lord Jesus Christ. (Tiffany 2006:179)

The rational element left by this forum that established the Free Religious Association⁷³ as a minority. Association aimed to promote the study of theology scientifically and to enhance the communion in the spirit. Same position accepted by the Western Union Conference. It established its fellowships without prerequiring rigid tests and declared it on the desire to found the truth, ethics, and love in the world. The point that distincts WUC's theology from other Unitarian theologies is that they do not consider belief in God as an essential element of Unitarian faith. (Potter 1892:8-9)

The debate on theology or the time of controversy was of immense theological development. This period ended in 1885. The 1894's national conference held in Saratoga New York confirmed the end of this era. Unanimous voting on the statement "the religion of Jesus is acceptable for these churches that they hold in harmony with his teachings and the simple definition of practical religion is the belief in love to God and man" confirmed the end of the debate. (Greenwood 2011:91)

The conference also recognised the congregational nature of tradition and society. As a result, the declaration about the constitution made that nothing would be taken as an authoritative test and a cordial invitation for fellowship is available to anyone who is sympathetic to their beliefs and aims even without a different faith. Ralph Waldo Emerson⁷⁴ and Theodore Parker were leaders of this period. Ralph was an American philosopher and

⁷³Potter, W: "*The Free Religious Association: Its Twenty-five Years and Their Meaning*", 1892, pages 8-9.

⁷⁴ Richardson, Robert D. Jr. (1995). *Emerson: The Mind on Fire*.

lecturer whose idealism was famous while Theodore was reforming minister of the Unitarian church in America. Theodore accepted Christianity as an absolute religion. (Richardson 1995:263)

American Unitarianism established later than Polish, Transylvanian, and English Unitarianism and it accepted influence from all of them.

1.12. History of Unitarianism in Wales

Revitalization of Bengal has quite coincided with the revitalization of Wales. Except for time both the revivals have almost the same connections with Unitarianism. Wales is part of Great Britain as a country.

General Baptists were strong in Wales and the south of England. Welsh's Church culture was different from other places as the house Churches were allowed. People held regular meetings at the house and gather in Churches monthly. These churches were unsupervised; thus, the general Baptists established a church for a free relationship with God rather than with doctrine. They consider the Bible as the sole authority and oppose infant baptism. Studying Bible made them realise that the idea of predestination of doctrine was non-biblical. (Greenwood 2011:41)

Welsh stayed connected to their past in the age of Napoleon wars even after being introduced to the Belsham and Lindsey's ideas. Each and every part of Welsh society played a role in the revitalization of their old culture. Welsh romantic poets presented their old culture in modern words. It was a different trend than the English poets but quite similar to the Bengali laureate. It was a restraint from oral practices of those times. (Greenwood 2011:42)

Among the South Welsh writers Edward Williams⁷⁵ created modern philosophy by linking Christianity and Arthurian legends. Arthurian legends are the influencers from the medieval stories that centered around king Arthur and other kings of that time. Edward presented the rituals from the native Welsh culture that survived Edward I's reign. He calls natives of that time as "People of Faith". He also claims about his songs and poems as rediscovered old texts. His work to discover the native Welsh culture has been hyped and influenced for decades but research proved most of his discoveries as counterfeits. Edward was very sensitive to the survival of Welsh language and Culture and he named his fear of losing them in principles of French revolutions. (Greenwood 2011:46) But the way of mythic past he took instead of going for a reason and freedom to preserve language and culture is hard to understand.

1.13. History of Unitarianism in Ireland

Ireland was the first procurement of the British Empire. After recognized as first procurement Ireland is also famous for the literature produced. The status of Ireland in the British Empire is part of debate since ancient times. However, historians focused to document the Irish history's imperialism, postcolonial approaches, and the migration's role in taking Irish culture to the British empire and north America. (Turpin 2007:242)

Thomas Emlyn's prosecution made the trinity controversial in Ireland. He was fined and imprisoned when a parishioner noticed in 1702 that Thomas Emlyn never mentioned trinity even after staying Presbyterian's minister at church in Dublin. Emlyn's imprisonment leads to

⁷⁵Elijah Waring, *Recollections and anecdotes of Edward Williams the bard of Glamorgan; or, Iolo Morganwg*. Charles Gilpin, 1850, pp. 4.

the establishment of Belfast society in 1705 for the northern Presbyterian ministers to discourse the nature of God⁷⁶.

Most of the members convinced of the Jesus' humanity that laid the foundations of General Synod of Ulster for the creation of Presbytery of Ireland's town Antrim in 1725. It was a favour for the individuals who deny Westminster Confession of Faith. Till 1719, toleration of dissent suspended in Ireland. In 1719 it was issued without a prerequiring subscription to doctrine⁷⁷.

The following year of toleration of dissent brought a rebellion movement against the subscription. This movement is recalled as the General Synod of Ulster. This movement was folded in 1725. The ones behind advocating non-subscription were led by John Abernethy, who was an Irish Presbyterian minister. The Presbytery of Antrim was eliminated from Jurisdiction but not from communion in 1726. However, the elimination did not succeed in eliminating the influence of this movement as it influenced the members of the synod for the next hundred years⁷⁸.

The other influencers were the Scottish Seceders of 1742. They were part of the group which established Presbyterian Church in Ireland. The reaction of both influences transformed the Antrim Presbytery into Arians. This theology also influenced the Southern Association named Synod of Munster in 1806. (Gordon 1895)

In 1783, ten of fourteen Presbytery members of Synod of Ulster announced an optional subscription. However, 1824's code linked the subscription or examination with the soundness

⁷⁶ Robert Wallace, *Antitrinitarian Biography*, 1850.

⁷⁷ G. Bonet Maury, *Early Sources of Eng. Unit. Christianity*, trans E.P. Hall, 1884.

⁷⁸ A. Gordon, *Heads of Eng. Unit. Hist.* (1895).

of faith. This event made Henry Cooke (1788-1868) utilize all his powers. 1806 was a year of union with a group of Scottish seceders from Munster (a German city). In 1824, the required subscription to the confession of faith from the ministers that led to seceding of seventeen congregations in Irish province Ulster. He was an Irish Presbyterian minister who opposed 1826's synod and defeated Henry Montgomery (1788-1865). Henry Montgomery was an Arian who succeeded in establishing Remonstrant Synod of Ulster in 1830.

Remonstrant Synod of Ulster merged with the Presbytery of Antrim after almost 40 years of its establishment in 1910. The coalesce formed the Non-Subscribing Presbyterian Church of Ireland that Maintained its identity even being part of the General Assembly of Unitarians and Free Christian Churches. Two theological chairs were maintained till 1889 in Belfast. These chairs supported the theological education of students, sending them to England and started biblical criticism. Abandoned Presbyterians left Ireland and established independent congregations in mid-Atlantic colonies. Presbyterian's first ministers can be called English Congregationalists. (Gordon 1895)

Irish Unitarianism's literature that played its role during the movement includes the Bible Christian, Irish Unitarian magazine, the Christian Unitarian, The Disciple, and the Non-subscribing Presbyterians. Among them, the Bible Christian was the first periodical established in 1832.

1.14. History of Unitarianism in Scotland

The promise of reaching larger markets of England tied notes between Scotland and England at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The link supported economic and political associations. Scotland's economy during the eighteenth century was based on the sale of cattle and linen to England. Treaty of Union was approved by the Scottish parliament with the voting

of 110 to 69. This was an economic union that included twenty-five articles of economic arrangements of the association named “Great Britain”⁷⁹.

This association replaced Scottish currency, taxation, and trade laws with the laws designed in London. However, Scottish laws and English laws maintained their identities like religion. In the case of Unitarianism, Eastern Scotland was heavily influenced by John Taylor’s work. John Taylor⁸⁰ (1723-1814), was an English preacher and theologian. His work appreciated in Scotland addressed original sin and atonement.

John Taylor's stamps were also visible on the national poet of Scotland Robert Burns. Robert inspired the founders of liberalism and socialism in his country through his work. Scottish literature was long under the influence of Robert’s works. History speaks of a much lesser trend of Unitarianism in Scotland than in other countries. The sole congregation was established at Edinburgh in 1776. This congregation was developed by the split of “fellowship societies” founded by James Fraser. James Fraser was a Scottish Presbyterian or covenanter.

Even the missionaries started by British Richard Wright (1764-1836) and George Harris (1794-1859) did not produce any durable results.

Thomas Southwood Smith⁸¹ was an English physician and sanitary reformer. He was behind the first Scottish Unitarian Association establishment. After the establishment of the association in 1813, the foundations of McQuaker's trust laid in 1889. One of the reasons identified in the weakness of Unitarianism in Scotland was a considerable presence of conservatives in the region.

⁷⁹ Scottish Executive Resources, *Scotland in Short*. Scottish Executive, 2007.

⁸⁰ Geoffrey Thackray Eddy (2003), *Dr Taylor of Norwich: Wesley's Arch-Heretic*.

⁸¹Porter, Dorothy, and Roy Porter, eds. *Doctors, politics and society: historical essays*. Vol. 23. Rodopi, 1993.

Anti-trinity can be found century before Unitarianism in Scotland. The presence of bible fundamentalists, Socinians, and Arians is also documented in history. Among the bible fundamentalists, J. S. Hyndman was a notable Unitarian. He published “*Lectures on the Principles of Unitarianism*⁸²” in 1824 that is still popular among biblical Unitarians. John Thomas was an English Christadelphian. He founded a Christadelphian movement that believes in the restoration of religion on the lines of primitive eras. The Scottish response to John Thomas’ call is an indication of a remarkable conservative non-trinitarian presence in the country. (Davison 1822:334)

Thomas’ work paved the way for the first congregation as he focused on teaching Socinianism and Adventism through 1848-1849. This congregation can be called Scottish⁸³. Christadelphians preached their millennialist view according to which radical changes occur after major transformative events. Thus, Scotland had a minimum Unitarian footprint that bears signs of Christadelphians, biblical anti-trinitarian, and conservatives. Present age’s Scottish Unitarian Churches include Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Dundee, and Glasgow churches.

1.15. Unitarianism in Spain

Michael Servetus was the first European martyr for his Unitarian faith. Michael was a Spanish that depicts early signs of Unitarianism in Spain. However, the early presence does not mean early flourishing of Unitarianism in the country as the elements including Spanish Inquisition and influence of the Roman Catholic Church on Spanish society and state were oppressive towards Unitarianism. These elements restricted the development of the Unitarian church in Spain for centuries.

⁸²W. Davison Alnwick – “*A descriptive and historical view of Alnwick*”. 1822., p334.

⁸³ For a full description of this denomination, see Andrew Wilson, *History of the Christadelphians*, 1864-1885: the emergence of a denomination 1997.

A positive change observed by the conversion of Jose Maria Blanco-White to Unitarianism during his stay in England as a refugee in the nineteenth century. He was a Spanish writer and priest. At the end of the nineteenth century, Spanish intellect and reformers established a group named Krausistas⁸⁴ which aimed to preserve the initial rationalism of religion. This group was inspired by American Unitarian W. E. Channing and Theodore Parker. However, this movement was not strong enough to laid the foundations of the Unitarian church in the country.

It took centuries for the development of religious liberty in Spain. It was the story of the twentieth century after the approval of 1978's Spanish constitution. The most influential personality in the history of not only Spanish Unitarianism but also in European Unitarianism was of Michael Servetus the first European martyr for Unitarianism faith. Except for his faith, Michael has a remarkable presence in theology, Physics, Cartography, and humanism. His fields of expertise in science include mathematics, medicine, astronomy, geography, pharmacology, human anatomy, and jurisprudence. He was the first individual to elaborate on the pulmonary circulation correctly⁸⁵.

Michael's way to Unitarianism paved because of the study of the Bible in its original languages. His support for the Protestant reformation and rejection of the doctrine of trinity made him condemned by French Catholics after which he migrated to Geneva which was Calvinist at that time. Even his migration did not save him from burning which was ordered by the Geneva's governing council⁸⁶.

⁸⁴ They received this name for being followers of German idealist philosopher Karl Krause. (Paul 2003:21-23)

⁸⁵ As discussed in *Christianismi Retitutio*, a book written by Michael Servetus and published in 1553.

⁸⁶ In his first two books (*De trinitatis erroribus*, and *Dialogues on the Trinity* plus the supplementary *De Iustitia Regni Christi*) Servetus rejected the classical conception of the Trinity, stating that it is non-biblical.

According to Michael trinity is a more Greek concept rather than a biblical concept. He was in favour of the preservation of the initial simplicity of Gospels and he also predicted the establishment of Nicene Trinitarianism. The preservation of initial teachings would be more related to the Islamic and Judaism concepts. Michael considered Christ as the son of eternal god rather than the eternal son of God⁸⁷.

Michael mentioned the Logos as the reflection of Christ in his publication "*Treatise Concerning the Divine Trinity*⁸⁸". (Servetus 1553:75) Earl Morse Wilbur, a Unitarian scholar's point of view about the "Servetus' Errors of the Trinity" considers the nature of manuscript more earnestness rather than heretical. In light of Servetus' faith that father, son, and Holy Spirit are not distinct beings made Wilbur call him Modalist. (Lawrence 2002:71-71)

In his publication "Restoration of Christianity" stated his opinions as "There is nothing greater, reader, than to recognize that God has been manifested as substance and that His divine nature has been truly communicated. We shall clearly apprehend the manifestation of God through the Word and his communication through the Spirit, both of them substantially in Christ alone". (Servetus, 1553: 119).

Despite the comparison of Servetus' theology to Arianism, Sabellianism, and Adoptionism he rejected all of them. Servetus faced equal critique from both the Catholics and protestants⁸⁹. Servetus' opinions about himself were quite ambiguous. He considers himself Michael who is mentioned to fight the antichrist in Daniel and Revelation. Under this conception, he met Calvin in Geneva. (Gordon 2009:219) Servetus was charged for his anti-

⁸⁷ 'De trinitatis erroribus', Book 7.

⁸⁸ "That reflection of Christ was 'the Word with God' that consisted of God Himself, shining brightly in heaven, "and it was God Himself". (Servetus 1553:75)

⁸⁹ *Restitución del cristianismo*". A very ancient work (1553) by Michael Servetus that took over ten years to be translated in English and now is available from Mellen Press (Edinburgh and New York) as of 2007

trinitarian and anti-infant baptism views and he was burnt alive at Plateau. His last words were “Jesus, son of eternal God, have mercy on me”⁹⁰.

1.16. An Effort to Search for the Links between Unitarianism of European Countries

Unitarianism affected the religion of most countries to some extent or more but the countries where it established are Transylvania, England, America, and Poland. Unitarianism in these four countries can be traced back to a common ancestry because of similarities in point of view, doctrine, and spirit. However, the movement arose natively and got influenced by neighbors after establishing an independent status.

The Socinian movement originated from Protestantism in Poland with the contribution of some eliminated Italic dissenters. They contributed their thoughts and a little was added by the Anabaptists of Moravia as they served as early leaders of the movement. Similarly, the Transylvanian Unitarianism originated at the same time as Polish Unitarianism origination. It was rooted in the native Calvinist church and lead by Francis David. Transylvanian Unitarianism well-established with a history of almost forty years before accepting the effects of Polish Socinianism.

The English Unitarianism also arose locally without importing Socinianism ideas from Poland or any other country. The ancestors of English Unitarianism faced persecution for unorthodoxy almost ninety years before the Socinianism declared a dissent in the country.

Even the “Father of Unitarianism” John Beedle is not known to be influenced by any Socinian literature before presenting his concerns related to the doctrine of Trinity. However, Socinian literature influenced John’s followers to the extent that the Catholics called them

⁹⁰ *"Out of the Flames"* by Lawrence and Nancy Goldstone, 2007.

Socinians. Thus, the seeds of English Unitarianism are predicted to be present before the Protestant Reformation.

Three individuals of English history seem to have some Unitarian faith. One of them was Adam Duff O'Toole of 1327 who burned alive in Dublin to deny the doctrine of the trinity. For Adam the "Holinshed's Chronicles" state:

"A gentleman of the families of the O'Toolies in Leinster, named Adam Duffe, possessed by some wicked spirit of error, denied obstinately the incarnation of our Saviour, the trinitie of persons in the vnitie of the Godhead, and the resurrection of the flesh; as for the holie Scripture, he said it was but a fable: the Virgin Marie he affirmed to be a woman of dissolute life, and the apostolike see erroneous. For such assertions, he was burnt in Hogging greene, beside Dublin". (Holinshed, 1577:58)

The second one was William Sawtrey⁹¹ who was burned in 1401 at Smithfield. While Reginald Pecock was the third to be punished for religious reasons. He was a Bishop at St. Asaph and was called "Father of English Rationalism" by Bonet Maury⁹². Reginald's mistake was prioritizing scriptures over ecclesiastical in his writings. He was forced to leave resign from his job in 1858.

All these events are good to consider to depict the signs of Unitarianism but they also depict no signs of a connection between them. Thus, we can say it was the development of Unitarian faith in individual minds. Besides these early instances, John Wyclif's translation of the Bible offered laymen to read and judge by themselves. This freedom of self-judgment made

⁹¹ William Sawtrey was a priest and the first English to be burned because of his religion. "Sawtrey, William". Dictionary of National Biography. London: Smith, Elder & Co. 1885–1900. Vol. 50 p. 381.

⁹² Bonet Maury was a French protestant historian known for his work "*Histoire de la liberte de conscience en France, depuis l'Édit de Nantes jusqu'à Juillet, 1870*" and many others.

Lollards to stray from traditional beliefs. Lollardism was a pre-protestant movement that started in the mid-14th century. (Robert, 2006:192)

Lollardism and anti-trinitarianism accepted each other's effects to the extent that William Sawtre once called Lollard. However, William was more anti-trinitarian than Lollard as he was the one to lay foundations of Unitarianism and promoting freedom of faith. To this point, the translation of the Bible was the most significant factor to contribute to seeding Unitarian faith.

The oppression continued until the establishment of English Reformation⁹³ in 1534 by Henry VIII. The right of heretics' execution transferred to the king from churches. This law made England a place for religious refuge. Anabaptists populated eastern counties and Kent in England because of religious freedom. England welcomed them because of their skills but kept an eye on their religious activities. These Anabaptists were different in their faiths as one group only object to infant baptizing while the other group considers the bible only. The second group was considered to cause religious dissent thus Bishops and others appointed to made them face court. They were found and abjured for their anti-trinitarian faith. At that time Arian and Anabaptists consider the same.

An event of punishing individuals who denied Christ's humanity is documented in Smithfield and other towns during the same year. Despite oppression Arianism openly declared in Essex and Kent.

⁹³ According to "*A Dictionary of Political Thoughts*": "The Reformation must not be confused with the changes introduced into the Church of England during the 'Reformation Parliament' of 1529–36, which were of a political rather than a religious nature, designed to unite the secular and religious sources of authority within a single sovereign power: the Anglican Church did not until later make any substantial change in doctrine". (Scruton, 1996: 470)

Going forward to fortify the English reformations and to establish university scholars from Protestant centers invited to England. One of those scholars was Laelius Socinus who was an antitrinitarian. Thus, individuals from religiously strict countries populated England to the extent that there were 3000 protestant refugees in London⁹⁴. They were from several countries including Spain, France, and Italy. (Duke, 1520-1530: 375-382)

The refugees were missing a place to gather and worship thus king allotted the church of Austrin Friars to them in 1550. They were allowed to worship here under the supervision of their own Bishop however Bishop of London can occasionally visit the church. The first superintendent was a Polish named John a Lasco. (Bonet Maury, 1884:60-66). Thus, the Polish contribution to English Unitarianism is remarkable despite the fact that the movement originated locally.

This church welcomed the expression of diverse views thus is an initial contributor to the development of Unitarianism in England. The rapid spread of Arianism alarmed the churches and Thomas Cranmer⁹⁵ who was a leader of English Reformation started digging out the origin of movement and the ways to stop it.

As a result, a commission of six Bishops and others appointed to search Anabaptists or heretics. Several were discovered and one of them with more Unitarian views burned at Smithfield in 1551. He was Dr. George van Parris who migrated to London from Mainz. He was punished to believe that Christ is not God. He stayed on his beliefs rather than abjuring. (*Christian Reformer*, 1818:329)

After Edward VI's reign, Queen Mary made the Church of strangers close and the members scatter in different regions of the continent. Thus, the scattered members took their

⁹⁴ John S. Burn, *History of the French, Wallon, Dutch, and other Protestant Refugees Settled in England* (London, 1846).

⁹⁵ See Matthew, *The Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, 2004: p.340.

faiths to different regions and returned in 1560 when Queen Elizabeth re-allotted church to them. Mary's reign was a prosecution era for protestants. They were punished and burned that lead many of them to flee to Germany or Switzerland countries with protestant centers. People who left include scholars, preachers, doctors, and members of the high clergy. This movement linked the Unitarianism of these countries. The writings of persons from that time depict the signs of Unitarianism faith. (Neal, 1945:74-88)

The oppression also followed the antitrinitarians to the continent. The oppression ended with Queen Elizabeth's holding throne after the death of Queen Mary in 1558. The church of England became protestant when she started her rule. She was in favour of reformations and wanted to establish a national church acceptable to all sects. The doctrine of a national church was a compromise between the ceremonial traditions of Protestants and Catholics. The national church thus was an effort to preserve the unity of the kingdom.

However, the reforms she altered were not acceptable by the reforming parties. The return of refugees from the continent was the start of a split even after staying attached to the reformations. Individuals from the Frankfurt congregation was intended more towards the conservative faith as they have during Edward's time while the individuals from Geneva were under Calvin's influence and favour radical faith. Calvin established Christian practices that lead to Calvinism. Calvin's followers were the seeds of later originating Puritan movement.

The reestablishment of the Church of Strangers was different as it was under the supervision of Bishop of London. France, Dutch, Italy, and Spain congregations gathered for protestant refugees. Elizabeth also eradicated the laws of heretics' burning. However, after a year she started an investigation to find heresies and after founding a lot of she ordered the Anabaptists to leave England. The reason behind that was Anabaptists denied worship in national church or stranger's church that was against the Act of Uniformity. The petition for

toleration was forwarded through a dutch minister Adrian Hamsted to Bishop who perceive it as a request and refused to grant.

He also called Adrian and asked him to deny Anabaptist errors that Adrian refused. Adrian was punished by suspending him from his church. Jacobus Acontius an Italian member of the church supported Adrian and excommunicated the same year. He was the author of several manuscripts including the *Satanae Stratagemata* of 1565 which was published for more than a century in Latin, French, English, and Dutch languages.

Acontius dedicated this work to Queen and emphasized religious toleration by supplementing Castellio's work. Acontius converted from Catholicism thus among reformed churches highlighted the controversies and sects. He emphasized on bypassing most non-essential points of dispute to move on. He also wished and appealed to all the sect unite under Christian faiths mentioned in scriptures only. Acceptance of any doctrine was also not necessary according to him. The idea of religious tolerance appealed to many broad-minded Christians.

Thus, the Dutch translation became popular in the Arminians of Holland. It also attracted Germans, adopted by Latitudinarian in the church of England, and implemented by Milton in *Areopagitica*. Latitudinarian do not prefer any creed or worship form to show latitude in religion. However, this publication opposed heavily by the conservatives for ignoring the Trinity, the divinity of Christ, the Lord's supper, and other controversial doctrines. The probable subscription to such a doctrine by Socinian and Arians was another reason for opposition.

The English translation of this work in 11648 by Rev. John Goodwin which made the parliament to pass a law against heresies. However, in terms of forms of doctrine Acontius' work had no contribution in Unitarianism but in terms of religious tolerance, it is among the earliest influencing proclaimers.

The measures against the anabaptists including the burning of heretics, imprisonment, and other punishment did not seize their growth. Their growth made the revival of Act De Haeretico Comburendo in 1575. This act restarted the imprisonments and burning of heretics. The appeals to the queen to stop the burnings did nothing as she said that it will be a dishonor to God if she punishes the traitors of state and forgives the traitors of God.

The imprisonments and burnings depict the occurrence of the wish of having scriptural doctrines instead of traditional doctrines among the Bible-reading Christians. The heresies developed until the end of Elizabeth's reign. James-I succeeded her. He was a Calvinist and much more concerned about religion. He kept the law of burning heretics and also burned the literature including the Vorst's Treatise on God and His Attributes, Racovian Catechism, and many others. With time James started to jail the heretics quietly and contented with the burning of books. The reason behind quietly punishing the heretics was the gravity people feel in-case killing in public.

On summoning the Synod of Dort by the Reformed Church of Holland to cope with the spreading Arminianism James sent representatives to oppress the growing liberalism there. He also influenced the Dutch church by using his powers to stop the appointment of Vorst at Leiden's chair.

When the king was busy in oppressing movement in other countries the Church of England was facing inner issues. Those issues were not because of the irruptions of heresies but because of the struggle between episcopal and puritan parties for the control of the church. Puritans do not want roman Catholic effects on the Church of England and always emphasize purifying the doctrine. While the episcopal teachings managed around the life and resurrection of Christ. The competition for control permanently divided the churchmen and dissenters. After the split, the freedom of religion slowed down both in church and the dissents.

James transformed from Calvinism to liberal Arminianism. He stopped executions on heresies after learning that the heresies cannot be exterminated and the anabaptists are becoming more enigmatic in their conferences. He also left the heresies outside the church to their fate and emphasized on the constitution of the church. The episcopal element was controlling the church at that time and James was thinking whether it should or should not? The other element was the puritan that demands full reformation and has a tendency to made the church Presbyterian.

However, the question stayed in place during most of the seventeenth century. After a generation of James' death, the antitrinitarians were not much evident. However, the elements were busy underneath. The Socinians worked from the Rakow press to publish in Latin. The manuscripts were in high demand by the interrogative minds. The English translations of the works of Socinus and other antitrinitarians were published secretly by the Collegiants or Remonstrants. The work published in Holland and spread in England. The collegians were Holland's Anabaptists and Arminians and named so because of conferencing in colleges.

During the same era, a Polish scholar visited England and discussed controversial points with scholars and even a Bishop. He impressed by mannerly discussing the controversies and established links with several English scholars.

For the effect of Transylvanian Unitarianism on English Unitarianism remember the students Transylvania sending to universities of different countries for higher education. One such student at the University of Cambridge Adam Franck identified to convert students to his religion in 1639. It does not mean that all those students did converts but they left the marks of their faith where they studied and lived. Unitarianism and Socinianism were spreading quietly thus no significant action took against them.

At the University of Oxford in the middle of that time, like-minded individuals founded the Latitudinarian movement. The three founders are Lucius Cary, John Hales of Eton, and the William Chillingworth. All of them were adhered to the episcopal party and want an inclusive church. A church that welcomes all opinions in Christianity and that require to confess as few doctrines as possible. They were believed to be apostles of tolerance and they reprinted the Acontius' Stratagems at Oxford in 1631.

Lucius Cary is also called Lord Falkland. He was a born Calvinist who studied under liberal teachers in Dublin university and devoted his time to study philosophy and theology along with his friends. He entered parliament as head of the liberal party and play his roles in discussions related to policies of church and state. He emphasised freedom of reason, religious faith, and tolerance in his speeches. He introduced to the writings of Socinus by his minister Dr. Hugh Cressy of Oxford who was considered the first to bring Socinus writings in England.

Lord Falkland got so impressed by these writings that he called as first English Socinian. His parliament's role and writings on episcopacy, and infallibility made him one of the remarkable effects on the liberal church.

The other influencer was Falkland's friend John Hales. He studied at Oxford and became a fellow at Eton college. He attended the Synod of Dort as minister to English Ambassador and left the Calvinism because of disgraceful treatment by Remonstrants there. He wrote against the intolerance. His famous writings include the Tract concerning Schism and Schismatics and the On Private Judgment in Religion.

These writings and his opinions led to be charged on Socinianism that at that time referred to tolerance not to doctrine. He was expelled from college fellowship and he lives in poverty for the rest of his life. However, as a scholar, his works influenced the church and people to the extent that paved the way for Socinianism and Unitarianism.

The third of these friends was William Chillingworth⁹⁶ (1602-1644), a student and debater at Oxford. He in search of religious faith for himself embraced Roman Catholicism and joined Jesuit at Douai. After disappointing, he joined Oxford again and later the Church of England. He observed the struggle between the Jesuit father and an oxford divine for the authority. After this controversy, he wrote *The Religion of Protestants* that is the most precious writing in the history of Protestantism.

He investigated the fundamental grounds of the religion straightforwardly and earnestly in his writings. The critiques said that the work is inspired by the infallible church. His response stated that only the bible is the religion of protestants. He considered open-mindedness and scriptures most important and the truths crucial for redemption to be sought for. He considered all other doctrines insignificant. Therefore, they should be tolerated and freedom of reason should be provided according to William.

William opposed the Athanasian and also did not subscribe to the church doctrines. Athanasian believe in Trinity and Christology. During the Civil War, he was a prisoner from the royalist side and during Dr. Francis Cheynell a controversialist tried to convert him till his death. William Chillingworth was not a Unitarian, but his opinions spread in church and contributed to creating a favourable environment for Unitarianism.

Thus, English Unitarianism was a hidden element of thought. It initially originated from the minds of thoughtful people who were separated in time and space. The influence of Transylvanian, Polish, and other protestant refugees are depicted through historical events. The Unitarianism of other regions also accepted the influence in the same way.

⁹⁶ Britannica, Inc Encyclopedia. Encyclopedia Britannica. *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Incorporated, 1957.

John Biddle translated the works of Samuel Przykowski, who was a Polish Socinian. He also translated the Racovian Catechism which was an antitrinitarian document from the sixteenth century. It was published by Polish Brethren. John Biddle also translated another Polish author Joachim Stegmann. Thus, the Polish element in English Unitarianism cannot be ignored⁹⁷.

The migration of Joseph Priestley to America was a remarkable contribution to the American Unitarianism. He was a friend to James Madison, and Thomas Jefferson both of whom served as American president later. They were known to attend the Philadelphia congregations of Priestley. Priestley was aware of Polish Unitarianism development and mentioned the works of Socinus and Szymon Budny. Socinus was the founder of Socinianism and Szymon was the translator of the bible. (Snobelen 1999:381-419) Thus, the Polish Unitarianism influenced Priestley, and Priestley's connections influenced the American Unitarianism.

1.17. Conclusion

Unitarianism's oldest signs were found in Poland; however, the most pronounced development and detailed history was about the Transylvanian and Hungary Unitarianism. Polish Unitarians faced initial oppression that made them migrate to England. This country was supportive of different religious beliefs; thus, Polish Unitarians, that were first called Moravians, settled and flourished there. Beside migrants' Polish students also influenced the English institutes.

However, English Unitarianism was not a total result of foreign influence. It developed in native thoughtful minds and managed to maintain its individual identity. With the

⁹⁷ Snobelen, Stephen D. "Isaac Newton, heretic: the strategies of a Nicodemite." *The British journal for the history of science* 32.4 (1999): 381-419.

development of early forms of Unitarianism in England, the religious climate became stifled and the English Unitarians along with their foreign brothers faced oppression. The oppression episodes were comprised of burning the heretics, closure, of churches, abandoning heretics from holding public offices, and everything crucial to abandon them their faith.

The difficult religious times in England pushed them to flee to America. Among the migrants were notable Unitarian scholars of England. The intellects developed connections in America. The publication and distribution of their literature paved the way for religious tolerance and eventually for Unitarianism in America. Later, the contacts developed between the American, English, Polish, Hungarian, Transylvanian, German, and Holland Unitarians.

They contacted each other to get financial support mainly. The other type of support was the exchange of students. It cannot be called exchange because only one party sent students. Transylvania and Poland sent their students to England, America, Holland, and Germany for higher studies. Thus, the main elements for spreading influence include the migration and student exchange.

The spread of influence is stated rather than the spread of Unitarianism because there is sufficient proof available to support the claim of the development of Unitarianism individually in different countries. The individual thoughts lead to the establishment of different forms of faith that emerged with time to be called Unitarianism or split to form other faiths.

Thus, as final words, it is safe to say that Unitarianism originated mainly from thoughtful mindsets and was influenced by the development of links between countries with Unitarianism presence.

CHAPTER TWO

CHAPTER TWO

The Beginnings of Unitarianism in the United States of America

2.1. Introduction

Individualism was a gift of Renaissance⁹⁸ that led the foundations of American Unitarianism. Individualism was revealed during the English Church reformations of the seventeenth century, yet it was not a new thought. The signs of Unitarianism can be traced back even to Socrates' philosophy, but individualism moved to the mass or public after centuries of Socrates in the seventeenth century for America. (Lafargue 1908: 19) The following are the channels that promoted the Unitarianism in America.

The development pathway of Unitarianism in America was almost the same as the pathway of Unitarianism development in England. The stages it went through included Arminianism, Arianism, Rationalism, and Modernism. The pieces of evidence about the presence of Arminianism in New England guides us towards the early eighteenth century. The growth was enhanced as a reaction to the Great Awakening. Individual instances of Arianism were present before the War of Independence along with the French influence on deism, but there was no support of religious bodies at that time.

Until the middle of the eighteenth century, Unitarianism was observable in New England as there were Unitarian preachers and the liberal ideas of Harvard college. The Unitarian pastors of that time preached the strict unity of God, the subordinate nature of the Christ, and salvation to their individual extent. Among the initial Unitarian preachers were

⁹⁸ Renaissance comprised of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in European history and known for modernity development in arts, culture, politics, and economy of region. (Monfasani 2016)

Jonathan Mayhew, Charles Chauncy, Ebenezer Gay, Samuel West. Thomas Barnard, John Prince, William Bentley, and Aaron Bancroft.

The first church to accept the Unitarian faith was the King's Chapel which was settled in 1782 and started by revising the prayer book according to the Unitarian liturgy in 1785. The presence of a Unitarian in Boston, Charleston, Hallowell, Cape cod, and Pittsburg is documented in the work of Rev. William Hazlitt who visited the United States during 1783-1785. Thomas Oxnard organized Unitarian congregations in Portland and Saco in 1792. The congregation of pilgrims founded in 1620 also accepted more liberal faith. The writings of Joseph Priestly also influenced New England as he migrated to New England in 1794 and established a Unitarian church in Northumberland, Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania in 1796.

The period of 1725 to 1825 was the beginning of Unitarianism in New England and to some extent in other areas. The first remarkable development was the ordination of Henry Ware as a professor of divinity at Harvard College in 1805. John Sherman and Noah Worcester published their Unitarian books in the same year. The development can be characterized by the fact that at the beginning of the nineteenth century all churches of Boston except one were held by Unitarian preachers. New churches were also established in New York City, Washington, Baltimore, Charleston, and other cities during this period. The publication of journals and books and the establishment of organizations to give expression to Unitarianism are also remarkable milestones achieved at the end of the eighteenth century.

The following words will introduce you to the history of the beginning of Unitarianism in the United States of America. It will include the difference of theological opinion between the Unitarianism and other congregational bodies. The religious phases that developed a liberal mindset and the theologies that paved the way for the development of Unitarianism will also be dealt with.

2.2. The Contribution of Renaissance in the Development of the American Unitarianism

The next step of the Renaissance was the promotion of a vital concept called worth of individual mind. The old concept renewed with full potential as it was the first successful attempt to make the public aware of the importance of individual personality. Thus, Renaissance certified the individual's rights and developed the concept of self-awareness and responsibility. It also made people think that they can search for the truth and God by themselves. An individual's intuition, being of high worth, is capable of helping him find his way; that was the concept of Renaissance.

This Rebirth established a suitable environment for the Reformation⁹⁹ that accepted individualism more freely. The concept of religious bond with the Church only was the point reformation stood against as the reformers believe in the link of truth with an individual's search for it. According to reformers, personality is behind an individual's struggles. The reformation was considered a triumph of individualism and the Gospel's teachings, the origin of The Church, and the socialistic capabilities of ancestors used to prove that the adherents of socialism were and are among the Catholic authors. (Nitti 1895:74-86) It was the dedication of Protestant leaders to the reformation that help empower lives in terms of creativity and self-search of truth. Besides the dedication of leaders, there are several factors that help establish Protestantism including the emphasis on individual capability of thinking, individual right to live freely, free inquiry of all subjects, and breaching the religious, literature, and cultural traditions. However, Protestantism maintained the institutional structure that made it stay back from transferring individualism in its full meaning.

⁹⁹ Reformation was the 16th century's movement that challenged the Catholic the Church. (Armstrong 2002: 55)

The frequent autocracy of the Protestant Church was similar to the Catholic Church that made people and groups left them. The individualistic protestants adopt were theoretical lacking practical aspects. However, they were the first ones to consider individualism even if to its least. This early partial successful individualism acceptance proved the importance of individualism as major social power that has potential. The Protestant's concern was the individual's wellbeing.

2.3. Reformation and its Influence on the Development of American Unitarianism

Protestantism implied reason for religious investigation, but the execution plan was weak in its place. The religious investigation was brought about by the use of reason in testing all the doctrines and even the Bible. The religious investigation leads to criticism and reinterpretation of religious scriptures. Luther's doctrine of justification by faith depicts individualism as the main element of reformation.

The same document also depicts the confidence of the author on the authenticity of an individual's insights to reach the religious truth. The movement promoted the self-reading and interpretation of the Bible according to an individual's needs. The idea was conceived and the self-interpretation of the Bible paved the way to the truth that led to the unpredictable growth of apostles. Thus, individualism diversified the opinions and established small sects of believers. Groups of people followed the same leaders and the same interpretation of religious scriptures , for they were the points of agreement between those small groups. (Lewalski 2008:134)

The Protestant Church left the faith to individual and implemented the law of individual fidelity to God. The Catholics and the Protestants are not only different in socialism¹⁰⁰ and

¹⁰⁰ Socialism is used here in meaning of Roman the Church's understanding of Revelation as they consider it a representative of Christ. While Protestants believe that revelation is through an individual and not by the Church.

individualism but also perceive and teach the intuition differently. The priority of beliefs and rituals is different for both religious schools. (Gierke 1913: 22). In Gierke's publication "*Political Theories of Middle Ages*", the concept of Christianity of Middle Ages is depicted as a universal community governed by God with an organism conception of mankind. (Gierke 1913: 10)

The Protestants prioritise the belief over ritual, faith over religious services, and internal intuition over external factors. They emphasised on the importance of liberty of individual thought and right to pray as he/she wishes. These efforts were key to raise the status of individuals from social animals. An individual should search for truth rather than attaining it from an institute like the Church.

The incapability of Protestantism to implement the individualism practically was an issue, but the concept inspired and established other movements including the Rationalism. Rationalism¹⁰¹ can be traced back to the period of Commonwealth in England. The active minds of that time supported the use of reason in theology. According to the intellect, the Bible should be interpreted freely as the use of doctrines will have compromises.

As a theologian, Chillingworth supported the individual's right to interpret the Bible according to his/her institution. (Tulloch 1872:339) The intellects with no evident rationalism attachment also acknowledged the importance of free spirit. They were interested in validating the Bible even after being slow in abandoning traditions. A thorough investigation was the key to the acceptance of any authority religious or cultural. Rationalism elements and strategy were not clear in the beginning but the importance of the use of reason established rationalism as an accepted concept.

¹⁰¹ Rationalism is the use of reason or logic as source of testing truth and knowledge. It was the most debatable topic of England in nineteenth century. (Bennet 2018:63)

To such men as Milton¹⁰², Jeremy Taylor¹⁰³, and Locke¹⁰⁴ the free spirit was essential, even though they had not become rationalists in the modern philosophical sense.

2.4. Toleration and the Development of Unitarianism

Toleration was advocated by both the minors and major religious leaders during the seventeenth century. The modern concept of toleration can be traced back to Holland's Anabaptists. They freed the religion from state regulations in their Confession of Faith by including the following declaration: "the interference of magistrate in the religion and personal moral sense is not allowed. He cannot compel anyone for changing religious intentions because the authority and lawgiver of the Church and moral sense are Christ". (Masson 1896:99)

The advocacy of toleration started in England with the arrival of Baptists in the country. Leonard Busher, a Baptist and laborer wrote to the King and parliament in 1614 addressing his belief and the country's policy as follows: "by fire and sword to constrain princes and peoples to receive that one true religion of the Gospel is wholly against the mind and merciful law of Christ." (Masson 1896:102) He also added that the king or bishop has no right to knock faith as it is immoral for Christians to terminate each other for the differences in faith. Baptists the Church was recently recognized there.

On the other hand, established churches of Protestants retained religious institutions like the previous ones. Not only did they reject the authority of Roman the Church but also accepted the state regulations. Originally Individualism was a Protestant's idea and this partial denial and acceptance made the implementation of the individualism difficult by any other the Church.

¹⁰² He was a poet and intellect who also served Commonwealth of England. (Lewalski 2008)

¹⁰³ Taylor was a cleric in The Church of England. He is also known as "Shakespeare of Divines". (Gosse 1904)

¹⁰⁴ John Lock was an English philosopher also known as "Father of Liberalism". (Hirschmann 2009: 79)

Thus, oppressed Baptists and independents take charge of weakening the state's influence on religion and of implementing the individualism to its fullest. They worked for causes that Protestants introduced including the freedom of conscience, the worship maintenance, and the Church and state separation.

The Restoration and the era of William and Mary made the unity of sects more difficult. Besides religious fundamentalists, almost everyone sensed the need to compromise, which made the inclusion of everyone in the national Church possible. However, after the establishment of the national Church several dissenters were forced to stay out of it. It took generations for dissenters to get recognised and the limitations removed to establish toleration. Toleration between different religious entities was established when people understood the importance of it in staying united.

2.5. Contribution of Arminianism in the Development of the American Unitarianism

The factors that developed toleration led to further development including a reinterpretation of The Church and public relationship, free inquiry of doctrines, and rational explanation of religion in life. Arminianism was the real implication of these factors. It introduced individualism in the relationship between an individual and God. On the other hand, according to Calvinism man cannot be freed from Divine Will thus wholeness of individualism is unachievable. Arminianism originated in Holland where it was depicted through a declaration that considered man free to select religion. The same declaration considered the will individualistic and conscience free from it. The founder of Arminianism and his followers accepted the basic truths of protest and movement, including the submission of religion to the national spirit, and the application of critical spirit on the dogma and Bible. Arminius confirmed the human spirit as free to search for God and truth.

After the firm establishment and acceptance of Protestantism by the English Nation, the Arminianism also started wide-spreading in the region. It was perceived as a non-Doctrinal and turn non-religious mentality of freedom and tolerance. In short, Armenians developed as a method of religious inquiry that employs nature, reason, and human needs altogether. It is safe to say that Arminianism originated in reaction to Calvinism which was most strict and lack intellectual study of religion. According to the concepts of Armenians, human feelings can be expressed in relation to God and the god is as merciful and as sympathetic as individual who is connecting with him.

Like Calvinism, Arminianism accepted Bible, but they employed a more critical approach for its study including historical and literary standards. In other words, it was the use of reason for Bible interpretation. The interpretation of the Bible was aimed to implement practically by eliminating the severity. While the aim of allowing self-interpretation of the Bible and religious scriptures was to develop a personal sense of spirituality thus, they ought to introduce the Bible as a spiritual development tool. As a result, Arminianism established believers as of principle worth rather than considering the multiple articles of Faith as requisite in the religion. The result of all these efforts has enhanced the growth of toleration in the region. The next step of toleration was latitudinarianism that aimed to establish a single Church for the whole Nation.

