THE CHRISTOLOGY OF JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY (1788-1847)

by

PAUL GERALD WILLIAM HARRIS

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College of Arts and Law

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ABSTRACT

This study is a systematic examination of the Christology of the Quaker, Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847). It draws upon a large corpus of material from his published writings and reports of his public addresses. Special attention has also been given to assessing Gurney's beliefs in relation to early Quaker theology, his contemporaries and the wider Christian Church.

Outcomes of this research show that Gurney held a sophisticated theology based upon biblical scholarship, reason and a deep personal faith. Findings confirm several aspects of previous research including the importance which he placed upon the authority of the Bible and Christ's atonement. However, it is argued that the nuance of Gurney's beliefs has meant that elements of his theology have not always been sufficiently well evaluated. Consequently whilst Gurney's views represent a re-alignment within Quaker theology towards a greater degree of Christian orthodoxy and a willingness to challenge aspects of Quaker tradition, they are also more rooted in early Quakerism than has often been acknowledged in the past. This is seen for example, in Gurney's belief that the Scriptures cannot be secondary in authority to immediate inward revelation because the Holy Spirit is the source of both and also in his understanding that whilst justification and sanctification should be differentiated from each other they are nonetheless both necessary for redemption. For Gurney, the authority of the Scriptures is not an end in itself but a declaration of what he considers they convey; namely, God's final revelation in Jesus Christ. Christology is therefore at the heart of his beliefs.

The thesis highlights that Gurney's theology was shaped by the use of Trinitarian and Chalcedonian based principles, albeit that these specific terms were

not used by him. These reflect his particular emphasis in affirming belief in Christ's divinity, and in the divine and human natures of the incarnate Son and the exalted Christ. It is argued that belief in the divinity of Christ was a defining feature of Gurney's Christology and one which permeated his understanding of the Christian faith. Furthermore, this research has identified several other aspects of his beliefs and practice which constitute an original contribution to scholarship. These include Gurney's understanding of Christ, the Son of God in relation to eternal Sonship; his approach to scriptural exegesis and hermeneutics; the use of biblical prophecies as evidence of the messiahship and divinity of Jesus Christ; his views about the Sabbath; and the practical application of belief with regards to Christian discipleship and spirituality.

Whilst Gurney's theology coincides in good measure with Evangelical and Orthodox Quaker doctrines, it is argued that these terms are too generic and do not completely match his beliefs nor encapsulate the breadth of his religious outlook. Instead, on the basis of a detailed appraisal of Gurney's own definition and beliefs about Quakerism, the term *New Testament Quaker* has been coined as a way to convey his theology. This is characterised by his advocacy that a core set of beliefs is held in common by all Christians, that the distinctiveness of Quakerism is rooted in the agency of the Holy Spirit, and that the foundational authority of the Scriptures and their interpretation is pneumatically led. It also embraces his vision that Quakerism seeks to reconnect to the early Christian Church and be void of any church polity which distracts from its aim of being a form of Primitive Christianity which has as its central nexus point a belief and faith in the person of Jesus Christ.

DEDICATION

In my journey of faith as a Christian,
I have deeply appreciated being able
to draw upon the insights and
richness of Quaker spirituality from
its conservative, evangelical and
liberal traditions. Although my roots
are Anglican and I am not a member
of the Religious Society of Friends,
over the course of many years
Quaker thought has been and
continues to be an important part of
my life and one that I have treasured.
This work is dedicated to the
worldwide community of Friends with
my sincerest gratitude for the
precious heritage they uphold and
their witness to the world.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my supervisors ‘Ben’ Pink Dandelion, Jon Kershner and Wolfgang Vondey; thank you for all your expertise, support and encouragement which have been very much appreciated. Particular thanks to Ben, who as my main supervisor has guided me throughout my studies and whose thoughtful reflections have proven so valuable.

I am most grateful to the following institutions and their staff in enabling me to access source materials whether this be in person, via a virtual visualiser or through receipt of photographed/digitised material; The British Library, London; The Library of the Society of Friends, London; Leeds University Library, University of Leeds, Leeds; The John Rylands Research Institute and Library, The University of Manchester, Manchester; Lambeth Palace Library, London; and Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania, USA. Especial thanks to everyone at the Library of the Society of Friends for all their help in so many ways including the provision of a wide variety of research materials and a lovely environment in which to study.

The free availability to the public of online digitised material has also been of great assistance to me. I am most grateful to the British Library, Digital Commons@ George Fox University, Google and HathiTrust for making such resources accessible. Web links which have been used to access these resources are included in this thesis and I would like to take this opportunity to formally acknowledge that such materials have been provided courtesy of these organisations.

And to my family, I would like to say a very big thank you. Thank you for your understanding and patience in enabling me to devote such a large amount of time to this work. In particular, to my wife Rosalind, my heartfelt thanks for all her support and generous spirit.

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ACRONYMS, FORMATTING, FIGURES AND TABLES

Acronyms used in this thesis are: ***ACTS*** for 'Acts of the Soul';[1] **BFBS** for British and Foreign Bible Society; **LYM** for London Yearly Meeting; **NEYM** for New England Yearly Meeting and **PYM** for Philadelphia Yearly Meeting. In the case of NEYM and PYM, because at particular times during their history parallel groups with the same name existed, the abbreviations are qualified where necessary with further details.

For details of the main editions of works by Gurney which have been used in this thesis see Appendix (A). In cases where use has been made of more than one edition of the same work (and of the same title), the edition number of the work less frequently used has been added to the *title* if further clarification is necessary (for example [1st ed.]). Shortened titles for several works have also been used after the initial provision of full title and edition details.

Publication titles have been presented using 'headline style capitalization' and also do not incorporate any original elements of bold or italicized text. Title format may therefore differ from the original title format. Any 'long letter S/s' present in the title of an original work or in the text extract used in a quotation, has been replaced by its equivalent modern letter notation. The Quaker tradition of numbering the months (for example, 4th month for April) has been maintained in the referencing where this has been used in particular works.

Quotations are presented with the use of single quotation marks (if there are quotation marks already within the text to be quoted these will also be included);

---

[1] Joseph John Gurney, *Essay on the Habitual Exercise of Love to God, Considered as a Preparation for Heaven. Third Edition, with Several Additions*, 3rd ed. (London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, and L. and J. Seeley; J. and A. Arch; Edmund Fry and Son; Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1835), 186. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026300021.0x000001.

larger amounts of quoted text are presented as an indented block of text without the use of single quotation marks. Several quotations of biblical text have been used in the thesis which have come from various works rather than directly from the Bible itself and in such cases it is the work which is cited as the source. Biblical text quoted independently of any particular work has been taken from the Authorized (King James) Version of the Bible (Emerald Text Edition published by Cambridge University Press, 1992).

Web links have been provided for online reference materials which have been used (these appear in the bibliography and on the first occasion only when the work is referenced in the footnote) and include digitised sources which were viewed online or downloaded as pdfs. No responsibility is held or endorsement given for any subsequent changes made to online based content as a result of third party interference. Web addresses starting with http://access.bl.uk/ are originally from the British Library. At the time of writing, these hyperlinks are not working following a cybersecurity incident at the British Library in October 2023.[2] It is not known when/if these same links are to be re-instated.

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[2] British Library, "Learning Lessons from the Cyber-Attack. British Library Cyber Incident Review. 8 March 2024," (2024). https://www.bl.uk/home/british-library-cyber-incident-review-8-march-2024.pdf.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER

Chapter introduction

This chapter has six main sections. First, the aims and parameters of the research thesis are outlined. Secondly, background information about Quakerism is given in order to place the study within its wider context. Thirdly, a literature review is presented. This provides an overview of past research linked to this study's focus and identifies potential areas for further research. The fourth section gives details about the methodology which has been used. A thesis chapter outline is presented in the fifth section and the chapter concludes with a summary.

Aims and parameters of the research

Records about Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847)[1] show him to have been a

[1] There are several accounts of Gurney's life from both the (i) nineteenth and (ii) twentieth centuries.
(i) From the 19th century, works include:
(a) Joseph Bevan Braithwaite's two volume *Memoirs* publication. This provides the most comprehensive biographic record of Gurney; see Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, ed., *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney; with Selections from His Journal and Correspondence. Edited by Joseph Bevan Braithwaite. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1* (Norwich: Fletcher and Alexander; London: W. & F. G. Cash; Thomas Hatchard; Edinburgh: Menzies; Dublin: M'Glashan and Gilpin, 1854). https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b3335150. and Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, ed., *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney; with Selections from His Journal and Correspondence. Edited by Joseph Bevan Braithwaite. In Two Volumes. Vol. 2* (Norwich: Fletcher and Alexander; London: W. & F. G. Cash; Thomas Hatchard; Edinburgh: Menzies; Dublin: M'Glashan and Gilpin, 1854). https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b20896. In the main body of the thesis, the shortened title for both volumes of these aforementioned editions is *Memoirs* and in the footnotes they are cited as either *Memoirs, Vol.1* or *Memoirs, Vol. 2*. as appropriate.
(b) London Yearly Meeting, *Testimonies Concerning Deceased Ministers. Presented to the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in London, 1847* (Historical Quaker Books (20), 1847), 50-64, http://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/quakerbooks/20.
(c) *The Annual Monitor for 1848. Or Obituary of the Members of the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, for the Year 1847*, (York: published by the executors of the late William Alexander, 1847), 50-66, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433082197389.
(d) John Alexander, *Brief Memoir of Joseph John Gurney, Esq (Re-Printed with Additions from the Norfolk News)* (Norwich: Josiah Fletcher; London: Charles Gilpin, 1847), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/ia.ark:/13960/t3gx7j30w.
(e) Mrs Thomas Geldart, [Hannah Ransome Geldart], *Reminiscences of a Good Man's Life: Joseph John Gurney* (Norwich: Josiah Fletcher; London: Arthur Hall and Co, 1853).

deeply caring man,[2] a husband and a father,[3] who was a member of a well-known and established family with many social connections.[4] He was also a biblical scholar,[5] philanthropist[6] and social reformer[7] actively engaged in the affairs of the

(f) Bernard Barton, *A Memorial of Joseph John Gurney. [in Verse.]* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1847), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_00000002C0F4.
(ii) From the 20th century, works include:
(a) a detailed biographical narrative by David Swift; see David E. Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker* (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1962).
(b) a sketch by Edward Grubb; see Edward Grubb, "The Work and Influence of Joseph John Gurney," *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* 48, no. 191 (1914): 292-300.
(c) an outline by Elbert Russell of the Gurney family with particular reference to Joseph John Gurney; see Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1943), 329-41, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b716273.
(d) an overview by Edward Milligan; see Edward H. Milligan, "Gurney, Joseph John (1788–1847), Banker and Religious Writer," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004). https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11771.

[2] For example; see Geldart, *Reminiscences of a Good Man's Life: Joseph John Gurney*, 31.

[3] Gurney was married three times; to Jane Birbeck in 1817 (who died in 1822), Mary Fowler in 1827 (who died in 1835) and Eliza Paul Kirkbride in 1841 (who died in 1881). See Milligan, "Gurney, Joseph John (1788–1847), Banker and Religious Writer." Gurney's children, John Henry and Anna, were both from his first marriage; see Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 63-65. Anna's deeply affectionate portrait of her father can be found in Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 521-33.

[4] For example; see Augustus Hare's two volume work about the Gurney family; Augustus J. C. Hare, *The Gurneys of Earlham. Vol 1* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company; London: George Allen, 1895), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/nnc1.cr00248177. and Augustus J. C. Hare, *The Gurneys of Earlham. Vol. 2* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company; London: George Allen, 1896), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/nnc1.cr00248185. The significance of Earlham Hall where Gurney lived and its role in enabling him to hold meetings with Christians from various traditions is highlighted in an article by Braithwaite; see J. B. Braithwaite, "The Gurneys and Earlham," *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner* 33, no. 131 (1899): 394.

[5] For example; see Joseph John Gurney, *Biblical Notes and Dissertations, Chiefly Intended to Confirm and Illustrate the Doctrine of the Deity of Christ; with Some Remarks on the Practical Importance of That Doctrine* (London: C. J. G. & F. Rivington and J. and A. Arch, 1830). http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100025835913.0x000001. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Biblical Notes*.

[6] As evidenced, for example, by Gurney's support of Norwich citizens; see Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 106-12.

[7] For example, Gurney was involved with:
(a) the abolition of enslavement; see (i) Joseph John Gurney, *Substance of a Speech Delivered by John Joseph [Sic] Gurney, Esq. At a Public Meeting of the Inhabitants of Norwich, on the 28th January, 1824, on the Subject of British Colonial Slavery* (London: Printed by Ellerton and Henderson, [1824]), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100054725233.0x000001. (ii) *Norwich Mercury*, "Colonial Slavery," November 26, 1825, 1. and (iii) Joseph John Gurney, *A Winter in the West Indies, Described in Familiar Letters to Henry Clay, of Kentucky*, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray; Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1840), 253-82, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_000000034788.
(b) campaigning against capital punishment; see Joseph John Gurney, *Substance of a Speech on Capital Punishments, Delivered at a Public Meeting of the Inhabitants of Norwich, Held 4th Month, 17th, 1846* (Norwich: Printed by Josiah Fletcher and sold in London by Charles Gilpin, 1846).
(c) advocacy for prison reform; see Joseph John Gurney, *Notes on a Visit Made to Some of the Prisons in Scotland and the North of England, in Company with Elizabeth Fry; with Some General Observations on the Subject of Prison Discipline*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed for Archibald Constable

world both through his profession as a banker[8] and as an English Quaker minister[9] with the Religious Society of Friends.[10]

The mark of Gurney's character and the testimony of his life were very evident from the outpouring of grief and respect shown for him by the citizens of Norwich, his home city, following his death and funeral.[11] As the Quaker periodical, *The Friend*, commented in its obituary of him:

> How remarkably were the fruits of the Spirit, not merely inculcated in word and doctrine, but manifested in the daily walk through life of this humble and dedicated servant of Christ.[12]

---

and Co., Edinburgh; Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, John and Arthur Arch, and Hurst, Robinson, and Company, London, 1819), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433075972558.
(d) support for teetotalism; see Joseph John Gurney, "Substance of a Speech of Joseph John Gurney, Esq., at the Temperance Hall, Jersey, on the 15th of June, 1844. From Notes Taken by a Friend," (Pamphlets. s.n., 1844): 5. https://www.jstor.org/stable/60204935.

[8] For an overview of Gurney's banking career; see David E. Swift, "Joseph John Gurney and the Economic Life of Norwich," *Bulletin of Friends Historical Association* 49, no. 2 (1960): 98-103. https://muse.jhu.edu/article/395301.

[9] According to an extract from Gurney's autobiography cited in the *Memoirs*, he committed himself to being a plain Quaker in 1812 and Braithwaite comments that Gurney became a Quaker minister in 1818; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 84-85 and 134 respectively.

[10] Margery Post Abbott notes that 'the Religious Society of Friends' had become 'by the 19th century … the normal title used by Quakers' to describe their religious tradition and identity; see Margery Post Abbott et al., "Religious Society of Friends," in *The A to Z of the Friends (Quakers)* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 241.

[11] For example; see *Record of the Death of J. J. Gurney, Esq. Of Earlham; with Some Remarks on the Character, and a Report of Proceedings Connected with the Funeral, of That Truly Christian Philanthropist. Extracted from the Norfolk Chronicle of January 9th & 16th, 1847*, (Norwich: Printed by Stevenson & Matchett, 1847), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100099928440.0x000001. and *A Brief Memoir of the Late Joseph John Gurney, of Norwich, England. Reprinted from the "Norfolk News" of Jan. 16, 1847*, (Worcester [U.S]: Printed by Henry J. Howland, [1847]), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081820425. The impact of Gurney's death on Norwich's religious communities outside of the Society of Friends (Quakers) can also be seen in addresses at the time by John Alexander (Congregationalist minister of Prince's Street Chapel, Norwich) and Edward Stanley (Bishop of Norwich); see respectively John Alexander, *The Christian Serving His Own Generation. A Sermon Occasioned by the Lamented Death of Joseph John Gurney, Esq., and Preached in Prince's Street Chapel, Norwich, on Sunday Evening, Jan. 17th, 1847, by John Alexander. Published at the Request of the Congregation* (Norwich: Printed by Josiah Fletcher; sold also by Jarrold and Sons; London: Jackson and Walford1847), https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=ll1iAAAAcAAJ. and Edward Stanley and Arthur Penrhyn Stanley, *Addresses and Charges of Edward Stanley D.D (Late Bishop of Norwich). With a Memoir. By His Son, Arthur Penrhyn Stanley*, 2nd ed. (London: John Murray, 1852), 153-65, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015064391074.

[12] *The Friend*, "Joseph John Gurney," 2nd month, 1847, 35.

These words reflect the total commitment that Gurney gave to the spiritual life and provide the broad context of this study which is centred upon his theology.

Gurney was a highly influential Quaker[13] whose writings and public addresses[14] attracted widespread attention. Pink Dandelion has commented that 'He would become in time the most read Quaker inside and outside of the Society, and one of the most persuasive.'[15] Nevertheless, Gurney's religious beliefs were seen by some to be controversial and as Thomas Hamm has highlighted, they were not positively received by all Friends[16] within Britain and the United States at the time.[17] After Gurney's death in 1847, the importance of his beliefs and people's divergent views about them have continued to be acknowledged. However, with just a few exceptions where his theology has been more centre stage in a book or research article, the majority of commentaries have only provided an overview of aspects of his faith.[18] Consequently, a key justification for this thesis is that it seeks to address the relatively limited amount of *detailed* research about Gurney's religious beliefs. Its breadth of study is enhanced by the use of a *wide range* of his published works and its *distinctive Christological focus* enables his theology to be examined in depth.

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[13] For example; see Grubb, "The Work and Influence of Joseph John Gurney," 301-02. and Russell, *The History of Quakerism*, 331-32.
[14] For example, *The True Sun* newspaper reported large turn-outs of people at meetings in Manchester to hear Gurney;*The True Sun*, "Joseph John Gurney, Esq (from a Manchester Correspondent.)," 13 April, 1832, 3.
[15] Pink Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 98.
[16] '"Friends"' is a term synonymous with 'Quakers'. See Rosemary Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666* (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2000), 132.
[17] Thomas D. Hamm, "Hicksite, Orthodox, and Evangelical Quakerism, 1805-1887," in *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 70-71.
[18] See the literature review section of this chapter for further details. John Punshon has described Gurney as 'The Forgotten Man of English Quakerism'; see John Punshon, "The Forgotten Man of English Quakerism. Joseph John Gurney," *Friends Journal* 35, no. 3 (1989): 8. https://www.friendsjournal.org/wp-content/uploads/emember/downloads/1989/HC12-50837.pdf.

The principal aims of this research are therefore to present a systematic review and analysis of Gurney's Christology, based on his published writings and reports of his public addresses.[19] The research findings are evaluated, as appropriate, in relation to early Quaker theology, Quaker beliefs contemporaneous with Gurney, and with wider Christian doctrine and practice. The methodology section later in this chapter provides details about how Christology has been defined, why this particular focus has been used and the approaches which have been adopted in this study to examine Gurney's beliefs and practice.

Quakerism in context

Introduction

In this section, overviews of early Quakerism and Quakerism during Gurney's lifetime are given to help provide a context to the evaluation of his Christology.

Early Quakerism

Quakerism began in England around the mid-seventeenth century with George Fox[20] generally regarded as its founder. 'Early' Quaker Christology as used in the context of this overview relates to the period from the origins of the Quaker movement until around the start of the eighteenth century.[21] It is important to note that in this comparatively short timeframe some theological changes took place within the movement. Both Rosemary Moore[22] and Madeleine Pennington[23] have argued

[19] See the methodology section of this chapter for further details.
[20] For a brief account about George Fox (1624-1691); see Pink Dandelion, *The Quakers: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 2-8.
[21] See the methodology section of this chapter for further details about how 'early Quakerism' has been defined elsewhere in this thesis.
[22] Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666*, 214.
[23] Madeleine Pennington, *Quakers, Christ, and the Enlightenment* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 59-60.

that these can generally be seen as a move towards more orthodox Christian doctrine. Nevertheless, the period as a whole highlights several distinctive elements of Christology which are outlined below.