In the present era, Arminianism is lesser found or almost extinct theology; however, in the beginning Calvinists were the most influenced ones from this theology. During the first half of the eighteenth century, the actions of Calvinism were classified as Arminianism. However, the Calvinists disapproved of this name. This name then meant the practice of toleration, implement of reason, democracy in the Church and state, and personal independence. The perception varied as the rivals classified the unpopular things as Arminianism too. The situation

of that time is hard to understand however; the legit meanings of Arminianism cleared with time, which is similar to liberalism.

This theology was different from the other ones as not only did it deny the doctrine of decrees, the autocratic sovereignty of God but it primarily put the trust on man and emphasised liberty and equality more than anything. It was not professed theologically but the growth was in practical dimensions. The eighteenth century's Arminianism was an expression of democratic spirit and Calvinism was of the autocratic spirit. The doctrine of Sovereignty of God and the Kingship was intellectually related as kingship say that the king can do no sin. The spiritual reflection of the divine right of a king according to Calvinism is the doctrine of decrees. The people's claim of their right to rule thus perceived as Arminian theology. Thus, a gradual change happened that transformed the king's rule to human depravity and the establishment of democracy to men's moral capacity.

2.6. The Development of Arminianism

Until 1730 Arminianism gained enough strength to be freed from condemnation and to spread awareness about the rigid Calvinism. 1734 is considered the time of Vogue of Arminianism in the country. (Juster 1989) Solomon Stoddard's grandson and Jonathan Edward's cousin was the Northampton's opposition leader. He was an Arminian with a broad knowledge of theology. A 1750's letter of Edward's shows his concerns about the spread of Arminianism as he wrote:" "There seems to be the utmost danger that the younger generation will be carried away with Arminianism as with a flood."

He mentioned the strange progress of Arminianism and Pelagianism in his other writing of the same year¹⁰⁵. In his last sermon, he spread the light over the growth of Arminianism since

¹⁰⁵ Pelagius was a preacher of fifth century who is known for the denial of original sin.

he settled Northampton to the next years. According to him Arminianism's soft-shoe progress, in the beginning, made it flourish in all parts of the country. (Dwight 1830: 649) Edward admired that John Taylor's work is getting many converts in a 1752's letter. Taylor was an early English Unitarian and Solomon Edward used his work to write the prerequisites of communion to Edwards. (Dwight 1830: 495)

The growth of Arminianism made Edward accept his work on free will. In the preface, he wrote: "the term Calvinistic is, in these days, among most, a term of greater reproach than the term Arminian." There is a probability of exaggeration in describing the apostasy from Calvinism by Edward. He has dismissed that show the liberal practices of Northampton the Church. Stoddard's preaching was absorbed and retained for long and Edward's opposition to his teachings failed his work.

2.7. Robert Breck (1713-1784): An Arminian and his Contribution to the Development of the American Unitarianism

Edward was dismissed by the majority of one vote in council and that one vote was cast by Robert Breck of Springfield. Edward and Breck had a history of bad relationships as Edward used his influence to cancel the settlement of Breck because of his Arminian belief. The root of their relationship can be traced back to 1734's Springfield the Church issue in which many of Massachusetts and Connecticut ministers got involved. The issue resolved on charging Breck by the Massachusetts authority. (Green 1888) The charges were of denial of some parts of the Bible, denial of the importance of Christ's satisfaction for Divine justice. They also claimed that Breck believes that the ones who live to the light of nature are among saved ones. He denied that he holds these beliefs but it did nothing to his perception of an Arminian and heretic. He was known for him that he consults books from any sect to clear a subject and he departs from the general faith of the time. The second one has no proof and he called "Modern Calvinist".

Breck was not in favour of Whitfield's methods and his introduced revival. After joining the Springfield, the Church, he followed the footsteps of Boston the Church in nullifying the prerequisite of religious experience to join the Church. The voting statement was: "did not look upon making a relation to be a necessary term of communion". (Green 1888: 255)

There were two different salvation concepts preached at that time. One was of a strict God and the other of a loving God whose salvation is for everyone who wants it. Edward was the preacher of the first one and Breck of the second one as Edward is perceived as intellect and Breck as the heart of theology. Edward's stiff spirit made his logic, thought, and spiritual insight fails at Northampton. On the other side, Robert Breck's influence deepened in Springfield because of his progressive and engaging teaching methods. The result of Breck's struggle was achieved during his lifetime in the form of a change in people. Thus, the Breck and Edward are the indications of the changes that happened at that time¹⁰⁶. Whitefield's visit to Harvard in 1740 was pleasant in the way he welcomed but his teachings, devotion earnestness, and judgment of pupil's religious experience were heavily criticised afterward¹⁰⁷. Because of these significant charges, he was not invited again at Harvard College.

Edward Holyoke was nominated as a presidential candidate in 1737 and he was opposed by strict Calvinists. Despite the opposition he was elected and approved by the General Court, which was behind his maintenance. It is said about the religious principles of Holyoke by President Quincy that they are in coherence with Catholicism with mild touch. The president's religion indicates management of college thus the liberal thoughts prevailed in his time and the strict theological opinions abandoned.

¹⁰⁶ "The Puritan in England and New England" by E.H. Byington included the topic of controversy but missed the theological issues involved.

¹⁰⁷ For a more exhaustive description of Whitefield's visit to Harvard , see "George Whitefield and the Great Awakening" by J. Pollock

Thus, the practice of toleration and moderate attitude developed at Cambridge. According to President Quincy, the clergymen of Boston and Massachusetts admitted to Arminianism, Pelagianism, Arianism, Socinianism, and Deism. Most of those clergymen were men of talent from Harvard's alumni, advocates, and friends of Harvard and the people with intimacy with its management. Their religion did not receive any public expression but the words spread about the favourable environment of the institute for dissented doctrines or theologies. (Quincy 1860: 52)

The prerequisites for the students to get degrees were to include the provision of proof for three points. They were asked to prove that the doctrine of Trinity was not part of Old testaments, the eternal creation is false, and the nature of religion is not mysterious. These prerequisites alarmed the conservative minds and the statements regarding the Arian face of this attempt recorded. After the criticism, the faculty decided to drop the prerequisites, but this event depicted the theological intentions of graduates and faculty. (Quincy 1860:23,26) Similarly during the selection of a Mathematics professor in 1738 the scrutiny of his religious principles suggested but the idea got no support. There were many other efforts recorded that aimed to control the religious face of college. These efforts made strict Calvinists left Harvard and focus Yale college where for the first time the faculty required to accept Catechism of assembly and confession of Faith.

During the Great Awakening, Connecticut's legislature prohibited itinerant preaching by the ministers by passing a law. This law made the members of Senior Class collect money for the publication of Locke's Essays on Toleration. The faculty interfered with the publication and all the students except one apologized. That one student was dropped from the graduation but he contacted the faculty and said that he would file his case in Crown of England. Thus, he

then permitted for graduation. Even this small event is depictive of the mindsets and trends of that time. It was a clear indication of the need for toleration that was demanded too.

2.8. Contribution of/Influence of English Rationalists in/on the Development of the American Unitarianism

There is an evident proof of the influence of Holland, Poland, and many English Unitarians on the origin of the American Unitarianism. English Unitarians visited New England several times during the eighteenth century as they were facing oppression in their Homeland. Besides their visits, their publications on Unitarianism theology also attracted thinkers of New England. For example, Milton's writings on toleration had greater influence in New England. Milton believed in free will and the Unitarian concept of the nature of the Christ during the last years of his life. Even though he was not calling the Unitarian but the Puritan because of his belief in the protestant concept about the Bible, his writing always pleaded for toleration. His writings influenced New England with their rational tone.

Milton made the environment favourable for other authors like Chillingworth to be read in New England with a mind set of accepting the author's concept. Chillingworth was a member of The Church of England but he was a broad-minded and liberal personality who wished to establish an all-inclusive and tolerant national The Church. Chillingworth also aimed to limit faith to basics by eliminating extras. Addressing the need to stick with essentials made him say: "I am fully assured that God does not, and therefore that man ought not, to require any more of any man than this--to believe the Scripture to be God's word, to endeavour to find the true sense of it and to live according to it."(Hunt 1870:99)

Therefore, no dogmatic test can nullify men's right to self-interpret the Bible according to his needs. According to him, loyalty to the Christ is true Christianity. He defined Christianity as nothing more than belief in Christ. Chillingworth was against putting the Church or anything

else between an individual and God as he believed that anyone can access the Bible to reach Divine Truth. His point of view on Protestantism was that it is comprised of a rational study of the Bible rather than the teachings and confessions devised by the Reformers. Chillingworth's vindication of toleration was broad and noble as he eliminated religious prejudice from it. All his efforts were because of his intentions to develop an all-inclusive the Church that also affected his writings and speeches to become more rational. His implementation of reason on religious issues depicts that according to him reason is the final judge. Thus, he is among the ones who preached toleration successfully.

Archbishop Tillotson was also among the most read religious author in New England. He said that: "for the first time since the Reformation the voice of reason was now clearly heard in the high places of the Church."(Hunt 1870:340) Tillotson was Arminian and believer of salvation for everyone. He denies the doctrine of eternal decrees because he believes that they cannot be of good God. His logic to deny the doctrine of eternal decrees was the offensiveness of Doctrine to the justice natural to men. According to him, humans should be justified by the upheavals of their lives. As men have both intuition and capacity to reach and act righteously. According to Tillotson reason and experience are in concomitant with the Bible and the truths of natural religion are republished in the form of revelation. His philosophy suggests him as a real broad churchman who intended to establish a comprehensive national the Church. He practiced what he preached named toleration.

Another dissenter named Jeremy Taylor who wrote in his publication *Liberty of Prophecies*: "So long as men have such variety of principles, such several constitutions, educations, tempers, and distempers, hopes, interests, and weaknesses, degrees of light and degrees of understanding, it was impossible all should be of one mind". According to Taylor heaven is for all Faiths. Among the authors of the seventeenth century who preached toleration

was Chillingworth, Taylor, and Milton who wrote *Religion of Protestants*, *Liberty of Prophecies*, and *liberty of Unlicensed Printing* respectively. All these publications have broadness, comprehensibility, and nobility in common for the entreaty of religious freedom. Taylor was famous for setting high values of life than for Creed. According to him, every doctrine is good for its capacity. (Hunt 1870: 340)

John Locke studied philosophy and religion by the use of a rational approach as a rationalist. Like other rationalists, he also put Christianity to free inquiry. He was a big advocate of toleration but his rational influence was stronger. Locke's philosophy spread a rationalistic approach in his readers and followers that established a favourable environment for the rationalism to spread in the region. Even after getting into revelation, he retained the certainty of natural knowledge. His teachings emphasised the results of reason implementation as the most important aspect of revelation. He was orthodox but at the same time a rejecter of the Doctrine of Trinity.

Samuel Clarke was a rationalist who tried to implement scientific rules on the interpretation of religion. He was a follower of Locke. He stated that goodness is not good because it is commanded by God but it is good that's why God commands it. His relational interpretation of doctrines of Trinity preserved the form and eliminated the substance.

The most significant English authors in New England during the eighteenth century were considered as orthodox in their mother country, and they were serving in national the Church or other dissenting entities at that time. They aimed to transform religion into ethically integral and understood by common sense. Thus, implementing Christianity to daily lives was the main goal.

Another important factor is the relationship of English colonies with the mainland. The influence of the English religious state is evident in the New England churches during the 18th

century as toleration and its descendant rationalism imported from England to New England. Besides rationalism, the concept of nature of the Christ and the importance of his life for Christian followers were also imported from England. English intellect and leaders spread the loyalty to the Christ as the solo essentiality of the Christian faith and New England's nobles advocated the concept in the region. However, the thought of indicating faith from the life and strong character was not appreciated or advocated in English colonies

Thus, American Unitarianism originated from the influence of teachings of English men who were suppressed in their Homeland because of their faces. Receive orthodox in England however, they were in support of testing theology by the use of reason. During its origin and the eighteenth century, it was perceived as an effort to implement religion practically in real life by making it acceptable in the logic of all men rather than a religious movement.

A similar protestant individualistic spirit was employed to the interpretation of theological issues. However, if an individual is in interpreting by himself then he needs to accept please on the interpretation of the articles of Faith. This condition led the individual to rationalism thus made him break the old traditions. The other side of the concept of self-interpretation or thinking for himself is the end of unity of Faith. The problem was pinpointed by the intellect including Chillingworth that made them wish for the establishment of a national the Church that preserves the unity of Faith along with offering freedom. New England's liberalism movement in the beginning rather than considering the Trinity issue focused on toleration and rationality. Later during the journey of its development, they found that new testaments did not mention Trinity. They interpreted the words of the Christ as his expression of his subordinate position and preferred to spread his real teachings. Thus, the liberal ancestors limit per question to the nature of the Christ rather than questioning the revelation of the faith.

2.9. Development of Liberalism in Puritanism

The religious travellers and Puritans are considered to lay the foundations of American Unitarianism. The historical pieces of evidence support the rational and individual mindset of Plymouth, Boston, and Salem settlers as the origin of American Unitarianism rather than religious indifference. The origin and development of Protestantism, Congregationalism, and Unitarianism coexisted in New England, and the people including notable intellect of that time employed different concepts during their lives that made it difficult to give them a single title. The main elements of Unitarianism existed and flourished even after the invention of the name Unitarianism.

Protestantism diversified the opinions that were fully expressed by the puritans. To avoid diversity and to preserve the uniformity Massachusetts employed rigid laws but it was an unsuccessful practice. Antinomianism originated in Boston that paved the way for Baptism and Friends. One reason behind not achieving uniformity was the difference of thought between intellect. One such example was of Hooker who because of his intellectual conflict with other Massachusetts leaders connected with the ones from Cambridge, Dorchester, and Watertown. Similarly, Sir Henry Vanes were not in coherence with the religious and political management of Boston, Roger Williams did not idealize the Puritans ' concept of the Church and state and Sir Richard Saltonstall hated Boston's preachers for their autocracy. The above are the examples that depict the rooted individual spirit in early Puritan colonies. It was inherited from Puritanism as it was part of Protestantism nature. Puritans accepted individualism and rational approach but they were hindered by their autocratic slant. The 17th century of New England depicts the confusion of puritans towards deciding the use of reason and the place of the Church and state between an individual and God. They were trying to employ reason as well as retaining authority and to promote individualism while still implementing the Church and state authority.

Protestant's intention to promote individualism masked by their approach of employing the Church authority which was perceived autocratic.

2.10. The Institutional and Individualist Churches and their Religious Practices

There two types of churches named individualistic and institutional by modern sociology. The institutional churches consider the role of the Church as most important to reach spiritual truth while the individualistic churches consider an individual capable of reaching spiritual truth without the interference of the Church. The Roman the Church was an institutional The Church because of the retention of revelation by means of the Church in its policies. As Kuno Francke stated in his publication “Social Forces in German Literature” that the medieval men were thought of his independent creation as medieval men consider the institutions as divine establishments. (Francke 1897:105)

Catholics of almost all regions consider The Church as a strong element of religion thus all catholic churches are institutional churches. They consider The Church to be responsible for testing the truth, and authority for religious inventions. While the protestant churches can be classified as partial individualistic churches as they idealized individualism but maintained the authority of the state. However, Protestantism was a good effort that promoted the worth of individuals and minimized the role of the Church.

The practical difference between the institutional and individual district churches was and is quite visible. From the birth of an individual in the Church to his/her submission to religion by rituals Catholicism ignores individual capacities completely. The Protestantism left the attachment to the Church to an individual’s personal choice. (Walker 2005:246) Protestants believe that an individual is capable of finding his inner self and spiritual truth thus his/her experiences can be made him/her religious or not. Thus, Protestantism emphasised the worth of the individual and his capabilities. While all the Catholic churches whether they are Christian,

Heathen, or ethnic focus on training of an individual to be able for the Church membership. These differences are depictive from the age of an individual at the time of joining the Church in both the cases as experiences lead an individual to the protestant Church; thus, he will be an adult.

Puritans were theoretically protestants and practically Catholics as employed both institutional and individualistic approaches. They consider personal experience while issuing the Church membership to individuals. Theoretically, they considered every male member as an authority to self-interpret spiritual ideas. A male The Church member is considered a priest who can also practice politics independently. Therefore, a law presented in the general Court of Massachusetts in 1631 that was about giving voting rights to only The Church members. This law was accepted to practice in 1691. The idea of the national The Church developed in New England as a reaction to these policies. The reaction also developed the concept of self-interpretation of the Bible. Thus, Revivalism originated from puritanism as it is a depiction of puritanism's individualistic side. Thus, social meaning generated an individual end.

There was a deep impact of socialism on New England's Puritanism that led them to deviate from their original theology. In the beginning, they establish state the Church and made the contributions voluntary but after a few years, a maintenance tax was imposed on all without considering their faith. They linked the expression of opinion with approval from authorities and imposed punishments to support the governing laws. Thus, there was no difference between the methods employed for religious acceptance in socialism and New England's Puritanism.

The socialists and state churches established on corporate grounds that belief in restricting individual spirit for the sake of the social spirit. Puritanism was a new idea with old practices. The stayed connected with the individualism by rejecting Baptism of infants, crucial conversion before the Church membership, the social practice of toleration, and retention of

liberty of conscience. However, Puritans were partial in all these practices as they retained conversion and infant baptism both. Similarly, they took the right of private judgment from Protestants and practices of the state The Church from Catholics. In fact, they employed the democratic theory of popular suffrage and the implication strategy was rigid and autocratic. The Church was managed by a small group of men who were admitted to Massachusetts' exercise of franchise in 1674. Thus, democracy was all theoretical.

All undemocratic practices were noticed and rivalled by the Puritan communities of New Haven and Massachusetts. To restore image, the Church announced the right of suffrage under semi-membership with no permission of action inside the Church. (Haynes 1894:54) According to the ecclesiastical historians, the halfway covenant did not affect suffrage. The literature is confused about the importance of this halfway covenant that was followed by disintegrated results. The blend of institutional and individualist churches was behind those disintegrated results.

2.11. Liberal Leaders of the Seventeenth Century

Until the English interference of 1688 Puritans ruled the Church and state management with similar arbitration. The English interference was about practicing toleration and broadening the suffrage. For instance, Sir Richard Saltonstall wrote to John cotton and John Wilson about the unacceptability of methods employed. He also fled England to avoid the restrictions. He wrote in the following words to record his protest: "It doth not a little grieve my spirit to hear what sad things are daily reported of your tyranny and persecutions in New England, as that you fine, whip, and imprison men for their consciences. First, you compel such to come into your assemblies as you know will not join with you in your worship, and when they show their dislike thereof or witness against it, then you stir up your magistrates to punish them for such (as you conceive) their public affronts." (Bond 1860:916)

He also said that the Church's practices are making men hypocrites because of fair punishments and he reminds them that they are doing what they rivalled for a long time. (Bond 1860:916) Under the same circumstances, William Pynchon left New England. His publication of 1650 "meritorious price our redemption" denied that the Christ is not paying the price of sins of all humans in hell. For that era, it was too modern and a liberal concept. (Green 1888:113)

Liberalism was part of New England's atmosphere but with limited expression in the first half-century because of repression. Other than most stated names, some believe in liberalism as they practice toleration and rational interpretation of religion. Harvard college's first two presidents Henry Dunster and Charles Chauncy denied keeping both the baptism of infants and conversion before the membership. Both of them suffered from the principle of individual conviction in a religion.

Massachusetts Bay colony's second governor Sir Henry Bane's statement is depictive of the spirit of puritanism. He said:" all magistrates are to fear or forbear intermeddling with giving rule or imposing their own beliefs in religious matters." (Gaebelein 1925)

A similar narrative is found from the sayings of the founder of Connecticut in the following words: "the foundation of authority is laid in the free consent of the people." (Johnston 1903:72) John Robinson's writings were the promoters and admirers of the importance of purpose and thought. He said as: "the meanest man's reason, especially in the matter of faith and obedience to God, is to be preferred before all authority of all men." (Robinson 1851:53) In theology, he was a Calvinist but a practitioner of tolerance who admires the liberty of conscience. The following words are depictive of his liberty: "The custom of the Church is but the custom of men; the sentence of the fathers but the opinions of men; the determinations of councils but the judgments of men." (Robinson 1851:47) He was a believer of individual reason as he once said that God is the creator of bodily lights (eyes) and he also

created lights for the mind that are supernatural and natural. The supernatural ones are scriptures and the natural one is the reason and only these two are not subordinate to any other man. (Robinson 1851:54) The scriptures are for everyone and so the reason until one attains it. He ended the authorities including the Church and priest by saying that "the credit commending a testimony to others cannot be greater than is the authority in itself of him that gives it nor his authority greater than his person". (Robinson 1851:56)

The above quotations depict the presence of the spirit of liberty even in the earliest leaders and preachers of New England. The liberal spirit was not completely expressed or completely hidden. It found expression in the strategies that churches used to unite their members at that time. Thus, liberty was seemed to be a promise of a future that did not mean to be realized or appreciated in the present.

Covenant was the identity of the earliest churches of New England rather than the creed. Even the occasional creedal events were considered non-crucial as accepting them means accepting the Calvinist and other similar doctrines. The covenant of the Church was not considered as a statement of beliefs and it was limited to the relative pledge of the Church members individually. The extent of creed implementation was not expressed. In the beginning, the churches were Calvinist, but the covenant was not able to govern and oppress the development of liberal thoughts in men. The outgrowth of Calvinism made both the individuals and the churches to eliminate it; the elimination was easy as it was not stated clearly in the covenant.

The end of the English authority on Puritans started the era of liberty. The first one to give words to the thoughts of others was Harvard's president and Old South the Church of Boston's minister Samuel Willard, who in a sermon of 1691 said that God did not allow anyone to oppress the liberty of conscience of men or to govern the worship. According to him, anyone

doing these prohibited acts should be afraid of God's wrath as he warned strictly such authorities. Willard believes in only the authority of the Bible and considers it the right of an individual to self-interpret it. He questioned as follows: "Hath there not, been too much of pinning our faith on the credit or practice of others, attended on with woeful neglect to know what is the mind of Christ?"

Thus, it was the expression of liberal spirit that transformed into the Unitarianism years later. It was a collection of efforts including the emphasis on the liberty of conscience and gathering all to the Bible and the Christ that governed the path of the liberal movement in the next centuries.

2.12. Transformation of the Church Practices to Liberalism and Democracy

A movement is documented that aimed to eliminate at a time rational and socialist approaches and to harmonise the Church and the state relationship. The proposal of offering free ordinance of religion to all was made in hope of getting the desired supernatural change. Solomon Stoddard of Northampton preached the Lord's supper as a converting ordinance. He also did not favour the demand of supernatural regeneration in a limited membership. However, he was in favour of this demand as an essential of full admission to the Church. Stoddard after joining the Church as a pastor clarified the position of halfway covenant by admitting the individuals into his defined "state of education". (Trumbull 1902:213) Thus, the resulted image was called "large congregationalism" that was interpreted as that the ones who can justify their children's baptism with their faith can admit their children to full communion in the Church. Stoddard was attracted to the English practices that helped him defend his broader principle. He referenced the practices of European countries for the clarification of his position. In the Appeal to the Learned documentation of his practices available that depicts that those were based on the corporate idea of the Church.

He was a rigid Calvinist but his method of open communion was behind the gradual theological amendments. This idea had the capability to establish closer relations between the Church and state as it made the membership in both of them almost the same. This also led to the acceptance of the doctrine of moral ability that is a clear modification to Calvinism. If the adoption of communion by Stoddard was considered a practical reason rather than a theological reason, it was the ladder to Arminianism. The reason to consider it a ladder lies in the acceptance of an individual's free will to accept salvation practices that were limited to the sovereignty of God's operation in Calvinism.

With the time the Church spirit faced changes that are depictive from the behaviour of the end of the seventeenth century's parish who denied the selection of minister and the Church needed to meet them for selection. This denial was of the Church of Salem and Dedham's case of 1672 and 1685 respectively. The selection of ministers was in the hands of the Church members who were liable for the suffrage rights. A movement is documented that aimed to extend the right of suffrage to all taxpayers. The same aim was discussed in Connecticut in 1666 and after some years it was established as a law. In 1692 the right of minister selection was allotted to the Church in Massachusetts but the parish appointed as governing authority of the selection process. The next century was the establishment of giving more authority to parishes that include calling the ministers and governing outside activities of the Church and congregation. The result was the selection of a man of a liberal mind by the parish.

The establishment of Brattle Street Church in Boston in 1699 was a depictive event of the growth of liberalism. This Church retained the Westminster Confession of Faith along with retaining the practices of New England's churches but they also promoted the study of the Bible without comments as a part of the Church services. The prerequisite of religious experiences for joining the Church was discarded and the admission was linked with the approval of the

pastor. The role of women also improved in the Church voting. These changes lit the controversy between pastor Benjamin Colman and Increase Mather. (Marsden 2004) For the same reasons, the pastors of the Church of Salem Rev. John Higginson and Rev. Nicholas Noyes wrote to the congregation of Brattle Street the Church about their non-consultation with other churches in the establishment of Brattle Church. They also raise their concerns about not making repentance in the name of their members, on administering the baptism less strictly, on giving admission to sacraments, and on promoting women activities in the Church affairs. After the initial criticism, Brattle street Church established good relations with other churches of Boston. However, the establishment of the Church was based on the broader membership that spread the words about the unacceptability of old beliefs. (Lothrop 1851:7-40)

The weakening of Puritan control on the Church and state strengthened the democratic spirit in New England. The old beliefs were strictly imposed thus the development of free intellect and religion took time but it was steady and progressive. This new spirit was given the name of Arminianism at that time.

2.13. John Wise, 1652-1725, An American Rationalist

John Wise's Churches' Quarrel Espoused and Vindication of the Government of New England was published in 1710 and 1717 respectively. They were depictive of similar ideas. The first publication was the answer to the Boston ministers who want to subordinate churches to associations. This effort established the independence of churches fully by failing the subordination attempts. The republished version was a systematic expression of the idea as he included Vindication. Vindication was the most modern book of eighteenth-century America that offers remarkable literary directness according to that time. It was also a depiction of the author's fine study of liberal English writers and his familiarity with Cicero and Plato.

In *Churches' Quarrel Espoused* he addressed the natural freedom of men and said: "right reason is a ray of divine wisdom enstamped upon human nature." (Wise 1860:143) He also considered the right reason as man's soul. According to him, man's intellect can perceive the truth that is in coherence with his/her nature. (Wise 1860:145) John Wise never read the English liberals however he accepted the influence of the company of some great minds of that time. He was influenced by the same considerations of toleration and inclusiveness of spirit that influenced Taylor, Chillingworth, and Milton. John Wise does not meet the definition of modern rationalist but he emphasised the use of reason that is depictive from his writings. He considered reason and revelation of equal importance. His confidence about the "dictates of right reason" and the "common reason of mankind" was similar to his confidence in the Bible. (Wise 1860: 32,58)

He said that all theological, philosophical, religious, and political should be assessed by an individual's intellect, reason, and conscience. (Wise 1860:72) He believed that God made men capable of assessing his will. He said that God ranked men high because of reason, liberty, and a noble nature and all his protocols are because of these factors. (Wise 1860:65) Wise said that the most important characteristic of man is that he is: "most properly the subject of the law of nature." (Wise 1860:30) He emphasised this point in a modern tone several times. According to him the second most important characteristic of man is a unique combination of liberty and rationalism in his nature. (Wise 1860:33) He said that he is not liable to discuss the theology of man's relation to God but can say one thing for sure that among physicals the human is ranked highest with a noble character.

The further addition to his philosophy was that the other creatures are lower to mankind and mankind's liberty under reason made its trust. The other point was that anyone who will interrupt man's liberty will violate the law of nature. Men are not licensed because his liberty

is aimed to make him responsible for his conduct. Thus, he said: "to judge for himself what shall be most for his behoof, happiness, and well-being."(Wise 1860:34)

All men are equal is the third most important characteristic of men. (Wise 1860:34) Being free is the natural right of humans and the governments that are humane respect these rights. His words were: "nature having set all men upon a level and made them equals, no servitude or subjection can be conceived without inequality."(Wise 1860: 37) He also said that: "a fundamental principle relating to government that, under God, all power is originally in the people." (Wise 1860: 64) Wise considered reformation a fraud and a rebellion if the driving force is not the power of people.

Wise's original modern nature is depictive of his two other ideas. In one idea he put the responsibility of happiness of people on government and the state should not discriminate between its inhabitants in serving them. (Wise 1860:54) He said that: "The end of all good government, is to cultivate humanity, and promote the happiness of all, and the good of every man in all his rights, his life, liberty, estate, and honor, without injury or abuse done to any." (Wise 1860: 55) Men enter into a civil state by the law of nature because he maintains socialness. (Wise 1860:32) This quality of man-made him a freedom seeker and also made the state a social power. A state in which: "covenant is included that submission and union of wills by which a state may be conceived to be but one person."(Wise 1860:39) Thus it was a modern concept of the social body that was paralleled with the individual. This idea presented by Wise in the following words: "a civil state is a compound moral person, whose will is the will of all, to the end it may use and apply the strength and riches of private persons toward maintaining the common peace, security, and well-being of all, which may be conceived as though the whole state was now become but one man."(Wise 1860: 40)

Despite the non-immediate influence of John Wise, it cannot be ignored entirely. His writings impacted the theology of his time. Thus, the republication of his work is not surprising before the Revolution as it communicated the liberty of humans and democracy. He aimed to promote Congregational liberty that made his theological approach a non-questioning one. His publications never questioned the Calvinist's doctrines but his political approach was old belief breaking and supportive to the open religious discussion.

2.14. The Role of Harvard College in the Development of the American Unitarianism

Harvard college contributed liberal potential to society in the last years of the seventeenth century. It was established on anti-Creed and non-doctrinal ground thus share the foundation ethics with the Church covenants. From the original seal of motto Veritas to the Christi Gloriam and Christi et Ecclesiae the institute's motto developed with the idea of the state the Church. However, none of the mottos were adopted. The beginning liberal attitude of the institute was quite similar to the current attitude that is depicted from beginning charters. (Quincy 1860:44-54) However, with time Puritan approaches developed within the Harvard College that masked the liberal face of the institute. This mask was washed away with the implementation of a broader charter of Massachusetts implemented by William and Mary in 1691. Since 1691 the development of liberalism started in an institute that expressed to its full potential after a century. The influence of ruler Increase Mather his and son Cotton failed to stop the declaration of true culture and free inquiry. (Quincy 1860:200)

The successor of Mather was Samuel Willard who was of liberal thoughts and judgment. The next president was John Leverett who took the presidency in 1708. He was one of the founders of Brattle Street the Church and he managed the college with his dominating liberal spirit. (Quincy 1860) He was once made to limit his participation in the Church management

then the churches, the college, and state felt his influence. Thus, this time is regarded as the start of liberalism in New England that serves as the origin of Unitarianism.

2.15. The Liberal Literature that influenced Liberal Men

There are pieces of evidence about almost thirty-three ministers who dissented from Calvinism to different extents as they stopped teaching the strict Calvinist doctrines. These Arminianism or Arianism accepting ministers are from the period of 1730-1750. Most of them were from Eastern Massachusetts known for a good reputation, knowledge, and success. The analysis of their readings shows the nature of their opinions and the cause of their dissent from Calvinism. One evidence is from the charges of Whitefield against the Harvard College in 1740 as he said: "Tillotson and Clarke are read instead of Shepard and Stoddard, and such as evangelical writers." (Whitefield 2000) This was proved by the list of books issued from the library as Tillotson and Clarke were not issued within nine and two years respectively. This list was provided by Dr. Wigglesworth and it included evangelical writings the most. The list provider even did not reach theology in old ways as the rational spirit was in Vogue those days at Harvard.

Dr. Joseph Bellamy a follower of Jonathan Edward wrote in 1759 about the arrival of liberal books from England to New England. He said that the churches and ministers are admiring the books imported from England and the greater demands are leading to their republications. He also identified those books as the reason for writings on the same principles within New England. He was astonished on the public treatment of the doctrine of Trinity and considered the judgment of the doctrine of Trinity as blasphemous.

The readings of Charles Chauncy was fond of Tillotson and Baxter. (Sprague 1865) The first man who openly opposed Calvinism was Jonathan Mayhew who read the writings of Protestant theologians. He started reading the works of Milton, Chillingworth, and Tillotson

after 1740. He also read the writings of Whiston, Samuel Clarke, Wollaston, Locke, Butler, Leland, Hutcheson, and Cudworth. All inspirations of Mayhew were either idealists or rationalists rather than Calvinist in religion.

According to Mayhew's biographer, his discourses are evident in his admiration who was Samuel Clarke. Clarke's work was in Vogue among the liberals during Mayhew's time. A collection of Clarke's lectures from 1704-1705 clearly states his opinions that consider Christianity a religion of nature and reason. He also considered natural religion as a single entity. Clarke defended the human liberty and reason by saying that the scriptures did not disagree with the use of reason and that liberty of human and his actions are essentials of morality and real religion.

Thus, the reading habits of leaders of New England at that time left no confusion in identifying the development of liberalism and Unitarianism. It was felt by Whitefield who warned about the faith of Harvard College's pupils as their teachers were inspired by something else than Calvinism. (Paine 1902:99)

2.16. The Influence of Great Awakening on the Development of the American Unitarianism

The great awakening is an indication of the remarkable development of liberal thoughts in New England during the forty years before it. It was a gradual and silent development with little expression and even the accepters found later that they dissented from the faith of ancestors. Thus, the Calvinist faith transformed into liberal faith silently. The arrival of Whitefield and revival brought the change to the recognition that slightly separated into parties.

The revival was aimed to restore strict Calvinism by restoring doctrines of justification by faith, predestination, and supernatural regeneration. The revival was in opposition to the Congregational nature of New England's old churches in its nature that made liberals oppose it. It was condemned also because of its policies that spread fear and terror as both elements are against the established Church practices. Dr. Chauncey condemned the revivalists in following words in his book: "now is the time when we are particularly called to stand for the good old way, and bear testimony against everything that may tend to cast a blemish on true primitive Christianity." (Chauncey 1743:337)

The Great Awakening left stronger liberals behind. There are several reasons for that strength including the introduction of liberals with each other that made them feel their strength. The other factor is the declaration of liberal faith by men who before that never admitted their faith to themselves. The disturbance lets the men scrutinize their beliefs that they never did before. The sworn statement by Harvard College and other organisations was signed by the sixty-three men, who were in opposition to the Revivalism. While in favour of Revivalism the declaration was signed by one hundred and ten men. This ratio is depictive of the relative strength of revivalists and anti-revivalists. However, the leaders and pronounced names from all over New England were against the Revivalism while two-third ministers of Massachusetts belonged to the liberal party¹⁰⁸. (Bradford 2009) The division between the Calvinist and Arminian parties caused by Revivalism was masked soon. The gradual progression turned on but it was individual rather than organisational or because of movements. The state and the Church relationship at that time could affect the results.

¹⁰⁸ In the "*Memoir of the Life and Writing of Rev. Jonathan Mayhew*" by Alden Bradford a *complete* list of clergy men who opposed the Calvinism teachings is given.

2.17. Cardinal Basis of Liberals

The analysis of theological advancement from 1725-1760 can be concluded at three points that are perceived from liberals of that time. The first conclusion is about the cause of the movement that was the Restoration of Christianity to its primitive simpler version. As Dr. Mayhew's biographer wrote: "was a great advocate of primitive Christianity and zealously contended for the faith once delivered to the saints."

The second conclusion was that the Bible as a divine revelation is a source of religious concepts and teaching. It is sufficient Creed and for equality for all. Chauncey's sermon against the revivalist's excitement addressed the need of the original religious texts. He said that the original test of religious excitements and new teachings is in their perspective about the Bible and their acknowledgment of it because the Bible is a set of commands from God. He criticized his congregation by advising them to stay close to scriptures. He further added: "and admit of nothing for an impression of the spirit but what agrees with that unerring rule. Fix it in your minds as a truth you will invariably abide by, that the Bible is the grand test by which everything in religion is to be tried."

A third of the conclusion of the analysis of liberal men's position is regarding their salvation concepts. They considered the Christ as the sole salvation means that all the loyalty and faith bound to him. They denied the human Creeds and turned to the Christ by admitting him a spiritual and vital source of all faith. Only he has the power to help men. Mayhew beloved that the atonement of the Christ is crucial to be forgiven by God because it is Christ's life and Gospel that brought the human and God relationship incoherence.

2.18. Liberal Publications

There are three publications of that time that depicts the differences between Arminian and Calvinist teachings. One of these publications is of Rev. Experience Mayhew. His book named "Grace Defended, in a Modest Plea for an important Truth: namely, that the offer of Salvation made to sinners comprises in it an offer of the Grace given in Regeneration", published in 1744. He retained the concept of Christ's dying for everyone and despite being a Calvinist he rejected that the acts of sinners are not equal in the sight of God. (Buckner 2019) He said: "God cannot be truly said to offer salvation to sinners without offering to them whatsoever is necessary on his part, in order to their salvation."(Buckner 2019: 60) He was considered an Arminian because he rejected the doctrine of election along with defending the liberty of human affirmatively.

The next publication was a sermon of Lemuel Briant who was a minister in Braintree. His sermon named "Absurdity and Blasphemy of Depreciating Moral Virtue" published in 1749. He denied the concept of relying on Christ's merits and not living a righteous life. According to him having any other views are blasphemous. He said that the right rule to pass the judgment is enlisted in scriptures and it includes the practice of virtue with a sincere, steady, and universal intention. The following words of him are also in the same context: "To preach up chiefly what the Christ himself laid the stress upon (and whether this was not moral virtue let everyone judge from his discourses) must certainly, in the opinion of all sober men, be called truly and properly, and in the best sense, preaching of Christ."

The third one was a pamphlet written by Samuel Webster. He was a minister of Salisbury and his pamphlet named "A Winter Evening's Conversation upon the doctrine of Original Sin, wherein the notion of our having sinned in Adam, and being on that account only liable to eternal Damnation, is proved to be Unscriptural" published in 1757. This publication

was among a few eighteenth-century publications that clearly described the writer's point of view. In this pamphlet, a minister was dialoguing with his three parishioners that made it an engaging read. The minister considers the all sinned in Adam a dreadful doctrine. He said: "What! make them the first to open their eyes in torment, and all this for a sin which certainly they had no hand in,--a sin which, if it comes upon them at all, certainly is without any fault or blame on their parts, for they had no hand in receiving it!"

He also said that the sin of Adam cannot be on us just because of his headship. He considered this thought "a mere castle in the air". According to him sin and guilt are as personal as knowledge and as one can conceive knowledge from another, he/she can also conceive sin but conceiving sin does not make it belong to that person. Either you conceive knowledge or sin, it will not be yours. He considered the doctrine of imputation as a cause of infidelity as: "It naturally leads men into every dishonourable thought of God which gives a great and general blow to religion." This doctrine put the blame on God as he said: "for it supposes him to make millions of sinners by his decree of imputation, who would otherwise have been innocent."

The essence of the doctrine is that all Adams are future sinners. Thus, Christians hold the guilt of future sin. He said that God: "should pronounce a sentence by which myriads of infants, as blameless as helpless, were consigned over to blackness of darkness to be tormented with fire and brimstone forever, is not consistent with infinite goodness."

He named these representations as monstrous and dishonour to God. As these doctrines create an image of God that cannot be loved even and hearts rebel him. A statement about his final point of view is: "All descriptions of the Divine Being which represent him in an unamiable light do the greatest hurt to religion that can be, as they strike at love, which is the fulfillment of the law. I am persuaded that many of those who think they believe this doctrine do not believe it, or else they do not consider how it represents their heavenly Father."

In the pamphlet, parishioners accepted the teachings at the end, but it raised controversy among pulpits and it made Bellamy deny the Webster's teachings and made Chauncy defend those teachings. This pamphlet was bolder than the trend of that time. It depicted the pathway men came to employ reason without denying the old doctrines. It also cleared the doubts about the acceptance or denial of doctrines as the harsh ones were completely swiped.

2.19. Stages of the Religious Progress

New England's churches were not jammed with respect to the doctrines, worship methods, moral conducts, state and the Church relations. They gradually discarded the old ways regarding all the points. One example is of abandoned hymen lining that was replaced with the notes used in singing. The following agitation was vigorous in its power and spread. A trained choir was introduced that is perceived as an original reform step. Thomas Brattle a liberal donated an organ to the Church, but the votes were against its use in public worships. King's Chapel accepted the instrument and hired an organist from London. Until 1770 no providence the Church acquired any organ and the first one used in New England's Congregational Church.

The prayer by Dr. Chauncy at the funeral of Dr. Mayhew in 1766 was the first funeral prayer of Boston that is depictive of Puritan's views about Catholic Church customs. (Morse 1899: 367) The similar events laid the foundations of new beliefs of liberalism that rose from the disposal of old beliefs. The most important capability of New beliefs was introducing the Bible, reading into The Church's services as part of worship. The Bible was introduced as part of worship because of the liberal men as they consider the scriptures source of religious non indulgence and fair judgment. In May 1730 the reading of the scriptures voted in the First the Church in Boston. They retained the puritan way of discussing scriptures with ministers as optional and introduced the reading of large parts in front of the public. (Ellis 1881:199) This practice was adopted by Brattle Street the Church in 1699 almost 31 years before the First

Church Boston. However, the introduction of reading the Bible as part of worship gradually accepted because of heavy criticism in the beginning. A furious reaction is recorded in the history when a Bible was bestowed to a parish in 1767 Mendon. This reaction is easy to understand by considering the feelings of people against The Church of England at that time. Thus, the donor offered a Bible to minister instead.

The same practice started in the First the Church Dedham in 1785 and the West the Church of Medway and two churches of Salem started in 1806. The donor of the Bible to Dedham's first the Church requested read as part of worships of Lord's day. The parish accepted the request by ordering the minister to read the most desirable and good lengths from the Bible. However, the custom of reading from the Bible as part of ordination services started years after¹⁰⁹.

The above-described practical innovations strengthened the development of doctrines. Liberalism separate toleration and progressive behaviour in people. The end of the influence of the Catholic Church and The Church of England was among the influencing factors of liberalism in New England. The other factor was the import of influential liberal ideas from England. Besides these two factors, the Attempts to adjust the state and the Church relationships contributed a lot.

2.20. Advancement of Liberalism

The advancement of progressiveness discarded ancient beliefs. This advancement was step by step effort of individuals and churches rather than of associations. The rejection of tritheism started before the middle of the eighteenth century in the region along with the rejection of the doctrine of divine decree. In *A Critical History of Trinitarianism*, Levi L. Paine

¹⁰⁹ For a full description of the read of the bible as part of worships of Lord's day, New England Magazine, February, 1899.

said that Nathaniel Emmons¹¹⁰ strictly attached to three persons. As Nathaniel Emmons said that conceiving God in three persons is Easy than in one person. Emmons used the word person and considered them equal; however, he was the first theologian who said that if the conception of God in Three persons is difficult, then we can conceive those three persons as one being. According to him, one being is different from a person with respect to the deity. (Paine 1902: 105). Tritheism was the philosophical shape of the trinity in New England. The study of English liberal Unitarian thoughts in New England established the basis of doubt on Trinity that lead to the Bible where there was no evidence of the doctrine of the trinity. The other contributors include rational and free inquiry of religion that breach the old thinking methodologies.