Fundamental to early Quaker Christology was the emphasis it placed upon immediate revelation and a direct inward encounter with God which was not dependent upon any outward forms of authority. Robert Barclay, a 'second-generation' Quaker and a leading apologist for Friends in the latter half of the seventeenth century,[24] drew upon the Scriptures to argue in his *Apology* that 'If no man can know *Jesus to be the Lord, but by the Holy Ghost,* then there can be no certain knowledge or revelation of him but by the Spirit.'[25] The Scriptures were therefore seen by him as 'a secondary rule, subordinate to the Spirit'[26] although direct revelation would not be in contradiction of the Bible.[27] Alongside this was the Quaker belief that 'an *evangelical* and *saving light and grace in all*' was present in every person.[28] Moore notes that early Friends sometimes called themselves '"children of light,"' and although the appellation was not used for very long,[29] as Wilmer Cooper has commented 'The Light of Christ Within'[30] or variations of this phrase has remained a fundamental feature and recurrent theme of Quakerism ever

[24] Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 53. Further details about the *Apology*, Barclay's major work can be found in the 'establishing what is meant by *early Quakerism*' part of the methodology section of this chapter.
[25] Robert Barclay, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity: Being an Explanation and Vindication of the Principles and Doctrines of the People Called Quakers*, 9th ed. (London: Printed for Thomas Tegg; Dublin: R. M. Tims; Glasgow: R. Griffin and Co, 1825), 31. Barclay's wording is based on part of 1 Corinthians 12:3. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Apology*.
[26] Barclay, *Apology*, 65.
[27] Barclay, *Apology*, 18.
[28] Barclay, *Apology*, 104.
[29] Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666*, 132.
[30] Wilmer A. Cooper, *A Living Faith: An Historical and Comparative Study of Quaker Beliefs*, 2nd ed. (Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 2001), 16. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *A Living Faith*.

since.[31] Crucially, this Light was not considered an abstract notion or part of an individual's conscience.[32] However, defining its exact *nature* has proven difficult[33] and the diversity of descriptions within early Quaker writings reflect this.[34] Hugh Barbour has also emphasised that for early Friends the *actions* of the Light were twofold and seen as being 'God's own goad and probe' in bringing them to a painful awareness of their own sins and shortcomings, and also a way to experience 'joy, peace, and guidance' afterwards.[35]

Early Quaker Christology was further developed when Barclay introduced the concept of the '*vehiculum Dei',* which he described as '*a spiritual, heavenly, and invisible principle, in which God*' exists within a person, rather like 'a *seed*' with the potential to develop under God's grace.[36]

As the word *Trinity* is not found in the Scriptures, Quakers were not prepared to use the term[37] and neither were they willing to adopt the historic creeds of the early Church[38] to define their beliefs. This does not necessarily mean that Friends

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[31] Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 16-23.
[32] Barclay, *Apology*, 137-41.
[33] For example, see Raymond Brown and Alan P. F. Sell, "Quakers and Dissenters in Dispute," in *The Quakers, 1656-1723: The Evolution of an Alternative Community*, ed. Richard C. Allen and Rosemary Moore with specialist contributors (University Park, PA The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), 131-33.
[34] For example, Fox writes about the Light being 'the life in Christ the Word'; see George Fox, *Something in Answer to All Such as Falsly Say, the Quakers Are No Christians; Who as yet Have Not Proved Themselves Such Christians as They Were in the Apostles Days in Life & Practice, Which They Should Have Done before They Had Accused Others* (London: Printed and sold by Andrew Sowle, 1682), 4. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100054610742.0x000001. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Something in Answer*. In comparison, Barclay describes how '*God hath communicated and given unto every man a measure of the light of his own Son, a measure of grace, or a measure of the Spirit'*; see Barclay, *Apology*, 126.
[35] Hugh Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England* (1964; paperback, Friends United Press, 1985), 98.
[36] Barclay, *Apology*, 131.
[37] For example, see George Fox, *Some Principles of the Elect People of God Who in Scorn Are Called Quakers, for All People Throughout All Christendome to Read over, and Thereby Their Own States to Consider* (London: Printed for *Robert Wilson*, 1661), 32, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100028871282.0x000001.
[38] For example, the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds; see Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes. In Three Volumes. Volume 1. The History of Creeds*, 1 (New York: Harper

rejected all of the theological content within these doctrinal statements; for example, the triune nature of the one God was recognised by Fox.[39] Nevertheless, I suggest that the use of a diverse set of terms to describe the inward presence of the Spirit of Christ which Douglas Gwyn notes included 'Light, Spirit, Seed, grace, anointing, measure, [and] life' amongst others,[40] resulted in the less frequent use of belief statements which incorporated aspects of Trinitarian doctrine.

Maurice Creasey has commented that the early Friends' differentiation 'between the knowledge of Christ 'without' and the knowledge of him 'within''[41] had been based on the need to emphasise the importance of the latter in bringing about genuine spiritual change within a person.[42] He argued therefore that Quakers saw Christ both as the Jesus of the Scriptures *and* as the inward Christ but attached a greater importance to the latter. This in turn created an ambiguity about how exactly (if at all) the outward and inward Christ were linked.[43] Gwyn has suggested that early Friends fused the outward and inward such that 'there is no distance between the experience of Christ within and the life of Jesus of Nazareth'[44] whilst Richard Bailey

& Brothers, 1878), 27-28, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hnjuuk. For Friends' refusal to adopt creedal based statements beyond the Scriptures; see Joseph John Gurney, *Observations on the Distinguishing Views and Practices of the Society of Friends. Seventh Edition, with Several Additions*, 7th ed. (London: John and Arthur Arch; Darton and Harvey; Norwich: Wilkin & Fletcher, 1834), 3. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100025528565.0x000001. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Observations*.

[39] Fox, *Something in Answer*, 28.

[40] Douglas Gwyn, "Seventeenth-Century Context and Quaker Beginnings," in *Early Quakers and Their Theological Thought 1647-1723*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 24.

[41] Maurice A. Creasey, "The Christ of History and of Experience. 1967 Shrewsbury Lecture," in *Shrewsbury Lecture* (The Shrewsbury and Manasquan Monthly Meetings of the Religious Society of Friends (Quaker), 2010), Section 2. https://shrewsburyquakers.org/sites/default/files/shrewsburylecture7.pdf.

[42] Creasey, "The Christ of History and of Experience. 1967 Shrewsbury Lecture," Section 1.

[43] Creasey, "The Christ of History and of Experience. 1967 Shrewsbury Lecture," Section 2.

[44] Gwyn, "Seventeenth-Century Context and Quaker Beginnings," 24.

has claimed that this inward experience was a form of 'Christo-presentism'.[45] Moore has also commented that in the early years of the Quaker movement, Friends tended to overlook the historic Christ and the atonement,[46] and instead stressed 'the divine eternal Christ at the expense of the human [Jesus]'.[47] I suggest this equates to an almost monophysitic 'one nature-one person' Christology[48] which is predominantly aligned to the pre-existence of Christ as presented in the Johannine texts.[49]

Other Christological features which also formed part of early Quaker theology included the belief that justification and sanctification should not be seen as being separate from each other but working together. As Elizabeth Bathurst[50] explained; 'if one languish, t'other cannot but greatly mourn'.[51] This meant that justification was seen as an outcome of being sanctified[52] rather than as generally held within the Protestant tradition of being based upon an act of repentance and faith.[53] Early Friends also believed that an individual might be able to reach a condition of perfection, a doctrine formally proposed in Barclay's *Apology*.[54]

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[45] Richard G. Bailey, "The Making and Unmaking of a God: New Light on George Fox and Early Quakerism," in *New Light on George Fox 1624-1601: A Collection of Essays*, ed. Michael Mullett (York: William Sessions Limited, 1991), 110.
[46] Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666*, 109-10.
[47] Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666*, 110.
[48] The significance of this can be seen in chapter 3 which highlights Gurney's affirmation of belief in the two natures of Jesus Christ.
[49] For example, Barclay highlights the importance which Friends attach to John 1:9; see Barclay, *Apology*, 153.
[50] Elizabeth Bathurst (1655-1685) was an early Quaker. Her work '*Truth's Vindication*' has been described as being 'one of the few Quaker works of systematic theology'; see Margery Post Abbott et al., "Bathurst, Elizabeth (1655-1685)," in *The A to Z of the Friends (Quakers)* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 22.
[51] Elizabeth Bathurst, *Truth's Vindication or, a Gentle Stroke to Wipe Off the Foul Aspersions, False Accusations and Misrepresentations, Cast Upon the People of God, Called, Quakers. Both with Respect to Their Principle, and Their Way of Proselyting People over to Them. Also, an Epistle to Such of the Friends of Christ, That Have Lately Been Convinced of the Truth, as It Is in Jesus* (London: Printed, sold by W.S and J.B, 1683), 16, https://www.proquest.com/books/truths-vindication-gentle-stroke-wipe-off-foul/docview/2240908975/se-2.
[52] For example; see Barclay, *Apology*, 198. Justification and sanctification are further discussed in chapter 4.
[53] See chapter 4 for further details.
[54] Barclay, *Apology*, 230-50. The doctrine of perfection is further discussed in chapter 5.

Various paradigms have also been proposed to explain the nature of Quakerism in a broader sense. Some of these link to Christological ideas. For example, Gwyn has argued early Quakers believed that the Kingdom of Christ had 'come and [was] coming' and an expectation of imminent end time led to a Christology underpinned by a 'realizing eschatology'[55] which gave a sense of urgency to the missions of the early years of the Quaker movement. A different perspective from Lewis Benson, argued that Fox's declaration sought to convey the importance of Christ's prophetic role.[56]

In summary, early Quaker Christology can be seen as an innovative theology which principally stemmed from placing a particular emphasis upon direct and immediate revelation, and belief in the universal Light Within. Collectively these beliefs represented an understanding of the nature of the Christian faith which, as Hugh Rock has highlighted, represented a challenge to the prevalent Calvinistic beliefs which existed at the time.[57]

Nineteenth Century Quakerism and Joseph John Gurney

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Quakerism was starting to emerge from a hundred year or so period of Quietism[58] in which the sect had been partially separated from the world by its beliefs and practices; what Dandelion has described

[55] Douglas Gwyn, "Quakers, Eschatology, and Time," in *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 205.
[56] Lewis Benson, "George Fox's Teaching About Christ," *Quaker Religious Thought* 39, Article 3 (1974): 27-29. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol39/iss1/3.
[57] Hugh Rock, "Quakerism Understood in Relation to Calvinism: The Theology of George Fox," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 70, no. 3, 2017/08/08 (2017): 337-43, Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0036930617000321.
[58] Dandelion comments that an important feature of Quietist belief and practice relates to 'the idea that the path to God is based in retreat from the world and the self'; see Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 59.

'as a collective mutually reinforced reminder of group identity and function'.[59] Rufus Jones, has argued that between 1775 and 1825, Friends were either adopting a more rationalist approach, reasserting their Quietism or developing an evangelical stance.[60] With regards to the latter, he proposed that the impact of Methodism and a growing evangelical movement within the Anglican Church helped to nurture evangelical Quakerism.[61] Doreen Rosman has also suggested that the nature of evangelical faith such as its 'experiential character' would have been an attraction for some Quakers.[62]

There is clear evidence of a growing evangelical influence within British Quakerism during the early part of the nineteenth century. This is reflected for example, both in the 1829 Epistle[63] produced by London Yearly Meeting (LYM), the official body of the Society of Friends in Britain,[64] and also in Henry Tuke's *Principles of Religion*, a work very popular amongst Friends[65] and which affirmed orthodox Christian beliefs concerning the divine and human natures of Christ.[66] However, Isaac Crewdson's '*Beacon*' publication of 1835, which was particularly critical of

[59] Pink Dandelion, *The Cultivation of Conformity. Towards a General Theory of Internal Secularisation* (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2019), 65.
[60] Rufus M. Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1* (London: Macmillan and Co., limited, 1921), 275, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.32106006274861. Unless otherwise stated, 'Jones' in this thesis refers to Rufus Jones.
[61] Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1*, 276.
[62] Doreen Rosman, *The Evolution of the English Churches 1500-2000* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 173.
[63] London Yearly Meeting (Society of Friends), *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in London, to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in Great Britain, Ireland, and Elsewhere; from 1681 to 1857, Inclusive: With an Historical Introduction, and a Chapter Comprising Some of the Early Epistles and Records of the Yearly Meeting. In Two Volumes. Vol. 2* (London: Edward Marsh, Friends' Book and Tract Depository, 1858), 230-34, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015004192137.
[64] For further details about LYM; see Margery Post Abbott et al., "London Yearly Meeting," in *The A to Z of the Friends (Quakers)* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 159-60.
[65] Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 84.
[66] Henry Tuke, *The Principles of Religion, as Professed by the Society of Christians, Usually Called Quakers: Written for the Instruction of Their Youth, and for the Information of Strangers*, 10th ed. (York: Printed and sold by W. Alexander and Son1829), 5, 41, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100054583468.0x000001.

beliefs concerning immediate revelation, the Light Within and the placement of the Scriptures in a secondary role,[67] was not embraced by LYM. This resulted in Crewdson and a number of other Friends resigning from the Society.[68]

The 1836 LYM annual meeting revealed both support and opposition for evangelical views[69] but its Epistle[70] for that year reflected the 'evangelical' majority view of the Society and its emphasis on the authority of the Scriptures. In spite of the tensions that remained in the Society between Quietist and evangelical Friends, Elizabeth Isichei suggests that 'Quaker evangelicalism' in Britain was at its peak from approximately 1830 to 1885.[71]

At the same time, heterogeneity in belief and practice leading to schisms within Quakerism had become more prevalent in North America. The first wave of separations were triggered in 1827 when Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (PYM) divided[72] over the teachings of the Quaker, Elias Hicks.[73] Hamm argues that Hicks considered it problematic to accept 'a Christology that emphasized salvation by the

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[67] Isaac Crewdson, *A Beacon to the Society of Friends* (London: Hamilton, Adams and Co., Darton and Derby, J. and A. Arch, and E. Fry, Manchester: Henry Smith, 1835), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwjp9k.
[68] Elizabeth Isichei, *Victorian Quakers* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 46.
[69] An unauthorised report of the yearly meeting gathering published by the *Christian Advocate* highlights the diversity of views expressed; see *A Report of the Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, Reprinted, with Corrections and Additions, from the "Christian Advocate" Newspaper, of May 23d & 30th; Together with Notes by Members of the Society; to Which, Is Added the Quakers' Yearly Epistle for 1836*, (London: John Stephens; Edmund Fry and Son; Simpkin and Marshall, 1836), 14-18, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hnnnnm. Anna Thomas' narrative about the *Beacon* dispute highlights key names on both sides of this debate; see Anna Braithwaite Thomas, "The Beaconite Controversy," *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Society of Philadelphia* 4, no. 2 (1912): 71-73. https://www.jstor.org/stable/41945266.
[70] London Yearly Meeting (Society of Friends), *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in London, to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in Great Britain, Ireland, and Elsewhere; from 1681 to 1857, Inclusive: With an Historical Introduction, and a Chapter Comprising Some of the Early Epistles and Records of the Yearly Meeting. In Two Volumes. Vol. 2*, 270-74.
[71] Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, 8.
[72] Margery Post Abbott et al., "Great Separation," in *The A to Z of the Friends (Quakers)* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 121 [contributor: Margery Post Abbott]
[73] Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, Inc., 1988), 328-30.

Blood of Christ, rather than through obedience to the Light Within'.[74] The impact of 'the Great (or Hicksite) Separation' in 1827 over Hicks' teachings began a process of polarisation within American Quakerism, which Howard Macy notes resulted in both sides believing that their views were in keeping with early Quakerism.[75] Other separations followed in the course of a few years, resulting in the formation of both Hicksite and Orthodox Quaker communities. Disagreements within Orthodox Quakerism, primarily based around differences of opinion between Gurney and John Wilbur,[76] resulted in further schisms in the 1840s and the following decade.[77]

This brief review of Quakerism in the first half of the nineteenth century provides the backdrop to Gurney's publications. The complexity of some of the theological issues which had led to disputes and divisions within the Society are examined in later parts of this thesis.[78]

Literature review

The aim of this literature review is to establish a comprehensive presentation of how Gurney's Christology has been explicated by others, to highlight possible limitations in these studies and to identify areas which appear to have been under researched. The review is structured chronologically and begins from the early twentieth century.

In the *Later Periods of Quakerism* published in 1921, Jones gives an

[74] Hamm, "Hicksite, Orthodox, and Evangelical Quakerism, 1805-1887," 65.
[75] Howard R Macy, "Quakers and Scripture," in *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 193.
[76] John Wilbur (1774-1856) was an American Quaker opposed to evangelicalism. For further details; see Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 377-78. See also section 6.4 of this thesis. 'Wilburite' Quakers were those Friends in sympathy with Wilbur's beliefs.
[77] Lloyd Lee Wilson, "Conservative Friends, 1845-2010," in *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 129.
[78] For example; see sub-section 1.3.2 and section 6.4.

affectionate appraisal of Gurney's personality and religious commitment[79] but nonetheless considers that his beliefs constituted a fundamental move away from Quakerism[80] and one which placed him nearer to the views of Crewdson[81] and other Christian traditions.[82] Whilst Jones accepts that Gurney did attach importance to pneumatic led faith, he argues that Gurney failed to successfully communicate the nature of experiential religion to others and instead substituted it with a theological construct.[83] He also highlights Gurney's exegesis of 2 Peter 1:19-21[84] as being antithetical to the interpretation made by early Friends that this referred to the Light Within. Similarly, Gurney's view that sanctification followed justification was also seen as evidence of his theology deviating from Quakerism.[85] Perhaps therefore not surprisingly, Jones also documents the opposition of some Friends to Gurney including Sarah Lynes Grubb and Ann Jones of LYM, and John Wilbur in America.[86]

An article by the Quaker Edward Grubb,[87] also from the early part of the twentieth century, attempted to give a retrospective and balanced evaluation of the impact of Gurney's work and ministry. Grubb candidly writes that:

> J. J. Gurney probably did more than anyone else to keep the Society in England together, and to enable each section to influence the other for good. But not so in America. There the two parties soon fell asunder in numerous separations; and the opponents of J. J. Gurney traced this evil issue directly to his visit to that country.[88]

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[79] Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1*, 504.
[80] Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1*, 499-500.
[81] Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1*, 506.
[82] Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1*, 498, 504.
[83] Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1*, 500.
[84] Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1*, 501.
[85] Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1*, 503-04.
[86] Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1*, 515-17. Note: any reference to Sarah (Lynes) Grubb in this thesis is presented with both her first and last names.
[87] Note: any reference to Edward Grubb in this thesis is *either* presented with his first and last names *or* (because of frequency of use) by his last name only.
[88] Grubb, "The Work and Influence of Joseph John Gurney," 301-02.

Grubb saw Gurney's beliefs as a form of evangelical Quakerism which sought to find a way to hold together within LYM the differing views of evangelicals and Quietist conservatives.[89] Although there was a separation of some Friends from LYM during the Crewdson controversy, Grubb describes Gurney's role as 'a moderator'.[90] Even so, he also acknowledges that Gurney's visit to North America (1837-1840) was seen by some as initiating divergence within Orthodox Quakerism which led to the Wilburite schisms. In terms of Gurney's Christological beliefs, Grubb makes several interesting and astute points. He acknowledges the greater emphasis that Gurney placed on the Scriptures and Christ's Incarnation and Atonement,[91] and the positive impact this had on many people's understanding of their faith and spirituality. He also accepts that Gurney believed in the 'Universal Light'[92] although Grubb sees this as a belief stemmed more from the Scriptures rather than Gurney's own inward spiritual experience. Critically, he considers Gurney moved away from the beliefs of early Friends by separating out justification and sanctification[93] and that whilst Gurney believed sanctification had to be an outcome of being justified it was not seen by him as being a salvific necessity.[94]

Grubb adopts an almost puzzled tone in claiming it was 'not a formal doctrine, but rather an *atmosphere*'[95] that raised issues about some of Gurney's beliefs. He admits that this is a subjective assessment but at the same time is not convinced that trying to deconstruct Gurney's writings to evidence where he differs from early

[89] Grubb, "The Work and Influence of Joseph John Gurney," 298-99.
[90] Grubb, "The Work and Influence of Joseph John Gurney," 298.
[91] Grubb, "The Work and Influence of Joseph John Gurney," 301.
[92] Grubb, "The Work and Influence of Joseph John Gurney," 304.
[93] Grubb, "The Work and Influence of Joseph John Gurney," 305.
[94] Grubb, "The Work and Influence of Joseph John Gurney," 305.
[95] Grubb, "The Work and Influence of Joseph John Gurney," 302.

Friends' beliefs is a useful approach either.[96] Instead, Grubb suggests that people should make their own assessment of Gurney.[97] In an earlier publication about the nature of Christ, Grubb includes a focus on Gurney's publication *Essays* and comments that he was unable to find 'any trace of the distinctively Quaker Spirit'.[98]

Elton Trueblood's essay, published in 1960, is a comparative account of Barclay and Gurney in which he highlights several similarities in their backgrounds[99] and argues that both shared a common set of beliefs which were rooted in Christian doctrine.[100] However, he considers that Gurney did not really engage with the theological implications of how belief in the universal nature of the Light Within related to those who did not know the Christian biblical narrative.

In 1962, David Swift's book about Gurney was published. The subtitle 'Banker, Reformer and Quaker'[101] highlighted three key elements of Gurney's life and ministry. The book was and is, the most authoritative published account which exists about Gurney and uses a substantial amount of 'primary source material'.[102] However, an impact of the latter, as noted by Hugh Barbour, was that Gurney's

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[96] Grubb, "The Work and Influence of Joseph John Gurney," 302.
[97] Grubb, "The Work and Influence of Joseph John Gurney," 303.
[98] Edward Grubb, *The Historic and the Inward Christ: A Study in Quaker Thought* (Bishopsgate, E.C.: Headley Brothers, 1914), 67. For example, Grubb argues that in these writings there is hardly any reference made to the Light Within, although he does accept that Gurney highlights this in his *Observations* publication; see Grubb, *The Historic and the Inward Christ: A Study in Quaker Thought*. The *Essays* work referred to by Grubb (but with no edition details provided by him) is Joseph John Gurney, *Essays on the Evidences, Doctrines, and Practical Operation, of Christianity*, 5th ed. (London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, and L. B. Seeley and Sons; John and Arthur Arch; Norwich: Wilkin and Fletcher, 1833). http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100024336849.0x000001. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Essays*.
[99] D. Elton Trueblood, "Robert Barclay and Joseph John Gurney," in *Then and Now. Quaker Essays: Historical and Contemporary. By Friends of Henry Joel Cadbury on His Completion of Twenty-Two Years as Chairman of the American Friends Service Committee*, ed. Anna Brinton (University of Pennsylvania: Philadelphia, Oxford University Press: London, 1960), 131.
[100] Trueblood, "Robert Barclay and Joseph John Gurney," 145.
[101] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 142.
[102] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, ix.

published works were not fully discussed.[103] It is hoped that the focus of this study will therefore complement Swift's work.

At the heart of Swift's publication is the message that 'Gurney was, … both an Evangelical Christian and a Quaker, yet because he sought so persistently to be both, he stood out as a unique Evangelical and a unique Friend.'[104] These two aspects of Gurney's faith are interwoven throughout the book as Swift explores Gurney's life but three chapters in particular more overtly link to theological subjects, and therefore are especially relevant to the Christological focus of this study.

In chapter 6 of his book, Swift examines Gurney's networking with Christians beyond the Society of Friends including non-conformists such as John Alexander and John Stoughton,[105] and the Anglican, Charles Simeon. Swift argues that Gurney and Simeon agreed on several key elements of Christian doctrine although they 'differed sharply in their views of the true Church and valid ministry'.[106] Gurney's rejection of the outward sacraments is also highlighted by Swift although he sees this theological position held by Gurney to have come about after much soul-searching.[107] In an earlier published article, Swift also notes how evangelicalism was an experiential and pneumatic form of faith which acted as a common denominator in the religious beliefs of both Simeon and Gurney.[108]

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[103] Hugh Barbour, review of "Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker. By David E. Swift. Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1962," *Church History* 33, no. 1 (1964): 106-07, Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.2307/3163281.
[104] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 253.
[105] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 142.
[106] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 124.
[107] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 134-35.
[108] David E. Swift, "Charles Simeon and J. J. Gurney: A Chapter in Anglican-Quaker Relations," *Church History* 29, no. 2 (1960): 173. https://doi.org/10.2307/3161829.