The doubt also rises the concept of establishing beliefs on the ground of new testaments and Jesus' teachings. When the teachings of Jesus are considered as a source of establishing beliefs, then the findings include that Jesus always preached about his subordinate nature. However, the concepts of pre-existence, supernatural power, and creation from his spirit were retained and he was considered to be paid honor rather than worshiping as a supreme being.

Thus, this conception of the nature of the Christ falls under the category of Arianism, which can be traced back to the fourth century when Alexander presbyter made it prominent.

2.21. The Introduction of the Subordinate Nature of the Christ

Arian and Arminian heresies are different, but the Arian heresy appeared under almost the same circumstances as Arminian. The big names of England, including Milton, Watts, Clarke, Locke, Taylor, and others embraced Arianism and the study of their publications in New England sow the seeds of doubts about the doctrine of Trinity. The election sermons of

¹¹⁰ Nathanael Emmons was an American congregational minister. He founded the Massachusetts Missionary Society and influenced the establishment of Andover Theological Seminary. (Sprague 1865: vol.8)

1720 and later emphasised the identification of the nature of the Christ that depicts the doubts on heresy¹¹¹.

Besides the doctrine of trinity Arians retained other doctrines with a strong emphasis on them. They did not raise the point of subordinate nature of the Christ predominantly during early preaching. They masked it under the cardinal doctrine of incarnation and atonement. The aim was not to be recognised as a separate sect than the Trinitarianism to avoid interference and oppression. During this tenure of moving with a mask, rare events of detection by a minister occurred, but there is no evidence of practical impacts of that revelation. This strategy saved them in terms of several means but also slowed down the spread as just the strong preacher can pass his heresy. On the other hand, all movement was through comments and hidden gossips.

The doctrinal changes during the journey are evident from history. One of the pieces of evidence is Emlyn's *Humble Inquiry* which was published in 1702 which defended the subordinate nature of the Christ. This book of Emlyn was published in Boston in 1756. The preface of the republished version of the book was written by a layman who by addressing the ministers of Boston said that the teachings of the book are true, clear, and the unadulterated doctrine of Gospel.

According to him, his words in the preface were: "many of his brethren of the laity in the town and country were in sympathy with him and sincerely desirous of knowing the truth." Another publication addressing the doctrinal issues was that of Dr. Joseph Bellamy. The book named "In New Hampshire Province" was published in 1760 and have a sound paragraph fitting in the context as follows: "this party has, three years ago, got things so ripe that they have ventured to new model our Shorter Catechism, to alter or entirely leave out the doctrine of the

¹¹¹ To know more about the identification of the nature of God , see E.H. Gillet, *History and Literature of the Unitarian Controversy*, 1871.

Trinity, of the decrees, of our first parents being created holy, of original sin, the Christ satisfying divine justice, effectual calling, justification."(Wise 1860:140)

2.22. Liberal Leaders of New England

Three pronounced personalities can be called liberal leaders of New England. The first one of them was Rev Ebenezer Gay who held beliefs distinct from Calvinism. He settled in Hingham in 1717. John Adams¹¹² in his Publications from 1750-1755 mentioned the names of Unitarian personalities of that time. The names found in his publications include Lemuel Briant, Jonathan Mayhew, John Brown, Ebenezer Gay, and Daniel Shute. Lemuel Briant was from Braintree and minister of the First Congregational Society of Quincy. (Shipton 1963: 449) Jonathan Mayhew was a congregational minister at the West the Church of Boston. He attended the Harvard college and his preaching made West Church as first Unitarian the Church of New England. (Bradford 1838) Daniel Shute¹¹³ also attended Harvard College and ordained as the third parish in Hingham. He was the member of the convention which established the Constitution of Massachusetts in 1780. Ebenezer Gay is called the “Father of American Unitarianism”. He was a minister at Hingham and he always inspired and associated with Jonathan Mayhew and Charles Chauncy. (Allen 1894:175)

A book of Dr. Jedediah Morse on the American Unitarianism was sent to John Adams and he admired by sending a letter. He thanked him in the reply and said that he was familiar with the beliefs mentioned in the book. He also claimed to have witnessed the age of Unitarianism in New England and denied the age mentioned by the author, which was 30 years. He mentioned the names of the above-mentioned ministers as Unitarians and said that they were

¹¹² He was an American diplomat, writer, and founding father who also served as second president of America.

¹¹³ *History of the town of Hingham, Massachusetts: in three volumes*, Published by the town of Hingham, Mass.; 1893: 146-147.

Unitarians 65 years ago. He also named many other Unitarians to form different fields in New England. (Quincy 1815: 222)

Emlyn's book was read a lot, which is evident in the truthfulness of its content. The above personalities were attracted to Unitarianism as a reaction to Calvinism and Arianism acted as a conversion point. The eighteenth century was an era of new hopes, which is distinct from the seventeenth century in removing the spiritual burdens. The manifestation of God in reason, nature, facts, and common sense was understood by the thoughtfulness of the eighteenth century.

Ebenezer Gay was a natural leader with strong nature with which he influenced every contact with him. From his teachings the spirit of the eighteenth century is depictive that was the desire of a broader and larger faith. He and his following were against the revival. His liberal theology found Arminianism for its expression. In light of free inquiry, he opposed the creeds and articles of faith.

For him, the use of the rule of faith, Creed, or confession in preaching is of human imposition and a condemnable act. He condemned such young preachers strictly. In 1746 he said in his convention sermon that: "insist upon the offensive peculiarities of the party they espoused rather than upon the mightier things in which we are all agreed."

After the middle of the eighteenth century, statements were made about the fruitless efforts of studying his discourses for discussions on the controversial point of view on theology. As including controversial theology, the advocacy of orthodox doctrines and differences of point of view with Dr. Ware was missing in his discourses. (Lincoln 1827:24)

In 1759 Dr. Gay lectured at Harvard college about the differences of Natural and Revealed religion. His sermon was depictive of reasonable and progressive elements of his nature. According to him, the natural and revealed religion is not antagonist; as revealed,

religion is based on the immortal foundation of natural religion. Further teachings of revelation are not contrary to the natural religion or the use of reason. He also denied all doctrines that advanced to the scriptures without being consistent with God's perfection and the possibility of things. He said that: "Absurdities and contradictions, are not to be obtruded upon our faith. No pretense of revelation can be sufficient for the admission of them. The manifest absurdity of any doctrine is a stronger argument that it is not of God than any other evidence can be that it is." (Sermons 1755:53)

Experience Mayhew's son, Jonathan Mayhew, settled the West Church of Boston in 1747. At that time, he was known for his heretic point of view as he openly accepted liberal theology that he adopted from the English philosophers and theologians. He was inspired by the writings of English liberals. His ordination was not attended by any minister of Boston despite a lot of them held liberal thoughts. Thus, the postponed ordination was conducted later when remote parishes came to attend it. The Boston's Ministers hesitated to share the pulpit with him and to invite him to the ministerial association. Despite the ministers' cutting off behavior that sought to hid the point of view, it was merely accepted and listened by the congregation, which grew in size and intellect with time. The thoughtful and progressive big names of the town were among the listeners of him. He was the only pulpit of Boston who never feared of speaking his mind or presenting his point of view. He was of broader, humane, and noble nature, and he was always in quest of truth. His efforts influenced the town and he soon became the symbol of liberty in politics and religion. His sermons were widely published and read throughout New England and England. English like-minded became his correspondents. His work stayed influencing even after years of his death which was an event of 1766.

As a matter of fact, Jonathan Mayhew considered free inquiry of religion as being the most important part of acquiring truth. Thus, free examination and diligence was the major part of his Cardinal thoughts. He was a believer in the doctrine of freedom of the will as he promoted toleration and liberty everywhere. He said that the self-determining power of man is the source of moral and intellectual freedom of him. His belief in the spiritual and moral capabilities of man made him reject the Calvinistic doctrine of inability. According to him, Christianity is: "a practical science, the art of living piously and virtuously."(Sermons 1755:83) He also held an anti-creedal point of view as he said: "how much so ever any man may be mistaken in opinion concerning the terms of salvation, yet if he is practically in the right there is no doubt but he will be accepted of God". (Sermons 1755:103)

According to him, no untested sin can exclude a man who led his life according to the principles of Gospel from heaven. He always interpreted the principle of grace as a principle of holiness and goodness. He also believed that for the operation of grace as a savage, the love for the Christ and practice of righteousness are essentials. (Sermons 1755: 119) He said that: "the doctrine that men may obtain salvation without ceasing to do evil and learning to do well, without yielding sincere obedience to the laws of Christianity, is not so properly called a doctrine of grace as it is a doctrine of devils."(Sermons 1755: 125) He further added that faith without obedience cannot be justified. He considered obedience and righteousness as essentials to give life and perfection to the faith. (Sermons 1755:245)

2.23. Dr. Jonathan Mayhew (1720-1766): First Unitarian

Dr. Mayhew was insightful about the acceptance and practice of the right of the private judgment of religion. He never hesitated in the application of rationalism to theological issue and he considers reason as the most important and final judge of anything related to religion. He was an individualist because of his passion for freedom. Dr. Mayhew was a believer in the

doctrine of the Divine Unity and goodness of human nature as part of his nature. Because he denied the doctrine of trinity and acceptance of all cardinal principles, he is considered as the first candid Unitarian of New England. His sermons were depictive of his rational, lover of freedom and tester of religious practices in plain, clear, and modern style. He taught a practical form of religion that was ethical and humanitarian.

According to Dr. Mayhew's beliefs accepted at that time include that the doctrine of ignorance is disobedience of ancestors and is baseless. (Sermons 1755:50) He said that: "I hope it appears, that the love of God and of our neighbour, that sincere piety of heart, and righteous, holy and charitable life, are the weightier matters of the Gospel, as well as of the law." (Sermons 1755:82) In one of his sermons, he said that: "Although Christianity cannot, with any propriety or justice, be said to be the same with natural religion, or merely a republication of the laws of nature, yet the principal, the most important and fundamental duties required by Christianity are, nevertheless, the same which were enjoined under the legal dispensation of Moses, and the same which are dictated by the light of nature." (Sermons 1755:83)

His sermons are depictive of his love for freedom and intellect. The following lines are depictive of his point of view about the spiritual liberty: "Nor has any order or body of men authority to enjoin any particular article of faith, nor the use of many modes of worship not expressly pointed out in the Scriptures; nor has the enjoining of such articles a tendency to preserve the peace and harmony of the Church, but directly the contrary." (Sermons 1755:65) He considered the free inquiry, careful use of arguments whether against or in favour as the most important elements to reach the truth." (Sermons 1755:62) According to him considering the ancient creeds and doctrines liable to respect is a foolish and groundless act. He also considered valuing the principles by their age as unworthy. He said it is like considering wine good if it is old but it is not the same for principles." (Sermons 1755:63)

Mayhew was rigid about the unity of God and consider him unrivalled. According to him: "The dominion and sovereignty of the universe are necessarily one and in one, the only living and true God, who delegates such measures of power and authority to other beings as seemeth good in his sight." He said that the preservation of God's unity and supremacy by Christians: "has long been just matter of reproach to them"; and he said the authority of the Christ is always "exercised in subordination to God's will."(Sermons 1755:269) His point of view was that: "the faith of Christians does not terminate in the Christ as the ultimate object of it, but it is extended through him to the one God."(Sermons 1755:275-276) The idea of subordination was essential to him. (Bradford 2009:36) His biographer stated him as an Arian in his views about the nature of the Christ. The author of his biography said:

"He was the first clergyman in New England who expressly and openly opposed the scholastic doctrine of the Trinity. Several others declined to press the Athanasian Creed and believed strictly in the unity of God. They also probably found it difficult to explain their views on the subject, and the great danger of losing their good name served to prevent their speaking out. But Dr. Mayhew did not conceal or disguise his sentiments on this point any more than on others, such as the peculiar tenets of Calvinism. He explicitly and boldly declared the doctrine irrational, unscriptural, and directly contradictory." (Bradford 2009:464)

He was teaching the unity of God since 1753, and his approach was plain and clear. A volume of his sermons was published in 1755. The strict anti-creed making approach of Mayhew was recognized and depictive in the opponent's comments. His point of view about the creeds was: "The creeds set up human tests of orthodoxy instead of the infallible word of God, and make other terms of Christian communion than those explicitly pointed out by the Gospel."(Sermons 1755:293)

The successor of Dr. Mayhew was Rev. Simeon Howard who succeeded him in 1767 in the West the Church. Although he was welcomed by the town ministers he was as radical theologian as his predecessor. He was an Arminian and Arian who denied trinity, divine predestination of depravity, and ruin of the human soul¹¹⁴. Besides his thorough earnest preaching, he was of gentle temper and the similar intellect of Dr. Mayhew.

2.24. Dr. Charles Chauncy (1705-1787): A Universalist

Dr. Charles Chauncy who served as minister in First the Church of Boston from 1727 to 1787 was considered to have a liberal mind set. He was a rigid opponent of the great awakening and he never hesitated in expressing it in his sermons and press. He aimed to expose the results of excess revival for which he published a book on French fanatics. He indicated the hazards of uncontrolled religious excitement in his sermon addressing enthusiasm. According to him, religious excitement must be controlled by sense and reason. His publication of 1743 named *Seasonable Thoughts on the State of Religion in New England* was comprised of information and knowledge he collected by visiting almost whole New England. He collected information related to the methods and results of revival for this book.

The influence of Taylor, Clarke, Tillotson, and other English rational authors is quite pronounced in his work. He was known for his earnest and honest clarity rather than his eloquent preaching. He wrote dozens of books besides the published sermons. His sermon of 1739 was a promotion of toleration. He talked about preserving the religion by vindicating the religious establishments later in following words¹¹⁵: "It is with me past all doubt that the religion of Jesus will never be restored to its primitive purity, simplicity, and glory until religious establishments are so brought down as to be no more." This conviction of him made

¹¹⁴ *The West the Church and Its Ministers* by C.A. Bartol.

¹¹⁵ This was the reply to Dr. Chandler.

him oppose the establishment of the English Church as an expression of the state's religion in colonies. This was an event that occurred before the Revolution. Regarding this issue, he said¹¹⁶ in 1767 that the Americans would prefer to suffer their estates and lives rather than being submissive to the foreign state or the Church.

Dr. Chauncy gradually moved from his early life from Arminianism to Unitarianism and Universalism. The last four to five books of his life was descriptive of his liberal thoughts. One of them was "*The Benevolence of the Deity*" fairly and impartially considered, which was published in 1784 in Boston. This book was similar to Butler's Analogy in aim and methodology that expressed the idea of manifestation of God in the creation of man. According to him, the free will of man is a gift from God. He proved God's benevolence by addressing the moral life issues. He considered the men's goodness as a reflection of God's goodness. After a year another publication of him, "*Scriptural Account of the Fall and its Consequences*" stated his denial of the doctrine of total depravity and documented his interpretation of new birth. He successfully clarified the Church and state connections in New England. According to him, education would be the sole tool for an individual's training and admission to the Church.

The greatest contribution of Dr. Chauncy was his favour of universal salvation in his books and preaching¹¹⁷. The little effective but pioneering pamphlets on equal salvation of all men was published by Dr. Chauncy during 1783-84 in Boston. "*The Mystery hid from Ages and Generations*" was published by him in 1784 in London. In this publication, he manifested the Gospel of Revelation. To prove the universal salvation, he presented his study of the New Testament. He said that all will be saved because of the Christ's death, which aimed all, and

¹¹⁶ The remarks on Landaff's Bishop's sermon was quoted by Sprague.

¹¹⁷ Paul Leicester published "*Bibliotheca Chaunciana*", a collection of Charles Chauncy's publications.

after death, all will have the opportunity of salvation. His thoughts on salvation end at the accomplishment of the moral recovery of humans.

2.25. Some Prominent Contributors

Among the leaders, Dr. Samuel West of New Bedford is a shining name who settled there in 1760 and spent forty years preaching. (Potter 1892) He denied the doctrine of trinity along with the doctrines of total depravity, and fore-ordination. During the election of 1776, he preached on the basis of obvious rationalism. During the same time, he said in a sermon "A revelation pretending to be from God, that contradicts any part of natural laws ought immediately to be rejected as imposture; for the deity cannot make a law contrary to the law of nature without acting contrary to himself,--a thing in the strictest sense impossible, for that which implies contradiction is not an object of Divine Power." His and other liberal's point of view is depicted in one of his statements as: "To preach the Christ is to preach the whole system of divinity, as it consists of both natural and revealed religion."(Sprague 1865:42)

After his dismissal from the parish in 1751, Rev. Thomas Barnard joined the First Church in Salem in 1755. He was dismissed because the revivals of the congregation considered him unconverted. His affiliations were with the school of Samuel Clark as an Arminian and Arian. The North Church of Salem was settled by Thomas, son of Thomas Barnard in 1773. This Church was established by his First Church's followers. Thomas admired his father's theology but was more specific about Arian theology. This affiliation of Thomas with Arianism made people think that Dr. Channing was a Unitarian. Junior Barnard's theology teacher was Rev. Samuel Williams, whose nature of instructions is descriptive through what he said to him in a sermon: "Be of no sect or party but that of good men, and to all such let your heart be opened." He advised him to open his heart for all without considering their mutual differences. He also advised him cautiously and modestly to examine but not letting the total freedom in

religious issues go. (Batchelor 1887:264) His beliefs about the final salvation were: "the final salvation of no man depended upon the belief or disbelief of those speculative opinions about which men, equally learned and pious, differ." He also answered the question of one of his followers about not preaching trinity as he (the follower) will never listen to him preaching about the trinity. (Batchelor 1887:265)

Rev. John Prince was appointed as the colleague of Barnard in 1779. He was a flexible Arian. Besides being a passionate of science and a student, he was also a thinker and investigator. He invites Rev. John Murray to his platform in 1787 that depicts his liberal thoughts. (Sprague 1865:131) A personality of a similar mindset and scientific approach Rev. William Bentley joined the East Church of Salem in 1782 as Rev. James Diman's colleague, James, was a rigid Calvinist and Bentley was of liberal theological thoughts. During the visit of William Hazlitt¹¹⁸ of New England in 1784, Bentley started studying his Unitarian teachings. This led him to Priestley¹¹⁹'s publication against trinity in 1786 after which he praised Priestley's short tracts as a simple explanation of Doctrines of Christianity. He promoted free inquiry of religion during his tenure as a minister and after preaching, he accepted Unitarianism. (Osgood 1879:86) In 1789 he said that "the full conviction of a future moral retribution" is "the great point of Christian faith." (Batchelor 1887:270)

Mr. Bentley was considered as the first minister to have taken Unitarian beliefs in New England. This claim was made on his attitude towards doctrines. (Batchelor 1887:267) He communicated with the European scholars and Arab chiefs' language. He was well aware of Indian religions and he recognised them appreciatively. The contact between the shipmasters, foreign merchants, and the oriental religions eliminated doctrinal Christianity in them. All these

¹¹⁸ He is known as "Father of Essayist"

¹¹⁹ Joseph Priestley was an English Unitarian. He was also a Presbyterian minister and a scientist.

connected with the churches that declared their Unitarian position later. Thus, the commerce and contact with Orientals proved themselves potential influencers of converting Puritanism of Salem into Unitarianism. (Batchelor 1887:283)

A step towards liberalism was taken with the establishment of the second parish of Worcester in 1785. It was the first appointment of Congregational parishes outside Boston on a doctrinal basis. After the death of the first parish, Rev. Aaron Bancroft was selected as a second parish after scrutiny of several candidates. He was an Arminian Arian who was selected even after the opposition of people that wanted a Calvinist. This was achieved after years of struggle as Mr. Bancroft's beliefs were not accepted; which made his appointment go through all sorts of defeat strategies. (Smalley 1851:232)

2.26. Conclusion

The beginning of the American Unitarianism was influenced by the English Unitarianism that can be regarded as an essential factor involved because of the colonial status of the United States of America. However, it was a non-sectarian movement that wanted to be considered Congregationalists. They did not use the word denomination or sect and promoted a broad fellowship to unite all the liberal persons and movements. Their principles included liberty, reason, and free inquiry.

The free spirit of inquiry was prominent in the Unitarian body from the beginning. The status of criticism was of free course. Bible was considered liable to the free investigation because it was the sole source of all religious foundations. Before Unitarianism, the religious status of the Bible made the religious bodies hesitate in studying it rationally.

The expectations from the early Unitarianism was high, and it was expected to be the most popular religion in the country. Thomas Jefferson once forecasted the religion of all young people of his time and he named their religion Unitarianism. The opposition forecasted the

future of Unitarianism as another sectarian religion that, according to them, would vanish as speedily as it got popularised. The factors behind the slow development of Unitarianism included that it is the too modern spirit that eliminated it from the streams of popular beliefs at that time. But the same modern spirit was accepted by the like-minded.

The time Unitarianism was striving to make its way to acceptance was the period when the religion of people was decided by the traditions, social heredity, and the teachings they received in their childhood. The people who embraced Unitarianism at that time were the people of independent nature that made them able to remove the hurdles of traditions from their way. All the above factors slowed down the organised development of Unitarianism. It was limited for a large time to New England and even was carried outside by the migrants who initially moved to the west.

The area where the promises of the Unitarianism development failed from 1825 to 1840 was the west. The reason was the absence of supporting traditions and mindsets. The individuals were attracted by the Unitarian faith, but they failed in further spreading it because of a thick blanket of old traditions around them. The same blanket of old traditions also hampered the Unitarian literature. However, the distribution of literature helped in another way that was spiritual infiltration into the Christian tradition. This infiltration gave a chance of the creation of new traditions to Unitarianism that in turn led to slow but steady development. It slowly developed thought habits that led to the acceptance of free inquiry.

Shortly Unitarianism can be defined as dissent and dissents are never accepted openly. The sects against Unitarianism, were known for narrow spirit, dogmatic temper, and intense sectarian methodology. They were isolated from the streams of life that affected them intellectually and spiritually. The defects and peculiarities are enhanced as a reaction. Another effect was the degeneration that made them more isolated, peculiar, and sectarian with time.

Unitarianism proved the forecasts of its becoming sectarian and vanished wrong. The next century for Unitarianism was the time of growth and introduction to new lands.

Unitarianism was lucky enough to be saved from the above-described bad effects as it openly accepted the modern spirit thanks to the educated and progressive adherents of it. Its adherents were tied up with the forces of human development because of their love for liberty, reason, and free inquiry. Unitarians gave importance to the individual initiatives along with retaining loyalty to the past. They also retained the deep and spiritual elements of the Christian tradition. Thus, it is safe to say that they were strongly heretical and individualistic but also loyal to Christianity. They aimed to revive the primitive simple form of Christianity.

CHAPTER THREE

CHAPTER THREE

The Epic of Unitarianism in Late Eighteenth and Early Nineteenth Centuries

3.1. Introduction

The history of the American Unitarianism can be divided into four distinct periods constituted of a period of precursor movements of the eighteenth century during the era of the Age of Enlightenment, the formative period from 1800-1835, The Transcendentalist period from 1835-1885, and the Modern period started from 1885. Both the late eighteenth century and the nineteenth century were classified under the period of precursor movements and the formative period of Unitarianism in the United States respectively.

These two periods are distinct in their events but broadly speaking, all contributed to the development of Unitarianism in the country. The end of the eighteenth century knew a slow and steady development. It was the period of writing and publishing Unitarian books and tracts, the establishment of organisations, and the initial utterance of faith publicly. Unitarian preachers were holding the churches along with establishing new churches.

While the start of the eighteenth century was about spreading the influence of the English Philosophy, it was semi-rational with some elements of supernaturalism and practical Christianity. It was also the period of first official acceptance of the Unitarian faith and the first Unitarian Church was King's Chapel. The growth of the Unitarian controversy impacted the foundations, which led to the creation of divisions among congregational churches. The beginning of the Unitarian movement was non-sectarian and it proceeded in culture and literature of the country. The Unitarian theology also found its way to the Harvard School, Meadville Lombard Theological School, Star King School, and other institutions.

The third period of Unitarianism in the country is marked with the growth of the German influence on the Unitarian theology. It was more rational and eliminated the supernatural elements from theology. The development of more rational thought divided the Unitarian body into Radicals and Conservatives of which radicals established the Free Religious Association. After 1885 the development of theological controversy ceased.

The fourth period, the age of rationalism, started in 1885. During this period the universal religion, the scientific methodology and the ethical realisation of affirmations of Christianity were recognised. A glimpse of all the above-mentioned periods of development is given below.

3.2. The Revival of Unitarianism in the Late Eighteenth Century

Until the beginning of the revival movement of Calvinism, the Churches were not divided on a doctrinal basis. Before the revival movement, ministers collaborated without considering the sects and the Calvinist teachings were not emphasised much. The 1780's revival movement started by Dr. Bellamy, Hopkins, Emmons, and others. The teachings of the new theology included the total submission to God without conditions; God is kindness for men and men should be lost to the glory of God. The aim of these modifications in the Calvinistic theology was to get more converts. The vogue of this movement influenced several other movements that survived until the mid-nineteenth century. The second period of revivalism in New England started in 1790 and it was more organised than the first one. The second systematic approach led to the establishment of churches and missionaries that, in turn made the lives of people religious. The Liberals and Orthodox reacted to this movement aggressively. The first clear divergence between the deity of the Christ believers and the subordinate nature

of the Christ believers was the gift of the second phase of revival. The friendly spirit between the churches of different beliefs got limited and finally the division into two took place¹²⁰.

In the beginning, the Liberal thoughts were restricted to their host individuals not because they doubted their new beliefs but because they kept their reluctance to themselves rather than adopting it publicly. Even the ones who announced their beliefs did not emphasize establishing a strong party basis of theology. According to a visitor of Boston, the ministers were divided on every point of theology. In 1791, he wrote that some of the ministers hold Arminian, some Calvinistic, some Socinian, and some hold Universalist beliefs. (Jones 1849: 236) Another similar event recorded in history is from 1801. It is also based on the comments of a visitor who said that only one minister of Boston is Trinitarian. Among the others, one was an Arminian, one was Socinian, one was inspired by Edward, one was universalist and one was a Unitarian. (Alexander 1854: 252) He said that the distinction of beliefs was apparent among the ministers, but the fact of dissention between the clergy was not public. This dissent flourished in the absence of authority that pressurized people to uniform the beliefs. The no-pressure environment continued until 1768 when Rev. John Tucker said in a sermon that only the Christ can correct the Gospel's teachings. Rev. John Tucker made statements on the point that all the believers and preachers are equal in Christianity thus: "none of them can have any authority even to interpret the laws of this kingdom for others, to require their assent to such interpretation".

He further added that every Christian's interpretation of the Gospel's truths is right as there are no doctrines, laws, religious rites, and submission of the Christian rights as mentioned in the Gospel. (Brewer 1971: 12) He was minister of the First Church in Salem and was known

¹²⁰ The third volume of first series of Unitarian Advocate and Religious Miscellany, published in 1829, gave space to the Francis Parkman's letter concerning Unitarianism in Boston in 1812.

for his non-controversial preaching. He avoided the controversies that were in vogue in that time in New England. (Sprague 1865: 131)

Another minister this time from Roxbury named Rev. Eliphalet Porter once made a statement about the Calvinist beliefs. He said that he considered none of Calvinism's beliefs as essential to the Christian faith. (Sprague 1865: 159)

3.3. History and the Role of King's Chapel

King's Chapel is a Christian church that follows Unitarian theology, practices Anglican worship methods, and managed congregationally. Besides known as a historical landmark King's chapel is famous for the history of its conversion to Unitarian theology. The King's Chapel was established by Sir Edmund Andros as a congregation in 1686. Sir Edmund Andros was the Royal governor in Colonial New England with pro-Anglican beliefs and it was the first Anglican establishment during the reign of King James II. The Chapel stayed vacant during the American revolution thus named "Stone Chapel". The people who attached to the Chapel moved to England and other countries. They returned in 1782 to reopen the Chapel. The major turn into the theological basis of the church happened in 1785 when James Freeman made the changes to prayer book according to the Unitarian theology.

The following lines will cover the journey of King's Chapel to Unitarianism. History depicts the liberty of spirit that was present in the eighteenth century of New England. Within New England Boston, it is a neighbourhood, and the areas of seacoast were of major activity. The previous incidents are the depictions of Unitarianism development in King's Chapel. The progress started with the appointment of Rev. James Freeman in King's Chapel in 1782. His ordination liturgy was postponed for two years for the confirmation of the Liberal beliefs of ministers and people. The stimulant behind these changes was the father of essayist Rev.

William Hazlitt. He was also a critic and establisher of many Unitarian churches in England. He visited America and stayed in Philadelphia for several months in 1783.

His lectures on the pieces of evidence of Christianity were hosted by a college there and gathered mass attention. He preached in Maryland and was invited to be settled in Charleston and Pittsburg. He was also invited for the presidency of a college on a condition of subscription to the required doctrinal tests. But he had a reputation of dying rather than submitting to the human authority in elements of faith¹²¹. He preached in Brattle street church Boston in 1784 and was held back of becoming its minister because of his doctrinal beliefs. His preaching in Hingham made people offer him settlement, but the presence of Dr. Gay there was enough. He also shared pulpits with ministers of Salem and Cape Cod. Mr. Hazlitt spent his winter of 1784-85 in Hallowell. He was hosted by a group of English Unitarians there. That group was managed by Samuel Vaughan. Hazlitt revisited Boston in 1785's spring. However, he failed to get employment thus returned to England in the autumn of 1785. He collaborated with Dr. Howard and Dr. Lathrop of the West Church of Boston and the West Springfield respectively. His sermons published in 1786 and 1790 built strong readership and were republished.

Despite a strong readership and welcome in several regions of New England, Mr. Hazlitt was led back to settle in Boston or it is a neighbourhood by his Unitarian beliefs. He assisted Dr. Freeman in the revision of the prayer book in 1784. The prayer book was revised to give it a form of Dr. Lindsey¹²²'s prayer methodology that he used in Essex street Chapel. He also wrote Dr. Priestley's Unitarian tracts for republication in Philadelphia and Boston¹²³. When Dr. Freeman corresponded with Theophilus Lindsey he wrote about Dr. Hazlitt as a pious and

¹²¹ A statement made by his daughter.

¹²² Lindsey was an English Unitarian.

¹²³ Four Generations of Literary Family: The Hazlitt in England, Ireland, and America.

intelligent minister to whom he was grateful for his conversations and instructions¹²⁴. Dr. Freeman wrote about the before and after of Mr. Hazlitt's visit to Boston. He said that before his coming to Boston, Trinitarian doxology was universal, which was successfully eliminated from the ministers by the privilege of honest nature of Mr. Hazlitt. According to him after Mr. Hazlitt, the number of ministers who only refer to the scriptural doxologies enhanced thus the number of churches with strict Unitarian worship methods increased. (Belsham 1812: 12)

After 1786 the connections of Liberal Americans with English Unitarian leaders got stronger. Thomas Belsham in his publication "Life of Theophilus Lindsey" published the letters as proof of a mutual connection. This publication indicates that Dr. Lindsey presented his own and Dr. Priestley's at Harvard college that gathered the strong attention of students. (Freeman 2017: 16) In 1783 a correspondent of Boston named James Bowdoin wrote that: "There are many others besides, in our legislature, of similar sentiments. While so many of our great men are thus on the side of truth and free inquiry, they will necessarily influence many of the common people." (Freeman 2017: 16) He further added that the Socinianism developed advocacy in public. He called General Benjamin Lincoln and General Henry Knox as Liberals.

Mr. Bentley of Salem's reputation was of a bold, strong, and independent mind set. He was also known for his skills in multiple languages. He was one of the men who favoured Liberal theologies. His congregation was known for Liberal preaching. This congregation was also happy with the new improvements, with the translations of scriptures, and prophecies. (Freeman 2017: 20)

¹²⁴ The welcome of Hazlitt is mentioned in "Monthly Repository", III., 1808, 305.

3.4. Some Other Unitarian Movements

Thomas Oxnard established a Unitarian congregation in 1792 in Portland. Thomas Oxnard was an Episcopalian. Dr. Freeman introduced him to the works of Lindsey and Priestley that made him a Unitarian. People with reputation and wealth joined him in his Unitarian beliefs. Mr. Oxnard in his writing to his friend in 1788 mentioned the demand for Unitarian publications. He also mentioned the point of view of his friends that believed in widespread and prevailing of Unitarian doctrine in less time. He said: “three years ago, I did not know a single Unitarian in this part of the country besides myself; and now, entirely from the various publications you have furnished, a decent society might be collected in this and the neighbouring towns. (Freeman 2017: 17)

The failure of 1792’s attempt to introduce revised liturgy in the Episcopal Church of Portland led to the establishment of a Unitarian society under the ministry of Mr. Oxnard¹²⁵. The lifetime of this society was merely a few years. The members of this society joined the first Congregational church that in 1809 became Unitarian. Hon. Samuel Thatcher sponsored the 1792’s Unitarian congregation of Saco. He was Massachusetts’ judge and a Congress member. (Freeman 2017: 18) Priestley’s writings were behind the conversion of Mr. Thatcher from a non-believer to a faithful Christian. He was opposed by his neighbours, who also attempted to fail his re-election into congress but failed. The connections of Saco congress with that of Portland’s movement made them extinct at the same time. According to the 1794’s writings of Dr. Freeman Unitarianism was in vogue in Massachusetts’ southern counties. He reported a large presence of the Unitarian body in Barnstable. (Freeman 2017: 17, 24)

¹²⁵ Oxnard was a merchant who also served the Episcopal church as lay reader.

In May of 1796, he stated enhancement in Unitarianism in Maine. According to him along with the increasing trend in the southern areas of Massachusetts the development was also initiated in Vermont. He was not disappointed in Unitarianism's decline in some areas as he was also keeping an eye on the areas where it was flourishing. He mentioned in his writings that the Unitarian faith introduced him with the intellectual minds and benevolent hearts of his age along with enriching him with knowledge. He talked about the standing article of libraries that abandon the purchase of controversial writings, but it was not implemented on the books presented. Thus, Freeman thought of introducing Unitarian writings. His effort of introducing the Unitarian tract was not failed as the writings were read eagerly, impressing the minds of readers. Freeman noticed the effect of the tract and wrote about them. He mentioned his familiarity with the ministers who accepted and preached the Unitarian doctrines. He mentioned most of them in the southern part. He talked about the second preaching model and said:

“There are others more cautious, who content themselves with leading their hearers by a course of rational but prudent sermons gradually and insensibly to embrace it. Though this latter mode is not what I entirely approve, yet it produces good effects. For the people are thus kept out of the reach of false opinions, and are prepared for the impressions which will be made on them by bolder and ardent successors, who will probably be raised when these timid characters are removed off the stage. The clergy are generally the first who begin to speculate, but the people soon follow, where they are so much accustomed to read and enquire.”(Belsham 1815: 18)

Philosophical works had a significant impact such as Samuel Watts' biography, that was published by Jeremy Belknap in 1793. Samuel Watts was a believer of the subordinate nature of the Christ or doubtfully an Arian. This biography attracted minds to the doctrine of trinity and the critical study of the subject. Dr. Belknap ordained as the minister of Federal Street

Church Boston and he was undoubtedly a Unitarian. The 1794's visits of Priestley to Philadelphia influenced his listeners which were large congregations. Priestley's humanitarian theology includes the denial of divinity and deity of the Christ that made his teachings less influential. In 1796 a small congregation of English Unitarians was established in Philadelphia.

The development of Liberal beliefs in the church of Plymouth led to a division of the Church in 1800. The manifestation started in 1742 in reaction to revivalism¹²⁶. A strict Calvinist Rev. Chandler Robbins served as a minister from 1760 to 1799. The 1794's parish thought of a second church for securing Liberal preaching. However, considering the beloved old man Mr. Robbins the effort was delayed. After the death of Mr. Robbins in 1799 the election of new pastor Rev. James Kendall won twenty-three supporters in comparison to fifteen opponents. The conservative minority of the church separated in September of 1800 for the establishment of the Church of Pilgrimage. It was a society that initially consisted of eighteen males and thirty-five females. Mr. Kendall was a known Arminian and his appointment almost abandoned the preaching of Calvinism from the pulpit. He dissented from the path of Mr. Robbins by abandoning the strict Confession of faith and by expanding the old teaching methods. Later Mr. Kendall embraced Unitarianism with his church's approval. The next embracers were the Church of Mayflower, Robinson, and Brewster.

The controversy was quiet at that time except for the occasional rise of criticism. The criticism usually arose in the election sermons and the conventions. The charity was magnified by the Liberal men who were also zealous about the philanthropic acts. Their position on the Bible was clear as they summed Christianity to loyalty to the Christ only. They stayed silent about all creeds and dogmas except the occasional condemnation of them. The whole movement was established on the latitudinarianism and the preaching of toleration. Their concern about

¹²⁶ Church Record, MS., II. 7

theological issues was mild as they believe in broad, sympathetic, and practical religion. A religion that bases on the Christ 's teachings to lead men to a pure life.

The rejection of Massachusetts' constitution of 1778 depicts the state of toleration there as the reason behind the rejection was the retention of the freedom of worship to all the protestant denominations by the constitution. The religious sect that was in dominance at that time was not ready to give equal rights to the other sects. The enhanced role of Liberal men in the Constitutional convention of 1779 was because of their desire to separate church and state. The active Liberal leaders in this context include the names of Dr. Chauncy, Mayhew, Shute, and West.

Dr. Chauncy was against the state interference into the religion as he said in 1768 that: "We are in principle, against all civil establishments in religion. It does not appear to us that God has entrusted, the state with a right to make religious establishments. But let it be heedfully minded we claim no right to desire the interposition of the state to establish the mode of worship, government or discipline, we apprehend is most agreeable to the mind of the Christ ." He further explained the desired form of liberty as good citizens that included unrestricted principles' practice. This opinion of Dr. Chauncy was supported by all men who were liberated from the Puritan spirit. However, their efforts were unsuccessful because they were an unorganized minority.

Massachusetts' convention of 1788 was held to approve the Constitution of the United States. This convention also tested the public sentiments on the subject. The sixth article was the most debated and opposed article of the constitution as it provides that "no religious tests shall ever be required as a qualification to any office."

According to another Liberal Hon. Theophilus Parsons "the only evidence we can have of the sincerity and excellency of a man's religion is a good life". These statements are

indicators of the position of Liberals. The opposition argued on the point of departure from the forefather's principles. They opposed the acceptance of atheists and deists into the government by this article as they consider the acceptance against the efforts of preservation of religion by their forefathers.

Baptists were actively leading the efforts of securing religious toleration as a law of the state. The equal support was from the Liberal Congregationalists while the Orthodox and Calvinist churches played the opposition's role. The name of the major supporters of the toleration act of the constitution includes Dr. David Shute, Rev. Thomas Thatcher, and Dr. Samuel West. They were from South Parish Hingham, West Parish Dedham, and West Parish New Bedford respectively. From the seventeen ministers, fourteen voted in favour of the constitution. Rev. Philip Payson represented those fourteen ministers by saying that the religious tests would be imperfections of the constitution. Philip Payson was a minister of Chelsea. He further added that God like the conscience and the invasion by human courts in the conscience is sinful¹²⁷. The constitution was approved by a small conventional majority and the position of the Liberal ministers in overwhelming opposition is an indicator of the growth of liberty. The succeeding events depicted the point of view of the majority of people as they were in favour of old religious texts. The Liberal influence was clear on the Revolution as the hot topics of abandoning old customs and promoting liberty were part of the discussion during the Revolution. The church privileges and the respect for the authority of clergy decreased in response to the enhanced democratic sentiment. The next twenty years of the revolution were of the immense growth of Liberal sentiments.

Universalism favoured the decree of God that all should be saved and his will is victorious thus it was a modified form of Calvinism. In the last two decades of the eighteenth

¹²⁷ Convention of Commonwealth of Massachusetts, 1788.

century, the doctrine of universal salvation was in vogue in different parts of the country. The growth in the doctrine was not decreased even at the beginning of the nineteenth century. The origin of this movement can be traced back to the Baptist churches however it appeared in others soon after the beginning. It started as a protest against the strict future punishments. The humanitarian awakening, faith in man, and the definition of love as diviner as the inspirations of the movement in the beginning. The initial fellowship of universalism includes the men who refrained from the creeds and who were in search of a hopeful interpretation of religion. People of free-thinking joined this movement from every sect similarly the opposition faced from all sects. With time the position of the movement clarified and it established itself as a sect that presented politer views of God and the future.

Another similar movement was led by Thomas Hicks. This movement was reformatory and Unitarian in nature and started in the influence of democracy. The other influencing factor was the manifestation of humanity. A movement against all creeds and confessions was started in the last decade of eighteenth-century in the states located between south and north. This movement favoured the Bible as a word from God and the sole source of teachings. The governors of this movement promoted the evangelical obedience to the teachings of the Christ . they named themselves Disciples and considered the Christ enough for faith. They built an opposition on the name as some said that the name Christian is enough. Their deal with the rituals was unsectarian and theology was biblical. These earnest searchers of truth and the Christian theology joined hands from Maine to Georgia.

The growth of Methodism led to the adoption of Arminianism. The Baptists joined them from all parts of New England to protest against the strict order of Congregationalists. They demanded the toleration and free conscience that was started getting recognition after the

revolution. They were influenced enough to separate the state and church. The people who were against the church tax also joined the Baptists to give voice to their rights.

The flourishing democratic spirit made the authority of England give up. The major change was the awareness in the general public that shifted gradually from the ministers. This era was of individualism and of the expression of the spirit that was present in New England long before but oppressed by the autocracy. However, it was a gradual change that led people to think for themselves and express those thoughts. It was never an outbreak, overnight change of customs, or a radical change. The conservative and infidel nature of people of New England made the progress slow but the individualism declared itself. The old creeds restricted to individuals with the growth of independence in churches.

There were two directions of the theological development of the eighteenth century. One was rationalism that demanded a free inquiry and represented by Jonathan Mayhew and William Bentley. The second was philanthropic which was a protest against the strict Calvinistic approaches. It was represented by the Charles Chauncy and universalists. The demand for the submission of all theological issues to the reason for vindication was not appreciated but a minority was aware of the worth of that demand and they employed the methodology without hesitation. The succeeding followers were hesitant in the beginning but they were confident about the reason. They considered reason as God's selection for man's hunt for the truth.

The desire of interpreting God's ways and the faith in the fatherly nature of God was the driving factor for the origin of the second tendency. The Liberal Calvinists and Universalists believed in the more generous and loving nature of God. They also adopted the philanthropic way of God's dealing with men to deal with their fellow men.

3.5. The Controversy and Beginning of the Nineteenth Century

Rev. Henry Ware joined the Harvard College as Hollis professor divinity in 1805 after serving as a pastor for nearly twenty years in the First Church of Hingham. He was a successor of Professor David Tappan. Professor Tappan was a believer in the sovereignty of God and a limited effort of men in the salvation process although he was a Calvinist. The conservative party was in favour of appointing a Calvinist at that position as they claim about the founder of professorship as a Calvinist. The Liberals opposed the conservatives on the claim that the Hollis did not impose such restrictions. (Quincy 1860: 230) The appointment of Mr. Ware was heavily opposed by the overseers but he was elected by the majority. The controversy started with the publication of a pamphlet against him and that controversy stayed for a quarter-century.