In chapter 7, Swift explores how Gurney's 'thought and his purposefulness reflected the optimism of the times'[109] and his willingness to engage in scientific findings. Where the latter might produce outcomes that appeared contrary to the Scriptures, Swift notes that Gurney saw them in a more complementary way.[110] The title of chapter 8, '*Embattled Public Friend*'[111] gives an insight into some of the difficulties and opposition that Gurney experienced within England. These included his cousin John Barclay raising concerns about his ministry and being against Gurney's idea of introducing Bible study to pupils at Ackworth (Quaker) School.[112] Of particular note were the issues surrounding Crewdson's *Beacon*. Swift identifies the difficult course Gurney was attempting to follow in his response to this by indicating to Crewdson the importance of believing in 'the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit in the present day'[113] whilst also being cautious not to over emphasise the Quietist belief in the primacy of the Light Within.[114] The tensions within British Quakerism between conservative and evangelical traditions is successfully captured by Swift when he highlights Sarah Grubb's concerns regarding Gurney's influence within LYM, his *via media* approach and his involvement with the production of the 1836 LYM Epistle which strongly emphasised biblical authority.[115] Whilst Swift covers Gurney's visit to America in other chapters of his book, it is surprising that there is only brief reference to the disputes between Gurney and Wilbur.[116] From the perspective of Christology, Swift's book provides a helpful overview of some of the

[109] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 145.
[110] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 159.
[111] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 162.
[112] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 165.
[113] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 176.
[114] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 177.
[115] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 175-82.
[116] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 251.

key elements of Gurney's religious beliefs. However, given its biographical nature, opportunities were limited for Christological themes to be more fully studied, especially from Gurney's published writings.

Simon Bright's work also deserves particular mention. Bright's Master's degree dissertation is an exceptionally comprehensive review of Gurney's life, ministry and theology.[117] There is a particular focus on how Gurney was able to synergize his Quaker faith with the broader evangelical movement of the first half of the nineteenth century. In this regard Bright covers several areas of Gurney's work and Christological themes are often highlighted.[118] For example, he identifies the importance Gurney attaches to both the historic Christ and the working of the Holy Spirit;[119] the separation that Gurney makes between justification and sanctification whilst acknowledging that both are part of the salvific process;[120] and the authority of the Bible.[121] Bright sees both the Quaker and evangelical elements of Gurney's beliefs as being integral to the whole and being forged together to give fresh expression to the nature of Quakerism.[122] The study's focus on Gurney's interdenominationalism is set within an evangelical context rather than a framework defined by elements of Christian doctrine. Consequently, Gurney's belief that Quakerism is based on a vision of the New Testament and the early church[123] is not fully explored. The exegesis of scriptural texts by Gurney including those linked to

[117] Simon Bright, "Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847), a Study in Evangelical Quaker Biography" (Masters, Keele University, 1992), https://keele-repository.worktribe.com/output/413850/joseph-john-gurney-1788-1847-a-study-in-evangelical-quaker-biography.
[118] Bright, "Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847), a Study in Evangelical Quaker Biography," 190-94.
[119] Bright, "Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847), a Study in Evangelical Quaker Biography," 192.
[120] Bright, "Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847), a Study in Evangelical Quaker Biography," 142.
[121] Bright, "Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847), a Study in Evangelical Quaker Biography," 143.
[122] Bright, "Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847), a Study in Evangelical Quaker Biography," 395-96.
[123] See section 6.5 for further details.

biblical prophecy and an examination of his theology with regards to Trinitarian principles are also areas of Christology which are not covered in detail.

In a published article, Bright highlights the possibility of modern day scholarship giving an unfair view of nineteenth century evangelical Quakerism.[124] He argues that there was some overlap in the beliefs of Gurney and Quietists[125] and that in the key area regarding 'the relative authority of the Scriptures and the Spirit',[126] Gurney was trying to demonstrate through his Christological beliefs how these could work together.[127] Gurney's particular focus on the incarnation is seen by Bright as a way of explaining the work of the Holy Spirit in the life, ministry and offices of Jesus,[128] and as a result Gurney could show 'the doctrines of historical and immediate revelation operating in unison'.[129] Similarly, Bright also identifies commonalities between Quakerism and evangelicalism thereby questioning whether Gurney's views were that different in this regard to early Friends.[130] Jamie Johnson's Master's degree dissertation also reaches the conclusion that Gurney's beliefs were fundamentally aligned to those of early Quakers.[131]

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[124] Simon Bright, "'Friends Have No Cause to Be Ashamed of Being by Others Thought Non-Evangelical': Unity and Diversity of Belief among Early Nineteenth-Century British Quakers," in *Unity and Diversity in the Church. Papers Read at the 1994 Summer Meeting and the 1995 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1996), 340.
[125] Bright, "'Friends Have No Cause to Be Ashamed of Being by Others Thought Non-Evangelical': Unity and Diversity of Belief among Early Nineteenth-Century British Quakers," 341.
[126] Bright, "'Friends Have No Cause to Be Ashamed of Being by Others Thought Non-Evangelical': Unity and Diversity of Belief among Early Nineteenth-Century British Quakers," 344.
[127] Bright, "'Friends Have No Cause to Be Ashamed of Being by Others Thought Non-Evangelical': Unity and Diversity of Belief among Early Nineteenth-Century British Quakers," 345.
[128] Bright, "'Friends Have No Cause to Be Ashamed of Being by Others Thought Non-Evangelical': Unity and Diversity of Belief among Early Nineteenth-Century British Quakers," 346.
[129] Bright, "'Friends Have No Cause to Be Ashamed of Being by Others Thought Non-Evangelical': Unity and Diversity of Belief among Early Nineteenth-Century British Quakers," 346.
[130] Bright, "'Friends Have No Cause to Be Ashamed of Being by Others Thought Non-Evangelical': Unity and Diversity of Belief among Early Nineteenth-Century British Quakers," 344.
[131] Jamie R. Johnson, "Banked on Biblical Authority: The Role of Joseph John Gurney in American Evangelical Quakerism" (Masters, Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary, 2003), Courtesy of Theological Research Exchange Network: https://doi.org/10.2986/tren.068-0369

Carole Spencer has provided an insightful evaluation of some of Gurney's theology seen through the lens of 'Holiness Quakerism'.[132] She argues that Gurney was at variance with the holiness experience and beliefs of early Friends in that the conversion experience was less stressed by him,[133] perfection was seen as being attained in the heavenly rather than the earthly life[134] and that he did not engage with the mystical element of holiness.[135] Whilst Spencer acknowledges the importance Gurney attached to a pneumatic based faith, she contends that he nonetheless placed the Scriptures 'above the Spirit as a safeguard against any kind of charismatic heresy or ecstatic enthusiasm, unlike early Quakers'.[136]

Gurney's interpretation of two biblical passages is seen by Spencer as being indicative of a theology which distances itself from the ideas of perfection and mysticism. In Romans 7 and 8, Gurney is considered to understand the text to be more about a 'continual striving to be obedient'[137] rather than attaining a state of perfection in this life and experiencing a 'union with God through Christ'.[138] Spencer also highlights Wilbur's disagreement with Gurney's interpretation of Colossians 1:26-7 as relating solely to the incarnation and not 'the mystical indwelling Christ'[139]

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[132] For the criteria used by Spencer in defining 'Holiness Quakerism'; see Carole Dale Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition* (Milton Keynes, Bucks: Paternoster, 2007), 14.
[133] Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 140.
[134] Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 146.
[135] Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 146.
[136] Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 147.
[137] Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 142.
[138] Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 142-43.
[139] Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 150.

as well. Wilbur and Gurney are seen by Spencer as being orthodox[140] in their Quaker beliefs but set apart over their different understandings of the nature of holiness.[141]

Although the significance which Gurney attaches to scriptural authority has been highlighted in Spencer's study, an opportunity is missed in not developing this further to show how an emphasis on the *words of the Bible* enabled Gurney to reveal more about 'the Word'[142] and Christ's divinity. An assumption is also made that Gurney's theology placed less focus on sanctification.[143]

In summary, it can be seen from the studies which have been reviewed so far, that there is a diversity of views regarding Gurney's beliefs and the degree to which they are considered to align with early Quakerism. Consequently, there is no overall consensus concerning his Christology. Beyond these studies, other more general references about Gurney's beliefs help to provide further insight into how academic research has interpreted elements of his Christology, and these are discussed below.

For many researchers, Gurney's evangelical theology is seen to be exemplified in his re-positioning of the locus for Quaker spiritual authority to a place which is closer to the Scriptures and further from the Light Within. For example,

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[140] Spencer identifies several meanings of the term 'orthodox' and a similar approach has been used in this research. First, in the context of 'orthodox Christianity'; this is defined as a common theology agreed upon by the early Church and the majority of Christian traditions which has emerged since then (the Catholic and Eastern Orthodox Churches and most Protestant denominations), and which is characterised by an acceptance of the Nicene Creed. The latter is Trinitarian based in its formulation. As creeds and the term *Trinity* are not used within Quakerism this abnegation has played an important role in setting it apart from orthodox Christianity. At the same time, as also noted by Spencer, rejection of use of a creed does not by default mean rejection of the theology it presents. Secondly, 'orthodox' is also used in the context of 'Orthodox Quakerism' (see sub-section 6.3.1 for further details). Thirdly, 'Orthodoxy' in relation to the Orthodox Church relates to 'the Eastern Orthodox tradition of the Christian Church'. See Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 34- all quotations.

[141] Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 157-58.

[142] Gurney, *Observations*, 11.

[143] Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 142.

Stephen Angell describes how Gurney was attempting 'to resolve what he saw as either the ambiguities or errors of 200 years of Quaker precedent' in holding to a belief in the Light Within.[144] Hamm considers Gurney was close to rejecting the concept all together[145] albeit this did not happen,[146] as he saw a danger in placing its authority above the Scriptures[147] as 'it could not compete with the Light imparted by the Bible'.[148] How Gurney relates Christ to the Holy Spirt and the Light Within has also been highlighted in some research. Spencer argues that he 'spoke of the Light of Christ specifically as the work of the Holy Spirit'.[149] Hamm goes further by suggesting that Gurney saw the fundamental role of the Holy Spirit as being to support right reading of the Scriptures rather than direct revelation.[150]

Whilst Gurney did not use the term *Trinity*, his belief in the one triune God was well established[151] and Hamm comments how Evangelical Friends saw part of their mission as countering Unitarian and deist ideas.[152] Michael Graves has also referenced in connection with one of Gurney's addresses that a key focus concerned

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[144] Stephen W. Angell, "God, Christ, and the Light," in *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 165.
[145] Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907* (1988; First Midland Book Edition, Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), 21.
[146] Thomas D. Hamm, *Liberal Quakerism in America in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1790-1920* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2020), 49, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004430730.
[147] Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, 21.
[148] Thomas D. Hamm, *The Quakers in America* (Bloomington, New York: Columbia University Press, 2003), 47.
[149] Carole Dale Spencer, "Quakers in Theological Context," in *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 148.
[150] Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, 21.
[151] For example; see Joseph John Gurney, *A Declaration, by the Late Joseph John Gurney, of His Faith Respecting Several Points of Christian Doctrine* (Boston: Printed by S. N. Dickinson & Co, 1847), 18-23. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100055731869.0x000001. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Declaration*.
[152] Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, 23. For an example of a Unitarian based criticism of Gurney's belief in the deity of Christ; see "The Trinitarian Investigator," *Monthly Repository of Theology and General Literature. New Series, No. 63*, March, 1832, 185, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433070799295.

'defending the divinity of Christ'.[153] Affirmation of Christ's deity is an area of Christology that Gurney particularly highlights in several of his publications,[154] although I suggest this is a subject which has been under researched.

With some exceptions,[155] reference in the literature to the exegetical and hermeneutic principles used by Gurney has been limited. *Brief remarks on Impartiality in the Interpretation of Scripture*[156] which was critical of the interpretations of some key scriptural texts made by Friends, is seen by Angell as evidence that Gurney 'was sweepingly dismissive of the Light of Christ and openly critical of early Quaker theology and Biblical exegesis'[157] although the validity or otherwise of Gurney's interpretations is not discussed.

The importance given to the Scriptures by Gurney and his desire for the Bible to be made widely available and read, is more readily acknowledged in research studies. For example, Roger Martin has highlighted Gurney's active engagement in the British and Foreign Bible Society (BFBS), and promotion of the Scriptures at Ackworth School.[158]

The tension that exists in Gurney's writings in balancing the outward revelation of the Scriptures and the inward revelation of the Light Within, is also seen in his beliefs regarding the sacraments and how to interpret the Scriptures concerning

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[153] Michael P. Graves, "Ministry and Preaching," in *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 286-87.
[154] For example; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*.
[155] For example; see Maurice A. Creasey, "Quakers and the Sacraments," *Quaker Religious Thought* 9, Article 2 (1963): 11. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol9/iss1/2.and Geoffrey Cantor, "Quaker Responses to Darwin," *Osiris* 16 (2001): 327. http://www.jstor.org/stable/301991.
[156] Joseph John Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality in the Interpretation of Scripture* (Norwich: Printed for private circulation only. Printed by Josiah Fletcher, 1836). http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100054435927.0x000001. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Brief Remarks on Impartiality.*
[157] Angell, "God, Christ, and the Light," 165.
[158] Roger H. Martin, "Quakers, the Bible, and the British and Foreign Bible Society," *Quaker History* 85, no. 1 (1996): 13, 17. https://doi.org/10.1353/qkh.1996.0002.

them. Dandelion highlights from Gurney's *Observations* his use of several biblical texts to explain why Friends eschew the outward sacraments[159] and describes how Gurney uses 'Jeremiah 31:31-4 and Revelation 3:20 to uphold a sense of inward intimacy with Christ, as early Friends did, but one held in the meantime not the soon-coming endtime'.[160] Creasey takes a different perspective and suggests that because Friends were becoming more involved with other Christian denominations 'the need to restate and defend the Quaker position'[161] became a necessity and this had been met by Gurney's writings.

Whilst the realignment of the dynamic between the authority of the Bible and the Light Within has been highlighted by many researchers as a key belief permeating Gurney's theology, there is not unanimity that this is actually the central theme. Instead, Hamm considers Gurney's belief in justification being separate to sanctification was the fundamental doctrinal issue and that Gurney was attempting to correct what he saw as theological error within early Quakerism.[162] Spencer also identifies this as an important distinction made by Gurney[163] and the wider impact of such a doctrinal shift is recognised by both Dandelion[164] and Isichei[165] as a move nearer to a Wesleyan viewpoint.

Stuart Masters has argued that in the case of James Naylor, an early Friend, his beliefs embraced several different elements of atonement theory.[166] This

[159] Pink Dandelion, *The Liturgies of Quakerism* (Aldershot: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2005), 54-56.
[160] Dandelion, *The Liturgies of Quakerism*, 56.
[161] Creasey, "Quakers and the Sacraments," 6.
[162] Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, 21.
[163] Carole D. Spencer, "Evangelism, Feminism and Social Reform: The Quaker Woman Minister and the Holiness Revival," *Quaker History* 80, no. 1 (1991): 44. https://doi.org/10.1353/qkh.1991.0012.
[164] Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 98.
[165] Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, 6.
[166] Stuart Masters, "Atonement in Early Quakerism: The Work of Christ in the Writings of James Nayler," *Quaker Studies* 25, no. 1 (2020): 40-41. https://doi.org/10.3828/quaker.2020.25.1.3.

highlights I suggest the difficulties in establishing what constitutes a normative early Quaker theology and therefore to assume that early Friends *only* held *one* viewpoint about the atonement[167] and then to compare this with Gurney's beliefs is fraught with limitations. Consequently, I argue that T. Vail Palmer Jr.'s assertion that Gurney subscribed to a 'Latin, Anselmian type of theory'[168] regarding the atonement and that this differed from early Friends who had adopted a 'Christus Victor' perspective,[169] is too generalised. In contrast, Cooper claims 'early Friends took it for granted that the sacrificial death of Christ was essential and that the efficacy of the Light Within depended upon it'[170] and cites an extract from Gurney's *Observations* to show how he accommodates both of these beliefs.[171] And whilst Nikki Coffey Tousley considers Gurney's theology as affirming belief in 'the atonement as a substitutionary sacrifice', she also believes he differed from 'most evangelicals, … [and] de-emphasized conversion and sanctification'.[172]

In conclusion, this literature review has pinpointed several gaps in the research field concerning Gurney's Christology. First, the importance given by Gurney in evidencing Christ's divinity is an area of Christology that has not been fully

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[167] In a different example, Dean Freiday has suggested that for Fox 'the virtually inseparable relationship between what happened in Jerusalem and what happens in or to the faithful today' could give an entirely different perspective on what is understood by atonement; see Dean Freiday, ""Atonement" in Historical Perspective," *Quaker Religious Thought* 62, Article 3 (1986): 28. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol62/iss1/3.

[168] T. Vail Palmer Jr., "Some Issues from Nineteenth Century Quakerism," *Quaker Religious Thought* 92, Article 2 (1999): 15. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol92/iss1/2.

[169] Palmer Jr., "Some Issues from Nineteenth Century Quakerism," 16.

[170] Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 86.

[171] Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 87. The extract cited by Cooper is '"Between the declaration of Paul, that Christ gave himself 'a ransom for all,' and that of John, that he 'lighteth every man that cometh into the world,' there is surely a most satisfactory and delightful accordance."' This is referenced by Creasey to be found in Joseph John Gurney, *A Peculiar People. The Rediscovery of Primitive Christianity* (1979; repr., Richmond, Indiana: Friends United Press, 2008), 59-60. The latter is a reprinted version of Gurney's *Observations* (7th edition).

[172] Nikki Coffey Tousley, "Sin, Convincement, Purity, and Perfection," in *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 182- both quotations.

examined. Secondly, opportunities to explore Gurney's beliefs within a Trinitarian context and to see how well these implicitly agree with orthodox Christian belief appear to have been missed. Thirdly, Gurney's methodology in the interpretation of scriptural texts merits further research to gauge how different approaches are used in biblical exegesis. Fourthly, the need for a more forensic study of Gurney's ideas regarding justification and sanctification is apparent given the importance that studies have attached to this issue. Fifthly, little research has been carried out on how Gurney applies Christian doctrine to the spiritual life. And sixthly, the view that Gurney holds that Quakerism should be rooted in the practice of the early Church merits further investigation.[173] In addressing these issues as part of a systematic analysis and evaluation of Gurney's works, it is argued that this thesis presents a more comprehensive and precise assessment of his Christology.

Methodology

Defining Christology and reasons for a Christological approach

The centrality of Jesus Christ in Gurney's beliefs can clearly be seen in many of his published writings and addresses.[174] Christology is therefore a pre-eminent theme[175] and provides an appropriate and relevant framework to study his faith.[176]

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[173] For example; see Joseph John Gurney, *Puseyism Traced to Its Root, in a View of the Papal and Hierarchical System, as Compared with the Religion of the New Testament*, 3rd ed. (London: Charles Gilpin, 1845), 109-13. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100024286568.0x000001#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&xywh=515%2C13%2C2233%2C1436. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Puseyism*.

[174] For example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 214-469. For further examples; see also (a) Gurney, *Biblical Notes*. and (b) Joseph John Gurney, *Sermons and Prayers, Delivered in the City of Philadelphia, by Joseph John Gurney. Taken in Short-Hand* (Philadelphia: Kay & Brother, 1838), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100024202134.0x000001.

[175] For example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 486-87.

[176] This approach to understanding Gurney's beliefs through Christology coincides with a similar emphasis on Christology adopted by Pennington in her study of the early Quaker movement; see Pennington, *Quakers, Christ, and the Enlightenment*, xvi.

The person of Jesus Christ and His salvific work have traditionally been defined within Christian theology as the fields of Christology and Soteriology respectively.[177] However, given their interrelatedness there has been a growing awareness in academic studies that differentiating between Christology and Soteriology in this way has not always been helpful. For example, Leander Keck has stressed their mutual interdependency in commenting that in simple terms 'soteriology makes christology necessary; christology makes soteriology possible'[178] and Alister McGrath has also argued that the 'functional and ontological Christologies' which explore 'the *function or work* of Christ and those which make affirmations concerning his *identity or being*'[179] are closely associated with each other.[180] In a similar way, John Webster has argued that 'Christology is a division of the doctrine of the Trinity'[181] which can be explored through 'the two domains of theology and economy'[182] in which the former domain relates to all aspects of Christ's divinity and deity,[183] and the latter highlights 'God's outer works' seen through the spheres of 'nature' (for example, 'creation and providence') and 'grace' (including 'the redemption and perfection of creatures').[184] By drawing upon these

[177] For example; see Mike Higton, "Christology," in *"C." Chapter. The Cambridge Dictionary of Christian Theology*, ed. Ian A. McFarland David A. S. Fergusson, Karen Kilby and Iain R. Torrance (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011). https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511781285.004.
[178] Leander E. Keck, "Toward the Renewal of New Testament Christology," *New Testament Studies* 32, no. 3 (1986): 363. https://doi.org/10.1017/S002868850001362X.
[179] Alister E. McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 25th Anniversary 6th ed. (Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley Blackwell, 2017), 226.
[180] O'Collins has made a similar point; see Gerald O'Collins, *Christology: A Biblical, Historical, and Systematic Study of Jesus*, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, Incorporated, 2009), 19, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=472382.
[181] John Webster, "The Place of Christology in Systematic Theology," in *The Oxford Handbook of Christology*, ed. Francesca Aran Murphy (2015; paperback, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 616.
[182] Webster, "The Place of Christology in Systematic Theology," 617.
[183] Webster, "The Place of Christology in Systematic Theology," 618.
[184] Webster, "The Place of Christology in Systematic Theology," 620. Webster also suggests that these Christological ideas can be explored in a variety of ways including through a 'narrative sequence' or the use of concepts including 'the names and titles of the incarnate one…, his offices

ideas this research has also adopted a broad definition of Christology which is considered to be *the theology concerning the nature of Christ (in His pre-existence; as the person Jesus Christ, the incarnate Son of God; and also as the exalted Christ) and His works, particularly with regards to redemption*. Whilst there can be a need for caution in superimposing modern day constructs to analyse older writings, there are three key benefits of using such an approach in this particular study.