The controversy became more furious by the publication of pamphlets from Rev. John Sherman and Rev. Hosea Ballou. The name of the pamphlet of Sherman was “One God in One Person” and that of Ballou was “Treatise on the Atonement”. Both these pamphlets published in 1805 and Mr. Sherman’s publication was called "one of the first acts of direct hostility against the Orthodox committed on these western shores” by the Monthly Anthology¹²⁸. However, Mr. Ballou’s book was of little influence that was limited to the universalist body thus there was no part of this publication in the Liberal and Orthodox controversy. The doctrine of atonement, however, was the first time presented in a rational positive statement. Thus, it was an effort to reconcile the man and the authority of God. The universalists’ leaders became Unitarian within a decade. (Safford 1890: 161)

¹²⁸ III. 251, March, 1806.

The succeeding publication “Bible News of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost” of Rev. Noah Worcester came into light in 1810. This publication expressed the subordinate nature of the Christ clearly and was an Arian picture of Trinity.

The position was defined by Dr. Jedidiah Morse’s publications of 1805. These publications were hosted by The Panoplist which was a magazine devoted to the defense of Orthodox views as the editors were bound to the old beliefs. The overall tone was not much aggressive because of its devotion to general religious interests that they merely promoted. The next name in the series is The Spirit of the Pilgrims which was intolerant. In opposition to the Liberal mindset of Harvard, the Andover Theological School was established in 1808. It was an effort to collect and educate the Calvinists and Hopkinsians who were not in favour of Harvard’s Liberal mindset.

The majority of Liberals of that time refused to testify their beliefs. They denied the authority of every theological statement over the Christian attainments. Thus, this was the training environment of the early leaders of the Unitarian movement. In June 183 William Ellery Channing settled in Federal Street Church. He was of an evangelical, thoughtful, and earnest nature. His mindset which was in love with liberty, spirituality, and tolerance made him gradually accept Liberal views. He was the man behind the new movement’s spiritual, intellectual, and philanthropic efforts. He guided the spiritual side of the movement.

The second man of great personality was Joseph Stevens Buckminster who settled in Brattle Street Church in 1804. He preached for six years until his death by a disfiguring disease. He influenced the pulpits by his personality and teachings. Samuel Cooper Thacher settled in New South in 1811. He was known for his devotion to work. He also died at an early age. Charles Lowell joined the West Church in 1806 where he preached Liberality and spiritual freedom. Another name of a graceful and eloquent personality is of a twenty years old young

man Edward Everett who joined the Brattle Street Church in 1814 as a minister. He is influenced by his expressive learning style.

From the New North Francis Parkman's preaching stand out. He joined the place in 1812 and Frothingham stated him as: "a man of various information, a kind spirit, singular benevolence, polished yet simple manners, fine literary taste."(Frothingham 1890: 161)

John Gorham Palfrey joined the Brattle Street Church as a minister after a few years. James Walker joined the Harvard church Charlestown at almost the same time. The audience or followers of the above-mentioned preachers included from layman to persons of reputation and intellect. Thus, the social and intellectual worth of Liberal fellowship was not ignorable. The virtue of the churches at that time changed to a serious reputation and they preached sincere, spiritual, and simple religion.

3.6. The Monthly Anthology

The Liberal aims were practical that was presented in a tolerant manner publicly. The Monthly Anthology was the first publication to give voice to Liberal beliefs. This publication was started as a non-controversial literary journal by a young man in 1803 who soon abandoned the journal. The publishers contacted the minister of the First Church of Boston to take charge of the journal. Rev. William Emerson agreed to take charge of it with some of his friends. The meetings of the management of the journal named Anthology club that managed to publish ten volumes of it. The members of the Anthology club include Rev. William Emerson, Joseph S. Buckminster, Samuel Cooper Thacher, and Joseph Tuckerman along with the pastors from churches of Boston. The president of the club was John S.J. Gardiner. He was rector of the Trinity Church and a frequent contributor in the journal. The anthology club was not established on a sectarian basis all they aimed was to contribute to the culture and the literature.

The first literary journal of the country was the monthly anthology. It contributed to the development of the literary tastes of New England and in igniting its literary capabilities. The broad catholic spirit made the Liberals to write against the party methods and published in this journal. There are a few events of criticizing the trinitarian doctrines and defending the Liberal beliefs in this journal are recorded.

3.7. Society for Promoting the Christian Knowledge, Piety and Charity

The society of Promoting the Christian Knowledge, Piety, and Charity was established by the citizens of Boston. Rev. William Emerson was the secretary of the society and he started The Christian Monitor in 1806 intending to promote the enlightened literature. The same aim led to the quarterly publication of small books to develop a readership of Liberal and practical works. The first publication was comprised of prayers and practices for personal and family use. The succeeded volumes published the Erskine's Letters to the Bereaved, the life of Bishop Newcombe and Character of the Christ, volumes on sermons on religious duties and training of children, and reproduced laws of Serious Call.

The religious tracts published by this society significantly circulated in the region. They published books for children and families with catholic Liberal methods. The influence of the man in the governing body made this society of unsectarian character. They are devoted to good work, sincere life, and unsectarian efforts¹²⁹.

3.8. General Repository

The Monthly Anthology and the Christian Monitor were the faces of undogmatic Liberal Catholicism. They avoided all controversies. The controversial face of Liberalism is expressed in the form of The General Repository and Review. Rev. Andrew Norton started this journal in

¹²⁹ The society stopped organization in 1888 and a fund given to Unitarian association for publishing.

1812 Cambridge. It was a quarterly review in the first number of which editors said on the discussion on the doctrine of Trinity: “in our own country has hitherto been chiefly confined to private circles”. He cited the books of John Sherman and Noah Worcester as exceptions in that society.

The tone of *The Review* in defense of Liberal Christianity was quite aggressive. The presentation of Liberal position was energetic and the publication of controversial articles was obvious. One issue of the journal published a survey of religious interests in the country and also presented the Liberal prospects in the churches. Mr. Norton separated his paths from the journal after the publication of the sixth number. He joined the Harvard college as a librarian. The journal continued for two more issues after that in the governance of “a society of gentlemen”. Besides Mr. Norton, the major contributors include Everett brothers Edward and Alexander H. Everett, John T. Kirkland, George Ticknor, Joseph H. Buckminster, Sidney Willard, Noah Worcester, Washington Allston, and James Freeman. Most of them belonged to the Harvard college or Boston’s Liberal churches. The final verdict about *The Review* is that it was too aggressive for the audience of that time.

3.9. The Christian Disciple

According to the need of that time, a less aggressive yet a religious journal was perfect. A non-dogmatic but a Liberal journal was planned by Drs. Channing, Lowell, Tuckerman, Rev. S.C. Thatcher, and Rev. Francis Parkman. Rev. Noah Worcester was invited as an editor in Boston as he was removed from his pulpit in New Hampshire because of his publication *Bible News*. He was a Hopkinsians but also a believer in the subordinate nature of the Christ. Mr. Worcester issued the first number of the *Christian Disciple* in May 1813 as a religious family journal. Despite not designed for the theological debates or defense of Liberal position it moderately promoted the need for religious liberty and charity. The foundation grounds of this

journal were to help an individual led a simple religious life in his circle and individually. It did publish the controversial questions but in a descriptive tone that guided readers to seek the truth by themselves. Noah Worcester said of his work that it was a total devotion to an individual's right of opinion and the duty of a Liberal. (Ware 1846: 40)

Dr. Worcester was more of a philanthropist than a theologian and he was accidentally drawn into the controversy. He was a gentle and kind nature that made him stay out of contentions and devote to the reforms. This journal published the activities of Liberal men and churches along with giving space to the organizations of a humanitarian character. The Christian Disciple advocated the temperance reform at the time of almost scarce advocacy for it. It also condemned slavery and appreciated the efforts of its elimination. Dr. Worcester was against the war thus the journal highlighted the war evils under his attention to the subject. The inhumanity and aggressiveness of dueling made the journal condemned it in a firm tone. The governance of the journal was also interested in the Bible societies thus the journal gave space to the reports of Bible societies than other organizations.

Dr. Worcester played the role of editor of the Christian Disciple until the end of 1818. He devoted himself to the Christian interests, peace, and the elucidation of his theological beliefs. The original proprietors handled the magazine from there and the circulation enhanced during their management.

Henry Ware was the new editor who published six volumes of the Christian Disciple. The new editorship made the journal more theological and a firm presenter of the Liberal views. The name of the journal was changed by the Rev. John Gorham who joined the editorship in 1824. The new name was the Christian Examiner.

The editorship changed after two years and Mr. Francis Jenks joined it as editor. In 1831 Rev. James Walker and Rev. Francis W.P. Greenwood took control of the journal. The journal

made gradual progress to serve as a crucial element of Unitarian intellect. It started promoting the Unitarian theologies, philanthropies, culture, and literature. A subtitle was adopted for the first five volumes name Theological Review. This subtitle is a depiction of the journal's interest in religious matters. For the next half-century, it was named General Review or the Religious Miscellany that depicts the broadest theological spirit of its character.

3.10. Role of Dr. Morse in the American Unitarianism

The Liberal men were reluctant to leave the churches with which they were connected along with confirming their denominational position. When the conservatives refused to share pulpits with the Liberals the basis for the first separation was established. It was started in 1810 and Rev. John Codman's attitude after becoming the minister of the second church Dorchester in 1808 give it a deciding incentive as he refused to collaborate with the Liberal ministers. Despite being trained theologically by Dr. Channing he boycotted the Liberal ministers from Boston Association. The contention prolonged as the Liberals of his congregation tried to compel him to collaborate with the Boston ministers. As a result, the Liberals dissented to establish The Third Religious Society in Dorchester in 1813. (Allen 1853: 81) The similar dissents enhanced gradually and speeded up after the 1815's controversies. However, the total measure of any sort of collaboration between the two theologies happened years after the dissents.

Dr. Jedidiah Morse published a small book named "American Unitarianism" in 1815. Dr. Morse was an author of several books and the editor of The Panoplist. This book was comprised of a chapter from the Biography of Theophilus Lindsey written by Thomas Belsham¹³⁰. The names of the American correspondents of Lindsey who were also Unitarians mentioned in this chapter. An article published in The Panoplist by Morse said that the Unitarian

¹³⁰ An English teacher, preacher and Unitarian.

ministers were not courageous enough to publicly utter their beliefs. The aim behind all these publications was to made the Unitarian ministers openly confess their faith and dissent from the churches they were attached with or either to dissent from the Unitarian beliefs. Thus, those were the charges of disloyalty on the hidden Unitarians that were answered by Dr. Channing in a letter to Rev. Samuel C. Thacher. He said that the Unitarianism of ministers is different from the Unitarianism of Dr. Belsham as they did not make the Christ a man. He also defended their hidden declaration of Unitarian faith by saying that their love is for the non-sectarian spirit and they are not willing to proselytize. He wrote: Accustomed as we are, to see genuine piety in all classes of the Christian, in Trinitarians and Unitarians, in Calvinists and Arminian, in Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Congregationalists, and delighting in this character wherever it appears, we are little anxious to bring men over to our peculiar opinions."(Channing 1896: 380)

Despite the logical explanation of hidden faith, the book of Dr. Morse led the foundations of separation that in the future turned to a denomination. After four years of Dr. Channing's sermon in Baltimore and other events of faith declaration the separation happened. It was the time of hyped controversy that eliminated all chances of reconciliation¹³¹. They non-Orthodox before that time was called themselves Catholics, or Liberal Christians but the Orthodox named them Unitarians. All those names were an expression of their love for toleration and liberty. The name Unitarian was first clipped to them by Dr. Morse in American Unitarianism. This name was considered to belong to the English Liberals that were offensive at that time. This led to the establishment of the assumption that the American Unitarians share materialist and man nature of the Christ 's beliefs with the English Unitarians. this assumption was rejected by Dr. Channing as he defined Unitarianism according to his theology. He

¹³¹ Yates' Vindication of Unitarianism was among the controversial English books published at that time and republished in 1816.

interpreted Unitarianism as an anti-trinitarian entity that can be employed to diverse opinion holders as it is less arrogant as compared to the name Liberals.

3.11. Establishment and the Role of Evangelical Missionary Society

The manifestation of Liberal purpose by the Liberal party attained in an interesting way. The initial Liberal organizations overlooked the theological basis to become more inclusive in character. They also did not distinguish the Orthodox and Liberals. The free activity of them is depictive from their criteria that were temper Catholicity only. The ministers of Worcester and Middlesex counties establish one of such kinds of societies named the Evangelical Missionary Society. The first meeting of the society was held on 4 November 1807, Lancaster for the purpose of minister election. The constitution of this society explained the objectives of it as it stated that: "The great object of this Society, is to furnish the means of the Christian knowledge and moral improvement to those inhabitants of our own country who are destitute or poorly provided." The society also aimed to provide good teaching staff and ministers to the communities in New England that were deprived of these facilities. They did not operate by sending nomads instead they sent ministers to establish churches and to promote the establishment of meeting places. This methodology led to the establishment of churches in Massachusetts, Maine, and New Hampshire. The teachers they sent to the settlements of Maine were trained their pupils to teach in the public schools. They also appointed the same person with dual duties of minister and teacher that was of the same effectiveness.

The year 1816 was of incorporation for the society as the churches of Boston, and Salem started financially supported them and the society expanded its membership for the inclusion of state. This society was non-sectarian but the Liberals were among the majority of its membership holders after the expansion of the membership. They gradually left the all-inclusive and catholic character of it and transformed into Unitarian society. With time despite

membership available for all the other sects, the people of other sects limited their cooperation that led it to be confined to Unitarianism. They supported the self-supported churches and ministers in their distressing time.

3.12. Role of the Berry Street Conference

In May 1820 the first meeting of the organization's Liberal ministers was held in Federal Street Church. This meeting led to the election day¹³². The election sermon in Boston provided a chance of counseling each other to the state ministers. Dr. Channing addressed that meeting and highlighted the objectives of gathering along with the need for support and aid that can only be fulfilled by Liberal unity. He said that the Liberal and catholic ministers feel the need for unity and mutual intercourse. He said: "It was thought that by meeting to join their prayers and counsels, to report the state and prospects of religion in different parts of the commonwealth, to communicate the methods of advancing it which have been found most successful, to give warning of dangers not generally apprehended, to seek advice in difficulties, and to take a broad survey of our ecclesiastical affairs and the wants of our churches, much light, strength, comfort, animation, zeal, would be spread through our body." He also expressed the agreement of individuals on confining the conference to the people of harmonized opinion only that will advance their views and provide an opportunity to generally diffuse the practical spirit of Christianity.

This sermon was descriptive of the sensitivity of Liberal men to restrains and their eagerness for personal freedom. This eagerness was behind the postponed organization of men of harmonized views. The other reason was the fear of ministers to get caught in the same denominational restrictions that they liberated from.

¹³² The meeting held at vestry of Federal Street Church the entrance of which was on Berry Street. Thus the conference named on street name.

3.13. Establishment and the Role of the Publishing Fund Society

The publishing society fund was established in 1821 by the likeminded who felt the need for the promotion of works that can train the religious and moral minds of the public. The committee of the society included Mr. George Tucker, Dr. John Gorham Palfrey, and Dr. Joseph Tuckerman. They avoided the publication of the doctrinal or any sort of sectarian documents. The non-sectarian character of the society was declared by the members of society several times. The main objective of the society was the development of practical blimey and development of inward worth and happiness in men. They published moral stories without mentioning the sectarian point of view of the characters. The main highlights of their published stories imparted the common theology and ethics of the Christ 's followers.

They instructed their methodology and their aim to supply good literature to youth and deprived communities in their publications. They also published adult series that comprised of entertaining and instructing devotional characters¹³³. Society served its purpose for several next years.

3.14. History and the Role of Harvard Divinity School

The Divinity School was established as a result of the theological discussions. During the eighteenth century, the pastors were in charge of training the candidates for ministerial offices. They train them in their readings, in practical aspects of a pastor, and in getting them the approval from their ministerial association. The other training path was the completion of a residency in Cambridge under the supervision of Hollis professor and the president. The students of the second path used the library of Cambridge for their readings. The Hollis professorship of Rev. Henry Ware highlighted the need for a systematic methodology for

¹³³ The Christian Examiner, I. 248.

theological studies. By expanding his activities Mr. Ware inaugurated a systematic theology course for the resident students of Cambridge. For Mr. Ware, the words of John Gorham Palfrey are true tribute. He said that: "Ware was one of those genuine lovers of reform and progress who are always ready for any innovation for the better; who, in the pursuit of what is truly good and useful, are not only content to move on with the age but desirous to move on before it."(Ware 1851: 241) His efforts to positively transform the theological studies led the foundations of Divinity School.

Thomas Hollis was the founder of Hollis professorship of divinity. He was from London and he founded it in 1721. The lectureship of Biblical criticism was established by Samuel Dexter in 1811. Initially, both the positions were not designed for the theology students instead they aimed to target undergraduates. The need for a devoted school to the training of men for ministry felt in 1815.

The Society for the Promotion of Theological Education at Harvard University was established in 1816 and is known for providing aid to the school. Rev. John T. Kirkland was the president of the society. Among their managing positions Jonathan Philips was the treasure manager, Rev. Charles Lowell was the corresponding secretary, and Rev. Francis Parkman was the recording secretary of the society. The financial support to the society came from the annual and life subscriptions besides the donations. Divinity school became functional in 1816. Among the instructors Rev. Andrew Norton was the Dexter lecturer of Biblical criticism, Rev. J.T Kirkland instructed the Systematic Theology, Rev. Edward Everett lectured the criticism of the Septuagint, Professor Sydney Willard taught Hebrew and Professor Levi Frisbie taught ethics.

With the promotion of Mr. Norton to a professorship, the school was divided into three classes as he devoted all of his time to the school. From 1824 to the acceptance of school as a university department in 1831 the Society for the Promotion of Theological Education

supervised the school in the arrangement of course of study and other general aspects. The Divinity Hall is a building that society erected for the school in 1826. The society also established a professorship of pulpit expression and pastoral care in 1828. Henry Ware started his duties in the school in 1830 and he was succeeded by Rev. Convers Francis in 1842¹³⁴. Rev. John Gorham Palfrey became the professor of biblical literature in 1830 and Rev. George Rapall Noyes started as Hancock Professor of Hebrew in 1840. Noyes also took the Dexter lectureship of Biblical criticism. The Harvard divinity school was a non-sectarian institute even though it was founded and managed by Unitarians. Non-Sectarianism was established as a law at the time of the management of the school by the society. The law said: "It being understood that every encouragement is given to the serious, impartial and unbiased investigation of the Christian truth and that no assent to the peculiarities of any denomination, be required either of the students or professors or instructors."

3.15. Some Unitarian Journals

The initial representatives of Liberals in the world of periodicals were published mostly in Baltimore. The preaching of Dr. Freeman in 1816 in Baltimore led to the establishment of a church there. Rev. Jared Sparks was ordained as the first minister of that church in 1819. On his ordination, Dr. Channing delivered a lecture that declared the Unitarian position for the first time in the country. It was an intellectual insight into spiritual issues.

Rev. Jared Sparks published *The Unitarian Miscellany* and *The Christian Monitor* in 1821 in Baltimore and he handled the editorship for three years. His successor Rev. Francis W.P. Greenwood handled the editorship for the next three years until his ordination as a minister of King's Chapel. This magazine was published for six years during which it was well edited. The controversial Liberal spirit of this magazine and denominational character did not affect its

¹³⁴ The Christian Examiner, Vol.X. 129.

wide circulation. It published the reports of all Unitarian and Liberal events. During the hard times of attacks on Unitarianism, it advocated Unitarianism logically. Mr. Sparks was opposite to the quiet character of Boston's Unitarians. He always zealously and logically replied to the attacks. The positivity in the Liberality of the magazine was of the doubt to the conservatives of Massachusetts. He also published the booking form of letters on the Episcopal church¹³⁵. The comparison of the moral capabilities of Unitarians and Trinitarians was also published in a series of letters¹³⁶. These letter publications were in response to the attacks and were doubted but with time trusted for their sincere methodology.

This journal along with the other journals of that time manifested the Unitarianism as the true face of primitive Christianity. They also made a manifestation about their urge to stay within Christian faith. Their right to be recognized as Christian was claimed by the publication of works from Liberal Orthodox authors from history. Jared Sparks published those works in "Collection of Essays and Tracts in Theology". This collection included the critical and biographical notices from 1823-1826's Boston. He wrote a preface and said that: the only undeviating rule of selection will be that every article chosen shall be marked with rational and Liberal views of Christian, and suited to inform the mind or improve the temper and practice".

He also said that the series aims to promote sacred learning, religious freedom, rational piety, and charity. The first volume was comprised of the essays of Turretin, Firmin Abauzit, Francis Blackburne, and Bishop Hoadley. The essays of Turretin was on religious truth's fundamentals and of Blackburne on the worth of confession of faith. The succeeding volumes were comprised of the works of John Locke, Isaac Newton, Isaac Watts, Jeremy Taylor, Mrs.

¹³⁵ The Book of Letters included the letters addressed to Rev. William E. Wyatt, D.D. The subject was Ministry, Ritual and Doctrines.

¹³⁶ 1823's Comparison of Moral tendencies of Trinitarian and Unitarian Doctrines addressed to Rev. Samuel Miller.

Barbauld, and William Penn. The selection of the author depicts his catholicity. The Baltimore Unitarian Book Society supported the publication of *The Unitarian Miscellany*. The society was established on November 19, 1820, and aimed to promote this work and to distribute the other Liberal tracts and books. The society distributed the books which presented the rational views of Christian doctrines and the original faith, inward piety, and holy practice along with disturbing Bibles. The Unitarian Library and Tract Society established in 1821 in New York.

Societies of similar characters started in Philadelphia, Charleston, and in other cities.

These societies distributed Unitarian books, tracts, and publications. Baltimore's society was the most successful society among them. The printed pages from its missionary were in high demand throughout the country. The periodical of this society was also famous for its affordability, outspoken character, and its treatment with the doctrinal issues. (Adams 1893: 175)

The *Christian Register's* regular publication started from August 24, 1821, before which the first issue was published on 20 April of the same year. It was comprised of four pages of which the first was dedicated to the discussion of general religious matters, the second to the subjects of Unitarian interest, the third to the secular advertisements and news, and the fourth to the literary collections. This was denominational as it allocated no space to the church news. Thus, it can be classified as a general Liberal newspaper with an acceptance among Liberals as it advocated their cause when required. Rev. David Reed was the publisher of the paper and editor for five years. He was supported by Boston's Unitarians along with Channing, Norton, and Ware. They always wished to advocate the Unitarians. The other contributors of the paper include Alexander Young, Furness, Freeman, Kirkland, Frothingham, Noah Worcester, Edward Everett, Lowell, Walker, Noyes, Palfrey, Greenwood, Dewey, Burnap, Gannett, Pierce, and Pierpont.

The prospectus of the paper was written by publisher Rev. David Reed. He said that the spirit of free religious inquiry is present in the country and people are keen to know the base of theology to reach the truth and practice pure Christianity. He idealised Christian Disciple's manner of doctrine presentation. He said that the paper is aimed to teach rational faith's principles and to promote the original piety. He further explained the methodology of getting its aim that included the ignition of the spirit of free inquiry and the assistance in establishing the principles of the interpretation of scriptures.

The friendly tone retained for a few years and after that, the Christian Register became aggressive in advocating the Unitarianism as a separate version of Christianity. This aggressiveness showed on specific incidents including the attack on Liberals and the charge of church theft on Unitarians.¹³⁷ Other than this occasional aggressiveness it maintained its friendly humanitarian character. It supported the liberation of slaves, women's education, and several other humanitarian subjects. It was a faithful catholic and tolerant paper. Overall, the Christian Register was a well-managed journal that promoted a rational religion.

Another periodical is the North American Review published by William Tudor in 1815. William was a member of The Anthology Club. It was a non-religious journal but it was managed by Unitarians and most of its contributors were Unitarians too. It was published under the same circumstances that led to the publication of the Christian Disciple, The Monthly Anthology, and the Christian Examiner by the Liberals. They imported the culture from the Liberals and Catholics that let them establish a following. After Mr. Tudor, Professor Edward T. Channing joined the paper as editor. The next editors include the names of Alexander H. Everett, Edward Everett, John Gorham Palfrey, Andrew P. Peabody, Francis Bowen, and Jared Sparks. They were all Unitarians. Among the contributors, most of them were Unitarians too.

¹³⁷ The incidence of the First Church in Dedham is reported in *Unitarianism: Its Origin and History*, 147.

Nathan Hale, Nathaniel Bowditch, Theophilus Parsons, and W. H Prescott were the early contributors. There was no restriction for the people from other religions or sects to contribute but the most literary and scientific topics were of interest to the Unitarians mostly at that time.

3.16. Effect of Divisions in Congregationalism

1805's controversy stayed for about twenty years. The forgotten pamphlets and books from that time expanded the breach between Liberals and Orthodox. The date of the actual separation of them cannot be marked exactly. The gradual dissents and the organised periodicals were contributors to this separation. The establishment of the American Unitarian Association in 1825 was a remarkable event, but it cannot be considered as a finalizing step in the separation as the courtesy retained in the mutual treatment of churches and ministers.

The predictable breach was postponed with the efforts of several. The dealing with the Unitarians was disrespectful that led them withdraw from the old connections. This behavior led the Unitarians to gather for self-defense even so they were not willing for it. their personal preference was to retain their membership of the United Congregational body but it was made impossible by the temperament of that time. The unity was also crucial for the maintenance of their faith and truth.

As a result of the Congregational churches' division 125 churches joined the Unitarians of those 125 churches one hundred was from Massachusetts, a score from New England's other parts and a dozen from the west of New Hudson. Among the allies of Unitarians were 10 churches of Boston and the first churches of Portsmouth, Portland, and Kennebunk.

The recognition of the Unitarian name was also triggered outside New England. The 1816's division of the congregational church of Charleston S.C. was because of Rev. Anthony

Forster's preaching. He became Unitarian after being inspired by Dr. Priestley's works. After he resigned because of health issues Rev. Samuel Gilman was ordained in 1819. The establishment of a Unitarian church in Washington in 1821 was because of the settlement of Rev. Robert Little there in 1819. He was an English Unitarian who preached in Washington. Jared Spark a minister of the House of Representatives preached in the society fortnightly and the House of Chamber on alternative Sundays from 1821-1822. He assisted in the ordination of Mr. Gilman in Charleston by preaching in Raleigh's state-house to a large congregation. He also preached to a congregation in Virginia in the next year. The presence of Unitarians in Kentucky is reported a decade before¹³⁸. During the ordination of Jared Sparks, Dr. Channing delivered a lecture in New York Parlor. The result of those efforts was the establishment of the First Congregational Church in 1819 and the Church of Messiah in 1825. These events are depictive of the urge of accepting Liberal Christianity in the intellectual minds of that time.

Before the division of the Congregational body into two denominations, the intact presence of three organizations was reported. These societies helped to unite the Orthodox and Unitarians by overlooking the sectarian foundations. Massachusetts Congregational Charitable Society was established in the early eighteenth century. it was aimed to support the families of deceased congregational ministers. The second of those three organizations were the Massachusetts Convention of Congregational Ministers. This organization was also established in the early eighteenth century but 1748 is the year from which its records developed. This society aimed to promote the general interest of religion along with providing consultation to the orphans and widows of ministers. One of the recognized institutes of Massachusetts was the convention sermon which employed ministers of both denominations for preaching from the beginning of the Unitarian controversy.

¹³⁸ Among them James Garrard who was governor of Kentucky from 1796-1802 was a Unitarian like the president of Transylvania Seminary Harry Toulmin and the secretary of state.

The third organisation was the Society of Propagating the Gospel. It aimed to promote Gospel in North Americans and Indians and was established in 1787. This society also employed members from both denominations and worked on an amity basis. These organizations proved that cooperation with theological diversity is possible. They also led the foundations of future fellowship between congregational churches.

3.17. The Separation of State and Church

The separation of state and church was the aim of Liberalism from the very first of their beginning. The liberation of religion from the state control happened in states that accepted the Federal constitution. Thus, the beginning of the new century was the start of this separation for New England. This was done for Connecticut in 1818 and Massachusetts in 1811. The legislative body of Massachusetts passed the “Religious Freedom Act” in 1811. This act eliminated the need to support the churches with tax paid by the individuals who were not even attached to those churches. A bill of right with a similar aim of religious freedom was proposed in the 1820’s constitutional convention. This bill was rejected by the majority. One solution to reach religious freedom was the allocation of church property to the parish by the court and the failure of standing order churches in the maintenance of their old privileges. The revision of the bill of rights submitted to people by the legislature in 1833. This revised version limited the support to churches to personal will along with separating the church and state.

This bill was passed by the majority and became law in 1834. This law was implemented in Massachusetts after several efforts and after all the states. After the implementation of this law, the state stopped to lend the taxes and properties to the churches for maintenance.

Massachusetts after two centuries of her was influenced by Roger Williams. She held democratic beliefs along with accepting and practicing the individualism. Her long zealous efforts were occupied by the logic of liberty. Being attached to the minister and meeting house

she never thought of the possibility of cutting the power of them but with time she understood the importance of total liberty in the worship of God.

Even after the acceptance of religious freedom the ministers and churches retained their conservative spirit in their social and intellectual circle as they hesitated in the acceptance of radical changes and in departing from the old beliefs. The reason for this hesitation was their timid attitude. They were also unfriendly with the evangelical enthusiasm thus rejected every form of fanaticism.

Their faith can be defined as a serious, deep-rooted spirituality, a non-rational intellectuality, and morally integer with a robust common sense. Despite widening the opinion's latitude they retained Christianity in convictions. The majority considered New Testaments as an only supernatural revelation of the truth of Christianity. They also followed the free critic of the Old Testament Andrew Norton who also defended the miraculous.

The major character of the Liberal ministers was their spirituality despite promoting the literary and intellectual version of religion. They aimed to morally and ethically influence the public for the cultivation of pure life and internal integrity. Thus, they established a philanthropic spirit and respect for the rights of others. Despite having a loyal Christian living, a generous contribution to the promotion of rights they were non-sectarian. They were led by Dr. Channing and called themselves Catholic Christian. They retained a non-ritual spirituality and a non-fanatical sincerity. Most of the churches retained the physical and outer layer of religion but they focused on a deeper and long-lasting Christianity. Dr. Channing was behind this preference of them as he preferred rationality and spirituality. He modified the Catholicism to a new version.

He is also known for his prophetic insights and patronizing spirituality. He was received as a leader and heretic in Boston who introduced them to sincere and humanitarian faith. He devoted himself to the development of liberty and pure faith.

3.18. The American Unitarian Association

The distinctive organisation of Liberals was the only way to permanently secure their achievements. The young generation which was trained in Liberal churches and Harvard Divinity School demanded organisation more than anyone else. Another reason for not having this demand from the previous generation is the restriction of the standing order with which they were bound and hesitant in demanding new methodology.

Rev. O.B. Frothingham's publication *Boston Unitarianism* is proof of the nature of old men and ministers as he illustrated his father's in this book. They never looked beyond their interests that were limited to the enterprises of public interest. Dr. Nathaniel L. Frothingham was the minister in First Church Boston. He was known for his study of German philosophy and literature and his rational progressive thoughts. He was among the nineteenth century's renowned names. In 1835 he preached a sermon and said that despite his church's classification as a Unitarian church, he never employed the Unitarian word in his pulpit. He emphasised religious sentiments rather than the theological, which made him able to harmonise with all men of the mark of that time¹³⁹.

Dr. Channing was in opposition to the religious organisations as he considered them restricting creeds. He condemned the sectarian spirit by saying that: "to bestow our affections on those who are ranged under the same human leader, or who belong to the same church with

¹³⁹ *Boston Unitarianism*, 67.

ourselves, and to withhold it from others who possess equal if not superior virtue because they bear a different name, is to prefer a party to the church of the Christ ."¹⁴⁰

He also never considered Unitarianism more than a spirit of liberty and individualism that does not employ symbols or creeds. His sermon of 1831 is an expression of his views on Unitarianism. According to him, it is for people who are different from each other but consider it for themselves¹⁴¹.

In his writing to a friend, he mentioned his distrust of sectarianism. He also mentioned his connection with the universalist church which according to him is a place that contains good holy men. He also mentioned that he is Unitarian and indifferent from everyone except those who seek the pure and practical manifestation of religious truth¹⁴².

Most of the Unitarians agreed with Channing in seeking spiritual freedom to its fullest and avoiding all sorts of sectarianism. They were careful about not transforming Unitarianism into the sects that escaped from. Thus, the ones who tried to bring the Liberals together for mutual support never got the favour of the above-mentioned mind set. Not out they aimed progressiveness and support but they failed in eliminating the sectarian fear from minds as the organization manifests a little sectarianism. This mind set made Unitarianism give freedom to churches and individuals but the only drawback is no assured denominational bonding.

However, the younger generation was deprived of this hesitation and was looking for the organised Unitarian sentiment. A group of young ministers strained by Dr. Andrews Norton initiated the movement of the organisation. Even though Mr. Norton was against sectarian measures, he always taught radical, stimulating, and progressive mindset. His students were

¹⁴⁰ Memoir of Dr. Channing, one-volume edition, 215.

¹⁴¹ Ibid., 432.

¹⁴² Ibid., 427.

deprived of his conservative teachings and were full of intellectual progress. The students of Harvard Divinity school from 1817 to 1824 were the leaders of the Unitarian association. The names among them include Edward B. Hall, James Walker, Calvin Lincoln, John G. Palfrey, Samuel J. May, Jared Sparks, Thomas R. Sullivan, Alexander Young, Samuel Barrett, and John Pierpont. The name was given by Pierpont and the presidents of association were Palfrey, Gannet, and Hall. Among the other management Gannet, Young and Lincoln served as secretaries, Palfrey, Walker, and Barret as directors, and Lincoln as missionary agent.

The other graduates of Harvard Divinity School and young laymen from Boston participated with their full interest in the establishment of the organization; among the graduate and laymen contributors were Alden Bradford, Charles G. Loring, George B. Emerson, Robert Rantoul, Leverett Saltonstall, and Samuel A. Eliot stand out. They faithfully managed the interests of Unitarian churches and later served in city and state.

3.19. The Foundational Meetings of the American Unitarian Association

The intellect of Boston was behind the establishment of the Unitarian Association. An anonymous association of 30-40 persons that were attached to the Unitarian churches individually is considered to make the first proposal of the association. David Reed was the editor and publisher of the Christian Register and he documented in his journal that the members of this association were known to meet at each other's houses for the discussion of religious, moral, and political topics in 1824. At a similar meeting held at Hon. Josiah Quincy's house the topic of discussion was an article of the Christian Register which emphasised the unity of Liberals. They proposed the idea and established a committee to report the feasibility of the idea. The members of that committee included Henry Ware, Alden Bradford, and Richard Sullivan. Henry Ware was minister at the Second Church Boston and the other two were

Harvard graduates with remarkable practical and social influence in Boston. The aim of the men behind the idea was declared by Dr. Gannet as he said twenty years later:

"We found ourselves, under the painful necessity of contributing our assistance to the propagation of tenets which we accounted false or of forming an association through which we might address the great truths of religion to our fellow-men without the adulteration of erroneous dogmas. To take one of these courses, or to do nothing in the way of the Christian beneficence, was the only alternative permitted to us. The name which we adopted has a sectarian sound, but it was chosen to avoid equivocation on the one hand and misapprehension on the other."¹⁴³

The committee mailed a circular in December of 1824 to call a meeting that they want to annually commend for the discussions on unity and co-operation for the sake of the Christian truth and charity. The objective of the Unitarian Association was comprised of the purpose enlisted in that circular.

The meeting of January 27, 1825, was the response to the circular. It was held at Federal Street Church and opened by Dr. Channing. The Moderator of the meeting was Richard Sullivan and James Walker was the secretary. Along with the previously connected, the meeting was attended by Unitarian and Liberal ministers and laymen from all over New England. The first volume of correspondence of association saved the record of the meeting that was made by Rev.

¹⁴³ Memoir of Ezra Stiles Gannet, by W.C. Gannet, 103.

James Walker. David Reed also gave a complete record of the meeting. The statement of the objective was presented by Henry Ware on behalf of the committee. Following resolution was offered: "desirable and expedient that provision should be made for future meetings of Unitarians and Liberal Christians generally." Stephen Higginson moved the adoption of this resolution. Dr. Aaron Bancroft minister of Second Church Worcester opened the discussion. He was in favour of the silent advance of Unitarianism but was convinced of the benefits of the other side.

Professor Andrew Norton favoured the idea of establishing an association. He was a great Unitarian mentor. Finally, Dr. Channing approved the proposition of the committee. The opposing arguments were from Judge of Massachusetts Supreme Court judge Charles Jackson and Boston's leading merchant George Bond. According to them the idea of association might become sectarian in the future and it is also not in coherence with the Liberal ideas. However, Dr. Channing said that the association is aimed to spread religious views not opinions and to spread the religion as a practical entity.

The ones who were in favour of the association include the names of Alden Bradford, Andrew Norton, Colonel Joseph May, John Pierpont, Willard, Harding, Thayer, Edes, Nicholas, Parker, and many more. Freeman, Bigelow, Abbot, Allyn, and Pierce opposed it. Thus, a mix of both opposing and favouring opinions was present. James Walker wrote about the meeting: "The meeting proposed was never called. As there appeared to be so much difference in opinion as to the expediency and nature of the measure proposed, it was thought best to let it subside in silence."

The debate prolonged and Henry Ware proposed a renewed statement of purpose of organisation at a meeting held on May 25, 1825. The statement of purpose is as follows: "It is proposed to form a new association, to be called The American Unitarian Society. The chief

and the ultimate object will be the promotion of pure and undefiled religion by disseminating the knowledge of it where adequate means of religious instruction are not enjoyed. A secondary good which will follow from it is the union of all Unitarian Christians in this country so that they would become mutually acquainted, and the concentration of their efforts would increase their efficiency. The society will embrace all Unitarian Christians in the United States. Its operations would extend itself throughout the whole country. These operations would chiefly consist in the publication and distribution of tracts, and the support of missionaries”.

In the afternoon of the same day, Henry Ware moderated a meeting and American Unitarian Association was voted as expedient. The opponents did not attend the meeting. A committee comprised of Rev. James Walker, Mr. Lewis Tappan, and Rev. Ezra S. Gannet established to give shape to the organization of the association. On May 26, 1825, a meeting moderated by Dr. Nathaniel Thayer approved the constitution of the association.

The objective of the association was decided to diffuse and promote the interests of pure Christianity. A committee established to that nominated the names for president, secretary, treasurer, and executive committee. This committee selected Dr. Channing as president and Mr. Gannett wrote to him about this. However, Dr. Channing refused the position. Norton and Sparks were selected as directors that they refused because of their previous responsibilities and health issues. Dr. Aaron Bancroft was elected as president and Henry Ware and Samuel Barret as members of the executive committee and board of directors.

Dr. Bancroft served as the head of the association. He transformed from a total outcast to the most influential personality because of his thought and belief. He was the author of the biography of Washington and his sermons published in 1822. There were about twenty-one

Unitarian societies established under his influence¹⁴⁴. He joined the Unitarian association as president at the age of seventy and served for ten years.

Ezra S. Gannet was the secretary of the association. He was young and zealous. He worked with Dr. Channing and is considered the most loyal and devoted friend of the Unitarian cause in its history. Lewis Tappan was the treasure of the association and a young businessman. He also served as the head of the country's first mercantile agency and founded the Journal of Commerce. He devoted to the anti-slavery cause and served the Plymouth Church Brooklyn earnestly.

Barret, Ware, and Walker were among the members of the executive committee of the association. Along with leading the campaign of the association establishment, they were men of mark in several aspects. Samuel Barret served the Twelfth Congregational Church of Boston for his whole life. He was also behind several Eastern Massachusetts causes and founded the Benevolent Fraternity. Henry Ware was the minister of Second Church of Boston, a professor at Harvard Divinity School, and a mentor of succeeding Unitarians. While James Walker was the minister in Charleston's Harvard Church and professor and president of Harvard College afterward.

The name Unitarian was the first time used in 1815 in the country for the Liberals or Catholics. They initially rejected it but then delighted by the declaration of the unity of God by this name. The history explains the word Unitarian in doctrinal meanings and it was until philosophy and science expanded its meanings. Therefore, the initial acceptors were the believers of the Absolute unity of God and the subordinate nature of the Christ. They aimed to restore the primitive pure Christianity.

¹⁴⁴ The Christian Examiner, xx. 240.

3.20. The First Year of the American Unitarian Association

After the establishment, the association held a meeting that was four days after elections. This meeting was held at the secretary's study and attended by Walker, Gannet, Norton, and Tappan. They elected Rev. Warren Burton as their nomad to collect funds and later they ordained him as general agent. During one of their first six meetings, they defined the aims and methodology of association. They said that: " its efforts will be directed to the promotion of true religion throughout our country; intending by this, not exclusively those views which distinguish the friends of this Association from other disciples of the Christ ; but those views in connection with the great doctrines and principles in which all the Christians coincide, and which constitute the substance of our religion. We wish to diffuse the knowledge and influence of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour. Great good is anticipated from the co-operation of persons entertaining similar views, who are now strangers to each other's religious sentiments. Interest will be awakened, confidence inspired, efficiency produced by the concentration of labors. The spirit of inquiry will be fostered, and individuals at a distance will know where to apply for information and encouragement. Respectability and strength will be given to the class among us whom our fellow the Christians have excluded from the control of their religious charities, and whom, by their exclusive treatment, they have compelled in some measure to act as a party."

The objectives of the association included monitoring Unitarianism in all parts of the country, maintaining unity, sympathy, and cooperation with other Liberals, publication of religious tracts, missionary missions' establishment, and practices to promote the purposes.

At the first anniversary of the association in 1826, a meeting was held in Pantheon Hall where sermons were delivered by Hon. Joseph Story, Rev. Ichabod Nicholas, Rev. Henry Coleman, and Hon. Leverett Saltonstall. The annual activity report is also presented in this

meeting. They also discovered a Unitarian Christian body in the Western states and they discussed the issues of them. Rev. Moses G. Thomas¹⁴⁵ visited the Western States to establish acquaintance with them. He visited Pennsylvania, St. Louis, Ohio, Illinois, Kentucky, and Indiana. The second report of the association was comprised of his travel experiences. Instead of preaching he acquainted with the ministers and churches. He recommended several places including Harrisburg, Cincinnati, Northumberland, Pittsburg, St. Louis, Indianapolis, Marietta, Lexington, Steubenville, Louisville, Paris, and St. Charles to establish Unitarian churches.

The Unitarian Association tried to cooperate with three societies during its first year including the Society for the Promotion of the Christian Knowledge, Piety and Charity, the Evangelical Missionary Society, and the Publishing Fund Society. But the endeavour failed because of the unwillingness of societies. Except for the Evangelical Missionary Society, the other two were engrossed by the Unitarian Association after years past. The failed cooperation with the societies indicates the difficulty of uniting all Unitarian bodies at that time.