First, the broad nature by which Christology has been defined is important as it enables a holistic examination to be made both of the ontological *and* functional elements of Gurney's theology. This in turn helps to establish a comprehensive understanding of his beliefs. Secondly, it mirrors Gurney's own presentation style in that both these elements are highly interconnected in his writings.[185] Thirdly, not only does this approach enable comparisons to be made between Gurney's theology and that of early Quakerism,[186] it also facilitates an evaluation of his religious beliefs in a wider context of Christian doctrine and practice. This also has the advantage of being able to incorporate Gurney's responses to some of the theological disputes which were taking place in his day.[187]

Previous scholarship concerning Gurney's theology has particularly highlighted the importance he attached to the authority of the Scriptures and doctrinal matters. These were seen as reflecting a move away from traditional Quakerism and towards a more orthodox and evangelical Christian position, as for example in his

(prophet, priest and king) or his states (humiliation and exaltation)'; see Webster, "The Place of Christology in Systematic Theology," 621.

[185] For example, in part of *Essays*, Gurney explores the nature of the Son of God in His states of eternal pre-existence, incarnation and exaltation [see Gurney, *Essays*, 214-370, 256-58 and 373-74.] and also the importance which is attached to both the divine and human natures of Jesus Christ, and His redemptive work [see Gurney, *Essays*, 256-58 and 373-74.]

[186] For example, see chapter 3.

[187] For example, see chapter 3 in connection with the doctrine of the eternal sonship of Christ.

affirmation of justification by faith.[188] Whilst Gurney unquestionably placed great emphasis on biblical authority, it is vital to appreciate that the written scriptural record is not seen by him as an alternative source of authority to the Spirit but rather as a pneumatically inspired expression *of* the authority of the Spirit. Thus for Gurney, the significance of the biblical narrative is that it presents Jesus Christ as God's final revelation to humanity.[189] Consequently, I argue that it is not scriptural authority *per se* which defines his beliefs but the revelation which it conveys in the person of Jesus Christ. As Gurney is reported as saying in one of his lectures, 'the great object of scripture, was to testify of Christ'.[190] This is why in his *Declaration*, he is also able to affirm the early Quaker position of not viewing the Bible as '"*the word of God*,"' by contending 'that this epithet, considered as a distinguishing and exclusive title, properly belongs only to Christ of whom the Scriptures testify'.[191]

An outline of Gurney's Christology and how this informs the research

In the context of this research it is important to highlight that the *nature of the authority which underpins Gurney's Christological beliefs* has first been examined. This is key because unless it is clear on what grounds Gurney holds his views, an understanding *of* those views will be limited. This is why chapter 1 of the thesis focuses on this subject in order to ascertain the role of the Scriptures, immediate revelation, tradition and reason in shaping Gurney's beliefs.[192] Chapters 2 to 4 then

[188] For example, see Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, 21-22.
[189] See chapter 1 for further details.
[190] Joseph John Gurney, *Four Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity, Delivered in Southwark, 1834, to the Junior Members of the Society of Friends* (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. and Edmund Fry and Son, 1835), 156. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026275667.0x000001. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Four Lectures*.
[191] Gurney, *Declaration*, 7- both quotations.
[192] Oliver Crisp has also highlighted the importance of establishing the 'theological authority' for Christology. He argues that 'Scripture' takes precedence but other factors include 'Tradition' which in order of importance consists of the 'Catholic creeds, as defined by an ecumenical council of the

examine *fundamental elements of Gurney's Christology* based on his understanding of scriptural exegesis, Christ's divine nature and the work of Christ in redemption, respectively. *Outcomes of Gurney's Christology* are set out in chapter 5 whereby the application of his faith and practice is examined within the framework of Christian Quaker discipleship, and in chapter 6 where his beliefs are evaluated against a backdrop of evangelical and orthodox belief systems, and his own understanding and vision of Quakerism. An overview of Gurney's Christology given below helps set the scene for the detailed studies of his beliefs which are highlighted in the aforementioned thesis chapters.

A key element of Gurney's Christology is his belief in 'the absolute and eternal divinity of Jesus Christ' and 'his preexistence'.[193] The incarnation is therefore not seen by him as the beginning of Christ's existence but rather representing the time 'when the Son or word of the Father assumed our nature, and was born a child into the world, [and] he who before had been God *only*, became *God* and *Man*'.[194] In modern day Christological studies this has sometimes been termed, as Thomas Weinandy has commented, 'a Christology 'from above''.[195] Gurney's position on this

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Church', 'Confessional and conciliar statements of particular ecclesial bodies' and 'particular doctrines espoused by theologians' see Oliver D. Crisp, *God Incarnate: Explorations in Christology* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2009), 17- all quotations, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=601702. 'Reason and Experience' are also included; see Crisp, *God Incarnate: Explorations in Christology*, 20.

[193] Gurney, *Essays*, 369.

[194] Gurney, *Essays*, 253.

[195] Weinandy describes this as placing an emphasis on the idea 'that the transcendent Son of God came down to earth and so became man'. In comparison, a 'Christology 'from below' focuses on Jesus' earthly humanity and his historical and cultural conditioning'. However, Weinandy also views this binary approach to Christology as being problematic and potentially at risk from mis-interpretation. See Thomas G. Weinandy, "The Doctrinal Significance of the Councils of Nicaea, Ephesus, and Chalcedon," in *The Oxford Handbook of Christology*, ed. Francesca Aran Murphy (2015; paperback, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 564. Gerald O'Collins also recognises the limitations of this approach if one type of Christology is given greater emphasis than the other, thereby distorting the Chalcedonian doctrine of the two natures of Christ. He also makes the important point that the terms 'high' and 'low' Christologies should not be conflated with 'from above' and 'from below' Christologies. A 'high' Christology places an emphasis on Christ's divinity but it cannot be assumed that this will also

subject is significant for several reasons. First, it affirms a belief in the 'deity of Christ preexistent' and is therefore not an adoptionist Christology.[196] Secondly, it indicates a Trinitarian *based*[197] understanding of the Godhead because Gurney believed 'Christ in his preexistence was the Son of God'.[198] Thirdly, his belief in Christ's divinity in His pre-existence connects with a Chalcedonic *based*[199] view that the person of Jesus Christ has a divine nature as well as a human nature. Consequently, these aspects of Gurney's Christology, which are explored more fully in chapter 3 of this thesis, align to an orthodox Christian position as evidenced in some of the early Church's creedal statements and also stand apart from Unitarianism.[200]

A further and distinctive dimension to Gurney's Christology lies in his exegesis of particular scriptural texts. For example, he contends that the 'Angel of Jehovah'[201] as recorded in the Old Testament is Christ in His pre-existence[202] who 'was, during the ages which preceded his incarnation, *no stranger* to the people of God'.[203] *Biblical Notes* includes several studies about the pre- existence of Christ and Gurney

include full recognition of the historic Christ and similarly a 'low' Christology whilst emphasising the humanity of Christ may not necessarily acknowledge his divinity as well. See O'Collins, *Christology: A Biblical, Historical, and Systematic Study of Jesus*, 17-18. I argue that on this basis, Gurney's form of Christology can be described as both 'from above' and 'high' whilst fully acknowledging both the divine *and* human natures of Jesus Christ.

[196] Gurney, *Essays*, 245. This is more fully explored in chapter 3. Douglas McCready has argued that the pre-existence of Christ forms a vital part of the Christian faith and this belief had been challenged, for example, by the theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher who had rejected the doctrine in favour of a form of adoptionism; see Douglas McCready, ""He Came Down from Heaven": The Preexistence of Christ Revisited," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 40, no. 3 (1997): 419-22. https://etsjets.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/07/files_JETS-PDFs_40_40-3_40-3-pp419-432_JETS.pdf.

[197] '*Based*' reflects the idea that Gurney draws upon the content of Trinitarian doctrine rather than endorsing the term *Trinity* itself; see chapter 3 for further details.

[198] Gurney, *Essays*, 226.

[199] '*Based*' reflects the idea that Gurney aligns with the Chalcedonic concept of the two natures of Jesus Christ although he does not use the terminology associated with this; see chapter 3 for further details.

[200] Unitarian views had been officially rebuffed by LYM in 1814 in connection with the disownment of Thomas Foster; see Joseph John Gurney, *Reminiscences of Chalmers, Simeon, Wilberforce, &c.* (n.p., n.d), 41-45, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044020485041.

[201] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 260.

[202] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 260-62.

[203] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 262.

draws upon these to argue that they also provide evidence for the deity of Christ.[204] The latter is seen by him as being absolutely fundamental to the Christian faith and he considers that Christ as 'Redeemer', 'our only Mediator', 'our Baptizer, our inward Teacher, and our supreme spiritual Ruler', 'the Judge of quick and dead' and 'the Lord and Giver of life' are only possible because of Christ's divinity.[205] Whilst Gurney does not diminish the importance of Christ's human nature,[206] there is I argue, a particular focus by him on the *divine nature* of Christ both in His pre-existence and also as the incarnate Son, and post-ascension as the exalted Christ.[207] This differs sharply from some of the Christological ideas that were contemporaneous with Gurney including those held by Frederick Schleiermacher,[208] Edward Irving[209] and

[204] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 40-122.
[205] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 467-68.
[206] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 468.
[207] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 461-62. It is interesting to speculate that there are some parallels between Gurney and John Wesley on this subject. For example, David Graham has argued that John Wesley placed an especial focus on Christ's divinity in part to counter the deistical views of his day but at the same time continued to uphold belief in the two natures of Jesus Christ; see David A. Graham, "The Chalcedonian Logic of John Wesley's Christology," *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 20 (2018): 103. https://doi.org/10.1111/ijst.12228.
[208] Schleiermacher has been described by McGrath as being 'widely regarded as the most important Protestant theologian of the nineteenth century' [see McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 67.] Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) presented in his work, *The Christian Faith*, a Christology which challenged existing Christian orthodoxy such as its understanding of the person of Christ having two natures; see Friedrich Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, ed. H. R. Mackintosh and J. S. Stewart, English Translation of the Second German ed. (1928; latest impression, Edinburgh: T. and T. Clark, 1968), 391-98. Jacqueline Mariña has argued that foundational to Schleiermacher's Christology 'is the certainty of the *experience* of redemption through Christ' and a desire to avoid theological interpretations that might lead to either an over or under emphasis of Christ's humanity or divinity; see Jacqueline Mariña, "Christology and Anthropology in Friedrich Schleiermacher," ed. Jacqueline Mariña, *The Cambridge Companion to Friedrich Schleiermacher* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005), https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL0521814480.009. 152. Consequently, she comments that for Schleiermacher the concept of the two natures of Christ was problematic and that his alternative interpretation was based around the idea that 'there is no real duality between perfect human nature and the divine'; see Mariña, "Christology and Anthropology in Friedrich Schleiermacher," 156.
[209] Irving was a Church of Scotland minister before being expelled in 1833; see Stewart J. Brown, "Irving, Edward (1792–1834), Preacher and Theologian," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2014). https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-14473. Some evangelicals such as Irving upheld a Trinitarian viewpoint but presented a modified Christology with regards to the person of Jesus Christ. Colin Gunton has argued that Irving's emphasis on the humanity of Christ was because he believed 'only God can save lost humankind; and yet unless he does it as man, whole man, the point of the incarnation disappears'; see Colin Gunton, "Two Dogmas Revisited: Edward Irving's Christology," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 41, no. 3 (1988): 365, https://doi.org./10.1017/S0036930600031483. Nonetheless, Gunton also

Adam Clarke.[210]

It is also important to recognise a degree of fluidity in Gurney's Christological language. For example, with regards to the pre-existence of Christ, not only does he ascribe this to Christ being 'the Son of God',[211] he also comments 'that Christ preexistent was the *Word*- the *Word of God*'[212] and 'that Christ preexistent was himself *God* or *Jehovah*'.[213] These different expressions are linked in that they focus on the deity of Christ. On a few occasions instead of referring to the pre-existence of Christ he comments about the pre-existence of Jesus or Jesus Christ.[214] This is theologically problematic in the sense that Jesus as a person only came into existence at the incarnation.[215] Nonetheless, the overall picture presented by Gurney is clear 'that the deity of Jesus Christ, is so far from being a speculative point … [and] that a heartfelt reliance on its truth, is essential to that great purpose for which

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comments that whilst Irving's Christological focus was on Christ as a human person and his belief that at the incarnation he had taken on the fallen nature of humankind, he nevertheless believed Christ remained sinless; see Gunton, "Two Dogmas Revisited: Edward Irving's Christology," 365-69. As David Bebbington notes, Irving believed the latter to be possible because of the work of the Holy Spirit; see D. W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (1989; repr., London and New York: Routledge, 2005), 79.

[210] Clarke was an important minister and leader within Methodism; see Ian Sellers, "Clarke, Adam (1762–1832), Wesleyan Methodist Minister and Scholar," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004). https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5483. See chapter 3 for further details about Clarke's rejection of the idea of the eternal Sonship of Christ, a doctrine supported by Gurney.

[211] Gurney, *Essays*, 226.

[212] Gurney, *Essays*, 230.

[213] Gurney, *Essays*, 248. Gurney does not use the term 'Logos' although the word appears in a quotation he uses in *Biblical Notes*; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 278.

[214] For example, in *Biblical Notes* there is reference to the 'pre-existence of Jesus before John', 'the preexistence of the Lord Jesus' and 'the preexistence and deity of Jesus Christ'; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 41, 46 and 206 respectively.

[215] Oliver Crisp has asked the question 'Does Christ pre-exist the Incarnation?' He argues that Christian orthodoxy would answer in the affirmative if this is understood to mean 'Christ, who is the Son, the second person of the Trinity' but not if it were to mean 'that Christ pre-exists his conception in the womb of Mary *Theotokos* as a human being'; see Crisp, *God Incarnate: Explorations in Christology*, 56. Brendan Byrne makes a similar point but also comments that 'the word "Christ" in its original meaning simply designates the Jewish Messiah, a figure never thought of as pre-existent in any personal sense'; see Brendan Byrne, "Christ's Pre-Existence in Pauline Soteriology," *Theological Studies* 58, no. 2 (1997): 311. https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/christs-pre-existence-pauline-soteriology/docview/1297042763/se-2.

Christianity itself was instituted- the salvation of our never-dying souls'.[216]

Sources

The principal sources used in this research to examine Gurney's Christology are his published writings and reports of his public addresses. Collectively, these constitute a large amount of material and several reference collations were used to identify and locate them. These included Swift's *Joseph John Gurney*,[217] Joseph Smith's *Descriptive Catalogue*,[218] and 'online' catalogues of the Library of the Society of Friends,[219] The British Library[220] and the HathiTrust.[221] Collating the details of these sources highlighted the complexity of cataloguing Gurney's portfolio of works. Consequently, criteria were developed to define what 'published' meant in the context of this research thesis. As a result, Gurney's 'published' materials are defined as printed material (English language versions only) of:

> - works, writings and periodical/journal/magazine/newspaper articles (including 'letters to the editor') written by Gurney (as sole or first author) that were published during his lifetime (albeit later editions may have been issued after his death) or in a small number of cases published posthumously *and* which are considered relevant to the focus of this research.
>
> - reports by others of some of Gurney's addresses (for example; sermons, prayers, speeches and lectures) which were published/printed during his lifetime (albeit later editions may have been issued after his death) or published after his death *and* which are considered relevant to the focus of this research. These publications were made without Gurney's permission but

[216] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 472.
[217] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 286-90.
[218] Joseph Smith, *A Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books, or Books Written by Members of the Society of Friends, Commonly Called Quakers, from Their First Rise to the Present Time, Interspersed with Critical Remarks, and Occasional Biographical Notices, and Including All Writings by Authors before Joining, and by Those Having Left the Society, Whether Adverse or Not, as Far as Known. In Two Volumes. Volume 1* (London: Joseph Smith, 1867), 881-95. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015034735756. The shortened title used in the footnotes of this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*.
[219] Library of the Society of Friends, "Library of the Society of Friends Catalogue." http://quaker.adlibhosting.com/search/simple/.
[220] British Library, "British Library Catalogue." https://bll01.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/search?vid=44BL_INST:BLL01&lang=en.
[221] HathiTrust, "Search ". https://www.hathitrust.org/.

nonetheless he is generally seen as the author of these works.[222] Shorter contributions made by Gurney at meetings are not included within this definition but may still be cited within the thesis.

- works and writings (including extracts) that are now more publicly available but at the time when Gurney wrote them they were intended for particular individuals only and/or he had placed restrictions on them such as 'printed for private circulation only'[223] *and* which are considered relevant to the focus of this research.

Appendix (A) of this thesis provides a summary of Gurney's 'published' materials based on the above definition. Many of his works, writings and addresses were accessed online as digitised versions of the originals and downloaded as 'pdfs' where this option was available.[224] Hard copies of some of his works were also used either from library institutions or from personally owned second hand copies of the original publications.

The published two volume set of *Memoirs* edited by Joseph Bevan Braithwaite[225] has also been used to help provide some contextual information with regards to Gurney's life and writings. The *Memoirs* include extracts from some of Gurney's unpublished writings such as letters and personal journal entries. Although this research is based on Gurney's 'published' works, some of these extracts have also been drawn upon in relation to particular theological points.[226]

[222] For example; see author details for a Library of the Society of Friends catalogue entry; Library of the Society of Friends, "Sermons and Prayers, Delivered by Joseph John Gurney, in the Friends' Meeting House, Liverpool, 1832." http://quaker.adlibhosting.com/Details/fullCatalogue/46942. Further examples can be found in Smith's catalogue; Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 882.
[223] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*.
[224] In such cases, the downloaded pdfs were used as the reading, note-taking and reference sources for these works.
[225] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*.and Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*.
[226] See 'Introduction' section of Appendix (A) for further details.

The focus in this study of using Gurney's published materials (as defined in this thesis) has the advantage that this more *formally* reflects his views.[227] The very nature of a work being in the public arena means that others (Gurney's contemporaries and later generations) have been able to comment and critique, and such views constitute an important part of this research. An integral element of the study has also been to establish how close Gurney's Christological beliefs and practice were to early Quakerism. As the principal purpose of his ministry was to communicate to others *his* vision of Quakerism, it is through his writings and addresses which were made publicly available (albeit that some had a restricted circulation or had not been officially published) that this was most likely to succeed.[228]

Approaches to the study

In reading Gurney's publications, several factors have been taken into consideration. To assist with the note-taking stage, a simple word processed pro

[227] It is acknowledged that it could be said that 'formal' representation of Gurney's views might not apply to his works which had a restricted circulation or were not intended for publication but which nonetheless have been used in this thesis under its definition of 'published' materials. However, as these works for various reasons had subsequently entered the wider public arena, I argue that their inclusion helps to provide further evidence of the nature of Gurney's stated beliefs.

[228] Gurney's corpus of unpublished material is extensive. For example, Swift highlights the range of 'primary source material' he used for his book about Gurney which included, for example; 'the complete transcripts of Gurney's "Private Journal (1808-1847)" and of the "Journal of his Readings, Studies and Literacy Labours from 1811 to 1837."' See Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, Preface- ix. Similarly, the *Memoirs* prepared by Braithwaite at the request of Gurney's 'widow and family', draw upon not only Gurney's publications but also 'the manuscript volume of Autobiography, written in the year 1837, whilst on his voyage to America, … the fifteen volumes of his private Journal, commenced in his eighteenth year, and continued, with but little interruption, until within a few days of his death; together with a large mass of papers, letters and correspondence'; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, preface; iii-iv. The *Gurney Manuscripts*, a collection of primary sources connected to the Gurney family include many regarding Joseph John Gurney; see Arthur J. Eddington, *List and Index of Gurney Manuscripts at the Friends House Library, London. Distributed to Subscribers. Synopsis of the Gurney Manuscripts Deposited in the Library of the Society of Friends Prepared by Arthur J. Eddington in 1933 and Subsequently Revised by Him and Others* (London: Swift, 1973), Introduction. Whilst Gurney's unpublished writings include reference to his religious beliefs it should be noted that other subjects are also discussed; for example, see Arthur J. Eddington, "The Gurney Manuscripts," *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society* 29, no. 1-2 (1932): 34-35. https://journals.sas.ac.uk/fhs/article/view/4118.

forma template was developed and used for the majority of the publications studied. This acted as a prompt sheet to ensure that various details were recorded and a degree of consistency was being applied across the reading of different works.

In addition to recording the title, date and edition of the publication, web link(s) were added to the document if access to online digitised copies of the original were available. There was also space to record the likely audience for the work. A simple pre-set grid was used which itemised over thirty briefly worded themes including aspects of Christology (based in part on Webster's ideas contained within his two domain model of Christology) and other areas of theology,[229] and more specific Quaker related issues.[230] After reading the publication, a subjective judgment was made concerning the main content and relevant themes highlighted in the grid. The template also included a pre-set table to record details of particular sources which Gurney may have used (categorised as *Quaker*, *wider Church* and *philosophy* sources). The rest of the document was left blank to be completed with notes, quotations and Bible references[231] (if a further pre-set grid for the latter had not been used for this purpose) as appropriate. Whilst this approach was not perfect in that a degree of subjectivity was involved in the recording process and also the list of

[229] Webster, "The Place of Christology in Systematic Theology," 617-21. Examples of themes used in the pre-set grid include the primary authority of the Holy Spirit, the nature of God, the Godhead, divine nature of Christ (the Light Within), divine nature of Christ (prophecies concerning Christ), the work of Jesus Christ (incarnation) and the work of Jesus Christ (soteriology).

[230] Examples of themes used in the pre-set grid include schisms and the 'hedge' (within Quakerism), Quaker Testimonies, Quaker identity (general doctrine) and Quaker identity (primitive Christianity revived/the New Testament Church).

[231] These relate to specific biblical texts cited by Gurney. Gurney's writings also sometimes incorporated biblical texts without referencing them (these were not recorded on the proforma). For example, in *Observations* he comments about 'that "city which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God."' see Gurney, *Observations*, 46. Use of interactive Bible websites such as 'Bible Hub' enabled such texts where necessary to be rapidly checked, identified and confirmed as biblical texts. The aforementioned quotation for example, is from part of Hebrews 11:10; see Bible Hub, "Hebrews 11:10." https://biblehub.com/hebrews/11-10.htm.

themes was sometimes too broad or omitted a key feature (which then had to be added), it nonetheless helped to address the following:

(a) *The wide scope of published materials.* Given that Christology is a broad subject area which contains many interconnected concepts and ideas, the methodology used was sufficiently open and flexible in its approach to avoid reading the text with too narrow a focus.

(b) *The variety of form in the published material*. Gurney's publications represent a large collection of materials presented in different styles, to different audiences, for various purposes and which cover a diverse set of themes. Noting and being aware of these features formed an essential part of the methodology in order to accurately inform the evaluation process.

(c) *The use of 'sources of authority' by Gurney*. Gurney's Christology is underpinned and informed by his exegesis of key scriptural texts and the use of various sources of authority both from within and outside of Quakerism. Collating such sources helped to establish a broad picture of their role in shaping Gurney's thinking and beliefs.

Careful consideration has also been given regarding which *edition* to use for each publication. The choice in part was sometimes determined by which editions were available or in other cases a decision was needed whether the first or a later edition should be used as the main source to read if both were available. For the majority of the works where more than one version/edition existed, multiple 'spot checks' were made between the edition used and another version/edition (such as the first) of the same publication. Differences were often detected and generally considered as being relatively minor. In some instances more significant differences

were found in the wording of small amounts of text and a few examples of these have been referenced in the thesis to highlight a particular point under discussion. Nonetheless, it is very reasonable to claim that even in those cases where such differences have been found, the overall argument being presented in the work by Gurney has not changed. Three publications with stated additions to content are *Observations, Biblical Notes* and *Habitual Exercise*. In the case of *Observations*, the seventh edition[232] includes several additions and this has been the edition used in this study unless otherwise referenced. Although the first edition of *Biblical Notes* has been used for this thesis,[233] the additional material of the second edition has been reviewed. The third edition of *Habitual Exercise*[234] which has some additional content has also been used.

Limitations

It is acknowledged that there are some limitations to the methodology which has been used in this research and consequently when drawing conclusions these have been borne in mind with particular regard to the following:

(a) the analysis and evaluation of Gurney's Christology was based on particular published works as defined by a set of criteria used in this thesis.

(b) reports of Gurney's public addresses were based on 'short-hand' accounts and published without his permission. It is recognised there is the possibility of

[232] Gurney, *Observations*. There is also a later edition of this publication [see Appendix (A) for further details].
[233] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*.
[234] Joseph John Gurney, *Essay on the Habitual Exercise of Love to God, Considered as a Preparation for Heaven. Third Edition, with Several Additions*, 3rd ed. (London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, and L. and J. Seeley; J. and A. Arch; Edmund Fry and Son; Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1835), 186. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026300021.0x000001.
The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Habitual Exercise*. There are also later editions of this publication [see Appendix (A) for further details].

inaccuracy and/or bias in these materials.[235] Nonetheless, they remain very useful sources of information[236] and have been used in this thesis to a degree but with an awareness of their limitations.

(c) as several of Gurney's works were addressed to particular audiences and focused on specific issues, it is likely that some areas of Christology are not covered as well as others. This reflects a potential issue with apologetic material as by its nature the focus is upon areas of controversy rather than those of agreement.

(d) some of Gurney's publications include references in Latin, and the detailed use of Hebrew and New Testament Greek to interpret particular scripture verses.[237] Whilst I do not have any expertise in this field and this is therefore beyond the scope of this thesis, it should be noted that it is the *outcomes* of Gurney's scriptural scholarship which are key for this research.[238]

(e) to be open to the idea that elements of Gurney's Christology may have changed over time between different publications and within different editions of the same publication.

(f) in relation to past scholarship, to acknowledge the possibility of a 'biased' interpretation of historic-religious events because of a researcher's own Quaker

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[235] For example, in the *Memoirs*, Braithwaite quotes extensively from one of Gurney's reported addresses in spite of his reservations in doing so because the publication had not been authorised in any way by Gurney; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 511-21. Concerning the unauthorised publication of Gurney's *Four Lectures* which had been delivered to young Friends in Southwark, 1835, Braithwaite comments that it 'abounds with inaccuracies obvious to every intelligent reader'. However, he also notes 'the excellent spirit that pervades the addresses, as here given, is very conspicuous' [see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 441.] and in the 2nd edition he goes on to quote extensively from them; see Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, ed., *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney; with Selections from His Journal and Correspondence. Edited by Joseph Bevan Braithwaite. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1 [2nd Ed.]*, 2nd ed. (Norwich: Fletcher and Alexander; London: W. & F. G. Cash; Edinburgh: J. Menzies; Dublin: M'Glashan 1855), 424-29, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89097319586.

[236] For example; see Michael Graves' evaluation of one of Gurney's sermons; Graves, "Ministry and Preaching," 286-87.

[237] For example; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*.

[238] For example; see section 2.4.

tradition (if applicable). Isaac May, has argued this is a potential concern within academic studies of Quakerism.[239]

(g) an awareness of any bias resulting from my own religious beliefs in carrying out this research.

Establishing what is meant by *early Quakerism*

Academic views about Gurney's Christology are invariably predicated upon an assumption that his beliefs can be directly compared to a benchmark of normative Quaker theology which existed in an earlier period. Hamm for example, has argued that Gurney had different views about how sanctification and justification were interconnected compared to '*early Friends* [emphasis added]'.[240] However, the theology of the early Friends in the seventeenth century was by no means a homogenous set of beliefs in the first fifty years or so of the movement,[241] after which it further changed into the dominant Quietist culture of the eighteenth century.[242]

When making comparisons about beliefs between Gurney or indeed any other Friend of the nineteenth century and early Quakerism, a degree of circumspection is therefore needed. As a further example, it could be argued that the emphasis placed on the Bible by Gurney[243] should not at the same time *automatically* be seen as

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[239] Isaac Barnes May, "When History Substitutes for Theology: The Impact of Quaker Scholars' Religious Affiliations on the Study of Nineteenth Century American Quakerism," *Religions* 9, no. 12: 395 (2018). https://doi.org/10.3390/rel9120395. Building on May's point, it is important to acknowledge that after Gurney's death and in the decades that followed, yearly meetings in America which were in sympathy with his beliefs introduced various reforms; for example, see Hamm, "Hicksite, Orthodox, and Evangelical Quakerism, 1805-1887," 73-77. However, as these did not happen in Gurney's lifetime, I argue that any research that 'reads back' into Gurney's theology something that connects to these future changes should be seen as conjecture only.

[240] Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, 21.

[241] Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666*, 103-05 and 214.

[242] For an overview of the theology associated with this period of Quaker history, see Robynne Rogers Healey, "Quietist Quakerism, 1692-*C*.1805," in *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 48-52.

[243] For example; see Macy, "Quakers and Scripture," 194.

meaning that early Friends were neglectful of the Scriptures; Roger Martin, for example, has claimed 'Fox and Barclay would never have advocated quietism and the Biblical illiteracy that quietism promoted.'[244] Consequently, unless the parameters for normative Quaker theology are both clearly defined and justified by the researcher, there is a possibility of making too broad a set of generalisations which are prone to imprecision. Recognising the challenge therefore that this presents for research, two approaches have been used in this study.

First, in *broad terms*, early Quakerism is considered to be the first fifty or so years of the movement and therefore principally relates to the second half of the seventeenth century.[245] Although this definition is an oversimplification and does not reflect the heterogeneity of belief in this period, it is nonetheless argued, that when making statements and comparisons of a more *general* nature it is an acceptable approach to use with the option of adding a caveat if required.

Secondly, Barclay's *Apology*[246] is the principal source used[247] to represent early Quakerism when *detailed* comparisons are being made with Gurney's theology.

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[244] Martin, "Quakers, the Bible, and the British and Foreign Bible Society," 16.
[245] On a few occasions, the fifty year period has been extended by a few more years to accommodate works by Quakers such as Richard Claridge.
[246] Robert Barclay, *An Apology for the True Christian Divinity, as the Same Is Held Forth, and Preached by the People, Called, in Scorn, Quakers; Being a Full Explanation and Vindication of Their Principles and Doctrines, by Many Arguments, Deduced from Scriptur and Right Reason, and the Testimonys of Famous Authors, Both Antient and Modern, with a Full Answer to the Strongest Objections, Usually Made against Them, Presented to the King. Written and Published in Latine for the Information of Strangers, by Robert Barclay. And Now Put into Our Own Language, for the Benefit of His Countrey-Men [Theologiae Verè Christianae Apologia.]* (Aberdeen1678), https://www.proquest.com/books/apology-true-christian-divinity-as-same-is-held/docview/2240966883/se-2. The *Apology* was first published in 1676 (in Latin) and translated into English in 1678; see Hugh S. Pyper, "Robert Barclay: The Art of Apologetics," in *Early Quakers and Their Theological Thought 1647-1723*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 208. For ease of referencing, the ninth edition of the work is used in this thesis (unless otherwise stated); see Barclay, *Apology*.
[247] Writings of other early Friends including Fox and Burrough have also been used on occasions, for example; see sub-section 4.6.4.

It is recognised that Barclay's convincement in 1666 and his death in 1690[248] meant that his time as a Friend did not coincide with the start of the Quaker movement and instead belonged to a historical period when the monarchy was being restored.[249] It is also acknowledged that his work is an apologetic source and therefore focuses on areas of theological controversy rather than on subjects where there is common agreement.[250] However, whilst bearing these limitations in mind I argue there are several reasons why using the *Apology* is the most appropriate way to represent an *early Quaker* view. Modern scholarship has widely affirmed the important role the *Apology* has played in representing Quaker beliefs[251] and since its publication and broad dissemination,[252] many Friends across the centuries and across the world have considered it to represent and articulate the fundamentals of Quaker theology and practice.[253] In 1843, PYM (Orthodox) described it as 'a work which has been

[248] Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 53.
[249] For an overview of Quakerism in this period; see Richard C. Allen, "Restoration Quakerism, 1660-1691," in *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 29-46.
[250] Hugh Pyper has made the point that Barclay did not perceive the *Apology* to be a complete treatise on all aspects of the Christian faith. He argues that Barclay will have assumed general agreement amongst Christians on some aspects of theology such as 'the divinity of Jesus'. Consequently, he considers that absence of these subjects from the *Apology* should not be seen as either a rejection of a particular belief or that they were not important. See Pyper, "Robert Barclay: The Art of Apologetics," 210. Hugh Barbour and Arthur Roberts have argued that Barclay's '*Catechism and Confession of Faith*, … ran the *Apology* a close second throughout Quaker history in popularity' but also comment that it was 'mainly a chain of biblical quotations supporting Quaker beliefs'; see Hugh Barbour and Arthur O. Roberts, eds., *Early Quaker Writings, 1650-1700* (Grand Rapids, Michigan: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1973), 314-15.
[251] For example; see Graves, "Ministry and Preaching," 279., Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 289. and Spencer, "Quakers in Theological Context," 143.
[252] For example; see David J. Hall, "Eighteenth Century Editions of Barclay's Apology," *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society* 58, no. 2 (1998). https://journals.sas.ac.uk/fhs/article/view/3422.
[253] For example, George Fox and William Penn helped to distribute the publication whilst visiting mainland Europe; see Richard C. Allen, "Beyond Britain: The Quakers in the European Continent and the Americas, 1666-1682," in *The Quakers, 1656-1723: The Evolution of an Alternative Community*, ed. Richard C. Allen and Rosemary Moore with specialist contributors (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), 99-100. In the nineteenth century, endorsement of the *Apology* was made by Henry Tuke in his own widely circulated publication; see Tuke, *The Principles of Religion, as Professed by the Society of Christians, Usually Called Quakers: Written for the Instruction of Their Youth, and for the Information of Strangers*, Introduction, iii. Gerardina van Dalfsen has also highlighted that the *Apology* was particularly important in its representation of Quakerism in the Presbyterian context which existed within Scotland; see Gerardina L. van Dalfsen, "The Faith and

frequently published and spread by our Society, as a correct exposition of its doctrines'.[254] Hamm has also argued that Friends in Gurney's era did not differentiate between key Quaker writers of the early stages of the movement compared to those later in the seventeenth century, and instead saw them as 'a unit, whether or not they agreed with them'.[255] Consequently, I suggest that although the *Apology* was a later work within the early Quaker period this does not preclude it from being perceived by Friends as representative of traditional Quakerism.

Additionally, as there were occasions when Gurney questioned how Barclay had presented his theological arguments,[256] the *Apology* has a particular relevance in the context of this study. It was also the case that during the first half of the nineteenth century, views amongst Quakers became more polarised concerning the *Apology*. For example, critics of Gurney such as Wilbur[257] saw any challenge made to its authority as undermining the identity of Quakerism whilst in contrast Edward Ash argued against any further reprinting of the work.[258] The *Apology* therefore provides a useful way in which to gauge both early Quaker and nineteenth century

Theology of Robert Barclay," *Bulletin of Friends' Historical Association* 37, no. 2 (1948): 61, https://doi.org/10.1353/qkh.1948.a396436.

[254] Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *The Ancient Testimony of the Religious Society of Friends, Commonly Called Quakers, Respecting Some of Their Christian Doctrines and Practices: Revived and Given Forth by the Yearly Meeting, Held in Philadelphia in the Fourth Month, 1843* (Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Rakestraw, 1843), 9, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015064368957.

[255] Thomas D. Hamm, ""New Light on Old Ways": Gurneyites, Wilburites, and the Early Friends," *Quaker History* 93, no. 1 (2004): 54. https://doi.org/10.1353/qkh.2004.0020.

[256] For example; see sub-section 1.3.2.

[257] See section 6.4 for further details.

[258] Edward Ash, *Reasons for Objecting to the Republication and Circulation of Barclay's Apology, Addressed to the Society of Friends by One of Its Members [i.e. Edward Ash]* (London: Samuel Bagster & Sons; Manchester: Galt; Liverpool: Smyth; Bristol; Whereat; Dublin: Robertson, 1849), Preface. Support for the re-printing the *Apology* can be seen in a letter published in *The Friend* in which the correspondent considered the work to be an integral part of Quaker identity; see L, "Proposed Revision of Barclay's Apology. To the Editor of the Friend," *The Friend* 11th month 1846, 209-10, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah6idi.

Quaker beliefs and as a major theological work[259] it has sufficient depth and substance to make it suitable to use in comparative analyses with Gurney's writings.

Outline of thesis

Following this introductory chapter, chapter 1 of the thesis examines the nature of the authority which underpins Gurney's Christological beliefs. The central issue explored lies in the tension which exists between Gurney's belief that the Scriptures have been written under the immediate influence of the Holy Spirit and should not be seen as being secondary in authority to immediate inward revelation, which early Quakers considered as being primary to the Scriptures. It is this dynamic between written and inward revelation which informs Gurney's Christology.

In chapter 2, the relationship between the Bible and Gurney's Christology is examined with particular regard to how Gurney uses scriptural exegesis to affirm his belief in the deity of Christ. Other examples of Gurney's use of the Scriptures are also evaluated. These are in relation to biblical prophecies about Christ, the arguments used by Gurney to make the case for his rejection of any outward observance of baptism and the Eucharist, his challenge to Quaker tradition in querying particular interpretations of biblical texts which early Friends have made, and his nuanced understanding of the nature of the Sabbath.

Chapter 3 further examines Gurney's beliefs concerning the *divine nature* of the Son in His pre-existence, as Jesus Christ and the exalted Christ, and linking these to Trinitarian based principles including his understanding of the relationships within the one triune Godhead with an especial regard to Christ as the Son of God

[259] Dandelion has commented that it 'was the first widely read systematic theology of Friends'; see Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 54.

and His eternal Sonship. Gurney's theology concerning the two natures in the one person of Jesus Christ is evaluated in the context of Chalcedonian based ideas. The implications of Gurney's greater engagement with Trinitarian and Chalcedonian principles is also discussed in relation to early Quaker beliefs.

In chapter 4, the focus is on functional Christology and the theology of redemption. A close examination is made of Gurney's understanding of the nature of justification including the doctrine of the imputed righteousness of Christ, and sanctification. A comparative analysis with Barclay's *Apology* is used to establish how Gurney and Barclay define justification, their understanding of what is meant by being justified by faith, whether their ideas about redemption lead to different salvific outcomes, and the interrelationship between justification, sanctification and Christ's atonement. Gurney's argument that his beliefs are aligned to those of early Friends on this subject is reviewed with particular regard to Richard Claridge's beliefs.

In Chapter 5, the emphasis moves from Christological doctrine towards its application and practice, and is presented using the theme of Christian Quaker Discipleship. An examination of under researched published works by Gurney highlight a rich spirituality in his theology. This includes his focus on following the pattern and example of Jesus, and drawing upon inward acts of communion with God, contemplation and submission to the divine will, in order to develop under the guidance of the Holy Spirit the personal holiness necessary both for this life and the life to come. The Quaker testimonies with regards to the refusal to swear oaths or engage in warfare are examined in the context of representing a pneumatic led expression of discipleship.

Chapter 6 examines Gurney's religious beliefs from three different perspectives. The first uses an evangelical context to evaluate the degree to which Gurney's theology coincides with the tenets of belief and practice which are associated with this interdenominational understanding of the Christian faith. The second perspective examines Gurney's beliefs within the framework of American Orthodox Quakerism and seeks to pinpoint areas of theological agreement and dispute with Hicksite and Wilburite Quaker based traditions. The third viewpoint uses Gurney's own published definition of what he understands by Quakerism and this is deconstructed to establish the thinking and approach he adopted to reach his stated position. Gurney's beliefs and practice are appraised in this light and the term *New Testament Quaker* is used to described them. In the concluding chapter, the main conclusions of the thesis are presented, findings which contribute to original scholarship are identified and the impact of the research is discussed in relation to previous academic studies and suggested areas for new research.

Chapter summary

This chapter has set out the aims and parameters of the research thesis, and highlighted the opportunities it presents to further advance knowledge and scholarship in this field of study. Contextual information about Quakerism and a literature review have collectively provided a detailed background to inform the research practice and its subsequent findings. The methodology has presented the criteria used to define key terms and concepts, discussed the approaches which have been adopted in the examination of Gurney's Christology and identified possible limitations of the research. An outline of the thesis chapters has also been included.

CHAPTER 1: DIVINE REVELATION AND AUTHORITY

1.1 Chapter introduction

In evaluating Gurney's Christology, it is important at the outset to establish the basis of the authority that he draws upon to support his beliefs. Within this chapter, *authority* is defined as representing the main influences which different Christian traditions have adopted to guide their understanding of divine revelation.[1] Early Quakerism was characterised by moving religious authority away from the Bible and towards a greater personal, inward and experiential awareness of God.[2] This change in theological emphasis towards inward and immediate revelation, as for example reflected in Barclay's *Apology*,[3] provides a context which is used to identify and examine the authority which underpinned Gurney's faith.

The chapter is structured as follows. Using a common approach based around the key factors which shape the nature of religious authority,[4] the beliefs held by early

[1] William Abraham describes revelation as 'any act of divine self-disclosure in time and space' and which exists as both 'general and special revelation'. He describes how with 'the former God is revealed in the natural world and in conscience; in the latter God is revealed in special actions in history'. See William J. Abraham, "Revelation," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christian Theology*, ed. Ian A. McFarland et al. (Cambridge: Cambridge Univeristy Press, 2011), 445- all quotations. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511781285.019. Within a specifically Christian framework, the Bible can be seen as a divinely inspired written record of God's revelatory acts and as Alistair McGrath has highlighted it is particularly characterised in the New Testament when 'God's self-revelation is focused, channelled, and embodied in the person of Jesus Christ'; see McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 136. In the context of this chapter, the focus is on special revelation with particular regards to Jesus Christ; Abraham terms this a form of ''extra-special' [special] revelation'; see Abraham, "Revelation," 445.

[2] For example; see Richard Farnworth, *The Spirit of God Speaking in the Temple of God. Or Gods Spiritual Teachings in His People Puts Flesh to Silence, That the Spirit of Christ May Speak in the Church, &C* (London1663), https://www.proquest.com/books/spirit-god-speaking-temple-gods-spiritual/docview/2264208465/se-2.

[3] Barclay, *Apology*, 18-64 and 65-90.

[4] These are (a) immediate revelation, the Scriptures and the nature of authority, (b) illumination and interpretation, (c) engagement with the Bible, and (d) reason and tradition. The aforementioned factors are loosely based on Albert Outler's 'Wesleyan Quadrilateral' model which highlighted how the Bible along 'with tradition, reason and Christian experience' informed John Wesley's beliefs; Albert C. Outler, "The Wesleyan Quadrilateral- in John Wesley," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 20, no. 1 (1985):

Quakers and Gurney are examined in sections 1.2 and 1.3 respectively. Outcomes are used in a comparative analysis (1.4). In section 1.5, the evidence base which Gurney uses to support his belief in the divine authority of the Scriptures is outlined and placed within the wider context of his view of Christianity being a divinely established system of religion (1.6). Section 1.7 presents a chapter summary.

Four main arguments are made in sections 1.2 to 1.4. First, that Gurney did not consider the Scriptures to be secondary in authority to immediate revelation because he believed that both originated from the Holy Spirit and therefore both were of divine authority. This was coupled to his belief that the divine inspiration which led to the biblical written record was a form of direct revelation. Gurney's views constituted a re-appraisal within Quakerism about how the *authority* of the Scriptures should be understood whilst still upholding the early Quaker affirmation of the paramount role of the Holy Spirit. Secondly, Gurney believed the scriptural account of the apostolic era to be a divinely authorised record which reflected the pre-eminent work of the Holy Spirit in establishing the Christian church. As a result the Scriptures were seen by him as constituting the final written authority regarding Christian doctrine and practice. Thirdly, Gurney considers that immediate revelation continues in the post-apostolic age as part of a Christian's spiritual growth and ministry. However, this is set within the context of a biblical framework. The Scriptures alone are seen as authoritative for Christian doctrine and through the agency of the Holy Spirit they also continue to be a source of revelation to the believer about Jesus Christ. And fourthly, God's final revelation in Jesus Christ, as affirmed by the Holy

9. https://wtsociety.com/files/wts_journal/1985-wtj-20-1.pdf. Similar factors have also been identified by Paul Anderson as operating within the *Apology*; see Paul Anderson, "Continuing Revelation-Gospel or Heresy?," in *Good and Evil: Quaker Perspectives*, ed. Jackie Leach Scully and Pink Dandelion (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2007), 17- footnote 3.