3.21. The First Quarter Century for the American Unitarian Association

The first quarter century of the Unitarian Association was not good in terms of finance. During this time only one-third of the Unitarian churches supported the association. The most distant was the churches of Boston with weak support to the association. A gradual increase in funds to 5,000\$ approached very slowly and a 15,000\$ sum was reached only once during the first quarter. The finance of the association did not let it do big projects but they operated by keeping the pays low and dedicating to other activities.

¹⁴⁵ He was a Harvard graduate who settled in Dover from 1829-1845 and served the Broadway and New Bedford churches.

Dr. Bancroft succeeded Dr. Channing in 1836 for one year and he refused to be a presidential candidate in the next annual meeting¹⁴⁶. Thus, from the next year, Dr. Ichabod Nicholas held the president's office where he stayed from 1837-1844. He also served as minister in Federal Church Portland from 1809-1855. He was the author of *Natural Theology and Hours with the Evangelists*. From 1826 to 1836 Joseph Story was the vice president who was elected as president in 1844 for one year. From 1845 to 1847 Dr. Orville Dewey held the president's office. He was settled in New Bedford and he was also minister of the Church of Messiah. He delivered sermons in Albany, Washington, and New South Church Boston. The next president was Dr. Gannet who fulfilled his duties from 1847-1851 and succeeded by Dr. Samuel K. Lothrop who served for the next five years. He also served as the minister of Brattle Street Church from 1834 to 1876.

Rev. Ezra S. Gannet was the secretary until the ordination of Rev. Alexander Young in 1831. Dr. Young stayed at this position for two years and as minister of New South Church till his death in 1854. He was also considered a historian because of his works including *The Chronicles of the Pilgrims Fathers*. The office of foreign secretary was established in 1829 and the foreign secretary was played by Henry Ware from 1830-1834. The office of general secretary was established in 1834 that aimed to flourish as an active missionary. Rev. Jason Whitman was the general secretary for one year and the minister at Saco. From 1835 to 1847 Rev. Charles Briggs was the general secretary of the association. He was settled in Lexington thus Rev. Samuel K. Lothrop was the recording secretary during that time. Rev. William G. Eliot was elected as general secretary but the parish in St. Louis claimed the position. Thus Rev. Frederick West Holland ordained general secretary in 1848. He stayed on the seat until 1860's annual meeting.

¹⁴⁶ Dr. Channing wrote to Charles Briggs in 1836 to refuse the presidency offer from Unitarian association.

Charles Briggs was the first one to purposely introduce missionary works in the association. His role is mentioned in the 1850's annual report. Rev. George G. Channing served as an association's nomad from 1845 to the next two years. He was Dr. Channing's brother and he fulfilled his duty of revival of floppy churches, the foundation of new churches, and arrangement of funds for the association. He also published Unitarian paper *The ChristianWorld* in Boston from 1843 to 1848.

June 3, 1847's meeting of the Unitarian association restructured its managing body to incorporate it according to Massachusetts' laws. The revised constitution reduced vice-presidents from fifteen to two and considered the presidents and vice presidents members of the executive committee. The executive committee further included directors and other offices. These changes made to better control monetary and other matters of the association.

3.22. Publications and Missionary Activities of Association

Unitarian Association published six tracts in its first year of the establishment by considering its priority. Along with publishing the books association established sale depositories in different parts of the country and elected David Reed as general agent. There were ten depositories in Massachusetts, four in Hampshire, one each in Connecticut, Washington, Philadelphia, Charleston, and New York City¹⁴⁷. The remarkable publications include Dr. Channing's sermons, doctrinal tracts, and work of several other contributors. The first series was comprised of twenty-six tracts with ten or twelve tracts issued per annum. Wares, Orville Dewey, Joseph Tuckerman, James Walker, George Ripley, Samuel J. May, John G. Palfrey, Ezra S. Gannett, Samuel Gilman, George R. Noyes, William G. Eliot, Andrew P. Peabody, F.A. Farley, James Freeman Clarke, S.G. Bulfinch, George Putnam, Joseph Allen,

¹⁴⁷ The number of dippositories increased to twenty-five in Massachusetts, six in Maine, seven in New Hampshire, one in Rhode Island, four in New York, two in Pennsylvania, and two in Maryland in 1828.

Frederic H. Hedge, Edward B. Hall, George E. Ellis, Thomas B. Fox, Charles T. Brooks, J.H. Morison, Henry W. Bellows, William H. Furness, John Corder, Chandler Robbins, Augustus Woodbury, and William R. Alger were among the first contributors of the first series.

Association did not publish any tracts for free distribution during the first half-century of its establishment. The price was from two to ten cents depending upon the size of the publication. In the beginning, the eagerness to study the theological questions led to the sale of 3,000 to 10,000 copies. Even this amount sometimes failed to meet the demand. To solve the issues of distribution The Unitarian Book and Pamphlet Society was established in 1827 in Boston. This society distributed bibles, the tracts published by The Christian World, The Christian Register, and many other books. From 1840-1841 the society was reorganized and reach the new milestones of services.

In 1848 this society contacted 263 theological schools and colleges for distribution of Unitarian books among them 59 institutes accepted the offer and several books were distributed. Among those institutes, Catholic College Worcester was the first one to put forward requests for books and the last one was Wisconsin University Madison. They were also busy publishing and distributing the works of Dr. Channing, Livermore, Bartol, Peabody, and others.

From 1847 the association employed colporteurs and from 1848 two ministers devoted to this work that flourished the missionary efforts to the extent to be called remarkable until 1850. The agents sold Dr. Channing works, distributed tracts to everyone, and books to ministers and only where needed. Both the ministers and the laymen were engaged in this activity. In 1835 a general depository was established in Cincinnati and 1849 in Chicago.

The publication of tracts and books brought the immediate and considerable spread of religious education. The result of these efforts was the establishment of Unitarian churches in

the areas of high distribution¹⁴⁸. In 1824 the Unitarian Association sent the members of Harvard Divinity School in all regions of New England to meet their initial aim of domestic work and preaching. However, this mission was opposed and many parishes opposed its extension.

By this mean person from all sects were connected with the Liberals but the churches and the parishes were not in favour of bringing the theological questions in congregations. Young men who visited towns of Massachusetts said that: "The great objection everywhere seems to be, that the clergymen do not like to awaken party spirit. People will go on quietly performing all external duties of religion without asking themselves if they are listening to the doctrine of the Trinity or not; but the moment you wish to act, they call up all their old prejudices, and take a very firm stand. This necessarily creates division and dissension, and renders the situation of the minister very uncomfortable."¹⁴⁹

The Liberal ministers avoided theological subjects in preaching and they also did not train the thoughts of their parishioners in their way. The above situation was indicative of the required promotion throughout New England¹⁵⁰.

The general secretary of the association visited the south and west of the country and found opportunities in Erie, Toledo, Tremont, Cleveland, Detroit, Marietta, Memphis, Nashville, and Jacksonville. Thus after sometime churches established there and among the south towns, no one was deprived of Unitarians. In 1837 fourteen missionaries and 1838 twenty-three missionaries were sent to visit eleven states including, Pennsylvania, Georgia, New York, Ohio, Illinois, Alabama, Michigan, and Missouri¹⁵¹. These missionaries were led

¹⁴⁸ Monthly Journal, May, 1860, Vol. I. pp. 230-240.

¹⁴⁹ From Samuel K. Lothrop's Letter. He was minister of Brattle Street Church.

¹⁵⁰ A letter indicating the efforts of missionaries of association is found from October 1827.

¹⁵¹ Fourteenth annual report, 14.

by experienced practical parishes and came out effective in attracting large congregations, the establishment of societies, and Sunday schools. In 1839 seven preachers visited west and a year later a permanent missionary was established there. The establishment of new churches enhanced the demand of ministers that was fulfilled by resourcing from Orthodox as ministers were not willing to go to the west.

In 1841 meeting held in Boston to manage resources and a sum of 10,000\$ per annum allotted to missionary mission. That sum was available from 1843 for the next four years. The 1841's meeting was devoted to the domestic missions. Rev. Edward P. Bond visited San Francisco and he visited Sandwich islands. His mission to San Francisco was successful as a missionary established thereafter a few years and to Islands was failed because of health issues.

The Middle West was the largest opportunity for the Unitarians as there were few churches of other sects and people were attracted to Liberal thoughts. This was the time of 1830-1850 and few ministers foresaw that opportunity but they were unable to respond to it.

The Unitarian Association did a lot than mentioned herein the first 30 years of its establishment. At the twenty-fifth anniversary of the association, sermons were delivered by Edward E. Hale, Samuel Osgood, Henry W. Bellows, Lant Carpenter, and John G. Palfrey.

The main efforts of the association were for religious liberty then they strove for philanthropic enterprises and missionary labors. The association also aided the weak churches in the first quarter of the century. almost fifty churches from west and south were aided by the association. With time the Unitarian writings and men and women were expressed as pride¹⁵²

¹⁵² An article on denomination by John Parkman, The Christian Examiner, May, 1854, Ivi. 397.

3.23. The Period of Radicalism and Denominational Activities

The difference in opinions divided Unitarians into radicals and conservatives. Among the influencing factors was German philosophy which developed Transcendentalism. Under the influence of more Liberal Unitarians, several activities reported since 1835 including Hedge's club¹⁵³ meetings, the publication of *The Dial*, Brook Farm activities, Parker's preaching in Boston, Emerson's teaching, and the outspoken younger Unitarians.

During the time of diverse manifestations of Unitarianism, the newer thoughts were heard throughout the country and were appreciated by younger people. However, *The American Unitarian Association* and *The Christian Disciple*, *The Christian Examiner* ignored the new manifestations totally and never mentioned the conflict. In 1853 American Unitarian Association first time interfered as it was the peak time of conflict. For a quarter-century, this disturbance persisted in American Unitarianism.

The believer of new manifestations diverted from the idea of believing in the miracles of New Testaments that were believed by their early ancestors. Theodore Parker was among the deniers. Unitarian Association took action by defining its position in 1853's annual report as it was charged for infidelity and rationalism. They attributed the transcendentalism and radicalism and clarified their position by mentioning the following lines in the annual report: "We desire, in a denominational capacity, to assert our profound belief in the Divine origin, the

¹⁵³ The club is also named the Transcendental Club and The Symposium. Founded by Emerson, Ripley and Hedge in 1836 as they discuss philosophical and theological issues at each other's houses. The other members included Clarke, Francis, Alcott, Dwight, W.H. Channing, Bartol, Very, Margaret Fuller, and Elizabeth P. Peabody.

Divine authority, the Divine sanctions, of the religion of Jesus the Christ . This is the basis of our associated action. We desire openly to declare our belief as a denomination, so far as it can be officially represented by the American Unitarian Association, that God, moved by his love, did raise Jesus to aid in our redemption from sin, did by him pour a fresh flood of purifying life through the withered veins of humanity and along the corrupted channels of the world, and is, by his religion, forever sweeping the nations with regenerating gales from heaven and visiting the hearts of men with celestial solicitations. We receive the teachings of the Christ , separated from all foreign admixtures and later accretions, as infallible truth from God."¹⁵⁴

The same meeting declared the Divine authority of the Gospel as the basis of the operations of the Association¹⁵⁵. The above-mentioned statements are indicative of the high ratio of conservatives in the Unitarian body at that time. Social conservatism was behind their hesitation from the aggressive intellectuality and rationalistic theology. The generations of Tritheism's teachings made them accept it and reject Calvin and ecclesiasticism. Their advancement was only limited to the acceptance of the modern basis of faith a little and rational manifestation of men and God's relationship. They practically considered the Christ a superhuman but weakly denied this concept in theology. This controversy suppressed the activities of the Unitarian Association as the conservative churches withheld their contribution because of the non-elimination of radicals and the radicals withheld because of not giving them fullest recognition.

The differences of opinions on anti-slavery also suppressed the association in the reformation time. The radicals were in support of anti-slavery while the conservatives were

¹⁵⁴ American Unitarian Association's 28th report.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid, 30.

against the agitation. During this time association left with only two score churches as contributors that led it to cut down its expenses in all fields¹⁵⁶.

The Unitarian Association was confined to the memberships of individuals thus was not representative of Unitarians and the organization in Unitarians was weak. This weak organization and little cooperation persisted until 1865. At that time the largest contribution was from one-third churches only. Despite having Unitarians and a Unitarian association the Unitarian denomination was not developed.

James Freeman Clarke made a statement about this issue in 1863, he said: "the traditions of the Unitarian body are conservative and timid."¹⁵⁷ He served the association as secretary for several years he also said that the Unitarian churches of Boston are not considering to diffuse their faith. There were few exceptions but most of them did almost nothing for the association. He also said that he heard of the wishes of churches to not made Unitarianism common. According to Freeman: "The church in Brattle street contains wealthy and generous persons who have given largely to humane objects and all public purposes; but we believe that, even while their pastor was president of the Unitarian Association, they never gave a dollar to that Association for its missionary objects. The society in King's Chapel was the first in the United States which professed Unitarianism. It is so wealthy that it might give ten or twenty thousand dollars a year to missionary objects without feeling it. It has always been very Liberal to its ministers, to all philanthropic and benevolent objects, and its members have probably given away millions of dollars for public and social uses; but it never gives anything to diffuse Unitarianism."¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ 1854 was a good financial year for association. 1857 was financially panic year and until the Civil War there was small increase in funds. During the Civil War the funds were limited and mostly allocated to army.

¹⁵⁷ The Christian Register, October 17, 1863.

¹⁵⁸ The Monthly Journal, I. 350.

Dr. Edward Brooks Hall succeeded Dr. Samuel K. Lothrop in 1858 for one year of presidency. He served as a pastor for a short time in Northampton and Cincinnati. He also served the First Church Providence from 1832 to 1866. After one year, Dr. Frederic H. Hedge succeeded him in 1859. He was a publicly active and theologically thoughtful personality. The next one was Dr. Rufus P. Stebbins who joined the association as president in 1862 for three years. He served the Meadville Theological school as the first president from 1844 to 1856. He also served as Woburn's pastor and established a mission for Cornell University's pupils that transformed into the church.

From 1850 to 1853 Rev. Calvin Lincoln served the association as secretary. He served the First Church Hingham as minister from 1855 to 1881. His successor was Rev. Henry A. Miles who served until 1859. He was the author of *The Birth of Jesus* and a theologian. Rev. James Freeman served as secretary for three years until succeeded by George W. Fox¹⁵⁹ in 1861 who served until 1865.

3.24. The Influence of the Civil War and the First Fifteen Years

Unitarians served to their fullest during the Civil War: from serving in councils to taking care of wounded and from chaplains in the army to the halls of legislation. The association also published books and tracts to distribute among soldiers. For most of the army tracts, Rev. John F. W. Ware was the author. After the end of the Civil War, the association served for several months in helping the soldiers to reach home and in taking care of the wounded.

Rev. William G. Scandlin was the agent of the association who was prisoned for several months but was treated nicely. A library of 3000 volumes was established at Convalescent Camp, Alexandria by the Rev. William M. Mellen. Rev. Charles Lowe served as chaplain on

¹⁵⁹ Mr. Fox joined in 1855 as clerk and gradually promoted to reach the post of assistant secretary in 1864.

Long Island's drafted men camp and he was paid by the association. He also inspected the distribution of reading material in the hospitals of Philadelphia, Baltimore Annapolis, Washington, Alexandria, Fortress Monroe, City Point, and the Army of the Potomac in November of 1864. Among the other distributors of volumes in soldiers, the names of Rev. J. G. Forman and Rev. John H. Heywood are included. The other men include Rev. Calvin Stebbins, Mr. Henry G. Denny, Rev. Frederick W. Holland, Rev. Artemas B. Muzzey, Rev. Benjamin H. Bailey, Rev. Samuel Abbot Smith, and Rev. Newton M. Mann. These men worked at the hospitals of Norfolk. A glimpse at their work is available in two publications including Hospital Diaries by Louisa Alcott and in Hospital Life in the Army of the Potomac by William Howell.

The Civil War directed the association's energy toward itself for about five years. During that time the publications for soldiers comprised 3000 copies of books¹⁶⁰, 750,000 tracts for them¹⁶¹ and they weekly sent 5000 copies of The Christian Register and The Christian Inquirer, 1500 copies of Monthly Journal, 1000 of Monthly Religious Magazine, and 1000 copies of Sunday School Gazette. Almost 50,000 tracts' distribution was reported during the last two years of the war. The total number of tracts and periodicals distributed monthly reached 75,000. The Civil War also added to the volunteer forces of the association as the chaplains, nurses, sanitary agents work for the distribution services of the association.

From 1850-1865 the condition of the association can be classified as quite discouraging as the treasure of association was empty to the extent that they appointed layman for office duties because of not being able to afford a missionary secretary and they were not able to perform the activities along missionary lines. There were only about four Unitarian churches

¹⁶⁰ The work of Channing, Ware, and Eliot is selected along with the patriotic and religious hymns for publication.

¹⁶¹ In total 20 tracts written.

established in fifteen years as reported in the Christian Register's November 1863's edition. From 1848 to 1863 the number of Unitarian churches collected from 201 to 205. This time can be called a seed time for the association.

3.25. The Unitarians' Development to Strength after the Civil War

Civil War made the Unitarians familiar with their strengths and started the development of denominational conscience awakening in them. They were first time united for their beliefs and serving common purposes¹⁶².

The 1864's Autumnal Convention was not held and a meeting was called in Hollis Street Church Boston on December 6-7. The meeting was called to ignite interest in the purpose of the association. This was a hopeful meeting that started by president Dr. Stebbins and Dr. Bellows emphasized on the importance of organization.

James P. Walker spoke to the second day of the meeting. He included the activities of the association during the first forty years of it and he also highlighted the average per annum amount collected by association that was only \$8,038.88. He aimed to highlight the great efforts made within this small amount and the need for an increase in contributions. He presented resolutions to collect \$25,000 per annum. This meeting adopted two resolutions of raising \$100,000 and commencement of convention in New York. Before the commencement of convention, Dr. Rufus P. Stebbins devoted his time to the collection of that sum. To raise that sum a circular was sent to churches. This circular was responded enthusiastically and the other factor that solved the monetary issues was the war. In February of the year, almost a sum of

¹⁶² Henry H. Bellows stated the war as a factor that made Unitarians know their strengths in Monthly Journal, iv. 336. William G. Eliot made a similar statement in Monthly Journal, iv. 349.

\$28,871.47 was collected and until the convention of 1865 New York, there were only a few thousand dollars left to collect. The sum collected until May of that year was \$111,676.74. The annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association was focused on the opportunities present and the need to take action to get most of the opportunities. Dr. Rufus P. Stebbins served as president for three years and then elected secretary intending to expand the missionary efforts of the association. However, with his consent, his successor Rev. Charles Lowe held the office. He served as a zealous secretary for the next six years. Association's treasure was improved to a remarkable extent and the association planned to go for the big projects.

3.26. The New Theological Position and the Separation of Radical and Conservative Unitarians

With the time and financial conditions of the country, the desired amount of collection started fading. The primitive Unitarians were almost as attached to the Bible and the Christ's teachings as the Orthodox were. A creed proposed in the New York convention held the morning of its opening. The Creed declared the basis of Unitarians by as: "Unitarians believe in one Lord, Jesus, the Christ; the Son of God and his specially appointed messenger, and representative to our race; gifted with supernatural power, approved of God by miracles and signs and wonders which God did by him, and thus by divine authority commanding the devout and reverential faith of all who claim the Christian name." The creed was rejected by the convention but it expressed the beliefs of most of the Unitarians.

In the same convention, Dr. Bellows said: "Unitarians of the school to which I belong accept Jesus the Christ with all their hearts as the Scent of God, the divinely inspired Son of the Father, who by his miraculously proven office and his sinless life and character was fitted to be, and was made revealer of the universal and permanent religion of the human

race¹⁶³. "This statement showed that the conservative mindset in the association was not changed from 1853. Radical Unitarians also presented their manifestation of religious truth.

Dr. Channing was leaned more towards the new concepts. Dr. Channing lectured on the topic of self-denial. He said: "if, after a deliberate and impartial use of our best faculties, a professed revelation seems to us plainly to disagree with itself or to clash with great principles which we cannot question, we ought not to hesitate to withhold from it our belief. I am surer that my rational nature is from God, than that any book is an expression of his will. This light in my breast is his primary revelation, and all subsequent ones must accord with it, and are intended to blend with and brighten it."

There were a lot of remarkable Unitarians favouring the new concepts. On 10-11 October 1866, the conflicts between the radicals and the conservatives were debated in sermons, pamphlets, and periodicals. Radicals also proposed the revision of the constitution and Francis E. Abbot presented the first article that stated: "the object of the Christianity is the universal diffusion of love, righteousness, and truth". The article also included all details. Mr. Abbot's proposal was rejected in the afternoon session.

The refusal of the revision of the constitution at Syracuse led the radical Unitarians to establish an organization for the preservation of their desired liberty. At a meeting held at Rev. Cyrus A. Bartol's residence on 30 May 1867, they planned the establishment of the Free Religious Association. They were seeking to eliminate the local and national sectarian and traditional elements of outgrown religions.

From the speakers of the first meeting, one-half were Unitarian ministers, and one-third were settled on Unitarian parishes. The newly elected president of the organization was Mr.

¹⁶³ Unitarians beliefs about Christ was lectured in Cooper Institute, New York. These lectures published in The Christian Examiner's November 1866 volume.

Frothingham and the new secretary was Rev. William J. Potter. The objective of the association was stated as: "to promote the interests of pure religion, to encourage the scientific study of theology and to increase fellowship in the spirit."

The constitution was revised in 1872. However, in the revision statement, the subject was changed from theology to nature and the history of men's religion. The added statement included that the: "nothing in the name or constitution of the Association shall ever be construed as limiting membership by any test of speculative opinion or belief,--or as defining the position of the Association, collectively considered, concerning any such opinion or belief,--or as interfering in any other way with that absolute freedom of thought and expression which is the natural right of every rational being."

Thus, the Free Religious Association declared the universality of religion as the constitution and objective of the association. However, the circumstances derailed the free religion association from its initial objective and made it a representative of radical Unitarian faith. The dissenters of the American Unitarian Association and the National Conference joined the Free Religious Association.

A monthly journal was published by Sidney H. Morse to present the cause of Free Religion. Another journal named The Index was published by Francis E. Abbot. The cause of the Free Religion Association was also uttered in the meeting of Horticulture Hall, at Chestnut club, at meetings of Free Religious Association, and several other gatherings. However, the association did not focus on organizing the churches thus, only 2-3 churches were established as a free religious association. The editor of the Index also established the Liberal League that only existed for a very short time. The separation of the radical element was not complete that led to the persisted agitation among the Unitarian ranks. The conferences failed to resolve the issues of agitation. The conservatives stopped sharing the pulpits with the radicals.

In the session of October 1870 held in New York, the old subject was presented for consideration and after considerable discussion, the amendments presented by George H. Hepworth were accepted. Those amendments reaffirmed their loyalty to the Christ's Gospel and their intentions to preserve co-operation and unity to as large as possible.

3. 27. Effects of Denominational Awakening

From 1865 to 1880 the most remarkable event of the history of American Unitarianism was the commencement of the National Conference as denomination's legislative body. Unitarian association played as the main organ of this conference. This organization movement started with the end of the discussion between the radicals and conservative Unitarians. the situation changed as in 1865 the conservatives were more in a ration that was led by the radicals until 1880. The majority of them accepted miracles as a less important element of faith.

The man behind this transformation was Henry W. Bellows who emphasized the Christian spirit within the Unitarian body and who simultaneously denied the agreement to any sort of creed. He also accepted the right of Unitarians on the name the Christian along with denying the limits of the Christian traditions and heritage. He was a mix of conservativeness and radicalism. He believed both in religion and the power of science and philosophy. He directed the efforts of the organization and preservation of Unitarianism. He doubled the growth of Unitarianism because of the organization thus made them realize the importance of organized actions and their preference over individual freedom. Mr. Bellows is known as the original organizer of Unitarianism in the country.

3.28. The Last Years of Century and the American Unitarianism

Since 1880 the Unitarian denominational was growing. They gradually recognized as a religious body with a distinct mission. The radical and conservative controversy shifted towards

the west. The conservatives retained the Christian identity of Unitarians along with staying attached to some of the traditions while the radicals denied the individual binding traditions.

For the advancement of the common interests of Unitarians and Universalists, the resolution to tie hands with the universalists was passed in the annual meeting of the Unitarian association in 1899. The committees were appointed from the Unitarian association and the Universalist General Convention to devise the ways of closer cooperation; the General Convention of October accepted the proposal. The appointed committee presented a report at the annual meeting of the association in 1900 that declared cooperation feasible and practical. They presented on-record cooperation to avoid the effects on individual denominations and to avoid consolidation. The next sessions of the Universalist Convention and the Unitarian Association established a permanent joint committee for the cooperation in distributing books and tracts and promoting the deep faith.

There was an account of the American Unitarian Association's management during the last years of the century. The president's office was held by Mr. Henry P. Kidder until the annual meeting of the American Unitarian Association in 1886. His successor Hon. George D. Robinson served for one year. Mr. Robinson was also a member of both houses of legislation of Massachusetts where he served from 1877 to 1883 and as governor of Massachusetts from 1884-1886. His successor was a lawyer and zealous personality interested in charities named Hon. George S. Hale. He held the office from 1887 to 1895. From 1895 to 1897 John D. Long served as president of the association. He was a member of the lower house of legislation. For the year 1879, he was lieutenant governor and from 1880 to 1882 he was governor of the state. Secretary of the Navy Hon. Carrol D. Wright joined the president's office in 1897 and the association entered into the new year under his management. He served on the posts of chief of Massachusetts bureau of statistics, superintendent of United States, Commissioner of National

Bureau of labour, and as president of Clark College Worcester during different phases of his life. The nature of the president post was changed in the 1900's annual meeting and he was called the executive officer.

The post of the secretary of the association in 1881 was held by Rev. Grindall Reynolds. He was a zealous, wise, and judicious personality that contributed to the development of Unitarian denomination more than anyone. His successor Rev. George Batchelor served from December 1894 to November 1897. He previously served as the editor of the Christian Register and as pastor of Salem, Chicago, and Lowell. From 1898 to 1900 Rev. Samuel A. Eliot served as secretary and from the annual meeting of 1900 Rev. Charles E. St. John held the secretary office.

The National Conference's report of 1880 highlighted that the Unitarian association neglected the churches and focused on the subscription of individuals. This report led to the establishment of a committee to find ways of cooperation between the National Conference and the American Unitarian Association. The committee proposed a modification in an association's charter to offer membership to churches. After a long debate, an amendment was made in the charter at the annual meeting of the association. This amendment maintained the life membership and offered membership to churches on regular per annum contribution to the treasury of association. This amendment made the church's regulatory element in the association's activities. It also enhanced the contributions to the treasury. Dr. Bellows led the National Conference of 1884, in which a movement of establishing a conference in every state. The management of missionaries tried to be given to the conference in the state. This proposal was put into action from 1885 when the missionary superintendents were appointed for five sections by the association. It was the time for the association to be a real representative body

of American Unitarians¹⁶⁴. The anniversaries and the establishment of the International Council depict the growth of interest in Unitarianism worldwide. Such events depicted large fellowships that generated enthusiasm. It was an era of popularism for Unitarian theology.

3.29. Conclusion

Unitarianism in the United States initiated from thoughtful minds like its beginning in other countries, but it accepted the English influence largely in the beginning. The second influence was the German philosophy that was more rational and deprived of any supernatural elements. The development of more rational separated the radicals and conservatives. The Unitarianism in America survived the controversies and financial repressions and grew to theology that promoted harmony, individualism, and tolerance.

The development of sectarian and non-sectarian associations led to the organisation of pure religion and rationalism. The Unitarian universalist unity also brought positive development. The American Unitarians were divided into three categories. Some stayed with Unitarian churches, some found Unitarian universalist faith more related and some affiliated with the more Liberal American Unitarian Conference. The journey of seeking truth by the use of reason led to the development of Unitarianism that is still flourishing. America, being the ground of this research, one should underline one particular American Unitarian, the pioneer Joseph Priestley, who took with him this movement beyond the seas, from the UK to the New World, the USA. The code of ethics obligates to devote a chapter to this personality that marked the history of this movement and its development in the USA. The next pages would take you to the tour of Priestley's years in America, his religious and scientific activities, and his connections, friendships, and enmities there.

¹⁶⁴ The states where superintendents of missionaries employed by the association included, New England, Middle States and Canada, Western States, Southern States, and Pacific Coast

CHAPTER FOUR

CHAPTER 4

The Unitarian Joseph Priestley in the US

4.1. Introduction

The estimated emigrations to America of almost 10,000 people in 1794 are documented in the History of Immigration to the United States (Bromwell 1856: 13-15). These immigrants kept politically linked since Britain and America are socially and intellectually close¹⁶⁵. Most of these immigrants were an active part of the English radical movement, which is also another important reason of their migration. Thus, their theology influenced the American politics considerably.

One of the most important migrants was Joseph Priestley. He was an English Chemist, theologian, philosopher, and political theorist. Despite the factors behind his immigration and his involvement in American issues, his life in America is not well-analyzed previously. He was compared to Socrates because of his intellectual and political position in England before his immigration to America in 1794. He was admiration in the fields of science, politics, and religion. He fearlessly questioned dogma and emphasised the perception of the truth that is approved by experimental investigation and inquiry. He opposed the Anglican establishments as a Unitarian minister, focused on instructing young, and an admirer of science. He said about his laboratory that: “The most truly valuable and useful apparatus of philosophical instruments, that perhaps any individual, in this or any other country, was ever possessed of”¹⁶⁶. Thus, he was one of the major contributors to industrial development in the English midlands.

¹⁶⁵ “*The Peopling of America: Perspectives on Immigration*” (Scott 1984: 48)

¹⁶⁶ *Letter to the Inhabitants of Birmingham, Morning Chronicle* (Priestley 1791).

He was also a close friend of Benjamin Franklin and was targeted by Edmund Burke during the French revolution because of his difference in political opinions with his old friend. Priestley's political philosophy was radical and revolutionary that made him play his role in the political setup of that time. He was called one of the "ardent spirits in Europe" by John Adams because of his republican principles. When Jefferson was elected president in 1801, he said: "in any degree of favour with the governor of the country in which I have lived"¹⁶⁷.

As stated above, one should underline the involvement of the theologian, Joseph Priestley in the political scene of America during those turmoil years. It will consider the issues of his involvement and his influence in the scenario. Priestley's early theology was Protestant, and he was determined to be a non-conformist minister. He joined the Dissenting Academy of Daventry in 1752 and was introduced to Hartley's philosophy there. He served as minister to Suffolk and Cheshire congregations subsequently and joined the Dissenting Academy of Warrington in 1761 as a tutor. This experience affected his future and he was also formally ordained at that time. His activities as minister of religion are not fully elaborated in his Memoirs or by his biographer, John Towill Rutt.

The Academy of Warrington introduced Priestley to the many elite dissenters of England. Those people were among the tutors and the families which were taking care of the academy. The most prominent one among them was Samuel Vaughan's sons. He was a famous merchant in London and West India and lived in Philadelphia even long after the American Independence. Two of his sons, Benjamin and William, were trained by Priestley as they stayed with him and his wife in their house. Benjamin Vaughan was interested in politics, which is clear from one of his letters documented the Wilkes' prospects. He was also a great admirer of

¹⁶⁷ *Priestley to Logan*, Logan Papers, V.43. 2801.

Priestley and he mentioned his admiration for a letter to Franklin in which he mentioned him as a great philosopher and mentioned that his works would be influencing¹⁶⁸.

Both Priestley and his pupil were close to Franklin along with having similar political views. Priestly was first introduced to Franklin during his visit to London in 1765-6. Later, Priestley became the most important acquaintance of Franklin and the latter became support and encouragement to Priestley's science career. This encouragement made him develop scientific apparatus and publish results of his experiments that led to his election in the Royal Society¹⁶⁹. Thus, he was renowned among the scientific community. The connections with radical intellectuals affected his political sphere.

The scientific man focused on theology during his stay in Birmingham and published *History of the Corruptions of Christianity* and defended the religious toleration the most. His publication *The Importance and Extent of Free Enquiry in Matters of Religion* was published in 1785. The phrases he used in this book indicated his scientific mind set for example he described dissenters as: "laying gunpowder, grain by grain, under the old building of error and superstition"¹⁷⁰. The English Government's act of 1787 prohibited dissenter's civil rights that led Priestley to write an open letter to the Pitt in which he called himself and other dissenters as enemies of church establishments¹⁷¹. The 1789-90's campaign of dissenters was affected by the successful example of the French revolution.

The French Revolution directed the political activities of Priestley to a new phase. In the annual meeting of the London Revolution Society, he was given the reward of discourse

¹⁶⁸ Benjamin Vaughan to Franklin, n.d. (1767-68), Franklin Papers.

¹⁶⁹ Priestley, Works, XXV.392-3.

¹⁷⁰ *Reflections on the Present State of Free Enquiry in this Country*, (Birmingham 1785: 70-82).

¹⁷¹ The Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom. Its Evolution and Consequences in American History (C. U. P., 1988), 47.

movement. His reply to Burke's attack was published in the *Reflections*. His publication Paine's *Rights of Man* was warmly welcomed in 1791. Shortly after that publication, he delivered a discourse in Hackney's Dissenting Academy, and he declared to disclose his long adhered political views. In his *Letters to Burke*, he said that:

“The generality of governments has hitherto been little else than a combination of the few against the many, and to the mean passions and low cunning of these few, have the great interests of mankind been too long sacrificed How glorious, then, is the prospect, the reverse of all the past, which is now opening upon us. ... Government, we may now expect to see, not only in theory and in books, but actual practice, calculated for the general good, and taking no more upon it than the general good requires After the noble example of America, we may expect, in due time, to see the governing powers of all nations confining their attention to the civil concerns of them, and consulting their welfare in the present state only; in consequence of which they may all be flourishing and happy”¹⁷².

He also said that there would be no kings or lords in the New World conception. In 1791, Priestley started working on the establishment of Constitutional Society with an intention of the celebration of the fall of the Bastille on 14 July. He was consulted by his friends in Manchester for this purpose. The sympathy with the radical and revolutionary order of France was prominent in Manchester and Birmingham. However, Priestley's political and religious views were most appreciated by the manufacturers and dissenters of Birmingham. The enhanced promotion of his views led to violence as from 14 to 17 July 1791, a violent mob burned two

¹⁷² Priestley, *Letters to the Rt. Honorable Edmund Burke*, (Birmingham 1791: 241)

Unitarian meeting houses and properties of fourteen dissenters and manufacturers¹⁷³. These mobs cost Priestley his apparatus, acquaintance, books, and manuscripts, and probably those events triggered his immigration decision. The upcoming lines would elaborate more on the concerned topic.

4.2 Joseph Priestley's Religion and Theology:

This section addresses the erudite religious and theological beliefs from the intellectual and ethical life of Joseph Priestley. These are the beliefs that dominated his career, politics, social connections, and sentiments. Before diving into Priestley's faith, the understanding of his motivation behind his publications is crucial.

4.2.1 Approach

Priestley contributed a unique approach to the study of Christian scripture. This approach was specific to the group of Unitarians he belongs to who believe in the continuous improvement of Biblical translation that they devised. Priestley was confident of this approach because he believed in absolute and uniform truth along with his understanding that achieving truth is a gradual procedure. Deterioration of knowledge was a prohibited act to him. He practiced slow progression toward absolute truth which is rooted in his belief that humans should perfectly understand as understood by Christ.

He considered a reason for the whole of humankind and he also stated that the use of reason can lead anyone to a unified and kind creator God. The observations of natural religion and principles of rationality are gifts from God for the understanding of divinity as a universal and all-seeing God according to the concepts of Joseph Priestley. However, he also stated to

¹⁷³ *The Priestley Riots of 1791, Past and Present*, (Rose 1960: 68-88)

focus on revelation as a tool to get an understanding of other essential knowledge that cannot be assessed by reason and natural religion alone.

The strategy and approach of Priestley towards scriptural study were extremely serious because of the importance of revealed religion. He promoted rational Bible evaluation as the only way to truth attainment. The focus of his criticism was mystery and irrationality from Orthodox beliefs. He denied trinity too. The elements he considers crucial for an individual to unfold the truth include a good education, a rational approach, and conscience's liberty. The package is for all thus the need for religious authority and clergy is eliminated. Priestley's approach was based on detailed linguistic and historical study. According to him a lot of misunderstandings were because of eliminating context from ancient language thus hold the status of verbal misunderstanding. The reason for studying history was to explain the sequence of corruption of Christianity. Thus, it was an effort to separate pure from corrupt and revealing pure early Christianity.

Starting from the period of the dissidence Priestley's first reputation was of a minister which transformed to a scientist later. At that time scientists were called natural philosophers. Multiple biographies of Priestley including his autobiography describe him as a theologian who practiced science and a person who was a political theorist. Having a bird's eye view of all those studies enables an individual to know the process Priestley went through, a process that transformed him into a person interested in diverse areas of study.

During his minister-ship, he stayed with the idea of rejecting triune God. He considered Jesus as a Christian but rejected his being fragment of triune God and son of God. His publication *History of the Corruptions of Christianity* came to light in 1782 consisting of his rejections and challenge to the New Testament's magic and mysticism. He challenged the concepts of the Holy Ghost, Eucharist's mysticism which was false to his observations, soul's

immateriality, and the last supper. He traced the roots of distortions back to the time of the Council of Nicaea from the 4th and 5th centuries. Pope Constantine was the leader of the Council of Nicaea and it was among the councils which were behind the creation of the divinity of Jesus and the creation of the Trinity. Disowning all of these concepts earned Priestley multiple enemies from Protestants and English Catholics.

At the time of the American Revolution, Christians in America were mostly Protestant by belief with a fraction of Catholics in different American colonies. From those Catholic colonies, Maryland is most notable which is depicted from St. Mary's city of St. Mary county. The concept of Jesus is different in different Protestant denominations. The denial of the Catholic concept of transubstantiation made Priestley isolated from other clergymen.

Among the other alienating factors in Priestley's life, one was no representation of scientists in the English parliament. England harvested the potential of scientists in the industrial innovation era; however, the old political system of England which was in place from the 1300s didn't give any representation to scientists. Scientists at that time were religious dissenters and they were considering Priestley as a potential leader. In reality, he was dissenting established religions, which led his enemies to propaganda against him.

His philosophy of reason and rational thinking mainly evolved in the era of enlightenment. His background clears his position in the eyes of undereducated communities. He was as infamous among undereducated as he was popular among the educated communities. His relation with Vice President John Adams in 1796's campaign is elaborated in Steven Johnson's book *The Invention of Air: A Story of Science, Faith, Revolution and the Birth of America* (2008). Priestley's preaching in the Universalist Church on Lombard Street made him a friend with John Adam on Priestley's arrival to Philadelphia in 1794.

However, political rationalism made Adam maintain a distance from Priestley as Priestley's controversial personality might hinder Adam's way to the presidency. Priestley collected an immense hatred for his radical views, which is similar to the opposition Jesus faced for his views from his fellows.

Priestley's scientific connections can be traced to Benjamin Franklin in America and Antoine-Laurent de Lavoisier in France. At a later stage, his friendship with Thomas Jefferson strengthened to the extent that he shared his views of Jesus with him. These discussions led Jefferson to introduce his bible called The Jefferson Bible. Jefferson's Bible ignored concepts including the virgin birth, supernatural accounts, and miracles. Joseph Priestley was welcomed as a comet in the system as described by John Ruskin Clark. His reputation was of a professional, a scientist, and a minister (Ruskin 1990).

An Essay on the First Principles of Government was a piece of writing from Priestley from 1768 in which he was liberal both in a political and religious sense. The same piece of writing played a significant role in the American and French Revolutions. He embraced total freedom of thought and their expression. The only thing which was something not from Joseph was his belief in the establishment of the kingdom of God on Earth. It was a strange concept that is hard to expect from him and it was a conflict between Unitarians. Behind his belief in prophecies was his reading of the Book of Revelations and he was a person with a belief in God.

Philadelphian Unitarians displayed a warm welcome to Priestley on his arrival to America with his family. The first teaching position he was offered was from the University of Pennsylvania which he declined because of his wife's wish to live in Northumberland as she was not very fond of living in cities. However, his wife's choice was not good for him because of the poor postal service in the area. The lack of coach service made him irritated as letters or

parcels take a month to arrive and to be sent from Philadelphia and to communicate to someone in England took a season to happen.

English Unitarians and American Unitarian were a lot different from each other and the difference with Massachusetts' Unitarianism was quite large. The differences existed because of the Socinian and Aryan backgrounds. People from each group consider their beliefs most authentic. The advantage of the differences was taken by the Trinitarians. On the other hand, Priestley's influence in Northumberland was not reaching many people. Before his death, he met a small group of people liberal in their religious beliefs. At that time Unitarianism was not an American denomination and after his death the group scattered. Before his death, he conveyed his message to Jefferson through a letter to his friend. He described Jefferson's administration as excellent and stated he was feeling happy to live under it. In fact, he called it best on earth and conveyed his best wishes to achieve the next level of that administration. Joseph Priestley was buried in Quaker cemetery in Northumberland.

4.2.2 Joseph Priestley's principal beliefs

4.2.2.1 Unitarianism

Based on the approach listed above, religious beliefs were developed by Joseph Priestley, which, according to him, were highly rational and closest to pure Christianity. He denied trinity and left Daventry Academy. He adopted Unitarianism for most of his life after reading *Nathaniel Lardner's Letter on the Logos of 1759*. Trinitarian principles were irrational to him which denies questioning too. The requirement of the trinity to stop reasoning and believing in the church's teachings which were masked in mystery was nonsense to Priestley. In comparison to trinity was his concept of a unified God who was part of both natural and revealed religion. Priestley's study of history cleared to him that early Christians and Fathers were Unitarians and trinity sneaked into scriptures in preceding centuries. He picked the unification and indivisible

status of God from old testaments as the most important message. He said that the New Testament's statement Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are equally divine is figurative and does not have literal meanings. Thus, Jesus is a human with god-gifted powers including resurrection and ascension. These powers do not make him God and he should be respected rather than worshipped.

4.2.2.2 The Atonement

His denial of the divinity of Jesus leads him to interpret Jesus' death and resurrection differently. He explained the death of Jesus as a sacrifice figuratively. His death was not a diversion of God's wrath and his sacrifice was not even atonement of sin. He defined Jesus as a saviour rather than a mediator between God and humanity. The status of a saviour was supported by Jesus' life which was full of moral duty and truth of the physical resurrection.

4.2.2.3 Predestination

Priestley stated the Calvinist belief of predestination as irrational and fragile based on scripture. Based on practical grounds Priestley stated God's clear plan as an aim to offer happiness to people. He rejected the chances of plans of God to sentence people with endless torment and misery. Universal salvation was a concept of ensuring the greatest happiness. He never denied punishment and consider the effectiveness of long and severe punishment in maintaining divine justice. The difference of opinion was in punishing finite humans infinitely.