Spirit both through the Scriptures and immediate revelation is the foundational source of authority for Gurney.

Section 1.5 highlights that Gurney considered there to be overwhelming evidence in support of the divine authority of the Scriptures, and in section 1.6 his belief that this written record formed an integral part of a religious *system* designed to convey God's revelation in Christ to humanity, is discussed.

1.2 Divine Revelation and Authority: an early Quaker perspective

1.2.1 Introduction

George Fox's personal life-changing moment of inward and immediate revelation,[5] illustrates how early Quakers had replaced their total reliance upon outward forms of religious practice with a faith which was more experientially based. The paramount authority of the Bible in shaping an individual's religious life had therefore become less secure. Alongside this, as Angell has evidenced in the case of the early Quaker Samuel Fisher,[6] there was a scholarly preparedness to critically evaluate the infallibility and canonicity of the Scriptures.[7] Perceptions held by some outside of the Quaker movement also considered that Friends' commitment towards the Bible was less than wholehearted. John Stalham[8] for example, listed several allegations that Quakers did not hold the Scriptures with high enough authority, and

[5] George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox*, ed. John L. Nickalls (Cambridge University Press, 1952; Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends and Quaker Books, Britain Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, 2005), 11.
[6] See Margery Post Abbott et al., "Fisher, Samuel (1605-1665)," in *The A to Z of the Friends (Quakers)* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 103.
[7] Stephen W. Angell, "Richard Farnworth, Samuel Fisher, and the Authority of Scripture among Early Quakers," *Quaker Studies* 19, no. 2 (2015): 216-21. https://doi.org/10.3828/quaker.19.2.207.
[8] John Stalham was a seventeenth century Puritan minister; see John Walter, "Stalham, John (D. 1677), Clergyman and Ejected Minister," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004). https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-26225.

instead ‘magnifie [sic] the *light within them* (…which is no more then the light of naturall [sic] conscience,…) above the light of Scripture’.[9] Nonetheless, as Moore has pointed out, although there were some differences in the extent and the way in which the Bible was used by early Quakers,[10] it is important to acknowledge that the Scriptures still remained an integral part of Quaker religious life.[11]

The purpose of this chapter section is to examine in greater depth the factors which influenced early Quaker beliefs regarding divine revelation and religious authority. Barclay’s *Apology* is used as the principal source for this analysis.[12]

1.2.2 Immediate Revelation, the Scriptures and the nature of authority

In the *Apology*, Barclay’s second proposition highlights his contention ‘that inward and immediate revelation is the only sure and certain way to attain the true and saving knowledge of God’[13] and how ‘the Spirit, and not the scriptures, is the foundation and ground of all truth and knowledge, and the primary rule of faith and manners’.[14] For early Quakers, the principal source of divine revelation was therefore centred upon an ongoing Spirit-led inward religious experience that took place directly between the individual and God, and which was not dependent upon outward forms to communicate God’s truths.[15] This was a radical suggestion as Barclay

[9] John Stalham, *Contradictions of the Quakers (So Called) to the Scriptures of God, and to Their Own Scriblings and Vain Janglings* (Edinburgh: John Stalham, 1655), 7-8, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31175035524290.
[10] Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666*, 51-59.
[11] Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666*, 56.
[12] Barclay, *Apology*.
[13] Barclay, *Apology*, 25.
[14] Barclay, *Apology*, 69. Jack Dobbs has made the point that Barclay’s use of the Bible to support this proposition is to a degree a form of *petitio principii*; see Jack P. B. Dobbs, *Authority and the Early Quakers* (Frenchay, South Gloucestershire: Martin Hartog, 2006), 71.
[15] Michael Graves has argued that ‘the epistemology of immediate revelation’ can be linked to the Light Within in a soteriological sense; see Michael P. Graves, "Robert Barclay and the Rhetoric of the Inward Light," *Quaker Religious Thought* 80, Article 3 (1992): 21- all quotations. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol80/iss1/3. However, it is important to highlight that Gurney

acknowledged and one which he expected to be met with opposition.[16] However, he makes clear that 'these divine inward revelations,…neither do nor can ever contradict the outward testimony of the scriptures, or right and sound reason'.[17] The Scriptures therefore remained highly valued but were not pre-eminent.[18] Although Barclay does not see any need for immediate revelation to be tested he nonetheless also considers the Scriptures as being 'the only fit outward judge of controversies among Christians'[19] should such a situation arise, although as Frederick Lucas[20] later argued this approach is potentially problematic.[21]

The distinction made by Barclay between a primary and secondary rule highlighted an important aspect of early Quaker theology which proved contentious for years to come. For example, towards the end of the eighteenth century, Samuel Newton in his critique of the *Apology*, called this the 'gordian knot of Quakerism'.[22]

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considered any possible *merging* of these two concepts to be problematic; see sub-section 1.3.4 for further details.

[16] Barclay, *Apology*, 18.

[17] Barclay, *Apology*, 18.

[18] Barclay, *Apology*, 65.

[19] Barclay, *Apology*, 82. It should be noted that in proposing to use the Scriptures in this way, Barclay assumed the Scriptures were accessible and available to be used, that the relevant texts to apply the test would be known and that there would be agreement on their interpretation.

[20] Frederick Lucas, born in 1812, had been a Quaker who converted to Roman Catholicism. He became the first editor of the *Tablet* newspaper. See Christopher James Riethmüller, *Frederick Lucas. A Biography* (London: Bell and Daldy, 1862), 6, 61 and 75, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/bc.ark:/13960/t76t4jc79.]

[21] Lucas argued that the testing of any immediate revelation with the Scriptures would effectively mean the secondary rule is being used to assess the primary rule, a position which seemed to be contradictory to what Barclay was advocating. Furthermore, Lucas contended that given the potential for different interpretations of particular scriptural texts, he did not see how this could ensure that any revelation being tested could necessarily be uniformly understood. Instead, he considered that the solution to the issue lay with interpretation being based on established Church Tradition and it is on this key point in terms of how revelation is interpreted that he believed Quakerism and Roman Catholicism differed; see Frederick Lucas, *Reasons for Becoming a Roman Catholic; Addressed to the Society of Friends* (London: Charles Dolman; E. Lumley, 1839), 24.

[22] S Newton, *The Leading Sentiments of the People Called Quakers Examined, as They Are Stated in Mr. Robert Barclay's Apology; with an Answer to What Mr. Phipps Has Advanced for the Defence of Them, in His Observations Upon an Epistle to the Author of a Letter to Dr. Formey* (London: Printed by S. Burchall for E. and C. Dilly, 1771), 6. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433069133001. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *The Leading Sentiments of the People Called Quakers Examined*.

He argued that for Quakers to justify their stance on the primacy of the Spirit they would need to provide some kind of proof that their immediate revelation was of a higher nature than the written word.[23] Newton also believed that Quakers would have to claim 'that they had as great, or a greater measure, of the Spirit, than the writers of the New Testament'[24] otherwise if this was not the case it would mean the Scriptures would still remain superior to any of their own writings.[25] In responding to these queries, the Quaker Joseph Phipps accepted that a greater measure of the Holy Spirit had been bestowed in the apostolic era but because the source of other immediate revelation is also from the same Spirit there can be no self-contradiction.[26] Phipps argued, 'The Question is not, whether the Scriptures, as written by Divine Inspiration, are infallibly right, for such must be so, but whether every one that reads them, is able infallibly to understand them?'[27] The debate on this issue between Phipps and Newton is a good example of the divide that existed *between* the Quaker and non-Quaker worlds on the subject. However, what is significant in the nineteenth century, is that this debate also emerged *within* the Society of Friends with Gurney a key participant.[28]

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[23] Newton, *The Leading Sentiments of the People Called Quakers Examined*, 8.
[24] Newton, *The Leading Sentiments of the People Called Quakers Examined*, 45.
[25] Newton, *The Leading Sentiments of the People Called Quakers Examined*, 45-46.
[26] Joseph Phipps, *The Original, and Present State of Man, Briefly Considered; Wherein Is Shewn, the Nature of His Fall, and the Necessity, Means and Manner of His Restoration, through the Sacrifice of Christ, and the Sensible Operation of That Divine Principle of Grace and Truth, Held Forth to the World by the People Called Quakers. To Which Are Added, Some Remarks on the Arguments of Samuel Newton, of Norwich* (London: printed and sold by Mary Hinde; William Nicoll; Norwich: Christopher Berry, bookseller; Ipswich: Thomas Shave, printer, 1773), 129. https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=rlBpAAAAcAAJ. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the work is *The Original and Present State of Man*.
[27] Phipps, *The Original, and Present State of Man*, 131.
[28] See chapter section 1.3 for further details.

1.2.3 Illumination and Interpretation

It is significant that in claiming 'divine revelation' is inherently perspicuous, Barclay links this to 'inward illumination'.[29] In other words, he acknowledges that immediate revelation on its own cannot be properly received and understood by humans without the illumination of God's Spirit. In a separate work to the *Apology*, Barclay proposes the existence of 'Divine and Spiritual Senses'[30] within a person as the means by which inward immediate revelation can be truly known. Consequently, Barclay assumes that illumination will be perfectly aligned to the revelation it seeks to understand but also makes clear that 'if there be at any time a mistake, the *Divine Illumination* is not the cause of that mistake' but will be due to human failings.[31] Whilst therefore, immediate revelation should in theory be perfectly understood, Barclay accepts the possibility that it might become awry. The significant issue that emerges from this, is that if differences in the outcome of immediate revelation do emerge *between* individuals this then has to be resolved.[32] This potential impact on the overall authority of immediate revelation will be further discussed in section 1.2.6.

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[29] Barclay, *Apology*, 18.

[30] Robert Barclay, *The Possibility & Necessity of the Inward and Immediate Revelation of the Spirit of God, Towards the Foundation and Ground of True Faith, Proved, in a Letter Writ in Latin to the Heer Paets and Now Also Put into English* (London: Re-printed and sold by T. Sowle, 1703), 13, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100025529722.0x000001>. Moore comments that this publication was originally written in 1678 (in Latin) before the English translation was published eight years later; see Rosemary Moore, "Quaker Expressions of Belief in the Lifetime of George Fox," in *The Quakers, 1656-1723: The Evolution of an Alternative Community*, ed. Richard C. Allen and Rosemary Moore with specialist contributors (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), 161, footnote 58. The work (in English) was therefore published *after* the publication of the *Apology* (in English).

[31] Barclay, *The Possibility & Necessity of the Inward and Immediate Revelation of the Spirit of God, Towards the Foundation and Ground of True Faith, Proved, in a Letter Writ in Latin to the Heer Paets and Now Also Put into English*, 19-20.

[32] In *The Patriot* newspaper's unauthorised report of the 1837 annual meeting of LYM, disagreement amongst Friends concerning whether support should be given to Gurney's proposed visit to America was seen by the paper as evidencing 'that immediate revelation, the foundation doctrine of Quakerism, is a grievous delusion'; *The Patriot*, "Concluding Observations [from Quakers' Yearly Meeting]," June 5, 1837, 356.

1.2.4 Engagement with the Bible

In the *Apology*, it is evident that Barclay does not perceive the Bible as a significant source of *new* revelation[33] for the modern age and that he primarily regards the Scriptures as a narrative of historic events which recorded God's actions, which tells of past and future prophecies and gives 'A full and ample account of all the chief principles of the doctrine of Christ'.[34] The latter highlights his view that a key part of the Bible therefore relates to the propositional truths they contain concerning Christian doctrine. Whilst Barclay greatly valued the Scriptures,[35] he believes that 'saving heart-knowledge'[36] can only come from 'the inward immediate manifestation and revelation of God's Spirit'.[37]

Hugh Pyper has commented that a key issue which emerges from Barclay's theological position is that if the Scriptures only constitute 'a contingent truth' then the question arises why exactly they are needed. Barclay's support for the Scriptures is therefore inherently fragile even though he undoubtedly does still value them.[38] Geoffrey Nuttall has made a similar point, arguing that the early Puritans who particularly emphasised the importance of the Holy Spirit, nevertheless did so in such a way as 'not to separate the Spirit from the Word'.[39] In contrast, the emergence of Quakerism is seen by him as breaking this dynamic link.[40]

The potential 'disconnect' between immediate revelation and the Scriptures has also been identified by Creasey but from a different perspective. Creasey has

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[33] With the possible exception of any prophecy yet to be fulfilled; see Barclay, *Apology*, 65.
[34] Barclay, *Apology*, 65.
[35] Barclay, *Apology*, 68, 81.
[36] Barclay, *Apology*, 19.
[37] Barclay, *Apology*, 19.
[38] Pyper, "Robert Barclay: The Art of Apologetics," 213.
[39] Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1946), 24.
[40] Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience*, 26.

argued that the inward experience of Quakers and the outward record of the Scriptures, although different, are nonetheless both framed in a specifically Christian context and therefore their revelations share a common identity. In contrast, he suggests that Barclay's idea of special spiritual senses being an essential part of immediate revelation results in an inward revelation completely separate to any outward revelation;[41] in other words, a 'parallel' revelation set apart from any outward biblical narrative. The latter idea is a narrative which Gurney challenged.[42]

1.2.5 Reason

For Barclay, whilst reason has its merits,[43] he also sees it at the root of human disagreement and disputes.[44] He is confident that inward immediate revelation can be detected by 'those that have their spiritual senses'[45] and consequently this obviates the need for reason in the discernment of God's truths.[46] In this context therefore, reason is seen by him as having a secondary role in the same way as the Scriptures. Barclay's attitude towards reason as being inadequate to the task of fundamentally knowing and experiencing God reflected a culture of Quietism,[47] which Robynne Healey argues had already started to emerge within the Society.[48] As a

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[41] Maurice A. Creasey, ""Inward" and "Outward": A Study in Early Quaker Language," *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* Supplement No. 30 (1962): 12. https://journals.sas.ac.uk/FHSS/issue/view/547.
[42] See section 1.3 for further details.
[43] Barclay, *Apology*, 60.
[44] Barclay, *Apology*, 55.
[45] Barclay, *Apology*, 61.
[46] There is no expectation from Barclay that immediate revelation would convey to an individual who did not know the Scriptures, any information about the life of Jesus Christ during His time on Earth. However, at the same time he does not see this to be an impossibility if this were to be God's will; see Barclay, *The Possibility & Necessity of the Inward and Immediate Revelation of the Spirit of God, Towards the Foundation and Ground of True Faith, Proved, in a Letter Writ in Latin to the Heer Paets and Now Also Put into English*, 4-5.
[47] For a description of Quietism see; Kathryn A. Damiano, "Quietism," in *The A to Z of the Friends (Quakers)*, ed. Margery Post Abbott et al. (Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 236-37.
[48] Healey, "Quietist Quakerism, 1692-*C*.1805," 49.

consequence, I suggest that this led to a 'hermeneutical vacuum' developing within Quakerism which a century or so later Gurney considered necessary to address with his emphasis on scriptural exegesis.[49]

1.2.6 Tradition

In the *Apology*, Barclay strongly argues that opposition to immediate revelation on the basis that there have been individuals who have acted wrongly whilst claiming to be under the guidance of the Spirit[50] has no more foundation than saying that 'tradition, scripture, and reason'[51] should be rejected because of their misapplication by different Christian groups over the centuries. He therefore, in spite of the possibility of immediate revelation being false on occasions, maintains his commitment to the primacy of the Spirit's guidance.[52]

Barclay draws upon an impressive array of source material to substantiate his theological propositions, citing for example, the works of several early Church leaders, theologians and philosophers.[53] His use of both tradition and the Scriptures to support his views is perhaps not surprising given the apologetic nature of the *Apology* which was primarily written with a wider church audience in mind. However, Alan Sell has argued there are several instances where Barclay's use of particular extracts has been selective and not indicative of the wider meaning of the original authors.[54] Sell also raises an issue about whether Barclay might be undermining the

[49] This will be explored more fully in Chapter 2.
[50] Barclay, *Apology*, 53.
[51] Barclay, *Apology*, 56.
[52] Barclay, *Apology*, 60.
[53] The *Apology* provides a summary list of names; see Barclay, *Apology*, 547-48.
[54] Alan P. F. Sell, "Robert Barclay (1648-1690), the Fathers and the Inward, Universal Saving Light: A Tercentenary Reappraisal," *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* 56, no. 3 (1992): 210-11. https://journals.sas.ac.uk/fhs/article/view/3531.

salvific need for Christ's atonement and highlights that George Keith, a former Quaker and ally of Barclay,[55] had also made such claims.[56]

Elements of tradition were also being established *within* early Quakerism a few years after its emergence, triggered for example, by differences of opinion between Friends. The controversy associated with John Perrot and his questioning the need for hats to be removed when prayers were being said during Quaker worship,[57] epitomised how discordant outcomes of immediate revelation between individuals posed a particular risk to the fledgling Quaker movement.[58] Consequently, whilst inward and immediate revelation might *in principle* be the means to define religious authority, it was also being tempered by collective judgment. Other controversies during the seventeenth century[59] further endorsed the need for the Society to use corporate discernment in order to maintain what early Friends called 'gospel order'.[60]

Collective discernment, gospel order and publications like the *Apology* were therefore, I argue, effectively operating as a form of tradition within the early Quaker

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[55] For a brief overview about 'George Keith (1638-1716)' see Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 53.
[56] Sell, "Robert Barclay (1648-1690), the Fathers and the Inward, Universal Saving Light: A Tercentenary Reappraisal," 220. The work referenced by Sell is George Keith, *The Standard of the Quakers Examined or an Answer to the Apology of Robert Barclay* (London: B. Aylmer [etc.], 1702), 240-48 and 76-77, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31175035162497.
[57] Douglas Gwyn, *Seekers Found: Atonement in Early Quaker Experience* (Wallingford, Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Publications, 2000), 341-44.
[58] This type of challenge to the authority of the Quaker leadership led to publications such as *A Testimony from the Brethren in 1666;* the *Testimony* can be found in Abram Rawlinson Barclay, *Letters, &C., of Early Friends; Illustrative of the History of the Society from Nearly Its Origin, to About the Period of George Fox's Decease; with Documents Respecting Its Early Discipline, Also Epistles of Counsel and Exhortation, &c* (London: Harvey and Darton, 1841), 318-24, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah39t9 The *Testimony* was designed to ensure that individuals who claimed immediate revelation and proposed changes within the Society could be over-ruled as a result of collective discernment; see Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 45.
[59] For example; see (a) Clare J. L. Martin, "Tradition Versus Innovation: The Hat, Wilkinson-Story and Keithian Controversies," *Quaker Studies* 8, no. 1, Article 1 (2003). https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/quakerstudies/vol8/iss1/1. and (b) Jon Butler, ""Gospel Order Improved": The Keithian Schism and the Exercise of Quaker Ministerial Authority in Pennsylvania," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 31, no. 3 (1974). http://www.jstor.org/stable/1921631.
[60] Allen, "Restoration Quakerism, 1660-1691," 35-36.

movement. As I now turn to discuss Gurney's views, the significance of the latter will become further apparent, as any criticisms of Barclay made by Gurney were seen by some as a repudiation of Quakerism itself.

1.3 Divine Revelation and Authority: Gurney's perspective

1.3.1 Introduction

The previous section focused on Barclay's theology with particular regard to the early Quaker movement's emphasis on inward immediate revelation. As a consequence the role and status of the Bible became less clear-cut, and was seen as useful but not *essential*; guiding but not *the* guide.

In contrast, for Gurney there was no equivocation in his attitude towards the Scriptures and he held a certitude regarding their authority. Several of his publications included presentations of evidence to support his belief in their divine authority,[61] scriptural texts were used in many of his writings,[62] his close involvement with the BFBS[63] and advocacy for the Scriptures to be methodically studied in Quaker schools,[64] all reflected the importance he attached to the Scriptures. Modern scholarship has also reached a similar conclusion that the Bible was central to

[61] For example; see (a) Gurney, *Essays*, 82-111. and (b) Joseph John Gurney, *Hints on the Portable Evidence of Christianity*, 3rd ed. (London: John & Arthur Arch; J. G. and F. Rivington; Bristol: George Davey; Norwich: Wilkin and Fletcher, 1833), 2-12. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100050063353.0x000001. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Hints*.
[62] For example; see Gurney, *Observations*, 22-48.
[63] Martin, "Quakers, the Bible, and the British and Foreign Bible Society," 19.
[64] Joseph John Gurney, "Guide to the Instruction of Young Persons in the Holy Scriptures; Including the Lock and Key, or Passages of the Old Testament, Which Testify of Jesus Christ, Explained by Others in the New Testament," in *The Minor Works of Joseph John Gurney. In Two Volumes. Volume the Second* (London: Harvey and Darton; Norwich: J. Fletcher: 1839), 103-16. The shortened title used in this thesis for this version of the aforementioned work is *Guide to the Instruction of Young Persons in the Holy Scriptures*; *Including the Lock and Key*

Gurney's faith.[65] It should, however, not be assumed that Gurney's emphasis on the Bible meant that other sources of religious authority were minimised or ignored in his writings. For example, in the *Observations*, Gurney makes clear 'that the work of the Holy Spirit in the soul is not only immediate and direct, but perceptible' and that 'an Inward Guide or Monitor' helps a person draw closer to God's purposes.[66] In several other publications,[67] including reports of his addresses and sermons,[68] significant reference is also made to the work of the Holy Spirit. Nevertheless, some of Gurney's contemporaries still considered that he placed too much weight on outward forms of authority.[69]

Gurney's views regarding biblical authority also need to be seen in the broader context of a changing theological landscape that was taking place both within the Society of Friends and the wider church. These included the impact of Unitarian influences within the Society,[70] the American Hicksite schism,[71] the *Beacon*

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[65] For example; see (a) Hamm, "Hicksite, Orthodox, and Evangelical Quakerism, 1805-1887," 70. and (b) Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 137.

[66] Gurney, *Observations*, 76- both quotations.

[67] For example; see (a) Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 71-88.
(b) Joseph John Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 4th ed. (London: Hamilton, Adams and Co.; Charles Gilpin; Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1847), 24, 94, and 124-25, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100043213176.0x000001.

[68] Gurney, *Sermons and Prayers, Delivered in the City of Philadelphia, by Joseph John Gurney. Taken in Short-Hand*, 49-65.

[69] For example; see William Singleton, *A Letter Addressed to Joseph John Gurney, on the Subject of His Publication, Entitled "Observations and Peculiarities of the Society of Friends, & C. & C." By a True Quaker. No. 1. [Second Title from P. 11: Replies to Some of Joseph John Gurney's Assertions, Respecting the Titles of the Son of God]* (Nottingham: Printed and sold by H. Wild, 1824), 8. The aforementioned is thought to have been written by William Singleton [see Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 93.] Singleton had been a Quaker until leaving the Society in 1823; see L. Hugh Doncaster, "William Singleton of Sheffield," *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* 48, no. 6 (1958): 282. https://journals.sas.ac.uk/fhs/article/view/4555.

[70] For example, Gurney provides an account of the disownment of 'T.F' [Thomas Foster] in connection with the latter's Unitarian views; see Joseph John Gurney, "Mr. J. J. Gurney Upon the Divine Nature, and the Doctrines of Friends. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," *The Christian Observer* November 1835, 672-73.

[71] Hamm, "Hicksite, Orthodox, and Evangelical Quakerism, 1805-1887," 64-67.

controversy within LYM[72] and the wider evangelical movement.[73] Consequently, elements of Gurney's works, reflect some of these issues in terms of their content, target audience and when they were written.[74] Additionally, there are examples of more subtle text changes and amendments appearing in the later editions of some of Gurney's publications which may also suggest the influence of some of the undercurrents of debate that were taking place at the time.[75]

In and around the same time as Crewdson's controversial publication of the *Beacon* in 1835,[76] several other works of a similarly contentious nature, from individuals both within and outside of the Society of Friends, were produced. For example, Ralph Wardlaw, a Congregationalist minister,[77] highlighted some of the

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[72] The controversy had come about as a result of a publication by the Quaker Isaac Crewdson, which was highly critical of immediate revelation and the Light Within; see Crewdson, *A Beacon to the Society of Friends*.

[73] For example, see Swift, "Charles Simeon and J. J. Gurney: A Chapter in Anglican-Quaker Relations," 177.

[74] For example, Gurney makes several criticisms of Unitarian based interpretations of biblical texts; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 66-67, 98 & 116.

[75] Two examples are given. (a) In the case of Gurney's *Observations*, the 7th edition saw a substantial amount of new material being added (see Appendix (A) for further details). However, amendments could be much smaller but nonetheless significant; for example, the following text is in the 7th edition (published in 1834) but missing from the earlier editions: 'Scripture is a divinely authorised *test*, by which we must try not only all our sentiments on matters of doctrine; but all our notions and opinions respecting right and wrong.' This is followed with the verse from Isaiah 8:20; see Gurney, *Observations*, 93. This addition was probably made in connection with the *Beacon* controversy. (b) In an extract cited in the *Memoirs* from Gurney's writings dated '5*th mo*.,11*th*' 1841, Gurney comments about completing a revision of 'the Portable Evidence' (this would become the 6th edition of the work) because of some 'objections' that had been made; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 248. On the basis of several 'spot checks' made, the wording of the 3rd and 6th editions of *Hints* (the shortened title for the publication which is used in this thesis) is very similar overall although there are some differences. For example, on page 82 of the 3rd edition, the wording includes 'the "law written on the heart"- a "work," as I have always believed, of the Holy Spirit- is a light communicated to the soul' [Gurney, *Hints*, 82.] whereas in the 6th edition, part of this wording is 'the "law written on the heart" is a light communicated to the soul'; see Joseph John Gurney, *Hints on the Portable Evidence of Christianity*, 6th ed. (London: The Religious Tract Society, 1841), 83. Reproduced with the permission of Special Collections & Galleries, Leeds University Library. Society of Friends Collection; Society of Friends/GUR; https://explore.library.leeds.ac.uk/special-collections-explore/252278

[76] Crewdson, *A Beacon to the Society of Friends*. The second edition of this publication included a reference to Gurney's *Essays*; see Isaac Crewdson, *A Beacon to the Society of Friends [2nd Ed.]*, 2nd ed. (London: Hamilton, Adams and Co.; and Edmund Fry; Manchester: Henry Smith, 1835), 147.

[77] For further details about Wardlaw; see Stewart J. Brown, "Wardlaw, Ralph (1779–1853), Congregational Minister and Theologian," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004). https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28723.

issues that he perceived as being problematic within Quakerism and also forensically examined some of Gurney's beliefs.[78] In contrast, the Quaker Thomas Hancock,[79] produced a publication re-emphasising early Quaker principles and was critical of the arguments set out in *The Beacon*.[80] Gurney responded with counter arguments to both of these individuals.[81] However, the publication of *Truth Vindicated*,[82] attributed to Henry Martin, caused particular concern to Gurney and led to his *Strictures*[83] publication with a detailed riposte against Martin's critique of biblical authority.

It is also important to appreciate that LYM had generally moved towards a more 'evangelical' position as the nineteenth century progressed, as shown for

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[78] This includes an appraisal of Gurney's views about immediate revelation; see Ralph Wardlaw, *Friendly Letters to the Society of Friends, on Some of Their Distinguishing Principles* (Glasgow: Archibald Fullarton & Co.; Edinburgh: A. & C. Black; Dublin: J. Robertson & Co.; London: Westley & Davis, 1836), 312-79, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081813792.

[79] For further details about Hancock; see Karl Magee, "Hancock, Thomas (1783–1849), Physician," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004). https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-12187.

[80] Thomas Hancock, *Defence of the Doctrines of Immediate Revelation and Universal and Saving Light, in Reply to Some Remarks Contained in a Work, Entitled "a Beacon to the Society of Friends" [by I. Crewdson]* (Liverpool: Thomas Hodgson; London: Darton and Harvey, 1835), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100025526661.0x000001.

[81] (a) Gurney's response to Wardlaw: see Joseph John Gurney, *Friendly Letters to Dr. Wardlaw* (Norwich: Printed by Josiah Fletcher, 1836). https://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.090320953. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Friendly Letters*. (b) Gurney's response to Hancock; (i) see extracts from a private letter written by Gurney, dated '6th. mo., 8th, 1835' which were published in the *Memoirs*; Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 29-37. Although Braithwaite does not name Hancock as the addressee of the letter, he comments that it had been for 'the Friend who had written the Defence of Immediate Revelation, in reply to the Beacon'; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 28. and also (ii) Remarks on Dr. Hancock's "Defence.", [1836], Norwich: Printed by Josiah Fletcher. Appendix (A) provides further details about these aforementioned works.

[82] *The Truth Vindicated: Being an Appeal to the Light of Christ within, and to the Testimony of Holy Scriptures; by Way of Answer to a Pamphlet, Entitled "Extracts from Periodical Works on the Controversy Amongst the Society of Friends." [By Henry Martin.]. Second Edition, Carefully Revised, with Additions*, 2nd ed. (London: Edmund Fry and Son; Plymouth: Edmund Fry Jun.1836), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hnnnnk. The work was published anonymously. Martin was a birthright member of the Society of Friends but he does not confirm whether he had left the Society or not; see *Early Friends and Modern Professors. In Reply to "Strictures," by Joseph John Gurney. By the Author of "the Truth Vindicated,"* [By Henry Martin.]. (London: Edmund Fry and Son; Plymouth: Edmund Fry Jun.1836), 14, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hnnnnj.

[83] Joseph John Gurney, *Strictures on Certain Parts of an Anonymous Pamphlet Entitled "the Truth Vindicated;" with Evidences of the Sound and Christian Views of the Society of Friends on the Subject of the Holy Scriptures* (London: John & Arthur Arch; Darton and Harvey; Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1836). http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100025501851.0x000001. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Strictures*.

example, in its Epistle for 1836 which emphasised the authority of the Bible[84] and in various works published by Friends around this time.[85] However, in reviewing Quakerism in the context of the *Beacon* controversy, it is interesting to note that whilst the *Christian Observer* (described by Owen Chadwick as 'the chief evangelical magazine')[86] welcomed this more evangelical stance the perception remained that it was not representative of *early* Quakerism.[87]

For Gurney, the *Beacon* controversy was seen as an unwanted distraction for the Society.[88] In a private letter to Crewdson[89] he outlined the disagreements he had with the *Beacon* making clear that he continued to uphold belief in both the Inward Light (seen as 'a measure of the influence of the Spirit'),[90] the immediate operation of

[84] See London Yearly Meeting (Society of Friends), *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in London, to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in Great Britain, Ireland, and Elsewhere; from 1681 to 1857, Inclusive: With an Historical Introduction, and a Chapter Comprising Some of the Early Epistles and Records of the Yearly Meeting. In Two Volumes. Vol. 2*, 271-72.

[85] Examples include:
(a) Edward Ash, "An Inquiry into Some Parts of Christian Doctrine and Practice, Having Relation More Especially to the Society of Friends. With an Appendix. [the Preface Signed: E. A. i.e. Edward Ash.]," (London: Hamilton, Adams & Co; Edmund Fry; Bristol: G. Davey, 1841). https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433082197280.
(b) Ash, *Reasons for Objecting to the Republication and Circulation of Barclay's Apology, Addressed to the Society of Friends by One of Its Members [i.e. Edward Ash]*.
(c) Richard Ball, *Holy Scripture the Test of Truth: An Appeal to Its Paramount Authority against Certain Passages in Dr. Hancock's "Defence" and in the Writings of Barclay and Penn* (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co, 1835), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026298817.0x000001.
(d) *A Letter to Dr. Hancock, from the Children of a Deceased Minister of the Society of Friends, on the Doctrine of Justification by Faith in Christ Crucified. Published by a Member of That Society*, (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co.; Bristol: J. Wright, 1836), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hnnnp1.

[86] Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church. Part 1: 1829-1859*, 3rd ed. (1971; paperback, London: SCM Press Ltd, 1987), 65.

[87] *The Christian Observer*, "The Society of Friends," October 1835, 630.

[88] Based on an extract from Gurney's writings cited in Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 16.

[89] Braithwaite states this was dated the 27th April, 1835; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 17. It follows therefore that the letter was written *before* the committee appointed to examine the *Beacon* (which included Gurney) first met with Crewdson on the 22nd June 1835; see Isaac Crewdson, *Further Particulars Relating to the "Beacon," Comprising the Correspondence between Isaac Crewdson and the Yearly Meeting's Committee, on Their Third Visit to Lancashire, 12th Month, 1835; to Which Is Added, a Letter Addressed to the Committee by the Members of the Meeting of Ministers and Elders Who Were Declared to Be out of Unity* (Manchester: William P. Ellerby, printer, 1836), 3, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwjp9h.

[90] From part of an extract of Gurney's letter to Crewdson published in Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 18.

the Holy Spirit,[91] and in the Quaker approach to worshipping.[92] Consequently, although Gurney's commitment to the Scriptures is not in doubt,[93] this should not in any way marginalise the significance he affords to the work of the Holy Spirit. At the yearly meeting held in 1836, this can be seen when he is reported as saying he was 'a middle man' who believed the 'middle course' was the right approach and one which best reflected Quaker beliefs.[94]

1.3.2 Immediate Revelation, the Scriptures and the nature of authority

The importance which Gurney attached to the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit *as well as* to the Scriptures has been recognised by for example, Bright, Swift and Grubb.[95] The Scriptures and the Holy Spirit were seen by Gurney as being inseparably linked, and I argue that this led him to both affirm and at the same time question some aspects of early Quaker theology regarding biblical authority and the nature of immediate revelation. Hamm has argued that Gurney believed 'the Holy Spirit's role was not to impart new truth, but rather to guide a correct reading of the Bible' and that as a consequence the Bible became more important at the expense of 'direct revelation'.[96] Whilst this reflects some aspects of Gurney's theology it does

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[91] From part on an extract of Gurney's letter to Crewdson published in Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 20-23.
[92] From part on an extract of Gurney's letter to Crewdson published in Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 24-25.
[93] The *Memoirs* also include a letter entitled 'TO A FRIEND' and dated '5th mo., 18th, 1835' from Gurney to an unnamed person in which he outlines his agreement with Crewdson regarding several areas of theology including biblical authority; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 26 (quotations)-27.
[94] *A Report of the Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, Reprinted, with Corrections and Additions, from the "Christian Advocate" Newspaper, of May 23d & 30th; Together with Notes by Members of the Society; to Which, Is Added the Quakers' Yearly Epistle for 1836*, 15.
[95] See (a) Bright, "Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847), a Study in Evangelical Quaker Biography," 137-41., (b) Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 176-79. and (c) Edward Grubb, *The Evangelical Movement and Its Impact on the Society of Friends. Presidential Address to the Friends' Historical Society, 1923*, Reprinted from the "Friends' Quarterly Examiner," January, 1924, (Leominster: The Orphans' Printing Press, Ltd, 1924), 34.
[96] Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, 21.

not, I argue, go to the heart of the issue as to *why* Gurney placed more emphasis on the Bible in comparison to early Friends. In this sub-section, I explore this in greater depth to identify and propose that Gurney's particular understanding of divine inspiration was a key factor in shaping his beliefs regarding the Bible's authority.

In *Hints*, there is a clear acknowledgement by Gurney that the Holy Spirit was the original source for the different texts that go to make up the books of the Bible, with him noting 'that their authors all wrote under the influence of the same Spirit'.[97] And in the *Strictures*, he considers that Barclay's distinction between primary and secondary 'was not intended, as I conceive, to apply to the question of authority, but only to that of *order* and *dignity*'.[98] Instead, Gurney argues that early Quakers considered the term 'primary Rule'[99] having a variety of different meanings. These included that the Spirit was 'the very source of true religious knowledge', had 'operated among men before the Scriptures were written, and still operates in a certain measure, where they are unknown' and that it was the Spirit that had given forth the Scriptures.[100] Gurney also suggested that some early Friends had 'expressed themselves obscurely, and it may be, even incorrectly, on this subject'.[101]

Gurney's belief in 'the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures'[102] is reaffirmed in his posthumously published *Declaration*.[103] Although he also makes clear that the

[97] Gurney, *Hints*, 6.
[98] Gurney, *Strictures*, 24.
[99] Gurney, *Strictures*, 24.
[100] Gurney, *Strictures*, 24- both quotations. At the yearly meeting held in 1836, Gurney is reported to have made similar points about this issue; see *A Report of the Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, Reprinted, with Corrections and Additions, from the "Christian Advocate" Newspaper, of May 23d & 30th; Together with Notes by Members of the Society; to Which, Is Added the Quakers' Yearly Epistle for 1836*, 15.
[101] Gurney, *Strictures*, 24.
[102] Gurney, *Declaration*, 7.
[103] The *Declaration* was affirmed by Gurney as being 'a true and honest declaration of his Christian faith on the several articles therein stated; and that to the best of his knowledge and belief, he has held the same sentiments for more than thirty years'; see Gurney, *Declaration*, 25.

Scriptures are subordinate to the Holy Spirit he does *not* reference this in terms of *authority*.[104] Consequently, Barclay's view concerning the Scriptures[105] is not fully adopted by him.

Gurney's justification for the re-appraisal of what he considered Barclay was trying to convey, hinges in part, I would suggest, on the ambiguity in the language Barclay used. For example, it is noticeable, that Barclay generally uses the term 'rule'[106] rather than *authority* when discussing the relationship between the Spirit and the Bible. Edward Ash, an Evangelical Friend, considered it 'an impropriety of language thus to designate the Spirit as a rule'[107] and John Wesley made a related comment concerning the lack of clarity in Barclay's wording on this subject.[108] Ash, like Gurney, did not see Barclay advocating 'a lower degree of authority to the Scriptures, than to immediate revelation'.[109] Instead, Ash suggests Barclay is 'implying that it is to the immediate teaching of the Spirit, we are first and principally to look for our rule of faith and manners'. As a consequence, Ash raises his concern that if this was to be the case, then the Scriptures become marginalised whereas it is

[104] The relevant passage reads 'that since the paramount authority of the Holy Scriptures over that of all other books, is a simple consequence of the fact, that they were given by inspiration of God, I must ever regard these sacred writings … as entirely subordinate, in point of dignity and power, to the Holy Spirit from whom they came, and who is himself their true and ever living Author'; see Gurney, *Declaration*, 7.
[105] Barclay, *Apology*, 5.
[106] Barclay, *Apology*, 5.
[107] Ash, "An Inquiry into Some Parts of Christian Doctrine and Practice, Having Relation More Especially to the Society of Friends. With an Appendix. [the Preface Signed: E. A. i.e. Edward Ash.]," 240.
[108] John Wesley, *A Letter to a Person Lately Joined with the People Call'd Quakers. In Answer to a Letter Wrote by Him*, 2nd ed. ([Bristol?]: [s.n.], 1748), 4, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026591620.0x000001.
[109] Ash, "An Inquiry into Some Parts of Christian Doctrine and Practice, Having Relation More Especially to the Society of Friends. With an Appendix. [the Preface Signed: E. A. i.e. Edward Ash.]," 240.

his own belief that revelation, both immediate and from the Scriptures, are operating together and that 'our obligation diligently to employ each of them is the same'.[110]

In spite of suggestions from Gurney and Ash that Barclay was not referring to authority when using the terms *primary* and *secondary*, it does appear at least in one sense that Barclay considers the Spirit having a higher authority over the Scriptures because he argues in the *Apology* that 'the scriptures' authority and certainty depend upon the Spirit by which they were dictated'.[111] Perhaps more importantly, whether Barclay has been misunderstood or not, the reality was that for many Quakers the Scriptures were perceived as being less authoritative than the immediate operation of the Spirit. For example, this can be seen in Hancock's criticism of the *Beacon*, when he comments 'I cannot admit that the Scriptures, divine and excellent as they are, … are to be placed above the teaching of Christ's Holy Spirit by immediate revelation; because I dare not, as matter of principle, place the effect above the cause'.[112]

Several corollaries follow Gurney's premise that the Scriptures should not be seen as secondary in authority. First, is his belief that they are 'of *divine authority*'.[113] This is a fundamental part of Gurney's theology and is reflected in several of his

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[110] Ash, "An Inquiry into Some Parts of Christian Doctrine and Practice, Having Relation More Especially to the Society of Friends. With an Appendix. [the Preface Signed: E. A. i.e. Edward Ash.]," 241.

[111] Barclay, *Apology*, 69.

[112] Hancock, *Defence of the Doctrines of Immediate Revelation and Universal and Saving Light, in Reply to Some Remarks Contained in a Work, Entitled "a Beacon to the Society of Friends" [by I. Crewdson]*, 8. Hancock also comments about the 'fundamental doctrines which have been professed by the Society of Friends ever since it was established- I mean the doctrines of Immediate Revelation and Universal Saving Light'; see Hancock, *Defence of the Doctrines of Immediate Revelation and Universal and Saving Light, in Reply to Some Remarks Contained in a Work, Entitled "a Beacon to the Society of Friends" [by I. Crewdson]*, 4-5.

[113] For example; see Joseph John Gurney, *A Letter to a Friend on the Authority, Purpose, and Effects, of Christianity, and Especially on the Doctrine of Redemption*, 2nd ed. (London: J. & A. Arch; York: W. Alexander and Son; Norwich: S. Wilkin; Edinburgh: A. Constable & Co, 1824), 33. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100050063350.0x000001. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Letter to a Friend*.

writings and speeches.[114] In the *Essays*, he also writes that whilst he considers some parts of the Bible may have been inspired somewhat differently to other parts, 'we may safely deduce from them the general inference, that *the whole contents of the Bible are of divine authority'*.[115]

Secondly, Gurney sees *divine* authority as an absolute in itself which cannot be differentiated into different degrees of divine authority. In the *Friendly Letters*, he considers that the Scriptures have the same authority as immediate revelation because in both cases they are the result of the workings of the *same* Spirit and therefore there can be no self-contradiction.[116]

Thirdly, Gurney argues that Quakers have consistently maintained that 'the Scriptures … were given by inspiration of God, and that they are therefore of direct divine authority'[117] and so by their very nature cannot be secondary. I would contend that 'direct'[118] is the key word here because later in the same work, he comments with regards to the operation of the Holy Spirit that 'By *immediate* I mean *direct*, so that nothing is interposed between the soul which is acted on, and the power which acts.'[119] Similarly, using an analogy he argues that the Spirit as a teacher 'communicates directly with the minds of his pupils; and although, in conveying divine truth, he employs the Holy Scriptures as his chosen lesson-book, his teaching may nevertheless be regarded as immediate'.[120] In other words, Gurney does not consider that different *modes* of communication between God and an individual

[114] For example; see (a) Gurney, *Puseyism*, 2. and (b) Gurney, *Four Lectures*, 174.
[115] Gurney, *Essays*, 98.
[116] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 6.
[117] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 6.
[118] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 6.
[119] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 32.
[120] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 32-33.

necessarily translates into a difference in *authority*. That the divine inspiration attributed to the writers of the Scriptures is seen by Gurney to have the same spiritual authority as immediate revelation can be found in some of his other works, including the *Essays* where he comments:

> As far as the great practical purposes of Scripture are concerned, it appears from our premises to be unquestionable that these sacred authors wrote under the immediate and extraordinary influence of the Holy Ghost.[121]

Although Gurney comments that Barclay's *Apology* 'has its defects,'[122] he nevertheless maintains it was not Barclay's intention to undermine the Scriptures by saying they were secondary in authority and that he safeguarded this by acknowledging that anything contrary to them was not of God. Gurney therefore argues that Barclay 'does not set up one divine inspiration as superior in point of authority to another; for that which is divine is of God, and higher authority there cannot be'.[123] At the same time, however, Gurney also fully acknowledges dependency upon the Holy Spirit in seeking to understand the biblical text,

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[121] Gurney, *Essays*, 101. For additional examples, see also:
(a) 'in searching for that which has been *revealed*; we need no longer hesitate in directing our attention to that which is *written*' in Gurney, *Essays*, 108.
(b) 'Friends in general, and the Society as a body, have been as uniformly staunch as any of their fellow-Christians, to the great principle of the direct divine authority of the Holy Scriptures' in Gurney, *Strictures*, 24-25.
(c) 'for on what does our value for the scriptures rest, but on the firm conviction that they were given forth under the immediate influence of God's holy Spirit?' in Joseph John Gurney, *Sermons and Prayers, Delivered by Joseph John Gurney, in the Friends' Meeting House, Liverpool, 1832. Second Edition, with Additions*, 2nd ed. (Liverpool: Thomas Hodgson; London: Whittaker, Treacher, and Co, 1832), 27, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100032290149.0x000001.
(d) 'If we assert the essential superiority of the Holy Spirit, it is not that we regard the sacred writings as a fallible standard, or do not truly reverence them; but only that we are anxious to distinguish between that which is produced, and the power which produces it; between the work which we can see, and handle, and *its divine, unchangeable Author*.' in Gurney, *Observations*, 11.
(e) 'the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, were endued with a wonderfully exalted measure of inspiration, and the direct, divine authority of that which they said, and that which they wrote, was proved by their miraculous works'; see Gurney, *Four Lectures*, 186.
[122] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 7.
[123] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 8.

recognising that without this guidance the true meaning of the Scriptures would remain unclear.