4.2.2.4 Original Sin and Grace

The grace belief widespread among clergy and orthodox devotes state that the sacrifice of Jesus was to save the rest of humanity and all sins forgiven because of his sacrifice. He rejected the ideas of innate sinfulness and supernatural reconciliation and advocated that anyone

can attain moral knowledge and truth. According to Priestley, God-given moral laws can be easily followed by humans. He acknowledged human imperfectness but promoted to try pleasing God, repenting, and improving continually. This was the concept Christian life revolve around rather than emotional faith, Calvinist beliefs, or death bed conversion myth. The denial of original sin is not rooted in arrogance or pride and humankind gifted with the power to follow the rules of God; Predestination is a denial of that gifted power.

4.2.2.5 The Soul

Priestley denied the existence of the soul. He combined investigation of the nature of matter and scriptural study to better defend the unity of body and spirit. He focused on biblical grounds to explain the physical resurrection. On the same grounds, he declared that body and soul are not fragmented. He stated belief in the soul as unreasonable and idolatrous on a historical basis.

4.2.2.6 The Millennium

Priestley was an avid millenarian with strong trust in the biblical prophecy of the second coming of Christ. His grip on millennium study was strong and well-established. He believed that he was living in the foretold era of the return of Christ. He studied Daniel and Revelation and hold strong beliefs on the return of Jews to their homeland as a preceding event of the second coming of Christ. He was keeping an eye on global political development for the signs of the beginning of Christ's rule on land. The combination of absolute and concrete biblical truths with Priestley's scientific mind-set made him believe in the existence of a deity. The American Revolution, French revolution, and Birmingham riots made him believe the signs. Before his death, he was preoccupied with the millennium and was studying prophecies in detail.

4.2.2.7 Reactions and Criticisms

Attaining truth through reason was an order and beauty to him. The closely related ideas made his enemies call him “gunpowder joe”. Those related ideas on the organization by rational thoughts would have the same effect as gunpowder grains. Some of his opponents from Anglican beliefs considered his truth as seditious and dissident. They accused Priestley of the annihilation of roots of revealed truth. His opponents replace rationality and order with moral upheaval.

In the current era, Priestley’s theology and religious work faced reactions based on the well-studied scriptural analysis. However, such discussion lost relevancy today. The study of the interaction between Priestley’s theology and politics highlights conceptual links including J.C.D Clark’s comment on theological dissent and radicalism as basic (281) and A.M.C Waterman’s comment on the link between dissent and seditious politics as false. (Haakonssen 1996: 214).

Further modern studies explored Priestley’s beliefs in prophecies and miracles in light of his rational attitude. Martin Fitzpatrick linked Priestley’s preoccupation with apocalyptic texts with his unbalanced mind (Fitzpatrick 1991: 106). However, the idea of an imbalanced mind was ruled out by Clark Garrett who linked Priestley’s millenarian theories with his outlook. Focusing on French Revolution he was employing scientific methodology for the observations to unfold providence and the execution of prophecy was crucial for the strength of rational religion.

4.3. An Overview of Priestley’s influence on the American Unitarianism

The American Unitarians were known for their belief in God’s fatherhood, man’s brotherhood, and Boston’s neighbourhood. Thus, the documented history reported Boston

as the centre of the American Unitarianism. However, two historians who denied this phenomenon include John Allen and J. D. Bowers. John Allen's *Unitarianism in the Antebellum South* (Tuscaloosa, AL, 2001) stated English Unitarianism as a big inspiration for American Unitarianism while Bower's *Joseph Priestley and English Unitarianism in America* stated Priestley's established (1790) Unitarian movement as the foundation of American Unitarianism. Bowers well elaborated the conflicts between New England's Orthodox Congregationalists, liberals, and English Unitarians. His analysis stated Congregationalists and Trinitarians as groups who enjoyed the dispute between New England's Socinians and Arians over the possession of Unitarian names. Until the 1820s William Ellery Channing was leading liberals of New England who was denying any links with English Unitarianism. Until that time Unitarianism was not an organized denomination in New England. Priestley's account was not accredited by the credit of influencing liberal beliefs until the late 19th century.

The role of Joseph Priestley's influence played in American Unitarianism is also understated in history. Theophilus Lindsey and Joseph Priestley were the leaders of dissenting Unitarian beliefs in the late 18th century. Unitarian beliefs faced extreme criticism in England. The criticism turned to riots which burned Priestley's home and he fled to the United States in 1794. Priestley and other English Unitarian immigrants aimed to work and live in a genial atmosphere. Joseph Priestley made Northumberland, Pennsylvania his home town where he established the Unitarian church and worked on multiple Unitarian publications.

During Priestley's stay, more than 20 Unitarian churches were established in the United States. He elaborated the role played by the denial and criticism of Unitarian beliefs by orthodox Christian allies in promoting Unitarianism in the region. The liberal Congregationalists of New England maintained a good relationship with English Unitarians including Priestley the reason

for which was their Arminian beliefs. Religious liberals of Boston denied the predestination doctrine of orthodox and considered Jesus as subordinate to God. They accepted the influence to the extent that they denied several orthodox doctrines but they were not similar in beliefs to the English Unitarians who consider Jesus a human prophet strictly. After Priestley's demise in 1804 English Unitarianism and American Unitarianism started consolidation and they left the American liberals behind during this consolidation. Some of the historians stated that Priestley's Socinianism was intentionally used by Channing to represent the American Arian liberals as more Christian in their beliefs.

Besides Bowers, Conard Right rejected the total dismissal of Priestley's influence on American Unitarianism's structure in his publication *The Beginnings of Unitarianism in America* (Boston, 1955). He said that Priestley's Socinianism was less crucial than Arianism but James Freeman (a Socinian minister) and the broadcasting of Priestley's writings promoted outgrowth of Arianism in next generations. Right also mentioned Priestley and other English Unitarians' role in the development of American Unitarianism and he strongly denied the concept of the native origin of American Unitarianism. The evidence of the influence of American religious beliefs on Priestley and English Unitarians is too little to consider. While Bowers demonstrated with enough references that English Unitarians laid the foundations of New England's self-sufficient Unitarian denomination. (Bowers 2010)

4.4. The Immigration of Priestley to America in 1791 and his Preceding Years Until

1794 in America

In the immediate aftermath of the riot in Birmingham, Priestley, alert to his large unpopularity, and of the robust probability of any attacks upon his person, terribly before long

considered leaving England. "It is now evident, from a variety of circumstances," he wrote to his brother-in-law Wilkinson, that government is not frowning with the riots in Birmingham.

A number of my friends who needed to wait on Mr. Dundas say he did nothing, however, rail at the disaster in general, and myself in particular... On this account, I think about my keep during this country as terribly uncertain. several of (my) friends seriously consider attending to France, and the neighbourhood of Dijon in Burgundy has been acknowledged to them as convenient for his or her manufacturers. If this could take place, and my son William gets a settlement in France, that I hope my friends there, will notice for him, I shall in all probability go too. Joseph says that several dissenters will in all probability transmigrate from Manchester which if all be well, he is in a position to go too in an exceedingly few years to nice advantage. (September 1791)¹⁷⁴

From France within the aftermath of the riots, that had been reportable within the Monitor on 27 July that addresses of acknowledgment had come to Priestley, from learned societies, from the Jacobins in Paris and rebel clubs, from one provincial city, and also "very handsome proposals" of accommodation had been proposed if he had decided to go to France

¹⁷⁴ Priestley to Wilkinson, n.d. (September 1791), W. P. L.; and cf. W. H. Chaloner, "Dr. Joseph Priestley, John Wilkinson and the French Revolution", 27, where, however, there is an omission in the final sentence as quoted. William Priestley had been in Paris in the summer of 1789; at the time of the riots, he was in his parents' household-about to be "three years with Mr. Russell, in order to his being afterwards settled in America." "He exposed himself much in the riots, in saving what he could of our things," Priestley wrote, "and was so marked by the rioters as to be in much danger." With Priestley's decision not to return To Birmingham, It was decided that it would be "an uncomfortable place" also for William. In June 1792 Priestley wrote that he was "to be in a merchants counting house, at Nantes, though with a view to a partnership if they should on trial agree." Priestley to Wilkinson, 20 August 1791, W. P. L.; Priestley to J. Vaughan, 7 June 1792, A . P. S., Priestley Papers, B . P. 931; and cf. also Priestley, An Appeal to the Public on the subject of the Riots in Birmingham Part II (London, 1792), Works XIX.506F. or William Priestley's French citizenship in the summer of 1792, cf. below, n. 72. Joseph Priestley, Jr. had in the spring of 1791 been settled with a merchant in Manchester: "Revolutionary philosopher, Part II," 2 1, n. 23. But Ashworth, although recommended by all Priestley's friends in Manchester as a man of "liberal principles" was in the winter of 1792-3 to insist that Joseph Priestley, Jr., leave his firm immediately (cf. below, n. 90). For the part which young Priestley played in the radical politics of Manchester, his friendship with Thomas Walker, Thomas Cooper, and James Watt, Jr., and his own strong political convictions, cf. below, nn. 90, 190; and also Chaloner, 26, n. 4.

such as a "house completely furnished" near Paris, and the prospect too of a vacant monastery near Toulouse.

Priestley's sympathy with the politics of France was at this time at its height. And it had been currently that he began, apparently beneath the influence of Benjamin Vaughan (who was in France on many occasions in 1789-91 observing the progress of the Revolution)¹⁷⁵ to speculate within the French funds, hoping, as he wrote, to reap the maximum amount advantage from them as he had done from his previous investments in America. He continued, however, as is evident from his letters to a different of the Vaughan family-John Vaughan, who had settled as a merchant in Philadelphia -to invest there also.¹⁷⁶

"I wish to have as little in this country as possible,' he wrote. "I am told it is the wish of the ministry to drive me away, and in this, we shall soon be agreed." Within a month of writing during this vein, however, he was writing of his "absolutely" taking a house at Hackney; of his plans to refurbish his library and laboratory, and of his hopes of succeeding worth at the pit Meeting in Hackney, although, as he wrote, "some of the more timid parts of the congregation" were "apprehensive of a tumult" should he "settle there." In France, he had decided, he would be "useless. I shall thus abide by the storm; no matter it be. I cannot suffer far more than I have

¹⁷⁵ For Benjamin Vaughan's enthusiastic endorsement of the revolution in France, and for his reports to his patron, Lansdowne, on the political state of that country, cf. the author's forthcoming *Reform Politics in England, 1789-99*; and Murray, Benjamin Vaughan, 248ff.

¹⁷⁶ John Vaughan (1756-1841) was the fourth of the six sons of Samuel Vaughan, younger brother of Benjamin and William, and like them, educated at Warrington Academy. In 1782 he had emigrated to America and settled permanently in Philadelphia. As a longstanding friend of the family, Priestley had been among those who wrote testimonials for John Vaughan in 1782, and that Vaughan certainly knew Priestley well is suggested by his reaction to the news of the Birmingham riots (below, n. 67). John Vaughan had been elected a member of the American Philosophical Society in 1784, and it was perhaps partly due to his influence and of Samuel Vaughan, then Vice-President, that in 1785 Priestley was elected a member. By 1791 John Vaughan was Treasurer of the Society. In September 1791 he presented "a profile in Plaster of Paris of Dr. Priestley particularly valuable for the resemblance." From the summer of that year onwards he was in constant communication with Priestley, and closely involved in his plan of emigration. (S. P. Stetson, "The Philadelphia Sojourn of Samuel Vaughan," *E. M. Geffen, Philadelphia Unitarianism, 1796-1861* (Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1961), 20, 22-3; G. Chinard, "The American Philosophical Society and the World of Science, 1768-1800," *Proc. Am. Phil. Soc.*, 87 [1944]: 4; *Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society . . . compiled . . . from the Manuscript Minutes of its Meetings from 1744 to 1838* [Philadelphia, 1884], 196: 16 September 1791; Schofield, *Scientific Autobiography*, 243-4. And cf. also Franklin to R. Morris, A. P. S., Vaughan Papers, B. V. 462, containing a testimonial from Priestley to the character of John Vaughan, 5 January 1782.)

done." And yet, as he wrote in this same letter to John Vaughan: "I do not think it probable that I shall continue here many years if my life is preserved." He intended, he wrote, to settle his sons in France or America, and at present "a favourable situation seems more likely to supply in France; and where they settle, I shall, as I believe at present, finally go to end my days."

To chemist it appeared astonishing that Priestley did not take advantage of such "flattering invitations to get rid of into a state of affairs of Safety compared thereupon you're in on this Side the Water. Was I in your case," he wrote, "I should not hesitate long where to fix." And, he added, regarding the spirit of bigotry abroad in England, that appeared determined to possess Priestley "destroyed by any means," and which would "not affect you so readily in its operations in France because it could during this Country ... I ought to be a part of in opinion with the timid part of your intended Congregation." And that Priestley himself, throughout 1792, involved, however, more and more discouraged in his arrange to gain some compensation for the losses he and his friends had suffered, and apprehensive of any rioting, regarded France as his natural refuge, is evident from his correspondence.

By the spring of 1792, however, he should have received the letter from John Vaughan from Philadelphia, written shortly when the news of the Birmingham riots reached America, reassuring him of his sympathy, and of the hopes of the many in America that if the English government persisted in "their ill-judged encouragement of illiberal and unmanly sentiments . . . they're going to need to lament the loss & we to facilitate (sic) ourselves upon the accession of a substantial variety of the most enlightened liberal and industrious of her Citizens." (Vaughan 1791)¹⁷⁷

¹⁷⁷ J. Vaughan to Priestley, 3 October 1791, A. P. S., Vaughan Papers, B. V. 462.1 and Appendix; and cf. also J. Vaughan to B. Vaughan, 3 October 1791, *ibid.*: "I shall not be Surprised if emigrations are consequent upon the Countenance given in England to illiberal & intollerant Sentiments religious and political. I can only say we shall be ready to receive the chosen band with open arms."

In Priestley's correspondence with John Vaughan at this time, discussing his investments within the yank funds, and also Vaughan's offer to take one of his sons under his care, there is associate increasing stress on the likelihood of 1 a minimum of his sons settling in America. For Priestley himself, however, migration remained "a distant though a pleasing speculation." (Vaughan 1791) "I approve your resolution of retiring from the scene for a time/" he wrote to his close friend William Russell in the summer of 1792, "though the idea of your final migration is quite well, I will bear,..... therefore, intimately and gaily connected as we've got been. ...it might suit Maine to accompany you, but to that, there are (those) who would never consent." (Vaughan 1791)

He was in many ways, as he wrote, comfortable in his new situation at Hackney: "It is a most agreeable circumstance attending it," he wrote to Vaughan, "that so many of your family will be of the congregation." ¹⁷⁸; he was still, maybe to a bigger degree than ever, fascinated by the politics of revolutionary France. within the summer of 1792 Priestley, on hearing of the naturalisation of his son, William "from the public papers," as he wrote to Russell, nevertheless defiantly defended his son's actions, and those of the French: "I did not expect any such thing; however, if it had been my very own want and procurement, what damage was there in it? This country isn't doubtless to be a fascinating state of affairs for any kid of mine, and so it is natural on behalf of me to seem for a settlement for them elsewhere. On the opposite hand, it is natural for the individuals of Birmingham to be offended at no matter throws a mirrored image upon them, and that they should expect a lot of more exasperation of a similar kind".

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Such thinking junction made him accept, while not apparent hesitation, the supply of

¹⁷⁸ Priestley to J. Vaughan, 7 December 1791, A. P. S., B. P. 931; and cf. Priestley to Mrs. Crouch, 31 December 1792, Scientific Correspondence, 132.

¹⁷⁹ Priestley to Russell, 22 June 1792, Works, 1.2.185-6; and "Revolutionary Philosopher, Part II," 37.

citizenship for himself from the National Assembly in August with the overthrow of the monarchy, and his sympathy with France, albeit mingled because it was with apprehensions for its viability as a secure refuge, and it remained constant throughout those years. He was in shut contact at this time with English radical merchant, John Hurford Stone, who had been instrumental in securing for him the ministry at the pit Meeting in Hackney, and who was, till his departure from France in April 1792, a neighbour of whom Priestley saw much. From Paris within the spring and late summer of 1792, Hurford Stone transmitted to his circle of friends in European country an everyday series of letters, giving shut and careful data on the unsteady fortunes of the Revolution-for that his robust sympathy was ne'er in doubt. In August 1792, writing to his brother of the inevitable downfall of the monarchy, Hurford Stone wrote additionally to Priestley, and it had been in response to the letter that Priestley entrusted Stone with a replica of his letter to the National Assembly, accepting their supply of citizenship, and revealing the end of interest that he was additionally taking within the politics of France.¹⁸⁰

In October Priestley was writing to Russell of his hopes that "the aspect of things in France will be clearing up" for, as he said, "much depends upon that, in every case in which civil or religious liberty is concerned." He gave Russell the latest news from France, brought to him at that very moment by "Mr. Vaughan" adding in a postscript that he had just seen "a letter from Mr. Stone, dated 1 o'clock, 2nd Oct., Hall of the Convention. This moment the news arrives that the Prussians have raised their camp and are in flight."¹⁸¹

¹⁸⁰ Ibid., "Part II," 38-9, and 39-41 for Priestley's election to the Convention in September. For Hurford Stone's correspondence from Paris, cf. T. S. 11/ 955/ 1793; and L. D. Woodward, *Helene Maria Williams et ses Amis* (Paris, 1930, repr. Geneve, 1977), 65ff.

¹⁸¹ Priestley to Russell, 5 October 1792, Works, 1.2.191-3. Hurford Stone's letter of 2 October is not among those transcribed in the series in T. S. 11/ 955/ 1793; but cf. his letter of 14 October, written in the "Camp before Verdun," in which he described himself as "domiciliated with one of the Generals who is an Englishman and who has distinguished himself much during the campaign." In November 1792 Stone presided in Paris over one violently revolutionary dinner of his English compatriots, the proceedings of which were reported in England. Cf. L. D. Woodward, *Helene Maria Williams et ses Amis*, 65-75; J. Alger, "The British Colony in Paris," *E. H. R.*, 13 (1898): 672-4; Chaloner, "Joseph Priestley," 34.

Throughout 1792, Priestley shared the widespread elation in English reforming circles because the armies of the sans-culottes marched into Flanders. "The success of the French," he wrote to Rev. Edwards, of Birmingham, ". Sinks the spirits of the church and king party everywhere, and ought to raise ours as much"; it was, as his author Rutt recorded, not his sense of prudence, but his wife's, which enabled him to resist the pressures put upon him to attend the annual meeting of the Revolution Society on four November, at that the institution of the new republic, and her victories abroad, were applauded with unprecedented fervour.

It had been as a committed supporter of Republican France, whose public letters to the Convention and its leaders further to his notoriety¹⁸² that Priestley, whereas settling down in his place of retreat at Hackney, was yet regularly wrestling with the conflicting issues that were to work out his emigration from England.

This was, as he was more and more forced to recognise, becoming a matter of pressing necessity within the second part of his charm to the Public, revealed in Gregorian calendar month 1792, he defended the naturalisation of his son in France; he considered "the greatest of honours" the conferring of French citizenship upon himself and he spoke with understandable bitterness about his fellow countrymen: "As to myself, I cannot be speculated to feel a lot of attachment to a rustic within which I even have found neither protection nor redress."¹⁸³ Shunned by his fellow members of the Royal Society, his letters to a chemist in 1793 reveal however shut associate interest he continued to require in political affairs, however uneasily he watched as a European country and France visited war, and with what more apprehension he detected of the descent of France into anarchy. He was at this point a lot of within the company of the Foxite Whigs. He gave an associate account of their discussions on the declaration of

¹⁸² Ibid.,.

¹⁸³ Priestley, Appeal to the Public, Part II, Works, XIX.506 and note.

war, within which his views were clearly in accord with theirs: "That the French do not fear the war is evident enough, though' it is as evident that they wished to avoid it, and were sincerely desirous of our friendship."

While congratulating his relative-in-law that he was "out of the Mania, as you properly call it," he nevertheless took care to send him the pamphlets which appeared attacking the English ministry's stance on the war raising, in particular, James Currie's pseudonymous "Jasper Wilson" Letter, and, also, Benjamin Vaughan's series of letters for the *Morning Chronicle*, under the pseudonym of "A Calm Observer," which appeared in pamphlet form in the summer of 1793. "If you should have any guess about the writer," Priestley wrote to Wilkinson, on sending him a copy of the latter, "I have a particular reason for desiring you would not give any intimation of it to Mr. Vaughan." "Mr. Vaughan and others," he reported in July, "think that the ministry, similarly because the nation, begin to be uninterested in the war, and would build peace if they knew how."

Priestley's relationship with Benjamin Vaughan was at this time particularly close: "There is no person, I believe, in England" he had written to Wilkinson on discussing his projected investments in France, "who is better acquainted with France, and French affairs, than he is; so you'll rely upon any accounts that he may provide you, and he wants no zeal to serve me, or my friends."¹⁸⁴ And throughout this period he relied upon this addicted enthusiast for the French cause as a valuable supply of political information.

In March 1793, Priestley commented to the chemist on the passage of the Aliens Bill, forbidding all correspondence between the European country and France. It was, he thought, "very unreasonable and unnecessary," although it could not, he believed, "affect purchases

¹⁸⁴ Priestley to Wilkinson, 4 October 1791, W. P. L.

already made in France." But, he added, it would "effectually prevent any person going to or coming from that country except with the approbation of the Court."¹⁸⁵

In this letter, he told Wilkinson also of his son William's decision to leave France for America. Throughout April, with news from France currently silenced, Priestley wrote to his friends of his concern for William, and the more and more distracted state of France. "We have no intercourse now with France," he wrote to Withering, "and whether my son William has been able to leave it and go to America I cannot learn. Indeed, the prospect is extremely melancholy. The conduct of the French has been comparable to their best friends cannot approve; however definitely the present combination against them ... is as little to be justified.

"France, I fear, will long be in a lamentable state," he wrote to Wilkinson in May. "I have no fear on account of their foreign enemies, but their dissensions among themselves."(Russell,1793) In August he could write more optimistically, news from a letter that reached his radical circle in contravention of the Aliens Bill: "As I wish to give you all the information I can collect," he wrote to Wilkinson, I shall observe that Mr. Stone, who is currently at Paris, tells his brother, that there have been proposals for peace from a European country in Paris on the twentieth of May, however, the revolution that followed prevented any issue being done. All affairs among themselves are doubtless to be settled amicably, and they make no nice account of their enemies.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸⁵ Priestley to Wilkinson, 19 March 1793, *ibid.*

¹⁸⁶ Priestley to Wilkinson, 19 August 1793, W. P. L.; and cf. Priestley to J. Gough, 25 August 1793, Works, 1.2.207. Cf. J. H. Stone to William Stone, 26 February 1793, T. S. 11/ 955/ 1793: "I will not hazard any more Letters on Politics by the Post Office." He nevertheless wrote frequently "by private hands" to his brother (same to same, 2 July 1793, *ibid.*), to others of their circle in London, and clearly frequently to Priestley: cf. Stone to William Stone, 22 November 1793, T. B. and T. J. Howell, eds., *A Complete Collection of State Trials* (London, 1809-1828), XXV.1211: "I refer you to a Note written to Dr. P. for what I have now scratched thro"; and also same to same, 16 December 1793, *ibid.*, XXV.1213: "Tell the Doctor that I have received his letter."

He finally recognised France couldn't supply, either for himself or his sons, a suitable asylum at that time. "I perceive your resolution, and approve of it," he wrote in April to Russell on the intended emigration of the latter to America. "I take it for granted that I shall very soon be compelled to take the same measure. ... Everything," he added, "indicates a beginning of troubles in Europe. I want my friends, particularly my young ones, safely out of it. on comparable to myself it is of very little consequence whether or not we tend to go or stay." It was the plans and settlement of his sons, combined with the imperatives more and more forced upon him by the political situation, which was to determine the manner and timing of Priestley's departure.

At a similar time that William Priestley left France for America, Priestley's other sons, Joseph and Harry, were coming to a similar determination to go away England. In his letter to Withering of fifteen April, Priestley had written that "great numbers are going to America and among others all my sons," and of his intention to follow them.¹⁸⁷

In February in a letter to Adams, he had already anticipated this move. Such is the state of affairs of this country; he stated his opinion on France saying that he preferred America to France.

4.5. The Influence of Priestley on 1794's American Politics

The pamphlet encouraged the emigration of many Englishmen, philosophers, and others, to settle in America during these years, Thomas Cooper in 1794 dwelt very little on the already growing political strife in this country. "There is little fault to find with the government of America," he wrote, "either in principle or in practice the present irritation of men's minds in Great Britain, and also the discordant state of society on political accounts isn't celebrated there.

¹⁸⁷ Priestley to Withering, 15 April 1793, *Scientific Correspondence*, 135.

The government is that the government of the people, and for the people." There were, he acknowledged, 2 distinct parties in America: Federalists, who leaned towards "an extension rather than a limitation of the powers of the legislative and executive government," who inclined "rather to British than to French politics"; and to the introduction and extension of "the funding, the manufacturing, and the commercial systems." And there was the "Anti-federalists," so-called "not because they are adversary to a federal government, or ask for a republic, just like the French, one and indivisible, however, in differentiation rather to the denomination of the other class." They had been, at the time of the framing of the Constitution, and they still were, "hostile to the extensive powers given to the government," and they were indisposed to a lot of the current administration's policies. They inclined rather "to the French theory, though 'not to the French practice of politics"; and they were increasingly hostile to the arrogance of national government. The Federalists, wrote Cooper, were "the 'ins', and the Antifederalists the 'outs'" of American politics.

But in such matters, he wrote, in a very sentence that in a very few years he certainly lived to regret, "we are more moderate than you are."¹⁸⁸Cooper's determination in 1794 to emphasise the inherent stability of America's democratic institutions, and to praise the prevailing tone of her politics that were echoed by the chemist in his early pronouncements on her government on his arrival there; however, that agreement was not universal in America on the foremost pressing political issue of the day as it was clear from one among his letters written before his departure. "That many viewed" the French Revolution "in an unfavourable light, with you I have no doubt," he wrote. "But that a revolution therefore nearly resembling your own shouldn't be thought a joyful event by the Americans in general, I could not be brought to believe." His correspondent had, he wrote, made him "quite easy on the subject", and enabled

¹⁸⁸T. Cooper, Some Information respecting America, 52; 67-9.

him to satisfy his friends.¹⁸⁹ Priestley's own belief in the essential interdependence of the two revolutions in France and America, that no minor variations as to forms might dispel, had been expressed altogether his contributions to the revolutionary dialogue in England. They heralded, he declared in the last chapter of his *Letters to Burke*, "a new, a most wonderful and important area in the history of mankind." In the eagerly awaited *Discourse* which, he delivered to the young Dissenters at Hackney in Gregorian calendar month 1791, he numbered the heroes of France and America together.

And in his *Political Dialogue* within the summer of that year, written shortly before the riots and the destruction of his house, he explicit that "in America and France, we have examples of two entirely new constitutions of government that deserve explicit notice, as differing from any that the world has seen before."¹⁹⁰ In the *Dialogue* he entered at some length into a disquisition on the inherent worth of the French experiment of a unicameral legislative assembly. "A national assembly thus constituted and frequently changed, couldn't have the other object in their consultations than the interest of the whole community," he wrote. Its measures would of course favour "the greater number, which ought to be the object of every government." "In every state, as in every single person,"

Priestley added, there ought to be but one will, and no important business ought to be prevented from proceeding, by any opposite will. If there be two wills, and that they effectually counteract every other, it is not one state and one government, however, two states and two governments, that although they will agree to act in concert, may likewise act separately.

¹⁸⁹Priestley to J. Gough, 24 August 1793, *Works*, 1.2.207.

¹⁹⁰Priestley, *Letters to . . . Burke*, *Works*, XXII.236ff; Priestley, *The Proper Objects of Education in the Present State of the World, represented In a Discourse, delivered. .. to the Supporters of the New College at Hackney* (London, 1791), *Works*, XV.422; Priestley, *A Political Dialogue on the General Principles of Government* (London, 1791), *ibid.*, XXV.83.

And during this endorsement of the French republican experiment, he had even gone far- laudatory description on America for her timely ending of all hereditary distinctions -as to question her constitutional system of a balance of powers, and to doubt the knowledge or necessity of the absolute negative which the senate could exercise "on all the resolutions of the house of representatives."

There does not seem to be any necessity for different powers within the same state, everyone, having an absolute negative on the proceedings of the other, to secure the foremost deliberate discussion of each public measure. If the majority of any folks perceive their interest, there can be no smart reason why they shouldn't have the facility of promoting it, with the least possible obstruction and delay.¹⁹¹

Priestley's position in the debate engendered by the constitutional innovations of the French in implementing their Revolution, and his persistence in defensive them, publicly at least, in the slightest degree times, had created him a target of abuse for Burke and everyone in the European nation who feared the effects of the French experiment. However, that chemist also confided one of his few recorded remarks expressing some doubt concerning the government of France. "I cannot say but I now think more favourably of a pure republic than I have done/" he wrote to John Adams in December 1792.

"A comparison between the American and French governments some years X will enable the United States to make a much better judgment than we will at present."¹⁹² His defence of France, however, and his attacks upon Burke, had gained him much praise from booster opinion in America. His reply to Burke was, thought Benjamin Rush, as "masterly" a performance as that of Paine, "although they possess different species of merit. Paine destroys

¹⁹¹Priestley, *Political Dialogue*, 88-96.

¹⁹²Priestley to Adams, 20 December 1792, *Mass. Hist. Soc., Adams Papers*, Reel 375, and Appendix.

error by sequent flashes of lightning; chemist wears it away by successive strokes of electricity." Jefferson, too, held Priestley's writings in as high esteem as those of the author of the Rights of Man. "The Revolution of France does not astonish me so much as the Revolution of Mr. Burke," he wrote to Benjamin Vaughan in the summer of 1791. "I wish I could believe the latter proceeded from as pure motives because the former.

But what demonstration may scarcely have established before, less than the hints of Dr. Priestly and Mr. Paine establish now"¹⁹³By the time Jefferson wrote this letter, the debate on the Revolution in France had burst out with nice vehemence in America. "We have some names of note here who have apostatized from the true faith," Jefferson informed Benjamin Vaughan; and undoubtedly, as his later statements reveal, one amongst those whom he had in mind was John Adams. For Adams, during a series of Letters entitled Discourses on Davila, published in the Gazette of us from April 1790 until the subsequent year, had given vent to the doubts that he had at an early stage expressed about the innovative philosophy underlying the Revolution in France, and its implementation within the unicameral, sovereign assembly which Paine, Priestley, and then several alternative advocates of the French at this time defended. In thus doing, Adams mocked conjointly the prevailing belief in human perfectibility; and he came dangerously shut (as he had exhausted his earlier defence of the Constitutions of the presidency of the United States of America, in which he had stressed the requirement for a properly balanced government to take account of the human need "for consideration, congratulation, and distinction") to a defence of a hereditary system of government.

The governments of Europe, that had possessed such superiority into several spheres had, he acknowledged, been deficient within the representation of the individuals in government.

¹⁹³Rush to Belknap, 6 June 1791, L. H. Butterfield, ed., Letters of Benjamin Rush, 1.582-4; Jefferson to Benjamin Vaughan, 11 May 1791, J. P. Boyd and R. W. Lester, eds., The Papers of Thomas Jefferson (Princeton Univ. Press, 1982), XX.391; and cf. also Madison to Jefferson, 1 May 1791, R. A. Rutland, T. A. Mason et al., eds., The Papers of James Madison (Univ. Press of Virginia, 1983), XIV.15; and cf. below, n. 161.

"The people should, if their interests were honestly and prudently conducted by those who have their confidence most infallibly, obtain a share in every legislature. "But if the folk is suggested to aim at aggregation the complete sovereignty in single national assemblies, as they are by the Duke Diamond State La Rochefoucauld the Marquis of Condorcet after the purple government authority or at a division of the manager power they will fail of their desired liberty, as certainly as emulation and group action are supported in human nature, and inseparable from civil affairs it is a sacred truth that sovereignty in an exceedingly single assembly must necessarily, and can be exercised by a majority, as tyrannically as any sovereignty was ever exercised by kings or nobles.

Adams further "respectfully insinuated: Whether equal laws, the result only of a balanced government, will ever be obtained and preserved without some signs or other of distinction and degree?" America, he was writing privately, if regretfully, to Benjamin Rush at this time, would he was sure, eventually have to resort to two hereditary branches of government," as an Asylum against Discord, Seditions associated Civil War Our ship must ultimately land on that shore or be cast away."¹⁹⁴

In May 1791 the primary yank edition of the Rights of Man was published in Philadelphia; the printer appended a private note of Jefferson's, expressing his pleasure that it was to be reprinted in America," and that one thing is at length to be in public aforementioned against the political heresies which have sprung up among us."

¹⁹⁴Jefferson to Benjamin Vaughan, 11 May 1791; Adams, Discourses on Davila; A Series of Papers on Political History by an American Citizen, Works, VI.242-3; 252; 270-81; Z. Haraszti, John Adams and the Prophets of Progress, 20; 38ff; 165-6; J. R. Howe, Jr., The Changing Political Thought of John Adams (Princeton Univ. Press, 1966), 172-188 and especially n. 114.

These, as Jefferson freely admitted to Madison in the ensuing furor, were "certainly the doctrines of Davila," although, as he added, "I tell the writer freely that he is a heretic, definitely ne'er meant to step into a public newspaper with that in my mouth."

Adams, as Jefferson foresaw, was "displeased" with the imputation. In an exceedingly ensuant letter to Jefferson, he protested against the constructions that he claimed were incorrectly placed upon his writings, which had led to "Floods and Whirlwinds of tempestuous abuse, unexampled in the History of this Country," falling upon him as a result. His cause was concerned by his son, and therefore the Public letters of John Quincy Adams continued the dispute over the correct implementation of republican principles throughout the summer of 1791.¹⁹⁵ It was this debate, over the wide varied emphases and differing interpretations of political theory - given contemporary purpose with each new threat to the survival of the French experiment, and every subsequent stage of the descent of France into disorder and dictatorship - that served as the background to the massive task facing Washington's Administration: the securing of the stability of America, that throughout the 1780s and even once the framing of the Constitution of 1787 - remained in doubt. To the Administration directed by Washington, Jefferson, and Hamilton was given the big task of framing an economic system for the federal government; determining the course that her business and economic policy was to take; taming the immense resources of her interior, and establishing her frontiers. And during this process, for the United States, President and also the supporters of France, the self-made issue of the revolution was vital for America - for, as Jefferson wrote, "I feel that the permanence of our lean-to some extent on that; which a failure there would be the powerful argument to prove there must be a failure here." "The establishment and success" of the French government,

¹⁹⁵Jefferson Papers, XX.268-313: "The Contest of Burke and Paine in America"; M. D. Peterson, Adams and Jefferson: A Revolutionary Dialogue (Univ. of Georgia Press, 1976), 56-61; L. Banning, The Jeffersonian Persuasion. Evolution of a Party Ideology (Cornell Univ. Press, 1978), 154-9, 210-11; Cappon, ed., Adams-Jefferson Letters, 1.245-52.

he wrote, was "necessary to stay up to our own and to stop it from falling back thereto reasonably Halfway house, the English constitution." For the Federalists, however, and all those who, with Adams, had become progressively convinced of the need for the strengthening of the executive, and larger checks upon the unbounded power of the people, the trials of France, and also the machinations of her partisans in America, were, however, contemporary proof of the dubious the permanence of actually republican government, of the threat to the stability of America that France represented, and a happening for additional ambiguous encomiums on the benefits of the mixed constitution of England.

"I said, that I was affectionately attached to the republican theory," wrote Hamilton in May 1792: ". I add that I have strong hopes of the success of that theory; however, in candor, I ought conjointly to feature that I am far from being without doubts. I consider its success as yet a problem.

" The enemies of the securing of "that stability and order in Government which are essential to public strength & personal security and happiness," was, he wrote, "the Spirit of faction and anarchy."¹⁹⁶ Increasingly, however, it was Hamilton's financial policies, which seemed to many a tame imitation of and dependent upon those of England, that was to become a reason behind friction between him and Jefferson, and of large unrest within the country. Increasingly, too, the threat of French expansionism, and therefore the policy pursued by the French republic of concerning America as a legitimate sphere of influence policy which became remarkably clear with the visit to America of the French envoy, Genet, in 1793-threatened to divide the Administration.

¹⁹⁶Jefferson to Rutledge, 25 August 1791; Jefferson to George Mason, 4 February 1791, Jefferson Papers, XXI.75; XIX.241; Hamilton to Carrington, 26 May 1792, H. C. Syrett and J. E. Cooke, eds., The Papers of Alexander Hamilton (Columbia Univ. Press, 1966), XI.444; S. Elkins and E. McKittrick, The Age of Federalism. The Early American Republic, 1788-1800 (O. U. P., 1993), 77ff.

The follies and indiscretions of Genet alienated even Jefferson; however; his partisanship for France was mirrored within the Democratic Societies which were developing in sizeable numbers on the jap seaboard, their members browning and celebrating the victories of the French, and violently opposed to several of the measures of the Administration.

In the summer of 1794, the discontent against the govt. stone-broke out into insurrection in Pennsylvania, in an exceedingly revolt, backed nearly actually by a number of the Democratic Societies, against Hamilton's imposition of an excise.

The whisky Rebellion, because it was afterward to be called, was the first occasion on that federal troops were known as in to suppress state disturbance. And with Washington's denunciation of the Democratic Societies as fomenters of the insurrection-"one of the extraordinary acts of the boldness of that we've seen such a lot of from the faction of monocrats," as Jefferson described it-and the simultaneous dispatch of an envoy to a European country to barter associate degree alliance thereupon country, the republican opposition to the Administration reached recent heights.

It was to the present land of supposed political harmony, however of course of increasingly partisan political discord, belief dispute, and preparation internal discontent, that Priestley, with such a lot of different English emigrants, arrived in the summer of 1794.

within the prevailing political atmosphere, it was undoubtedly his laurels as a propagandist within the reason behind France, as much as his strenuous and durable tendency for the liberties of America, that influenced a lot of extreme voices within the general and triumphal welcome which he was accorded when, on 4 June 1794, after a passage of eight weeks and a day," his ship docked at the Battery in New York.

There his reception was, as he wrote to Lindsey, "too flattering, no form of respect being omitted." Among the many marks of the attention which he received was a letter from

John Adams, who on three June had left any for Boston, however, who had, on receipt of a letter which Priestley had asked to be delivered to him, left for him a message, that "he should be glad to ascertain him at Boston, that he thought better calculated for him than the other a part of America, which he would find himself alright received if he ought to be inclined to settle there."¹⁹⁷

In New York itself, Priestley was "received with a fervour of affection, which no king ever yet received, much less deserved," ran one account." The town had been some time expecting his arrival," wrote Henry Wansey, a fellow Englishman and affluent West of European country merchandiser who watched with interest the honours showered upon Priestley, "and several societies intended to show him particular honour." His arrival was soon known through the city, and next morning the principal inhabitants of New York came to pay their respects and congratulations; among others, Governor Clinton, Dr. Prevoost, Bishop of recent York, Mr. Osgood, late envoy to Great Britain, the heads of the college, most of the principal merchants, and deputations from the corporate body and different societies.

No man in any public capacity wrote Wansey, "could be received with more respect than he was."¹⁹⁸ "It must afford sincere gratification to every well-wisher to the rights of man" declared a piece within the Yankee Daily Advertiser, that us of America, the land of freedom and independence, has become the asylum of the best characters of the current age, who have

¹⁹⁷Priestley to J. Vaughan, 3 June 1794, A. P. S., Priestley Papers, B. P. 931; Priestley to Lindsey, 6 June 1794, Works, 1.2.244-6; D. J. Jeremy, ed., "Henry Wansey and his American Journal," 89. It was Wansey whom Priestley had asked to deliver the letter to Adams. For Priestley's thoughts of settling in the neighbourhood of Boston, which he abandoned after hearing of the proposed settlement of his sons, cf. Priestley to Charles Vaughan, 23 February 1793; Sarah Vaughan to C. Vaughan, 25 March 1794, Charles Vaughan Papers, Bowdoin Coll.; and Priestley to the President of Harvard, Joseph Willard, 10 April 1793, P. M. H. S., Series 2. Vol. 43 (May 1910): 639-40.

¹⁹⁸Priestley, Works, 1.2.234; D. J. Jeremy, ed., "Henry Wansey and his American Journal," 84, 85. Samuel Prevoost (1742-1815), the Episcopalian Bishop of New York, had been a pupil of Jebb's at Cambridge, and was sympathetic towards the tenets of Unitarianism. For Priestley's subsequent visit with Prevoost, cf. Wansey, "Journal," 128, and also below, n. 146. But cf. below, n. 147 for the universal failure of the churches in New York to allow Priestley to preach from their pulpits.

been persecuted in Europe just as a result of they need to defend the rights of the enslaved nations.

The name of the chemist is long remembered among all enlightened people His persecutions in the European country have conferred to him the American republic as a secure and honourable retreat in his declining years: and his arrival in this town calls upon the USA to testify our respect and esteem for a person whose whole life has been dedicated to the sacred duty of disseminating data and happiness among nations.¹⁹⁹It was a reception that Priestley, aware of a completely different treatment at the hands of his fellow-countrymen, albeit he professed to find it "rather troublesome," could not but enjoy.

"It shows the difference between the two countries," he wrote. "Concerning myself, the difference is great indeed. In England, I used to be an object of the best aversion to every person connected with Government; whereas here, they're those who show me the most respect." The general difference between England and America was not, he said, to be expressed, and whether it is the impact of general liberty or another cause, I notice many cleverer men, men capable of conversing with behaviour and fluency on all subjects relating to government, than I have met with any wherever in England.

"I have seen several of the members of Congress on their come from it, and, without exception, they seem to be men of first-rate ability.²⁰⁰"As to the government, it is nearly everything we can wish," he wrote to Belsham, "and the few imperfections will be easily removed when it is the general interest and want that they must be so, and here the majority bear rule."²⁰¹Almost every person of the smallest amount consequence within the place has

¹⁹⁹American Daily Advertiser, 5 June 1794, cit. M. C. Park, "Joseph Priestley and the Problem of Pantisocracy," 3.

²⁰⁰Priestley to Lindsey, 6, 15 June 1794, Works, 1.2.246, 255-9.

been, or is coming, to call upon me," Priestley wrote to Lindsey. And he reported with nice optimism additionally to Belsham of the prospects of employment in the colleges of America for his Unitarian friends. "The harvest truly is ready, and you must send us labourers." To Lindsey, he wrote, however, of the prejudices still existing. "The preachers, though all civil to me, look upon me with dread." He had, he wrote, been asked by one of them to evangelize from their pulpits. however, he firmly believed this would eventually prove to be to his advantage: "Several persons express a wish to hear me, and are ashamed of the illiberality of the preachers."

He would, he wrote, "immediately" print his small pamphlets, "and wherever I can get an invitation to preach, I will go. With this view," he added, I shall fastidiously avoid all the party-politics of the country, and haven't any other objects besides faith and philosophy. The City of Brotherly Love is an additional favourable situation than this, and 'there I shall create a beginning. it'll be better, however, to wait a bit time, and not show abundant zeal at the first; and as my returning hither is much talked of, I shall reprint my quick and Farewell Sermons'.²⁰²

Priestley enclosed during this letter, however, for, as he expressed it, the amusement of his friends, "copies of some addresses and my answers, and also some letters from persons who are of a celebration opposite to the addresses, but equally friendly to me." His recognition that in America was AN inevitably political figure, whose actions were of no very little significance, is implicit in his comment to Lindsey, that he found that he had "given as much satisfaction" to the members of the opposite party, "by the caution I have discovered in my answers, on the addressers, who, however, I believe, are currently well glad that I don't overtly be a part of any

²⁰¹Priestley to Belsham, 16 June 1794, *ibid.*, 1.2.259-61; cf. also Priestley to Wilkinson, 14 June 1794, W. P. L.; Mary Priestley to Belsham, 15 June 1794, *ibid.*, 1.2.236-7; and Wansey, "Journal," 1 27,f or the dinner at the Osgoods, at which the Priestleys, Genet, and Prevoost, were present: "We had much interesting conversation after dinner, especially on political subjects."

²⁰²Priestley to Belsham, 16 June 1794, Priestley to Lindsey, 15 June 1794: "Time is necessary, and I am apt to be too precipitate. I want your cool judgement." Cf. also Wansey, "Journal," 1, 15 June 1794, 84, 128; and E. M. Wilbur, *A History of Unitarianism in Transylvania, England, and America* (Harvard Univ. Press, 1952), 395-6.

of their societies, though at first I am informed they were very desirous of it. "And he delineated for his friends, together with his usual mastery and already considerable knowledge of the issues, the party alignments of America:

The parties are the Federalists and Anti-Federalists, the previous which means the friends of the current system, with a leaning thereto of England, and friendship with England; the latter desire for a few improvements, leaning to the French the system, and rather a desire for war. With a bit of additional irritation, the latter will certainly, prevail. they're now, I believe, far and away from the foremost numerous, especially in the country, tho' the others prevail within the towns, particularly here.²⁰³

4.6. The Years of Joseph Priestley in America from 1795 to 1797

In the early months of 1795, the survivors of the projected agreement at the Susquehanna had been especially preoccupied with adapting to instances very specific from their authentic expectations. Throughout that year Priestley, in his letters to his pals in England, attempted to justify his desire of agreement and continuance in such an "unactive" sphere-as Lindsey had reputedly defined it.

In Northumberland, he wrote, he had "the amusement for my interests that I ought to now no longer have in a populous metropolis," and "I endeavour to make the maximum of it."²⁰⁴ He was at the moment engaged with his Church History, operating at it, as he wrote, "among 5 and 6 each morning."

²⁰³Priestley to Lindsey, 15 June 1794.

²⁰⁴ Priestley to Rev. Lindsey, 22 February 1795, Priestley to Rev. Samuel Palmer, n.d. 1795, *ibid.*, 1.2.296, 286-7.

He additionally merged, with inside the midst of plenty of inconveniences, reassembling his scientific laboratory. "This location is inconveniently located for sporting on my experiments," He wrote to Samuel Parker, in a letter which defined the super damage executed to his equipment "in its conveyance hither, owing mainly to injudicious packing," and the problem of fetching such new instruments as had with the aid of using now arrived for him in Philadelphia: "I am sending a sly, that's our high-quality approach of conveyance in winter, to fetch them, and different matters which are looking ahead to me. We shall quickly have a stagecoach and level-wagon to this location, to put off one of the best inconveniences we labour beneath neath."

Northumberland, as Priestley had written quickly after his arrival there, conspicuously lacked international communications and limited outdoor exposure. He communicated this issue with Lindsey in August of 1794 as he said that a certain and geared up conversation with England might upload significantly to his pride in this country. He further added that they expect being quickly higher on this admire, as a stage is about to be installed between this location and Philadelphia with an expected ratio of three posts per week.

In October, he ought to nevertheless lament that the best inconvenience attending this case is a need for a geared up conversation with Philadelphia. There aren't any level-wagons; and the simplest approach of sending heavy items is with the aid of using space inside the wagons that deliver corn to Middletown, at the Susquehanna, and thence with the aid of using water hither; and the water is so low at the moment of the year, that it isn't always navigable.

It is anticipated to upward push a bit closer to the cease of this month; however, the high-quality time for it is far with inside the spring, and until midsummer; however, then there are few wagons going to Middletown. In November he wrote to John Adams about the inconvenience of conversation as he said that there is a need for an easy conversation with

Philadelphia. He documented this issue as the most highlighted one. And in response to a proposal from the latter, he asked for help with the preparations inside the Post Office. He mentioned the problems of the scenario: "I am persuaded," he introduced, that if the State might adopt to carry the letters to this location, if the publication turns around every day, and the fee moderate, it would be a very proper solution. He highlighted the excessive fee, and the uncertain and tedious conveyance as the factors that made every folk take each possibility of sending letters with the aid of using personal hands; while, if the case turned into specific, they might all decide on every day publish. He asked for the possibility of getting Coaches, that serve both as parcel and passenger carriers, in addition to letters. It was a great idea according to him.

He said it convenient and a possible way of paying for affordable revels' attendance. At that time, they very so often communicate of petitioning the legislature on the subject. Thus, Priestley asked for help within the business and he said that: you'll confer a super obligation on the person who turned into a lot inquisitive about the conveyance of letters and small parcels.

The January's writing of Priestley to Lindsey lacked optimism. He accepted that he was expecting to reach the best conditions in this continent but he said that they are labor which is working beneath neat numerous giant disadvantages. According to him, there were chances of the rapid elimination of a number of them for that he suggested a quick and passionate conversation with Philadelphia, and a diminution of their heavy postage, in addition to a faster conveyance.

He took the possibility of his son's going to Philadelphia to jot down and additionally asked Adams for his particular and kind help in "the extension of the post from Reading to this location, with the reduction of the excessive fee of postage. They considered a scheme of sending a post to educate to Reading, and with the aid of using the identical approach the letters, and small parcels.

“Several inconveniences arise," he introduced, "from the need of a higher conversation with Philadelphia, in particular with admire to my philosophical interests." Later in that year, he turned into nevertheless writing despondently to Belsham that "right here we've got the post manageable as soon as a week, and European information, that's all that pursuits us, or 3 months after you have it." Throughout 1795, Priestley matures into nevertheless hoping that Northumberland, as "an imperative and maximum agreeable location,"²⁰⁵ it would, if its communications with the world outside may be improved, entice Englishmen of his persuasion to settle with inside the vicinity. "I do now no longer melancholy of seeing a university at the maximum liberal idea shocked up on this location," he had written to Belsham in August 1794. He added in the same conversation that every so often he delivers a bit extra scope to his imagination, and additionally he might also fascinate him at the top of the organization.

To Benjamin Rush in September, in discussing the proposed chair of chemistry in Philadelphia, he wrote that, earlier than he left England, a number of his pals had a scheme of founding a College at anyplace he settled, at the concept that it'd be in part of the Country now no longer furnished with any. He requested for Rush's recommendation as to know about the quality required to continue with one of these plans, and in November he was not anxious concerning the chair in Philadelphia. He hoped that they will reach to the organization of a College on that location.' "Of this, no question is now entertained," he wrote to Lindsey, "and the individual whose assets the best a part of the metropolis is has consented to present the floor to construct it on."

In the March of the subsequent year, he ought to nevertheless write to Wedgwood with Confidence of the proposed enterprise: The scheme of a huge agreement for English emigrants,

²⁰⁵ 195 Priestley to Lindsey, 16 October 1794, Works, 1.2.275-6; and cf. also same to same, 24 August 1794, Priestley Colln., Dickinson Coll., and above, n. 159

projected with the aid of Mr. Cooper. He said that: "you'll earlier than this time has heard is given up, and at the whole, eleven though it mortified me on the time, I am no longer sorry for it". It was a great issue that might have supported it into execution and dissatisfied a lot of them.

Priestley stated the location as an unusual place of herbal characters that would take time to grow according to him. He also said that the location has a place for others too. He included his admirers in others. The establishment of a college there was decided long ago and they were counting on the enhancement of the homes of those who matter every year. A handsome subscription has already been raised, and a petition is now earlier than the Assembly of the State for a grant of lands for its support, and there may be no question of its being duly attended. In May Priestley wrote over again to Rush, thanking him "for the pains you've taken approximately for our Academy." To Lindsey with the identical month, he wrote of his hopes that he ought to dedicate "something emolument I derive from the College we're approximately to set up on this location" to the implementation of his plan of founding a Unitarian congregation in Philadelphia. "I have written to my pals in Philadelphia" he reported, "to acquaint them with my resolution, pronouncing I might seem amongst them, if a tall, in my right individual of a Christian minister, and might now no longer again be decreased to a country of disgraceful silence with the aid of using the bigotry and jealousy of their preachers."

He further added that he ought to have needed to do for it what he did for the College at Hackney. In addition to the proposed College in Northumberland, he elaborates on his duties and highlighted them as inhibitors to do it.²⁰⁶

In October Priestley wrote to his vintage Lunar companion, Withering, and showed his love for the lunar society. He said that more than ever does he now remorse the lack of the lunar

²⁰⁶ Priestley to Adams, 13, 29 November 1794, Mass. Hist. Soc., Adams Papers, Reel 378.

society, wherein he spent such a lot of satisfied hours, and for which he determined to take no replacement even in London. Priestley further put light on his time and called himself isolated.

He said that he promises himself, while his residence and laboratory will be erected, to dedicate as plenty of time to philosophical interests as ever he even has executed. Hitherto it was no longer in his power to do plenty, as he even has the simplest one room in his son's residence for his library and equipment. He had, but, finished a chain of experiments on-air, and he was passionate about quickly drawing up a sequel to his pamphlet on that subject for the society at Philadelphia. He said about the pamphlet that it would be "mainly in the continuation of my History of the Christian Church, tasking myself, as I presume you do, a lot each day. . . . Soon, but I count on to be hired with inside the coaching of youth, as a College is to be hooked up in this location, and I am appointed the Principal. The subsequent spring, we begin to construct, however before everything our finances can be small. I desire we had the right individual for coaching Natural History, together with Botany. Almost everything else I can, seasoned tempore, in a few measures, train myself."²⁰⁷

The prospect of the university in Northumberland, extended his hopes of spending "months yearly in Philadelphia," and his optimism that he ought to gather "as many as I desire to attract close to me," turned into a treasured corrective to the super isolation which Priestley, especially in his correspondence with Lindsey, confessed that he felt in his first year in America. The letters which Lindsey and Belsham wrote had been, confession of Priestley's pride on the location he was residing in. He wrote, about, his hopes that younger Toulmin, who had settled in Kentucky, might, "if we get a university right here," come to be certainly considered one

²⁰⁷ Priestley to Withering, 27 October 1795, *Scientific Autobiography*, 287-8; *Scientific Correspondence*, 148-51; A. P. S., *Priestley Papers*, B. P. 931.

among its tutors, or even that he might see numerous of his valued pals as considerable contributors.

The summer of 1795 was not good for Priestley as he was feared that, even though Toulm in turned into a long way from glad together along with his lot in Kentucky, matters in Northumberland had been now no longer in one of these countries of forwardness because he considers his and that society similar in affording a ground to count on or another friend from England.²⁰⁸

He was sad about the government policies and he regrets the existing governing Powers' ludicrous jealousy of emigrants of democratic views, and, from dread of them, as Mr. Adams recognizes to him, they have, in the remaining congress, made naturalization extra hard than earlier.

He welcomed, He wrote, Lindsey's recommendation of the son of Professor Millar: "Had our university been established. I must have thought him a Treasured acquisition. However, numerous of our zealous pals are of the Aristocratical or governmental party in this country and to them, Mr. Millar's left England for his attachment to the ideas of liberty will be no recommendation." He had confident Adams that "I had no aim to be naturalized in any respect, however, to stay as a peaceful stranger.

I can understand but," he wrote, about the flourishing democratic party which was developing new strength, and will, in time, get the higher hand. Party spirit is pretty dominant in this country, however, the charter is such," he confidently asserted, "that it can't do any harm."²⁰⁹ If it turned into not possible for Priestley to be entirely remoted from the prevailing

²⁰⁸ Priestley to Withering, 27 October 1795, Scientific Autobiography, 287-8; Scientific

Correspondence, 148-51; A. P. S., Priestley Papers, B. P. 931.

²⁰⁹ Priestley to Lindsey, 19 January 1795, Works, 1.2.289, and D. W. L. Mss. for passage omitted in Rutt

Social and financial situations of America, and the political developments That had been a lot affecting his and his pals' prospects, but it turned into, as he regularly wrote, simplest the information from Europe, and of his fellow countrymen, that held any super hobby for him. In May certainly, his despondency turned into such that he wrote to Lindsey: "Were it now no longer for the subject I even have for my pals, and the eye I deliver to the fulfilment of prophecy, I must take however little hobby with inside the politics of Europe. Here we're, because it had been, out of the sector, and start to present however little interest to it. "In the subsequent month, but, at the receipt of a bundle of pamphlets and newspapers from England, his waning hobby revived: I can rarely provide you with a concept of the hobby I absorb each element that comes from England, and the way little in something right here.

This is in a super measure, no question, owing to there being not anything very thrilling now going ahead right here, each Element being quiet and simplest in a silent, everyday development to a higher country; whereas with you the best occasions can be anticipated, and matters cannot hold as they are, and with the destiny of England is hooked up that of Europe, and the international. The Morning Chronicle turned into, he wrote, "in particular welcome" to him: I understand with the aid of using it that the spirit of the human beings is getting up and that matters Are coming near to the country they had been in closer to the near of the American war.

He said he desired the problem would not be extra calamitous, that he was a long way from rejoicing with inside the distresses or even the ones of his enemies in it; eleven though he as earnestly as ever desired properly to the motive of liberty, and, consequently, the fulfilment of the French. He had a good time with inside the alternate of measures that have taken location in that of them and desire can be permanent; however, with the aid of using our remaining

accounts, some other revolution turned into apprehended. "By this time you recognize plenty extra than we do right here, and plenty of extras you'll recognize earlier than you obtain this."²¹⁰

Priestley wrote typically to his English correspondents that America enjoys the super benefits from its "satisfied charter of authorities, and a country of peace in the result of which the US enjoys unexampled prosperity, the development in population, and improvements of all kinds, being past any element that the sector ever noticed earlier than." But, he wrote, even though he had determined "a satisfied asylum right here," he ought to "consider it in no different light. I experience myself in a country of exile, and my high-quality wishes are for my local us of a and my pals there."²¹¹ right here turned into, but, one subject which for him overrode all others in those early years in Northumberland, and which surely affected his thinking.

4.7. Joseph Priestly in America from 1797 to 1799

In 1796, Joseph Priestly was closely associated with those circles of radical French opinion in Philadelphia who, naturally, became the target of Federalist abuse. Joseph became anxious to visit France, which he started planning on in December of that year. In a letter he wrote to Wilkinson in January of 1797, he explained why such a flawed narrative might have originated. "The conversations I had with the French Ambassador, the Bishop of Autun, and other French people have led them, I suppose, though without any just grounds, to think that I should go to France."²¹²

²¹⁰ Priestley to Adams, n.d. (January 1795), Mass. Hist. Soc., Adams Papers, Reel 379; Priestley to Belsham, 18 June, 3 August 1795, Works, 1.2.307, 313.

²¹¹ Priestley to Samuel Parker, 20 January 1795, Schofield, Scientific Autobiography, 285.

²¹² Priestly to Wilkinson, 25th January 1797, Cf. also Reimpression de l'Ancien Moniteur (Paris 1858 – 1863, 21st November 1796.

He then wrote of his plight, in an indiscreet note, to Adams, asking for some help ‘as a friend’. “I presume you will soon be sending messengers or dispatches to France. Could you favour me with a passage tither? It might be in my power to render some service to this country with persons of influence in that, and this I should be happy in taking every opportunity of doing.”²¹³

There wasn’t any response from Adams which made Priestly’s plan indefinite. As he wrote to Lindsey, “I believe I shall go with the late French Ambassador, M. Adet. and Mr. Lister, the English minister, will give me protection in case of meeting with an English ship of war. He does the same for M. Adet, so that is a better opportunity I could not have had. If I succeed, I shall make a purchase of some land in France, and then I can spend my time here or there, as it shall suit me.”²¹⁴

On April 11th, Lindsey wrote to Wilkinson that he had just heard from Joseph. “He is much against my going to France, but I do not think I can do better and hope to go with M. Adet, though as he is not now in Philadelphia, the matter is not yet settled,” said Priestly.²¹⁵

His plan, however, failed. Writing to Lindsey on the eve of his departure to Northumberland from Philadelphia, Priestly could not hide his restlessness over his situation in America, as well as his mounting concern for the state of England.

“I hope and pray that divine providence will watch over you and my other friends during this crisis. And if prudent measures are taken to prevent tumults, the calamity may not be as very

²¹³ Priestly to Lindsey, 3rd April 1797, Works, 1.2.375; Priestly to Adams, n.d. (March/April 1797), Mass. Hist. Soc., Adams Papers, Reel 383, and Appendix.

²¹⁴ Priestly to Lindsey, 3rd of April 1797; and cf. also to Wilkinson, 1st of April 177, W.P.L. Priestly believed that he would never “completely recover the state of mind” he had before the death of his wife, and this “unsettled” state, as he described it also to Lindsey, undoubtedly contributed in his eagerness to go to Franc, to try and realize his assets in the French funds.

²¹⁵ Priestly to Wilkinson, 11th April 1797, W.P.L.

great as we have apprehended. It is impossible, however, not to be exceedingly anxious about the issue.”

“The shock is given to credit,” he added, referring to the dramatic suspension of payments by the Bank of England in February 1797, “affects the country in a very sensible manner, which joined our unpleasant situation concerning France, fills the country with alarm. The Congress will soon meet, but what they will do is uncertain I am sorry to see a dislike to France prevail as generally as it does. This affects me and all who are supposed to wish well to that country.”

He made one of his first complaints about Cobbett, whose Porcupine’s Gazette, the columns, were dedicated to the calumination of all “Gallo-American patriots,” and encouragement of the Federalists’ policies towards France. It began its career in Philadelphia in the spring of 1797: “The writer of that scurrilous pamphlet on my emigration now publishes a daily paper, in which he frequently introduces my name in the most opprobrious manner, though I never took the least notice of him, and have had nothing to do with the politics of the country”. He added, “He, every day, advertises his pamphlet against me, and after my name adds, ‘commonly known by the name of fire-brand philosopher.’”

"The aversion to those emigrants from England," Priestley continued, "who are supposed to be hostile to the measures of government there, is greater, I think than it was in England. But," he added, still apparently with little sense of the extremes to which party spirit was to lead the political scene in America, "happily, we are better protected by the laws, and the disposition of the lower orders of the people, among whom respect for the French, for assisting them in gaining their liberty, is not extinguished. The rich," he wrote, however, in tones which certainly echoed the prevailing Jeffersonian hostility towards the Federalists, "not

only wish for alliance offensive and defensive with England but, I am persuaded, would have little objection to the former dependence upon it."²¹⁶

It was when the political scene in America was beginning to show dangerous signs of the extremes of party spirit, but before he had fully realized the extent to which this might rebound upon him, that Priestley made one more overture to the politician whom he had once counted as his friend, and whom he still clearly believed would not allow the prevailing controversies to interfere with their friendship. It was, however, an overture which was to cost Priestley, and the friend for whom he made it for—Thomas Cooper—dearly.

In asking Adams to consider Cooper for the government office, —that of which was ignored by Adams— after Priestly had admitted much unity of political sentiment between Cooper and himself, Priestly wrote, "Both Mr. Cooper and myself indeed fall in the language of calumny, under the appellation of democrats, who are represented as enemies to what is called government both in England and here. What I have done to deserve this character you well know, and Mr. Cooper has done even more. We both have been persecuted for being the friends of liberty, and our preference of the government of this country has brought us both hither. However, were the accusations true in any way, I think the appointment of a man of unquestionable ability, and fidelity to his trust, for which I will make myself responsible, will be such a mark of superiority to popular prejudice, as I should expect from you, and therefore I think it not to be an unfavourable circumstance in this recommendation. Afterward, Priestley remained in Northumberland throughout the summer and autumn of 1797, anxiously aware of the uncertain political outlook, and increasingly downhearted about his situation.

However, in September, he reported to Lindsey that there had been a meeting of "our College or rather Academy," but this was one of his last references to what was to prove an

²¹⁶ Priestley to Lindsey, 30 April 1797, Works, 1.2.377-8.

abortive venture, of which, as his son was later to write. As he said, little more was done during his father's lifetime, to raise the shell of a convenient building."²¹⁷

Priestley wrote to Benjamin Vaughan in April 1798, "At my age, which you seem to overlook, but the effects of which I feel, it is too formidable an undertaking. Crossing the Atlantic appears much less formidable."²¹⁸

He continued, however, to take a close interest in the politics of Europe. He was convinced, as he wrote on more than one occasion to Lindsey and others, that the present war would only end with "the destruction of the European monarchies." And he welcomed, in the late autumn of that year, the declaration of the Directory in France before the renewed outbreak of hostilities, having, as he wrote, "some faint hopes that it may prevent them." Shortly after making elaborate disclaimers on political involvement, in 1798, Priestley was fatally to compromise himself and was to be fatally compromised, in more than one way. He attempted to undertake once more the journey to France which he was later so strenuously to deny, he expressed himself in an astonishingly frank political correspondence with one of Philadelphia's leading Federalists, the Unitarian Congressman George Thatcher, he was to be struck a terrible blow with the publication, in London, of letters written to him and Benjamin Vaughan from John Hurford Stone in Paris with their publication in London in May, and subsequently, in August, by Cobbett in Philadelphia. His political views had brought so much unpopularity upon him by the summer of 1798, to a point that he did not have a single friend in Philadelphia who was willing to receive him, encouraged by a letter which he received early in the year from Hurford Stone in Paris. He began, once more, to seriously considering moving to France. In

²¹⁷ Priestley to Lindsey, 14 September 1797, D. W. L. Mss., letter not in Rutt; Priestley, *Memoirs*, 1.169-70; and below, n. 318.

²¹⁸ Priestley to Wilkinson, 7 September 1797, W. P. L.; Priestley to Benjamin Vaughan, 19 April 1798, *Scientific Correspondence*, 153.

May 1798, letters from Hurford Stone in Paris to both Priestley and Benjamin Vaughan in America were captured on board a Danish vessel and published in London.²¹⁹

These letters compromised the reputation of Priestley for many, almost irreparably, both in England and, after their publication by Cobbett, in America. Beside the obloquy to which they exposed him, Priestley was to be led by degrees into an explanation of his political principles which upset further some of his closest friends and plunged him into the minefield of political controversy in America. Hurford Stone wrote in his letter to Priestley: "It was now a very considerable time" since he had had the pleasure of hearing from Priestley himself. News about him continued to reach France, however, and his friends there were delighted that he was contemplating, on the restoration of peace, a visit to Europe, and possibly even a permanent settlement in France. "Whether you fix yourself here or in England, (as England will then be)," he wrote, "is probably a matter of little importance."²²⁰ On this point, however, Priestley had "now a friend on the continent who can discuss this with you better than myself."²²¹

In his Gazette on 20 August, under the dramatic title of "*The Priestley Completely Detected*," Cobbett devoted his entire two middle pages to a full publication of these letters, with the editorial comments from the English edition, and further vitriolic additions of his own. Priestley, he wrote, stood now fully revealed as a traitor, as he had always declared.

His opinions, and those of his friends, were a danger to America, and Adams must deport him. If this discovery gets unnoticed by the government, it will operate as the greatest encouragement that its enemies have ever received. They will say, and justly too, that though

²¹⁹ (J. H. Stone), *Copies of Original Letters recently written by Persons in Paris to Dr. Priestley in America. Taken on board of a neutral Vessel* (2nd ed., London, 1798): Preface: London, May 14, 1798: "The Letters of which the following are literal copies were found on board of a Danish ship, lately brought into one of our ports, by the Diamond Frigate. The originals were inclosed in a cover directed to 'Dr. Priestley, in America.'"

²²⁰ *Ibid.*, 11-12.

²²¹ *Ibid.*, 12; the reference is sure to Benjamin Vaughan.

the President is armed with power, he is afraid to make use of it, and that the Alien Law is a mere bug-bear. Priestley's clear acquaintance with one who was on intimate terms with the leading men in France and his knowledge of this spy's secret hideaway made it clear that they look upon him as one of their agents here, as acquainted with the spy, and with his whole business. This explains the whole Tartuffe's intimacy with Adet, and his being one of the parties at the farewell festival given to that insolent agent of insurrection.

Confident as ever, Cobbett went ahead to say that "deep plots are going on in these states, I long ago said that French spies were everywhere at work. Vigilance ought to be the order of the day, and we see no vigilance anywhere. The evil will come on us by-and-by like a thief in the night, and I repeat my fears, that it will find us unprepared."²²²

Cobbett's publication of Hurford Stone's letters, and their subsequent appearance convincing some certainly that "Dr. Priestley is a French agent, and corresponds with their other Spies in this Country"²²³-so shortly after the passage of the Alien and Sedition Acts, was a blow which Priestley could little have expected. "Your correspondence is one of the few consolations I have left," he wrote in a desolate letter to Lindsey: "Since your last, the intercepted letters have been published here, with the preface and notes from the English edition, and others much more virulent."

²²² Porcupine's Gazette, 20 August 1798. J. M. Smith, in *Freedom's Fetters*, the most definitive history of the Alien and Sedition Acts, makes no mention of this journalistic coup by Cobbett against Priestley, which was to have widespread publicity, and undoubtedly added to the clamor that he be deported. Priestley was frequently to cite Cobbett's campaign against him as very influential among the Federalists (below, no. 335, 338). This omission of evidence, tending as it does to suggest that Priestley was a figure of no political significance, at a time when Thomas Cooper, as Smith demonstrates in much detail, undeniably was, has further contributed to the general underestimate of Priestley's political standing in America. Cf. John Vaughan's comment, below, n. 336.

²²³ Cobbett, *Remarks on the Explanation lately published by Dr. Priestley* (cf. below, n. 302); and *Porcupine's Works*, IX.247. Charles Nisbet to Charles Wallace, 25 October 1798, *Miscellaneous Papers-Charles Nisbet*, Rare Books, and Manuscripts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox, and Tilden Foundations

He quoted an extract from Cobbett, and added, "In this low manner I am continually treated, though I have no more to do with the politics of the country than you have, and hardly think about them. So violent, however, is party spirit in this country and so general the prejudice against me as a friend of France, that if there be not a change soon, I cannot expect to live in peace here."²²⁴

For Cobbett's paper, however, he almost immediately composed a reply. John Hurford Stone, he said, was a friend of many years' standing; a member of his congregation at Hackney, and "a zealous friend of the American and French Revolutions, which sufficiently accounts for his corresponding with me." He could not, however, he asserted, be held "answerable for what he or any other person may think proper to write to me." The letter enclosed for him was, he freely declared, written for Benjamin Vaughan "formerly a pupil of mine, and son to Mr. Samuel Vaughan, who some time ago resided in Philadelphia." He was "a man that any country may be proud to possess the ability, knowledge of almost every kind, and the most approved integrity, very few equals." He was an acquaintance of the President, "who will smile at the surmises that have been thrown out on the subject." And he had fixed his residence at Kennebeck because his family has large property there. "If he or I had been a spy in the interest of France," Priestley concluded, "we have made a very strange choice of situations in which to do mischief."²²⁵

From Benjamin Vaughan, in reply to a letter expressing concern and disbelief from his brother Charles "Stone is a dangerous friend and your prudence would never have placed yourself in his power," then came a similar defence against the unwanted publicity that had been thrust upon him and an avowal of his determination to retreat from all politics. I can only

²²⁴ Priestley to Lindsey, 6 September 1798, D. W. L. Mss.; cf. Rutt, Works, 1.2.407, where there are omissions.

²²⁵ Priestley to Cobbett, 4 September 1798, Works, 1.2.406-7.

say that Mr. S. had no invitation to write to me upon politics; & that ... no letter or information whatever of any kind has passed from me to anyone person on the continent of Europe, directly or indirectly, since I have been on the continent of America. ... Since politics have become warm here, I have in the same proportion avoided them; & my political acts have been none; my writings have been none, and my conversations highly guarded”.

4.8. Joseph Priestly in America from 1799 to 1800

Thomas Cooper, on the other hand, had undertaken the editorship of the Northumberland Gazette in April 1799 for a short time. From April 20 until June 29th in 1799, all the letters and miscellaneous articles which appeared in this innocuous local newspaper were, with two minor exceptions, composed by him and they constituted a violently hostile attack upon the measures of Adams's Administration. Among them were two papers on "Political Arithmetic" in which, to a greater extent even than Priestley in his *Maxims* of 1798, Cooper the English emigrant so conscious of the claims and inherent value of commerce in his native country now presented a carefully argued case against the "commercial system" for the developing economy of America. "It seems determined in America, that we shall be a COMMERCIAL country," wrote Cooper. "Our navy, our army, our loans, our increased taxes, have arisen from our commerce.

This is cried upon as our most important resources as well as the means of riches, of power, of consideration. Upon this ground are our present warlike exertions triumphantly defended. I, on the contrary, am firmly persuaded, until the home territory of a country is accurately cultivated, and fully peopled until manufactures, founded upon population, are in a state to require other markets to be sought that foreign commerce is a losing concern; an appropriation of capital in all cases inexpedient, and most cases detrimental to the country; that it has proved so to the commercial nations of Europe: that to afford it support by prohibitions

and bounties, or protection by engaging in wars on account of it, or by manning navies in its defense, is egregious folly and gross injustice. That if it cannot protect itself, or be carried on without the fostering aid of government, it ought, like every other losing scheme, to be left to its fate— without taxing the rest of the community and their posterity for its support. That foreign commerce is particularly inexpedient in this country, where there is so much land calling aloud for cultivation and capital, and so deplorably managed for want of these. If any profession is to be fostered. He then concluded, "Let it be the tiller of the earth, the fountainhead of all wealth, and all power, and all prosperity."²²⁶

Cooper's *Essays on Political Arithmetic* were to be included in an edition of several of his articles for the *Northumberland Gazette*, which he published as a pamphlet in July 1799, with a Preface in which he sadly denounced the tendency of the measures of Adams's Administration. "I hope they will afford some proof." But for throughout the summer of 1799, both Cooper and Priestley demonstrated an extraordinary disregard for the consequences in their political actions, in an atmosphere which they were aware was fraught with much danger for them.

²²⁶ T. Cooper, *Political Essays* (2nd edn., Philadelphia, 1800), 32-50: "Prohibit nothing, but protect no speculation, no investment of capital at an expense beyond its national value. If wars are necessarily attendant upon commerce, it is far wiser to dispense with it; to imitate the Chinese and other nations who have flourished without foreign trade." (Ibid.) Malone (99, n. 70) points out that the first (and much the shorter) of these articles is signed "Back Country Farmer"; the second is initialed T. C. He concludes however that Cooper almost certainly wrote them both. McCoy, *The Elusive Republic*, 177, writes that Cooper's sentiments expressed in *Political Arithmetic* were "echoed in the late 1790s by scores of Jeffersonians, including Joseph Priestley, who wrote in the *National Magazine* under the name of A Back-Country Farmer." It was, however, Priestley in the *Maxims* (above, n. 278), which McCoy does not cite, who had first articulated Cooper's approach. While denying influencing Cooper, Priestley later fully endorsed the *Essays* and was, as he admitted, much in Cooper's company when he composed them: *Letters* (1799), *Works*, XXV.174; and above, n. 308, below, n. 359. In the absence of any conclusive evidence (which McCoy does not give), it seems impossible to judge whether he was the anonymous author. J. Appleby, *Capitalism and a New Social Order. The Republican Vision of the 1790s* (New York, 1984), 88-9, 92-3, similarly omit to mention Priestley in describing Thomas Cooper's influential contribution to the Jeffersonian position. It is a measure perhaps of the difficulty of defining very exactly what, in the crucial years 1799-1800, this position was, that both McCoy and Appleby can find in Cooper's *Essays* an endorsement of their rather different interpretations of Jefferson's economics. However, as McCoy points out (175-8) the Jeffersonian analysis was very close to Adam Smith's basic contention in *The Wealth of Nations*, that "ideally ... no capital should be invested in commerce or manufacturing until a country's agriculture is fully developed"; (cf. also above, n. 278). The contributions of both Priestley and Cooper were to be warmly welcomed by Jefferson in the campaign of 1800 (below, n. 368). Cf. also Banning, "Jeffersonian Ideology Revisited," 19, n. 46.

On 3 May Priestley wrote in unusually frank terms to Lindsey of the interest which he took in the political scene in America. A great number of the people in his neighbourhood, he wrote, were possessed of "as good sense as I ever met with anywhere" and "a great majority of them think as I do on the subject of Politics, which is perhaps more attended to here than with you, and in consequence of it party spirit is more violent. Both the parties," he continued, are mustering all their force against the election of a new governor of this state, which takes place the next autumn, as they will for a President the next year. I have no doubt, but that the Democrats will have a great majority in this state, though the wealthier, and all connected with the government, are on the other side, and almost all the Newspapers are in their hands.²²⁷

It was in this same letter, however, that Priestley wrote despondently of the failure of the enterprise of which he had hoped so much, and of the very probable reason for its demise: "The States," he wrote, "have refused to grant anything to our College in this town. The Walls are raised, and so, I believe, it will remain. I suspect politics have influence here. I think to resign my presidency of it." In the following month, he wrote more pessimistically still, on hearing of the conviction of his old friend and publisher Joseph Johnson (sentenced to nine months' imprisonment and a fine of 50 \$ for publishing Gilbert Wakefield's seditious remarks on the state of opinion in England). "I am glad to find by my son that Mr. Johnson comes off better than expected," wrote Priestley: ... He certainly did not deserve even this punishment. But we are following your example here as fast as we can, and I am more narrowly watched than ever I was in England, though I take no part in their politics at all. But a bad name once acquired is not easily got rid of, and it is taken for granted that I must be a very fractious troublesome person, or I should never have been driven out of England. It is generally thought now, that France wishes to be on good terms with this country, and the generality of people

²²⁷ Priestley to Lindsey, 3 May 1799, D. W. L. Mss., passage omitted in Rutt.

wish it. But the leading people prefer a connexion with England, at all hazards. What turn things will take is quite uncertain. I am glad, he concluded, "to be so far from the scene of Politics."²²⁸

Within days of writing this, Adams was short to be informed, and as Priestley himself later admitted-both he and Cooper attended the local Democratic Assembly on 4 July. As Priestley described it, "republican or democratic toasts were drunk, and where the late measures of administration were not praised." He later wrote, approving of Mr. Cooper's Essays in the Gazette, "Contributed one dollar towards printing a few copies of one of them, before it was known they would all be reprinted in the form of a pamphlet." Although he asserted several times that he had had no part in the composition of Cooper's Essays, yet he admitted, as Pickering's informant also stated, that he did "carry a bundle" of this handbill, which was to be circulated through the town, "from the printers to the house of a brother democrat in the town."²²⁹

Soon after their appearance, Priestley sent a copy of the Essays to Lindsey in England: "If they come to your hand, you will form some idea of the state of the country, and it is violently agitated at present, as much as England ever was; I think, more, as the two parties are more nearly balanced." In November he described for Lindsey "the very great contest in this state" for the governorship-in which Thomas Cooper played so combative and prominent a role-and the victory of the republicans: "Had it been otherwise, we should have been exposed to many insults. There is the true spirit of Church and King here, though under other names."²³⁰

²²⁸ Priestley to Lindsey, 3 May 1799, Works, 1.2.419

²²⁹ Priestley, Letters to the inhabitants of Northumberland, Works, XXV.128-130; Pickering to Adams, 1 August 1799, Adams, Works, IX.5-6.

²³⁰ Priestley to Lindsey, 12/19 September 1799, D. W. L. Mss.: letter much altered with omissions in Works, 1.2.421-2; and same to same, 14 November 1799, Works, 1.2.423. And cf. Malone, Cooper, 101-3; J. H. Peeling, "Governor McKean and the Pennsylvania Jacobins, 1799-1808" P. M. H. B., 54 (1930): 320-9.

In December he informed Thatcher in Philadelphia of the contribution to this "violently agitated" political scene which he too, after much deliberation, had decided to make: "Mr. Cooper's pamphlet', wrote Priestley, "was sent, together with the copies of mine, to Mr. Campbell, bookseller in Market street, by a wagon which left this town yesterday, so that you may soon see them."²³¹

The pamphlet of his own to which Priestley was now referring was the second part of his Letters to the Inhabitants of Northumberland, written, he frequently claimed, to counteract the unceasing abuse to which he was subjected, and the criticism to which his activities had led in many quarters. To some, indeed, the uncontradicted reports of Priestley's political activities had come as a severe shock: "I thought Dr. Priestley was so absorbed in philosophical pursuits as to have no space left in his mind for little quoted annual politics," wrote one of Adams's correspondence: I thought the honour of our country, was in some degree concerned in protecting a great literary character, who had taken shelter among us from the cruel attacks of his gothic pursuers. You will say, perhaps it is not the first time that I have been deceived, by that mixed, Sphinx-like animal, a philosopher.²³²

Young Thomas Boylston Adams wrote in melancholy strain to his mother; Cooper's address, valedictory, I now remember to have seen & read at the time it first appeared, and upon a second perusal I shall only say, that if Dr. Priestley could recommend such a man as Cooper to office, & assist in giving currency to such opinions as are here expressed, he deserves all that Porcupine ever wrote or anybody else could think against him. I had never heard of his meddling before in any of our political concerns. These exotic reputations added young Adams, "Are slippery things to build on. I find so little fame, that stands the test of all trials and all scrutiny

²³¹ Priestley to Thatcher, 12 December 1799, P. M. H. S., Series 2, Vol. 3 (June 1886): 30.

²³² B. Waterhouse to Adams, 15 August 1799, Mass. Hist. Soc., Adams Papers, Reel 396.

that I am sometimes disposed to become a cynic & carp indiscriminately at all that falls in my way."²³³

It was indeed the President himself who, throughout this period, resisted the many calls made to have his old friend deported under the Alien Act, and, according to Priestley's son's account, he enjoined Priestley to "abstain from saying anything on politics, lest he should get into difficulty."²³⁴

4.9. The Years of Joseph Priestley in America from 1801-1804

In sharp contrast to the preceding years, Priestley's sphere of operations after the inauguration of Jefferson as President in 1801 was to be exclusively centred in America. For the last time, from November 1800 to the summer of 1801, he seems to have given serious thought to moving to France. In November 1800 he wrote to Russell that "as soon as there is a free and safe communication with France, I intend to make the voyage."²³⁵

But after his fever in Philadelphia in the spring, it was with resignation that he saw the friend whose "affection and confidence "he had once described as being his "great step ride, "depart, with all his family, for France. In April Priestley could still write to the bankers in Paris

²³³ T. B. Adams to Abigail Adams, 16 September 1799, *ibid.*, Reel 396; and cf. Smith, *Freedom's Fetters*, 312.

²³⁴ Adams to Pickering, 13 August 1799, Adams, Works, IX.14: "I do not think it wise to execute the alien law against poor Priestley at present. He is as weak as water, as unstable as Reuben, or the wind. His influence is not an atom in the world." If this judgment seems unnecessarily harsh, it should be remembered that Adams had in 1797 received a note from Priestley (above, n. 264)-which he does, incidentally, seem to have treated with great confidence-but which nevertheless, in its revelation of what Priestley in public consistently denied-his urgent wish to leave America for France-did not show him in an entirely favourable light. For Adams's private attempts at this time to urge Priestley to keep silence, cf. Priestley, *Memoirs*, 1.201-2. See also Smith, 173-4.

²³⁵ Priestley to Russell, 13 November 1800, Works, 1.2.446; and cf. Priestley to Russell, 25 September 1800, Works, 1.2.442: "To reside in France in your company, and be usefully employed there, you aiding me, as you did at Birmingham, would be the height of all my wishes. But there is a time for all things...." And cf. Russell to B. Vaughan, 1 December 1800 on his intention of returning to Europe "as soon as I can embark without any danger of being taken prisoner again & it is probable Dr. Priestley may accompany me . . ." (A. P. S., Vaughan Papers, B. V. 46 p.) Cf. also Priestley to J. Vaughan, 10 November 1801 (Dickinson Colln.), for Russell's correspondence after his arrival in France: "I have received a letter from Mr. Russell at Paris, and he refers me to another that I have not yet received. I would write to him, but I wish to be informed whether there be now a free communication with France." Cf. also Priestley to Russell, 4 April 1801; to Hurford Stone, 19 February 1802, Works, 1.2.458, 475.

who managed the funds invested for him by Wilkinson of his intention of residing for at least part of the time in France, "if the property in France will afford me a decent subsistence.

"But by the summer he was writing to Lindsey: "I thank you for your advice about going to France. I shall be governed by it. But I have now very little expectation of ever seeing any part of Europe."²³⁶

Increasingly, the "favourable... turn things have taken concerning me" in America, as he described it to Wilkinson, much as the frailty of old age, were to render Priestley content with his lot in America. In the summer of 1800, his son Joseph had returned from England, bringing, wrote Priestley, "a very affecting account of the state of the country, such as I should think cannot continue long." The climate, and even more the government of America, he wrote to Samuel Mitchell, Professor of Chemistry at Columbia, and now a member of the House of Representatives was both "greatly preferable. ... Here we have peace and plenty, and in England, they have neither, nor do I see that a revolution can be warded off much longer. Peace, in my opinion, will only be the beginning of internal troubles."

"The longer I live in this country the more I like it," he wrote to Lindsey; and he rejected, not without many expressions of gratitude, an invitation from Belsham to live with him in Hackney. He continued to be much interested in the affairs of England: "The account of the debates in parliament interests me much," he wrote to Lindsey of the "Cambridge paper" which the latter still regularly sent to him, "and we have seldom anything of this in the American papers."

He continued also to concern himself with the fate of those who had, with him, suffered for their exertions in the cause of liberty. But he was much interested also in the details of

²³⁶ Priestley to Lindsey, 22 July 1801, Works, 1.2.467

American politics, in the state of the development of the capital city, and "what matters of importance "the members of Congress had under discussion.

In a long letter to Price's nephew, William Morgan, in the autumn of 1802, he described his sense of the soundness of the government and therefore the great potential of America: How completely different is our scenario from yours! Our debt is trifling, and can to appearances on being discharged, though' most our taxes are done away... There being no church institution we've no tithe, or any expenses besides voluntary ones, on account of religion, and nonetheless, there's full the maximum amount attention given to that as with you. I don't assume that any country within the world was ever in a very state of greater improvement, altogether respects, or had fairer prospects than this has at present. From the outset of the Administration which inspired such confidence in one who had suffered much in America, Jefferson had determined to implement the principles of sound government on which the Republicans had based their opposition to the Federalists.

It was not, however, to be an Administration that was without compromise. "Some things may perhaps be left undone from motives of compromise for a time," Jefferson admitted in a private and very frank letter to Du Pont de Nemours early in 1802, "and not to alarm by too sudden a reformation, but to be resumed at another time. I am perfectly satisfied with the effect of the proceedings of this session of congress will be to consolidate the great body of well-meaning citizens together, whether federal or republican heretofore called." But, as he added, it was my destiny to come to the government when it had for several years been committed to a particular political sect, to the absolute and entire exclusion of those who were in sentiment with the body of the nation. I found the country entirely in the enemy's hands... When this government was first established, it was possible to have kept it going on true principles, but the contracted, English, half-lettered ideas of Hamilton, destroyed that hope in the bud. We can

pay off his debt in 15 years: but we can never get rid of his financial system. It mortifies me to be strengthening principles which I deem radically vicious, but this vice is entailed on us by the first error.²³⁷

Jefferson's inability to rid America of the financial institutions of Hamilton, and his now declared faith in the necessity of commerce, "as the only means of disposing" of the products of agriculture, was to be a cause of much criticism. But the measures of government which in December 1801 he announced in his first Annual Message to Congress abolition of all internal taxation (including Hamilton's hated excise), the elimination of the national debt in fifteen years, and the reform of the self-interested Judiciary Act of the Federalists-constituted, as Duane in the *Aurora* declared, "an epitome of republican principles applied to practical purposes."

"War, indeed, and untoward events, may change this prospect of things," declared Jefferson, "and call for expenses which the imposts could not meet, but sound principles will not justify our taxing the industry of our fellow citizens to accumulate treasure for wars to happen we know not when, and which might not perhaps happen but from the temptations offered by that treasure." And he expressed the hope of establishing "principles and practices of administration favourable to the security of liberty and prosperity, and to reduce expenses to what is necessary for the useful purposes of government."²³⁸

"You have obliged me exceedingly by sending me the President's Message, with which I think it hardly possible for the most determined Federalist to find fault," wrote Priestley shortly afterward to George Logan: What a distinction will this country underneath the administration of Mr. J President of the United States are with England under patron saint III.

²³⁷ Jefferson to Du Pont de Nemours, 18 January 1802, Ford, ed., *Works*, I, X, 342-4, n.; and Chinard, *Jefferson and Du Pont de Nemours*, 35-8.

²³⁸ Priestley to Lindsey, 12 July 1795, *ibid.*, I, 2, 312.

It should mortify English ministry, and I should not marvel if he suggests that conveyance of nice numbers from that country to this. Thousands, I'm confident, would return if they were able. To me, the administration of Mr. Jefferson is that the reason for peculiar satisfaction, as I now, for the first time in my life (and I shall soon enter my 70th year) find myself in any degree of favour with the governor of the country in which I have lived, and I hope I shall die in the same pleasing situation."²³⁹

It was a measure of the mutual admiration subsisting between Priestley and the supporters of Jefferson that early in 1802 he was consulted on the measures which Jefferson had proposed in his Message to Congress. "You pay me too great a compliment by asking my opinion on the subjects you mention" Priestley in one of his more disingenuous letters declared to Logan: "

I am even unacquainted with the state of the facts, and if I were, I am incapable of judging concerning them. This is no affectation in me. I have never given any attention to more than the great outlines of Politics. Further than this, my various pursuits will not admit of. All that I have heard" he nevertheless added, "concerning the new judiciary system left me impressed with the idea that it was not at all wanted, and that in reality nothing was meant by it but to make a permanent provision for the friends of Mr. Adams. As to the taxes," he further, and rather perversely, proceeded,

"I rather wish they, or the greater part of them, could have been continued if it had been in the power of Congress to apply the product to the farther improvement of the country." But, he added, "if no great inconvenience be foreseen to arise from it, I could wish the duty on books

²³⁹ Priestley to Logan, 26 December 1801, Penn. Hist. Soc., Logan Papers, V.43; and cf. Priestley to Lindsey, 19 December 1801, A. P. S., Priestley Papers, B. P. 931 and Appendix.

and philosophical instruments might be taken off." Priestley's admiration for Jefferson was in 1802 at its height.

"He is everything that the friends of liberty can wish," he wrote to Hurford Stone.²⁴⁰ And in the summer of that year he wrote to Jefferson himself, expressing his wish to dedicate to him the second volume of his *Church History*: It is the boast of this country to own a constitution the foremost favourable to political liberty, and personal happiness of any within the world, and everyone says that it was yourself, over the other individual, that planned and established it; and to this, your conduct in varied public offices, and currently in the highest, offers the clearest attestation. Many have appeared the chums of the rights of man recollect one besides yourself who retained the same principles and acted upon them, in a station of real power.

Jefferson's example would, he wrote, in a classic articulation of his political philosophy, demonstrates the practicability of truly republican principles, by the actual existence of a form of government calculated to answer all the useful purposes of government (giving equal protection to all, and leaving every man in the possession of every power that he can exercise to his advantage, without infringing on the equal liberty of others), and in so doing, help to render them universal.

He praised Jefferson's continuing devotion to the cause of religious toleration "so that the profession and practice of religion are here as free as that of philosophy, or medicine. And now the experience of more than twenty years leaves little room to doubt but that it is a state of things the most favourable to mutual candor, which is of great importance to domestic peace and good neighbourhood, and to the cause of all truth, religious truth least of all excepted." And

²⁴⁰ Priestley to Belsham, 27 August 1794, *Works*, 1.2.271-2; and same to same, 16 June 1794, *ibid.*, 1.2.260-1; Priestley to Lindsey, 16 October, 12 November 1794, *ibid.*, 1.2.275-81. Priestley to Rush, 14 September, 28 October, 3, 11 November 1794, Schofield, 281-3; *Scientific Correspondence*, 139-45.

he wrote again of his consciousness of safety: "It is not only that I can say I see nothing to fear from the hand of power, the government under which I live being for the first time truly favourable to me."²⁴¹

Priestley's clear commitment to the government of America, was important; his contribution was displayed for the leaders of America's affairs, and surely, too, not to forget to mention his influence in terms of political philosophy that can be said to have had upon Jefferson himself and that is perceived in Jefferson's reply of June 1802, expressing his pleasure that his "sincere desire to do what is right and just is viewed with candor ... It is impossible, not to be sensible that we are acting for all mankind; that circumstances denied to others, but indulged to us, have imposed on us the duty of proving what is the degree of freedom and self-government in which a society may venture to leave its members."

It appears too, in a letter that Jefferson wrote to Priestley in November 1802, shortly before his second Annual Message to Congress. "The quiet tract into which we are endeavouring to get," wrote Jefferson, "neither meddling with the affairs of other nations, nor with those of our fellow citizens, but let them go on in their way, will show itself in the statement of our affairs to Congress. We have almost nothing to propose to them but 'to let things alone.'²⁴²"

In his message, he committed himself, perhaps to a greater degree than before, to the support of both "commerce and navigation in all their lawful enterprises, to foster our fisheries and nurseries of navigation and for the nurture of man, and protect the manufactures adapted to

²⁴¹ Priestley to Jefferson, 12 June 1802, Jefferson Papers, and Appendix.

²⁴² Jefferson to Priestley, 19 June, 29 November 1802, Ford, ed., Works of Jefferson, IX.380-2, 404-6; and cf. also Jefferson to T. Cooper, 29 November 1802, *ibid.*, 402-4: "A noiseless course, not meddling with the affairs of others, unattractive of notice, is a mark that society is going on in happiness. If we can prevent the government from wasting the labours of the people, under the pretence of taking care of them, they must become happy."

our circumstances." He pledged himself also whereas they were subject to the power of others, and particularly after they were suffering from it; however, he did not preserve the faith of the nation by an exact discharge of its debts and contracts, "we expend the public money with the same care and economy we would practice with our own and impose on our citizens no unnecessary burden; to keep in all things within the pale of our constitutional powers, and cherish the federal union as the only rock of safety these fellow-citizens are the landmarks by which we are to guide ourselves in all our proceedings. In this first year of Jefferson's Presidency, in which their mutual inspiration was made increasingly manifest,

Priestley was in further correspondence with him, as a result of his continuing communication with John Hurford Stone. In 1801 Stone had written to Priestley from France, asking for an account of the "internal administration of the United States," for the Emperor Alexander of Russia, for whose reforming ideas Stone expressed the greatest admiration, and of which he was able to give Priestley a well-informed account.

The "principles . . . Sentiments and Conduct" of the reforming Emperor Stone compared to those of Jefferson. "We have now two men in the world to whom we look with mingled respect and anxiety," he wrote. His lengthy account of the current state of the affairs of France consisted however of a damning indictment of Buonaparte-"the Hero has disappeared beneath the prince, and his vanity has got the better of his pride," wrote Stone. He, however, despite his contempt for the present government of France, believed that "the great principles of the Revolution" were "gaining ground every day . . . the Buonaparte affects to do all "from the people and for the people, (par le peuple et pour le peuple) the people are by no means the dupe.

"A large part of this communication, which Priestley forwarded to Jefferson-" as the information would be useful and interesting to him"-was transcribed by Thomas Cooper. It was

he, rather than Priestley, who was still prepared to think with Stone that "all is not lost in France."

Jefferson's hopes for the liberties of that country had for some time been at a low ebb: "The press, the only tocsin of a nation, is completely silenced there, and all means of a general effort taken away." "Some preparation seems necessary to qualify the body of a nation for self-government," he wrote to Priestley: "Who could have thought the French nation incapable of it?" and in this, it would seem that Priestley concurred.

The final years of Priestley in America elaborated and one confirmation of Priestley's role in American politics is the statement of Adams who accepted the leading role of Priestley in 1790's matters of America and said: "The fundamental Principle of all Philosophy and all Christianity is "REJOICE ALWAYS IN ALL THINGS. Be thankful at all times for all good and all that We call evil." Will it not follow, that I ought to rejoice and be thankful that Priestley has lived? Aye! that Voltaire has lived?"²⁴³

4.10. Conclusion

Priestley was enthusiastically welcomed in America in 1794 and the probable reason behind that enthusiastic welcome was the rising political tension. His presence aroused hostility in the region. Priestley was not only a European political refugee but also an influential and committed republic personality. These characters of him made him involve in the political scenario of America that was heated because of debate on America as being a feasible form of government or not.

Hamilton and John Adams were firm believers in the re-establishment of the monarchical government system in America. They were fearful about the inherent

²⁴³ Adams to Jefferson, 3, 25 December 1813, Adams-Jefferson Letters, II.405, 409-10.

destabilization of the democratic government that was also influencing the administration policies of Adam. It was a threat to the republican ideal which they were aware of. This threat made the antifederalists put all their efforts against the autocrats.

The Republican victory of 1800 can be analysed in the same context as Jefferson declared successful abolition of the republican system in his inaugural and so his supporters did in the country. In his inauguration, he denied kings and supported government systems. His inaugural of 1801 was appreciated by English radicals.

However, it was welcomed most by two radicals who were also behind the promotion of republican policies and who recognized Jefferson's victory. One of those radicals was Priestley who was always in sympathy with Jefferson's policies and who worked for the idea of government nourished in his and other radical's minds. The time modified their political and economic views that they held in England. However, their love for the democratic system stayed unchanged and reflected in their analysis or publications during the election 1800-1801.

The government of America keeps the sovereignty of people intact that made Priestley and Thomas Cooper love it. Priestley's writing to Cooper reflect their ideas he said: "the more merit, as the experiments on government since made in America, had not then been thought of." He also felt satisfied with living long enough to witness such a government which according to his views was almost perfect and which was administered by his friend Jefferson in a satisfied manner. These factors made him satisfied in his last days especially the disorders associated with the French Revolution made him sure about the republican system.

All of his hopes were associated with the experimentation of the republican government system in America and he was one of the most influencing personalities during that period. His influence was recognized not only now by historians but also by the people of his age.



GENERAL CONCLUSION

General Conclusion

The lands where Unitarianism originated as theology and Christian denomination include the names of Poland, Transylvania, Wales, the United States, and England. The Unitarian beliefs were common in all the regions but the origin and development were independent, however, accepted the influence of each other at later stages.

A controversy dated back to 1556 arose in Poland with the statement of a Polish student against the doctrine of Trinity. This controversy led to the establishment of the Minor Reformed Church of England. The controversy persisted long but after nine years in 1565 the antitrinitarians dropped from the Reformed church and they established Minor Reformed Church. Fausto Sozzini's views were called Arians, but when they adapted by the church they abandoned Arianism. The Arian Christology believed in Logos' existence of Jesus before his human existence.

Arian theology holds diverse beliefs about the son. One believes in son as a divine spirit before his coming to earth as a human. Some others believe he is an angel or a spirit lesser than God. Arius the founder of Arian theology was never behind the all existed views. Arianism is antitrinitarian as they believe that Jesus is beneath God yet superior to humans. Arian theology manifested itself mainly in the American Unitarianism rather than the English, Polish, or Transylvanian Unitarianism.

Lucian of Antioch, Eusebius of Caesarea, Arius, Felix, Eunomius, and Asterius the Sophist were the theologians who believed in the pre-existence of Jesus. Isaac Newton was an Arian. Arian Unitarians from the nineteenth century include the name of Andrew Norton and Dr. William Ellery Channing.

The views of Socinus influenced the movement to the extent that the accepters were named Socinians. Socinian Christology believes in the start of Jesus's life after his birth as a human. This theology rejected the pre-existence of Jesus' human body. Some of them stayed

attached to the virgin birth of Christ while others denied it. Ebionites²⁴⁴, Origen²⁴⁵, and Eusebius²⁴⁶ were among the deniers of virgin birth while the Theodotus of Byzantium²⁴⁷, Artemon²⁴⁸, and Paul of Samosata²⁴⁹ were the accepters of the virgin birth. The sixteenth century's Reformation and Anabaptist movements resurfaced this theology to the extent that it influenced Polish Brethren. The English Unitarians influenced by this theology include the names of Joseph Priestley, John Biddle, Theophilus Lindsey, James Martineau, and Thomas Belsham. The theology manifested itself in the Transcendentalist Unitarianism of 1830s in America and England.

The Polish parliament disbanded the Polish brethren in 1658 and ordered the followers to leave Poland or embrace Roman Catholicism. Thus, the immigration to Transylvania and Hungary started where they named themselves Unitarians. In Transylvania, the Unitarian church was first recognised in 1568 by the Edict of Torda. However, the term Unitarian was not in vogue in Transylvania before 1638 as it was called Unitaria Religio.

In England, the word Unitarian was known through the imported publications and in the letters written by intellect to intellect. The name was first used in 1673 in England. Enlightenment popularised the Unitarian movement to which a denomination was attributed in 1794 by the establishment of the first Unitarian congregation. Officially Unitarianism was accepted in 1813. King's Chapel was the first church that accepted the Unitarian congregation in 1782.

²⁴⁴ A Jewish Christian sect from the history.

²⁴⁵ An early Christian scholar, ascetic, and writer who wrote more than 2000 works in different theologies.

²⁴⁶ A Christian historian, polemicist, and Caesarea's bishop.

²⁴⁷ He was an early Christian writer from byzantine who was considered heretic at that time.

²⁴⁸ A Christian adoptionist writer of Rome.

²⁴⁹ Antioch's Bishop from 260-268 and founder of Paulican theology.

Unitarianism in America was originated locally but influenced most by the English reformers. One whose sermons shaped the New England's Unitarianism growth was the minister of the Brattle Street Church, Joseph Stevens Buckminster. The conversion of Harvard Divinity School from conservative to Unitarian theology was an important milestone achievement.

The Unitarian Movement in America (New England then) was led by William Ellery Channing. 1825 was the year of the establishment of the American Unitarian Association. The movement was accepted mainly in the 1820s. It was also the time of development of Unitarianism in England. The following years were of the epic of Unitarianism in those regions.

American Unitarianism was both local and sourced in its origin as an American intellect was in search of truth by the use of origin, but the English Unitarians influenced it largely. English Unitarian theology was not the only influence on American Unitarianism as more rational German theology influenced it to the same extent. The influence of the English Unitarian developed a conservative Unitarian group while the German Unitarianism developed a radical Unitarian group. Besides controversies and the financial issues, American Unitarianism developed to the extent of promoting individualism, tolerance, and harmony.

Pure religion and rationalism aroused from the development of sectarian and non-sectarian organisations in Unitarianism. The agreement between Unitarianism and Universalism fetched positive development. American Unitarianism is sub-divided into three sections including the believers of Unitarian churches, the embracers of Unitarian universalist faith, and the affiliates of liberal American Unitarian conference. Their aim was to reach truth by the use of reason.

The pathway of development of Unitarianism was similar in America and England. The stages along the way include Arianism, Arminianism, Rationalism, and Modernism. However,

Arianism was less pronounced in America than in England. An early manifestation of Arminian theology in New England can be traced back to the early eighteenth century. The great awakening was the factor that enhanced the growth of Unitarianism. Arianism was not completely absent as traces of it can be found before the War of Independence. At that time there was no support for the transformation of religious thoughts.

Unitarianism was detectable until the middle of the eighteenth century in the form of Unitarian preachers and the liberal views of Harvard college. Strict unity of God, the subordinate nature of Christ, and salvation to their individual extent was the preaching of early Unitarian pastors. The famous names from the early Unitarian preachers include the name of Jonathan Mayhew, Charles Chauncy, Ebenezer Gay, Samuel West. Thomas Barnard, John Prince, William Bentley, and Aaron Bancroft.

The church established in 1782 named King's Chapel in New England was the first embracer of Unitarian faith. Their acceptance of Unitarian faith started with the revision of their prayer book in 1785. Rev. William Hazlitt visited the United States during 1783-1785 and documented the presence of a Unitarian in Boston, Charleston, Hallowell, Cape cod, and Pittsburg. In 1792 Thomas Oxnard organised Unitarian congregations in Portland and Saco. More liberal faith was accepted by the congregation of pilgrims which was founded in 1620. Joseph Priestly migrated to New England in 1794 and influenced New England with his writings. The establishment of Unitarian churches of Northumberland, Philadelphia, and Pennsylvania in 1796 is a mark of the progress Unitarianism made until that time.

It is safe to say that Unitarianism started in New England and other areas from 1725 to 1825. However, the first sign of major development was from 1805 when Henry Ware was ordained as a professor of divinity at Harvard College. The first Unitarian publications were John Sherman's and Noah Worcester's from the same year. At the beginning of the nineteenth

century, all the churches of Boston were managed by Unitarian preachers. It was the immense development of Unitarianism in the region. This period was also the developmental period for the establishment of new churches in New York City, Washington, Baltimore, Charleston, and other cities.

The end of the eighteenth century was also known for the establishment of organisations to give expression to the Unitarian faith. The immense publication of books and journals was also carried out at the end of the eighteenth century.

The growth of Unitarianism was not as impressive as before in the twentieth century. In 1961 Unitarianism consolidated with Universalism which is a separate denomination with only love for individualism and free inquiry in common with the Unitarianism. The International Council of Unitarians and Universalists established in 1995 and has its membership roots in several countries.

Diving into Unitarianism was a journey that originated from the human wish to liberate himself from the hands of rituals and church and to understand God by himself. It promoted individualism, supported the suppressed from the community, and survived the drastic oppression. The current presence of Unitarianism is small and the growth is weak, but the journey was impressive. This manuscript attempted to touch all the important events of the Unitarian growth and history briefly, particularly this period.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

482 Unitarians : <http://www.harvardsquarelibrary.org/biographies/> 23/08/2018

A

1. Adams, Abigail Smith (1744-1818)
2. Adams, Charles Francis (1807-1886)
3. Adams, Henry (1838-1918)
4. Adams, James Luther (1901-1994)
5. Adams, John Quincy (1767-1848)
6. Addams, Jane (1860-1935)

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7. Agassiz, Louis (1807-1873)
 8. Agee, James (1909-1955)
 9. Aiken, Conrad (1889-1973)
 10. Alcott, Amos Bronson (1799-1888)
 11. Alcott, Louisa May (1832-1888)
 12. Aldrich, Thomas Bailey (1836-1907)
 13. Alexander, Elizabeth (1962-)
 14. Alfred, William (1922-1999)
 15. Alinsky, Saul (1909-1972)
 16. Allen, Joseph (1790-1873)
 17. Allen, Joseph Henry (1820-1898)
 18. Allston, Washington (1779-1843)
 19. Altmeyer, Arthur (1891-1972)
 20. Ames, Blanche Ames (1878-1969)
 21. Anthony, Susan B. (1820-1906)
 22. Arminius, Jacobus (James) (1560-1609)
 23. Arnold, Melvin (1913-2000)
 24. Atwood, Isaac Morgan (1838-1917)

B

1. Backus, E. Burdette (1888-1955)
2. Bagdikian, Ben H. (1920-2016)
3. Baker, Sara Josephine (1873-1945)
4. Balch, Emily Greene (1867-1961)
5. Baldwin, Roger (1884-1981)
6. Ballou, Adin (1803-1890)
7. Ballou, Hosea (1771-1852)
8. Ballou, Hosea II (1796-1861)
9. Bancroft, Aaron (1755-1839)
10. Bancroft, George (1800-1891)
11. Bardeen, John (1908-1991)
12. Barnum, Phineas Taylor (1810-1891)
13. Barnwell, Ysaye Maria (1946-)
14. Bartlett, John (1784-1849)
15. Barton, Clara (1821-1912)
16. Bartók, Béla (1881-1945)
17. Bates, Katharine Lee (1859-1929)
18. Beach, Amy (1867-1944)
19. Belknap, Jeremy (1744-1798)
20. Bellows, Henry Whitney (1814-1882)
21. Benjamin, Thomas (1940-)
22. Bentley, William (1759-1819)
23. Berge, Wendell (1903-1955)
24. Berger, Thomas R. (1933-)
25. Bergh, Henry (1811-1888)
26. Bielawa, Herbert (1930-2015)
27. Bishop, Elizabeth (1911-1979)
28. Blackwell, Antoinette Brown (1825-1921)
29. Blake, James Vila (1842-1925)
30. Blanshard, Paul and Mary (1892-1980; 1902-1965)
31. Bond, Henry Frederick (1820-1907)
32. Bond, Julian (1940-2015)
33. Booth, John Nicholls (1912-2009)
34. Bowditch, Nathaniel (1773-1838)
35. Bowles, Chester Bliss (1901-1986)
36. Bradbury, Ray (1920-2012)
37. Bradstreet, Anne (1612-1672)

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38. Brinnin, John Malcolm (1916-1998)
 39. Brown, Olympia (1835-1926)
 40. Buckminster, Joseph Stevens (1784-1812)
 41. Bulfinch, Charles (1763-1844)
 42. Burhoe, Ralph Wendell (1911-1997)
 43. Burleigh, Celia C. (1829-1875)
 44. Bursk, Edward C. (1907-1990)
 45. Burton, Harold Hitz (1888-1964)
 46. Bynner, Witter (1881-1968)

C

1. Cabot, Hugh (1872-1945)
2. Cadbury, Henry J. (1883-1974)
3. Calhoun, John C. (1782-1850)
4. Calthrop, Samuel R. (1829-1917)
5. Calvin, John (1509-1564)
6. Campbell, Joan Brown (1931-)
7. Cannon, Ida M. (1877-1960)
8. Cannon, Walter Bradford (1871-1945)
9. Carnegie, Louise (1857-1946)
10. Carnes, Paul N. (1921-1979)
11. Chadwick, John White (1840-1914)
12. Chaffin, William Ladd (1837-1923)
13. Chaney, George Leonard (1836-1922)
14. Channing, William Ellery (1780-1842)
15. Channing, William Ellery II (1818-1901)
16. Channing, William Henry (1810-1884)

17. Chapin, Augusta Jane (1836-1905)
18. Chapin, Edwin Hubbell (1814-1880)
19. Chauncy, Charles (1705-1787)
20. Child, Lydia Maria Francis (1802-1880)
21. Chisholm, Brock (1896-1971)
22. Chisholm, Shirley (1924-2005)
23. Choate, Joseph Hodges (1832-1917)
24. Ciardi, John (1916-1986)
25. Clark, Grenville (1882-1967)
26. Clark, Joseph S. (1901-1990)
27. Clarke, James Freeman (1810-1888)
28. Cobb, Stanley (1887-1968)
29. Cobb, Sylvanus (1798-1866)
30. Code, Arthur (1923-2009)
31. Coles, Robert (1929-)
32. Collyer, Robert (1823-1912)
33. Commager, Henry Steele (1902-1998)
34. Cone, Orello (1835-1905)
35. Conway, Moncure Daniel (1832-1907)
36. Cook, Maria (1779-1835)
37. Coolidge, William David (1873-1975)
38. Cooper, Peter (1791-1883)
39. Cope, J. Raymond (1905-1988)
40. Cordner, John (1816-1894)
41. Cornell, Ezra (1807-1874)
42. Cousins, Norman (1915-1990)
43. Cox, Gardner (1906-1988)

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44. Creeley, Robert (1926-2005)
 45. Cronkhite, Bernice Brown (1893-1983)
 46. Crothers, Samuel McChord (1857-1927)
 47. Cullen, Countee (1903-1946)
 48. cummings, e.e. (1894-1962)
 49. Cummings, Edward (1861-1926)
 50. Cummins, Robert (1897-1982)
 51. Curti, Merle E. (1897-1966)
 52. Curtis, George W. (1824-1892)
 53. Cushman, Charlotte (1816-1876)

D

1. Dall, Caroline Wells Healey (1822-1912)
2. Dall, Charles Henry Appleton (1816-1886)
3. Dallin, Cyrus (1860-1943)
4. Daniels, Mabel Wheeler (1878-1971)
5. Davies, A. Powell (1902-1957)
6. De Benneville, George (1703-1793)
7. Dean, Paul (1783-1860)
8. Deutsch, Karl W. (1912-1992)
9. Dewey, John (1859-1952)
10. Dewey, Orville (1794-1882)
11. Diers, Ann (1925-)
12. Dietrich, John H. (1878-1957)
13. Dix, Dorothea (1802-1887)
14. Dodson, George Rowland (1865-1939)
15. Dole, James Drummond (1877-1958)

16. Dos Passos, John (1896-1970)
17. Douglas, Emily Taft (1899-1994)
18. Douglas, Paul H. (1892-1976)
19. DuBois, W. E. B. (1868-1963)

E

1. Eberhart, Richard (1904-2005)
2. Edelman, Marian Wright (1993-)
3. Edwards, Jonathan (1703-1758)
4. Eliot, Abigail Adams (1892-1992)
5. Eliot, Charles W. (1834-1926)
6. Eliot, Charles W. II (1899-1993)
7. Eliot, Frederick May (1889-1958)
8. Eliot, John (1754-1813)
9. Eliot, Martha May (1891-1978)
10. Eliot, Samuel Atkins (1862-1950)
11. Eliot, Thomas H. (1907-1991)
12. Eliot, Thomas Lamb (1841-1936)
13. Ellis, George Edward (1814-1894)
14. Emerson, Ralph Waldo (1803-1882)
15. Emerson, William (1769-1811)
16. Emerson, William (1873-1957)
17. Etzioni, Amitai (1929-)
18. Everett, Charles Carroll (1829-1900)
19. Everett, Edward (1846-1849)

F

1. Fahs, Sophia Lyon (1876-1978)
2. Felton, Cornelius Conway (1807-1862)
3. Fenn, William Wallace (1862-1932)
4. Fields, James T. (1817-1881)

5. Fillmore, Millard (1800-1874)
6. Fisher, Joseph and Margaret (1914-1992; 1921-2012)
7. Fiske, John (1842-1901)
8. Fitzgerald, Robert (1910-1985)
9. Flower, Eliza (1803-1846)
10. Follen, Charles Theodore Christian (1796-1840)
11. Foote, Arthur (1853-1937)
12. Foote, Arthur II (1911-1999)
13. Foote, Henry Wilder (1875-1964)
14. Forbes, Elmer Severance (1860-1933)
15. Forbes, John Murray (1813-1898)
16. Forbes, John Perkins (1855-1910)
17. Fosdick, Harry Emerson (1878-1969)
18. Freeman, James (1759-1835)
19. French, Daniel Chester (1850-1931)
20. Fritchman, Stephen H. (1902-1981)
21. Frost, Robert (1874-1963)
22. Frothingham, Octavius Brooks (1822-1895)
23. Frothingham, Paul Revere (1864-1926)
24. Fuller, Arthur Buckminster (1822-1862)
25. Fuller, Buckminster (1895-1983)
26. Fuller, Margaret (1810-1850)
27. Furness, William Henry (1802-1896)

G

1. Gaebler, Max (1921-)
2. Gannett, Ezra Stiles (1801-1871)

3. Gannett, Frank (1876-1957)
4. Gannett, William Channing (1840-1923)
5. Garrison, William Lloyd (1805-1879)
6. Garver, Austin Samuel (1849-1918)
7. Gay, Ebenezer (1696-1787)
8. Giles, Philip Randall (1917-2013)
9. Gillman, Samuel (1791-1858)
10. Gould, Benjamin Apthorp (1824-1896)
11. Gould, Stephen Jay (1941-2002)
12. Greeley, Dana McLean (1908-1986)
13. Greeley, Horace (1811-1872)
14. Grimke, Angelina Weld (1880-1958)

H

1. Hailstork, Adolphus (1941-)
2. Hale, Edward (1858-1918)
3. Hale, Edward Everett (1822-1909)
4. Hale, Nancy (1908-1988)
5. Hall, Asaph (1829-1907)
6. Hanaford, Phebe Ann Coffin (1829-1921)
7. Hardin, Clif (1955-)
8. Harper, Frances Ellen Watkins (1825-1911)
9. Harrington, Donald Szantho (1914-2005)
10. Harrington, Vilma Szantho (1913-1982)
11. Harris, LaDonna (1931-)
12. Harte, Bret (1836-1902)
13. Hartshorne, Charles (1897-2000)

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14. Hawthorne, Nathaniel (1804-1864)
 15. Hayward, John (1918-2012)
 16. Hedge, Frederic Henry (1805-1890)
 17. Helvie, Clara Cook (1876-1969)
 18. Hemenway, Mary Porter Tison (1820-1894)
 19. Herford, Brooke (1830-1903)
 20. Hewlett, Sylvia Ann (1946-)
 21. Higginson, Thomas Wentworth (1823-1911)
 22. Hill, Thomas (1862-1868)
 23. Hillyer, Robert (1895-1961)
 24. Hitschmanova, Lotta (1909-1990)
 25. Hoar, George F. (1826-1904)
 26. Hocking, William Ernest (1873-1966)
 27. Holmes, John (1904-1962)
 28. Holmes, John Haynes (1879-1964)
 29. Holmes, Oliver Wendell (1809-1894)
 30. Holmes, Oliver Wendell, Jr. (1841-1935)
 31. Hosmer, Frederick Lucian (1840-1929)
 32. Hosmer, Harriet (1830-1905)
 33. Howe, Julia Ward (1819-1910)
 34. Howlett, Duncan (1906-2003)
 35. Huidekoper, Frederic (1819-1892)

J

1. Jack, Homer A. (1916-1993)
2. Jackson, James (1777-1867)
3. James, William (1842-1910)

4. Jefferson, Thomas (1743-1826)
5. Jenkins, Lydia Ann Moulton (c. 1825-1874)
6. Jewett, Sarah Orne (1849-1908)
7. Johnson, Samuel (1822-1882)
8. Jones, Jenkin Lloyd (1843-1918)
9. Jordan, Joseph F. (1863-1929)
10. Jordan, Joseph H. (1842-1901)
11. Joy, Charles Rhind (1885-1978)
12. Judd, Sylvester (1813-1853)

K

1. Kemble, Fanny (1809-1893)
2. Kendrick, Eva (1976-)
3. Kennedy, X.J. (1929-)
4. Kepes, Gyorgy (1906-2001)
5. Killian, James R., Jr. (1904-1988)
6. Kimball, George Elbert (1906-1967)
7. King, Martin Luther, Jr. (1929-1968)
8. King, Thomas Starr (1824-1864)
9. Kiplinger, W.M. (1891-1967)
10. Kirkland, John Thornton (1770-1840)
11. Knapp, Arthur May (1841-1921)
12. Kneeland, Abner (1774-1844)
13. Kring, Walter Donald (1917-1999)
14. Kumin, Maxine (1925-2014)
15. Kunitz, Stanley (1905-2006)

L

1. Lamb, Arthur Becket (1880-1952)
2. Langer, William L. (1896-1977)
3. Lathrop, John Howland (1880-1967)

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4. Latimer, Lewis Howard (1848-1928)
 5. Laurence, Margaret (1926-1983)
 6. Lawrence, Abbott (1792-1855)
 7. Lawrence, Amos (1786-1852)
 8. Lear, Norman (1922-)
 9. Lee, Alfred McClung and Elizabeth Briant (1906-1992; 1908-1999)
 10. Lismer, Arthur (1885-1969)
 11. Littlefair, Duncan (1912-2004)
 12. Livermore, Mary Ashton Rice (1820-1905)
 13. Livesay, Dorothy (1909-1996)
 14. Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth (1807-1882)
 15. Longfellow, Samuel (1819-1892)
 16. Lovejoy, Arthur (1873-1962)
 17. Lowell, Abbott Lawrence (1856-1943)
 18. Lowell, Amy (1874-1925)
 19. Lowell, James Russell (1819-1891)
 20. Lowell, John, Jr. (1799-1836)
 21. Lowell, Josephine Shaw (1843-1905)
 22. Lowell, Percival (1855-1916)
 23. Lowell, Robert (1917-1977)
 24. Luscomb, Florence Hope (1887-1985)
- M
1. Maclean, Angus Hector (1892-1969)
 2. MacLeish, Archibald (1892-1983)
 3. Mann, Horace (1796-1859)
 4. Mann, Mary Tyler Peabody (1806-1887)
 5. Mann, Newton (1836-1926)
 6. Mann, Rowena Morse (1870-1958)
 7. Marquand, John P. (1893-1960)
 8. Marty, Martin E. (1928-)
 9. Mason, Edward S. (1899-1992)
 10. May, Joseph (1836-1918)
 11. May, Samuel Joseph (1797-1871)
 12. Maybeck, Bernard (1862-1957)
 13. Mayer, Jean (1920-1993)
 14. Mayhew, Jonathan (1720-1766)
 15. Mayo, Amory Dwight (1823-1907)
 16. McCollum, Vashti Cromwell (1916-2006)
 17. McCree, Wade, Jr. (1920-1987)
 18. McKeeman, Gordon B. (1920-2013)
 19. Mead, Edwin D. (1849-1937)
 20. Mead, Sidney E. (1904-1999)
 21. Melcher, Daniel (1912-1985)
 22. Melcher, Frederic G. (1879-1963)
 23. Melville, Herman (1819-1891)
 24. Mendelsohn, Jack (1918-2012)
 25. Metcalf, Joel Hastings (1866-1925)
 26. Meyer, Agnes Ernst (1887-1970)
 27. Millikan, Robert (1883-1953)
 28. Mitchell, Maria (1818-1889)
 29. Montagu, Ashley (1905-1999)
 30. Moore, Christopher (1929-1987)
 31. Moore, Mary Carr (1873-1957)
 32. Morgan, Arthur E. (1878-1975)
 33. Morison, Elting Elmore (1909-1995)

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34. Morison, John Hopkins III (1913-2013)
 35. Morison, Robert Swain (1906-1986)
 36. Morrill, Justin S. (1810-1898)
 37. Moseley, Margaret (1901-1997)
 38. Murray, John Courtney (1904-1967)
 39. Murray, Judith Sargent (1751-1820)

N

1. Near, Holly (1949-)
2. Nemerov, Howard (1920-1991)
3. Neuberger, Maurine (1907-2000)
4. Newell, William (1804-1881)
5. Nichols, Ichabod (1784-1859)
6. Nichols, Minerva Parker (1860-1943)
7. Niebuhr, Reinhold (1892-1971)
8. Noyes, George Rapall (1788-1868)

O

1. Oakes, Urian (1631-1681)
2. Oliver, Mary (1935-)
3. Olmsted, Frederick Law (1822-1903)
4. Olson, Charles (1910-1970)
5. Otis, Harrison Gray (1765-1848)
6. Otto, Max (1876-1968)
7. Overholser, Winfred (1892-1964)
8. Ovington, Mary White (1865-1951)

P

1. Pagels, Elaine (1943-)
2. Park, David (1911-1960)
3. Parker, Theodore (1810-1860)

4. Parkman, Francis (1823-1893)
5. Parsons, Theophilus (1750-1813)
6. Patton, Kenneth Leo (1911-1994)
7. Pauling, Linus (1901-1994)
8. Payne-Gaposchkin, Cecilia (1900-1980)
9. Peabody, Andrew Preston (1811-1893)
10. Peabody, Elizabeth Palmer (1804-1894)
11. Peabody, Ephraim (1807-1856)
12. Peabody, Francis Greenwood (1847-1936)
13. Peirce, Benjamin (1809-1880)
14. Peirce, Charles Sanders (1839-1914)
15. Pennington, Leslie T. (1899-1974)
16. Perkins, Thomas H. (1764-1854)
17. Pickering, Timothy (1745-1829)
18. Pickering, William (1910-2004)
19. Pierpont, James (1822-1893)
20. Pierpont, John (1785-1866)
21. Pinkham, Daniel (1923-2006)
22. Pipher, Mary (1947-)
23. Potter, Van Rensselaer (1911-2001)
24. Potter, William James (1830-1893)
25. Pratt, Enoch (1808-1896)
26. Prescott, William Hickling (1796-1859)
27. Priestley, Joseph (1733-1805)
28. Putnam, George (1807-1878)

Q

1. Quincy, Josiah (1772-1864)

R

1. Raible, Robert (1899-1968)
2. Rathbun, Mary Jane (1860-1943)
3. Reeb, James (1927-1965)
4. Reed, David (1790-1870)
5. Reed, John (1887-1920)
6. Reese, Curtis W. (1887-1961)
7. Reinhardt, Aurelia Henry (1877-1948)
8. Reynolds, Malvina (1900-1978)
9. Rich, Caleb (1750-1821)
10. Richardson, Elliot Lee (1920-1999)
11. Ripley, Ezra (1751-1841)
12. Ripley, George (1802-1880)
13. Rombauer, Irma (1877-1962)
14. Rush, Benjamin (1745-1813)

S

1. Safford, Mary (1851-1927)
2. Saltonstall, Leverett (1892-1979)
3. Sandburg, Lillian Steichen (1883-1977)
4. Santayana, George (1863-1952)
5. Sarton, May (1912-1995)
6. Savage, Minot Judson (1841-1918)
7. Sawyer, Thomas Jefferson (1804-1899)
8. Schlesinger, Arthur (1917-2007)
9. Schultes, Richard (1915-2001)
10. Schwartz, Delmore (1913-1966)
11. Schweitzer, Albert (1875-1965)
12. Scott, Jim

13. Sears, Edmund Hamilton (1810-1876)
14. Seeger, Alan (1888-1916)
15. Seeger, Pete (1919-2014)
16. Sellars, Roy Wood (1883-1973)
17. Serling, Rod (1924-1975)
18. Sexton, Anne (1928-1974)
19. Sharp, Waitstill and Martha Sharp Cogan (1902-1984; 1905-1999)
20. Shaw, Robert Gould (1837-1863)
21. Shelton, Jason
22. Shinn, Quillen Hamilton (1845-1907)
23. Simon, Herbert A. (1916-2001)
24. Sissman, L.E. (1928-1976)
25. Skinner, Clarence Russell (1881-1949)
26. Snow, Sydney Bruce (1878-1944)
27. Soule, Caroline Augusta White (1824-1903)
28. Southworth, Franklin Chester (1863-1944)
29. Sparks, Jared (1789-1866)
30. Spear, Charles (1801-1863)
31. Spoerl, Dorothy T. (1909-1996)
32. Stacy, Nathaniel (1778-1868)
33. Stafford, Rick (1932-)
34. Stanton, Elizabeth Cady (1815-1902)
35. Stebbins, Horatio (1821-1902)
36. Stefansson, Vilhjalmur (1879-1962)
37. Stevens, Wallace (1879-1955)
38. Stevenson, Adlai E. (1900-1965)

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39. Stokes, Carl B. (1927-1996)
 40. Stone, Lucy (1818-1893)
 41. Story, Joseph (1779-1845)
 42. Sullivan, William Laurence (1872-1935)
 43. Sumner, Charles (1811-1874)
 44. Sunderland, Jabez T. (1842-1936)

T

1. Taft, Jessie (1882-1960)
2. Taft, William Howard (1857-1930)
3. Taylor, Edward (c. 1642-1729)
4. Teilhard de Chardin, Pierre (1881-1955)
5. Thandeka
6. Thayer, Thomas Baldwin (1812-1886)
7. The Humiliati: Reinventing Universalism, 1946-1954
8. Thoreau, Henry David (1817-1862)
9. Throop, Amos Gager (1811-1894)
10. Thurman, Howard (1899-1981)
11. Ticknor, George (1791-1871)
12. Tillich, Paul (1886-1965)
13. Tuckerman, Frederick Goddard (1821-1873)
14. Tuckerman, Joseph (1778-1840)

U

1. Ulich, Robert (1890-1977)
2. Updike, John (1932-2009)

V

1. Veatch, Caroline (1870-1953)
2. Very, Jones (1813-1880)

3. Vogt, Von Ogden (1879-1964)
4. Vonnegut, Kurt, Jr. (1922-2007)

W

1. Wald, George (1906-1997)
2. Walker, James (1794-1874)
3. Ware, Caroline Farrar (1899-1990)
4. Ware, Henry, Jr. (1794-1843)
5. Ware, Henry, Sr. (1764-1845)
6. Ware, William (1797-1852)
7. Washburn, Israel Jr. (1813-1883)
8. Washington, Booker T. (1856-1915)
9. Webster, Daniel (1782-1852)
10. Weiss, John (1818-1879)
11. Wendte, Charles William (1844-1931)
12. West, Robert Nelson (1929-2017)
13. West, Samuel (of New Bedford) (1730-1807)
14. White, Walter Francis (1893-1955)
15. Whitehead, Alfred North (1861-1947)
16. Whitney, Willis Rodney (1887-1958)
17. Whittemore, Thomas (1800-1861)
18. Wieman, Henry Nelson (1884-1975)
19. Wilbur, Earl Morse (1886-1956)
20. Williams, David Rhys (1890-1970)
21. Williams, George Huntston (1914-2000)
22. Williams, Roger (1603-1683)
23. Williams, William Carlos (1883-1963)

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24. Willis, Annie Bizzell Jordan (1893-1977)
 25. Williston, Samuel (1861-1963)
 26. Wilson, Edwin H. (1899-1993)
 27. Winchester, Elhanan (1751-1797)
 28. Wise, Stephen (1874-1949)
 29. Woolley, Celia Parker (1848-1918)
 30. Worcester, Noah (1758-1837)
 31. Wright, Conrad (1917-2011)
 32. Wright, Frank Lloyd (1867-1959)

33. Wright, Quincy (1890-1970)
34. Wright, Sewall (1889-1988)
35. Wright, Theodore Paul (1895-1970)
36. Wyeth, N.C. (1882-1945)
37. Wyman, Jeffries (1814-1874)

Y

38. Young (Jandreau), Ruth (1916-1986)
39. Young, Owen D. (1874-1962)
40. Young, Whitney Moore, Jr. (1921-1971)