Religious authority is not seen by Gurney as being tiered in any way *within* the Scriptures. He considered that all the books of the Old Testament had equal authority, citing part of 2 Timothy 3.16 in support of this and that the New Testament, like the Old, is also 'all divine, and all equal in point of authority'.[124] The last few verses of Revelation which state that nothing should be added or taken away from that book is seen by Gurney as a general principle which applies to the Bible as a whole, although he does not exclude the possibility (albeit considered to be very unlikely) that under divine providence an addition could be made to the canon of the Scriptures.[125] With these parameters in place, Gurney has established a framework for biblical authority which informs his Christology.

I have argued that Gurney's conflation of immediate revelation with divine inspiration was a key factor in establishing his belief in the Bible having divine authority. Nonetheless, his understanding of divine inspiration was also nuanced and not seen as a single operating principle. Gurney describes it as 'the communication to the minds of men of a divine light and influence'[126] which took place in one of two ways; either by giving miraculous insight to something previously not known or giving additional insight and emphasis to something already known.[127] With the former, Gurney sees a direct and literal process by which the Scriptures were given by God's Spirit and he proposes that this would apply to the prophets in the context of

[124] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 4.
[125] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 6.
[126] Gurney, *Essays*, 97.
[127] Gurney, *Essays*, 97.

predicting future happenings of which they would not understand the meaning.[128] In contrast, he sees 'the more simple didactic parts of Scripture'[129] and 'the greater part of its historical narrative'[130] written by the writers in their own words and style under what he calls divine 'superintendence'.[131] Gurney considers that both these forms of inspiration help to ensure biblical authority.[132] He also claims that in some instances the scriptural text is not inspired. Two types of example are given in this regard; where Paul the Apostle specifically states that he is giving his own views, as recorded in 1 Corinthians 7, and also in cases where names of people and journeys are detailed, although Gurney comments that this probably was done 'under a divine influence proportioned to the occasion'.[133]

Gurney therefore presents a composite picture concerning how he perceives the nature of divine inspiration. In this manner, his views were similar to those expressed by some in the wider Christian church at the start of the nineteenth century[134] and are in contrast to the more conservative understanding of divine inspiration held by others such as Robert Haldane.[135] The Bible is seen by Gurney

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[128] Examples given are Isaiah 7:14; Isaiah 9:6 and Isaiah 53 [see Gurney, *Essays*, 97.], Moses describing how the world was created and the apostles conveying 'doctrinal mysteries' [see Gurney, *Essays*, 98.]
[129] Gurney, *Essays*, 98.
[130] Gurney, *Essays*, 98.
[131] Gurney, *Essays*, 98.
[132] Gurney, *Essays*, 98.
[133] Gurney, *Essays*, 99.
[134] Eclectic Society, *Eclectic Notes; or, Notes of Discussions on Religious Topics at the Meetings of the Eclectic Society, London. During the Years 1798-1814. Edited by John H. Pratt*, 2nd ed. (London: James Nisbet and Co., 1865), 154-56, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah48ep.
[135] Robert Haldane, *The Evidence and Authority of Divine Revelation, Being a View of the Testimony of the Law and the Prophets to the Messiah, with the Subsequent Testimonies. In Two Volumes. Vol.1. Second Edition, Much Enlarged and Improved*, 2nd ed. (London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.; Edinburgh: William Whyte and Co., and William Carson, Dublin1834), 159-61, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89089954382. For further details about Haldane; see Deryck Lovegrove, "Haldane, Robert (1764–1842), Theological Writer and Evangelical Patron," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004). https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11896.

as being unchangeable in the truths that it conveys, and he argues that any potential problems associated with scriptural text changes that may have occurred over the centuries 'have failed to deprive us of a single doctrinal sentiment, of a single moral principle, or of a single historical record'.[136] In this sense, Gurney is also in broad agreement with Barclay, who although rather more openly acknowledges issues regarding biblical transcription and translation errors, nonetheless sees the doctrinal truths remaining intact.[137]

Martin's *Truth vindicated* had posited the reader with several theological queries regarding the Bible. Gurney's concerns over the contents of this book and its circulation within the Society of Friends led to the fundamental objective of his *Strictures* publication being 'to uphold the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures' and to demonstrate that Martin's views were deeply concerning and not representative of Quaker belief.[138] For example, Martin's assertion that differences in the teachings of various Christian traditions[139] suggests that the biblical texts are open to multiple interpretations and therefore by default lose a sense of being definitive in their authority, is countered by Gurney who argues that the Scriptures 'must be interpreted according to the common and intelligible rules of language', that 'on all points essential to salvation, [it] is clear as the noon-day'[140] and 'that *on these points* the great body of the professing church of Christ is *substantially agreed*'.[141] Gurney also

[136] Gurney, *Strictures*, 17-18.
[137] Barclay, *Apology*, 82.
[138] Gurney, *Strictures*, advertisement page- both quotations.
[139] *The Truth Vindicated: Being an Appeal to the Light of Christ within, and to the Testimony of Holy Scriptures; by Way of Answer to a Pamphlet, Entitled "Extracts from Periodical Works on the Controversy Amongst the Society of Friends." [By Henry Martin.]. Second Edition, Carefully Revised, with Additions*, 64-65.
[140] Gurney, *Strictures*, 18.
[141] Gurney, *Strictures*, 18.

defends the canonicity of both the Old and New Testaments and the ongoing relevance of the Scriptures in the present day.[142]

It is clear from Gurney's polemic against Martin that he wished to challenge any notion that 'the guidance of the Spirit, in our own souls, is superior, *in point of authority*, to those plain declarations which were given forth under a vastly larger measure of the same divine influence'[143] and that it would be an anathema for the Scriptures to be tested by one's individual leadings rather than vice-versa.[144]

These comments provide a useful window through which to see some further aspects of Gurney's position regarding religious authority. First, Gurney is not denying that there is a common origin to both immediate revelation and the Scriptures, namely the Holy Spirit. Secondly, he does however make explicitly clear, that he sees the agency of the Holy Spirit as recorded in the Scriptures as having, *a priori*, a greater *weight of collective authority* to any individual's revelation and that, in contrast to Barclay,[145] there is an obligation that the authenticity of the latter should be tested by the Scriptures. This is also reflected in Gurney's comments at the 1836 annual gathering of LYM, as reported in the *Christian Advocate* newspaper,[146] when he argued that Quakers should continue to uphold their distinctive practice of being led by God's Spirit but at the same time this had to be set within the context of being faithful to the biblical record which 'must be the ultimate standard and test of all

[142] Gurney, *Strictures*, 9, 19.
[143] Gurney, *Strictures*, 24.
[144] Gurney, *Strictures*, 24.
[145] Barclay, *Apology*, 18.
[146] *A Report of the Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, Reprinted, with Corrections and Additions, from the "Christian Advocate" Newspaper, of May 23d & 30th; Together with Notes by Members of the Society; to Which, Is Added the Quakers' Yearly Epistle for 1836*, Advertisement. It should be noted that the aforementioned report was based on unauthorised note-taking and therefore the accuracy of the reported quotations cannot be fully authenticated.

religious truth'.[147] Similar views were expressed in a work by Richard Ball, an evangelical Quaker. Ball makes the point that he did not deny that the Holy Spirit was the source of the biblical record but asks has it been forgotten 'that it is *not* the Holy Spirit and the Scriptures which are placed in competition' but whether the 'revelation of truth' in the Bible is considered to be secondary in authority to the immediate revelation that an individual may experience. This is the crux of the matter for Ball and in his view without having the Scriptures as the final authority it becomes impossible to discern the spiritual validity of immediate revelation.[148] A similar view was also conveyed in an anonymous publication[149] in which it was commented that the source of revelation is not the issue 'but whether the revelation, Friends may apprehend they receive, be as *high* or *higher* authority than those he [God] made to the inspired writers, for the universal benefit of the Church to the end of time?'[150] And thirdly, with regard to Christian doctrine, it can be also be argued that Gurney's emphasis on the Bible's authority is further supported by Barclay's own affirmation '*That the scriptures give a full and ample testimony to all the principal doctrines of the Christian faith*.'[151]

What emerges from these considerations concerning biblical authority is an overarching issue related to whether or not revelation is seen as being progressive. For Gurney, *within* the biblical narrative he sees an unfolding of God's purposes

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[147] *A Report of the Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, Reprinted, with Corrections and Additions, from the "Christian Advocate" Newspaper, of May 23d & 30th; Together with Notes by Members of the Society; to Which, Is Added the Quakers' Yearly Epistle for 1836*, 15.
[148] Ball, *Holy Scripture the Test of Truth: An Appeal to Its Paramount Authority against Certain Passages in Dr. Hancock's "Defence" and in the Writings of Barclay and Penn*, 30- both quotations.
[149] *A Letter to Dr. Hancock, from the Children of a Deceased Minister of the Society of Friends, on the Doctrine of Justification by Faith in Christ Crucified. Published by a Member of That Society*.
[150] *A Letter to Dr. Hancock, from the Children of a Deceased Minister of the Society of Friends, on the Doctrine of Justification by Faith in Christ Crucified. Published by a Member of That Society*, 12.
[151] Barclay, *Apology*, 87.

through progressive revelation which is fulfilled in the person of Jesus Christ and the arrival of a new spiritual dispensation.[152] *Outside* of the biblical narrative, immediate revelation still takes place but not, according to Gurney, in terms of bringing any new *essential* truths or new written records which would have the same or a higher authority than the Scriptures.[153] He is adamant in this regard that nobody 'can have any right to impose upon us any articles of belief, or principles of action, which are not contained in the volume of inspiration'.[154]

In sharp contrast, some of Gurney's Quaker contemporaries would see this as the very antithesis of what they perceived as being a vital part of Quakerism. As an example, PYM (Orthodox) which in 1847 held an overall pro-Wilburite position,[155] published *An Appeal for the Ancient Doctrines* which argued that 'to say that the Bible is "the only authorized record of divine truth," implies that nothing since the Scriptures were issued, has been written by Divine authority' and yet to say this

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[152] Gurney, *Hints*, 7-10.

[153] For example, in the *Essays* Gurney argues that the Bible provides 'both the *foundation* and the *boundaries* of all secondary means of religious improvement' and that 'The purest gifts of the Spirit, as they are now administered, are also most exclusively directed to the application of those materials which originated in a higher and more plenary operation of the same divine influence.' See Gurney, *Essays*, 106. In an extract of a letter written in 1838 to members of his wider family, which was published in the *Memoirs*, Gurney makes clear his belief that the Bible contains all necessary '*facts and doctrines* of Christianity' but he does contend 'that the *moral law* is, to a certain extent, immediately revealed to all men, *independently of the book*' and that believers are also dependent upon immediate revelation in terms of discerning their particular roles within the church community; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 152.

[154] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 10. It should be noted that whilst Gurney acknowledges that Roman Catholicism affirms the origins of the Bible to be divine, he disagrees with the addition of the Apocryphal books to the scriptural canon. Although he is prepared to support the distribution of Bibles which include the Apocrypha (although his preference is that it is excluded) and considers that the writings can have value (for example, Solomon and Ecclesiasticus) he does not believe the Apocryphal writings should be seen as being divinely authorised; see Gurney, *Puseyism*, 4-5, 7. In contrast, Timothy Seid has argued that the Quaker Samuel Fisher in the seventeenth century was more favourably disposed to the Apocrypha; see Timothy W. Seid, "Samuel Fisher: 17th-Century Quaker Biblical Scholar," *Quaker Religious Thought* 97, Article 7 (2001): 4. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol97/iss1/7. However, according to Henry Cadbury there is little evidence that Fox engaged with the Apocryphal writings; see Henry J. Cadbury, "Early Quakerism and Uncanonical Lore," *The Harvard Theological Review* 40, no. 3 (1947): 181. http://www.jstor.org/stable/1508064. See also sub-section 2.3.2 for further details.

[155] Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1*, 526-27.

would mean, for example, that other writings 'which have been penned under a measure of the same divine influence and authority which led holy men of old to write the Scriptures' would be ignored. Consequently, ascribing divine authority of a written work solely to the Bible would result, according to PYM, in the end of immediate revelation in the modern age.[156] Much later, Grubb also identified this as a potential issue in his critique of the 1836 LYM Epistle and its contents regarding biblical authority, in which he argued 'it assumes that inspiration means infallibility, that there is no growth in revelation'.[157] This therefore highlights one of the points of tension between Gurney and Quakers opposed to his views, in that they held different visions of what is to be understood by immediate revelation. For Gurney, immediate revelation for an individual and the wider church is based *within* a biblical framework,[158] whilst for some other Friends it is placed alongside but *set apart*.

[156] Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *An Appeal for the Ancient Doctrines of the Religious Society of Friends. Published by Direction of the Yearly Meeting Held in Philadelphia, in the Fourth Month, 1847: Addressed to Its Members* (Philadelphia: Printed by Joseph Kite & Co., 1847), 16- both quotations, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwjpb9. Note: the quoted wording contained *within* the first quotation is from one of Gurney's works; see Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *An Appeal for the Ancient Doctrines of the Religious Society of Friends. Published by Direction of the Yearly Meeting Held in Philadelphia, in the Fourth Month, 1847: Addressed to Its Members*, 16. See also Baltimore Yearly Meeting, *On the Christian Doctrine of the Teaching of the Holy Spirit, as Held by the Society of Friends* (Baltimore: Printed by John D. Toy, 1839), 11, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081814667.

[157] Edward Grubb, *Separations, Their Causes and Effects: Studies in Nineteenth Century Quakerism* (London: Headley Brothers, 1914), 59.

[158] Gurney's position is summed up well in a meeting house address, where he is reported as saying that failure to use the Bible to check new revelation could lead to a 'fly[ing] off under a pretence of spirituality, into every thing which the corrupt imagination of man can devise' whilst at the same time only relying upon the Scriptures and ignoring 'the immediate guidance and government of the Lord's anointing' through the work of the Holy Spirit would lead to 'suddenly [being] reduced to the state of the dry dead bones in the valley of vision'; see "J. J. Gurney, Esq," *Addresses delivered by Messrs. Allen, Bates, Gurney, Tuke, Wheeler; Mrs. Braithwaite, Grubb, Jones, and other ministers, of the Society of Friends* (London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.; E. Fry; Bristol: J. Wright, 1834), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hn24rg. 161.

1.3.3 Illumination and Interpretation

In placing biblical authority as one of the cornerstones of his beliefs, Gurney is implicitly making the assumption that a consensus from the exegesis of scriptural text can be established between individuals on all key points of principle. In contrast, failure to reach common agreement risks the possibility of disunity within and between religious groups. Consequently, because of concern with regards to the latter, an over reliance upon the Scriptures was viewed by some Friends as being potentially problematic. For example, in the *Christian Advocate* report of the LYM annual gathering in 1836, Thomas Frankland argued that for those outside of Quakerism who relied more on the Scriptures '*They* only exalted a certain explanation of them, which not only did not produce unity, but doctrines were advanced which looked very much like Scripture, but which he believed were not Scriptural.'[159] This illustrates the dynamic link which exists between revelation and illumination, with the latter potentially leading to an array of interpretations of biblical text. Grubb, for example, writing towards the end of the nineteenth century, argued that a good proportion of the Scripture passages used by Crewdson had been mis-interpreted by him although Grubb does not substantiate this claim with any accompanying exegesis of the texts concerned.[160] But is clear that Quietists within the Society during Gurney's day were cautious in their engagement with the Scriptures. Sarah Grubb,[161] for example, in her reported address at a men's meeting

[159] *A Report of the Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, Reprinted, with Corrections and Additions, from the "Christian Advocate" Newspaper, of May 23d & 30th; Together with Notes by Members of the Society; to Which, Is Added the Quakers' Yearly Epistle for 1836*, 16.
[160] Edward Grubb, "Past and Present. The Yearly Meeting of 1836," *Friends' Quarterly Examiner* 29, no. 113 (1895): 118.
[161] See Margery Post Abbott et al., "Grubb, Sarah Lynes (1733-1842)," in *The A to Z of the Friends (Quakers)* (Lanham, Maryland: Scarecrow Press, Inc., 2006), 122.

of the 1836 yearly meeting gathering, believed there was a danger that biblical scholarship would neglect inward spiritual transformation.[162] However, I suggest that her assuredness concerning inward revelation belies the same issue that Frankland highlighted regarding biblical exegesis; namely that the possibility of human error could corrupt illumination and lead to a mis-interpretation of an inward revelation. Jack Dobbs considered this had been a problem that early Friends had experienced and which had resulted in a greater reliance being placed upon outward ways to assist with discernment.[163] I argue that this was an important issue which distinguished Quietist Friends from Gurney, in that the former attached a greater degree of *certainty* to understanding an inward revelation, and less certainty to the outward revelation of scriptural exegesis. In contrast, Gurney held a greater confidence in the outcomes of biblical exegesis even though his own interpretation of the Scriptures was sometimes susceptible to challenge.[164] Nonetheless, it is

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[162] Sarah Grubb, *A Selection from the Letters of the Late Sarah Grubb, (Formerly Sarah Lynes.) [Edited by J. And H. Grubb.]* (Sudbury: J. Wright; London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., and C. Gilpin, 1848), 334, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081819781. It should be noted that this quotation is recorded in the aforementioned publication as a written recollection made by a third party; Grubb, *A Selection from the Letters of the Late Sarah Grubb, (Formerly Sarah Lynes.) [Edited by J. and H. Grubb.]*, 333.

[163] Dobbs, *Authority and the Early Quakers*, 238.

[164] An example of this can be seen in relation to the exegesis of 1 Timothy 3:16. In an essay on the subject, Gurney outlines three potentially different views about the verse based on how a specific word in the original Greek text is to be understood, and he argues the case for one particular interpretation; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 365-92. Adam Clarke, a Methodist theologian, also held a similar view; see Adam Clarke, "First Epistle of Paul the Apostle to Timothy," *The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: the text carefully printed from the most correct copies of the present Authorized Version including the marginal readings and parallel texts, with a Commentary and Critical Notes. Designed as a help to a better understanding of the sacred writings. New edition, improved. Completed in one volume* (Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co., 1842), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015074646251?urlappend=%3Bseq=760. 307.
However, in the *Memoirs*, Braithwaite acknowledges that the consensus opinion in biblical scholarship which later emerged differed from Gurney's interpretation of the verse and he includes a statement from the biblical scholar Samuel Tregelles to this effect; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 431 and 539-42 respectively. In Gurney's own lifetime the confidence he held in his particular exegesis of the verse had been challenged by a correspondent to the *Christian Observer*; see M. J. M., "On Mr. Gurney's Dissertation on 1 Timothy III.16. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," *The Christian Observer* September 1835, 534-36. Gurney had responded to this with a defence of his viewpoint,

important to stress that Gurney does not reject the importance of immediate revelation. Instead his concern is when such revelation might deviate from the biblical narrative which, for example, he considered was the case concerning the beliefs of Elias Hicks.[165]

1.3.4 Engagement with the Bible

For Gurney, the importance of biblical authority translates itself into a desire that people read the Scriptures and for 'the oracles of God'[166] to become more fully known and understood. He does not view the Bible in the abstract but sees it as a dynamic, vibrant expression of God's truths freely given to the world.[167] The *liveliness* of biblical text is seen by Gurney as stemming from its divine inspiration. He describes how one can draw upon the biblical texts many times and continue to gain new insights; 'that many parts of Scripture are so full of instruction- the mine is so deep and so richly stored- that the treasure is never exhausted'.[168] The Scriptures are therefore not solely regarded by Gurney as a record of past revelation. They are also a source which can nurture a person's faith, and provide the highest 'moral and religious teaching, which knows no rival, and to the use and application of which there appears to be no limit.'[169] Palmer describes how some of the early Friends like

see; Joseph John Gurney, "Mr. J. J. Gurney on 1 Tim. III.16. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," *The Christian Observer* November 1835, 655-56.

[165] Joseph John Gurney, *A Letter to the Followers of Elias Hicks, in the City of Baltimore, and Its Vicinity* (Baltimore: Woods and Crane, printers, 1839), 4. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.15960379. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Letter to the Followers of Elias Hicks*.

[166] Gurney, *Hints*, 2.

[167] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 123- both quotations.

[168] Gurney, *Hints*, 3.

[169] Gurney, *Hints*, 4.

Fox were 'reading the Bible with empathy'[170] and I would argue that there is an echo of this in the way Gurney forged his own personal connection with the Bible.[171]

Whilst Gurney acknowledges the usefulness of different methods and resources that can assist with biblical study and the necessity to use them if available, he recognises that ultimately a true understanding of the Bible is not possible without the help of the Holy Spirit.[172] His reliance upon the authority of the Scriptures also stems from a confidence that past 'wire-drawing' by biblical critics had been overcome and that there was now a settled conviction and affirmation in the authority of the Bible.[173] Engagement with the Bible is therefore seen by him as being a vital element of Christian practice and one which constitutes a rich source of truth and guidance, presents a narrative of God's unfolding revelation to humanity, and provides wording which helps articulate belief and faith.[174] In the seventh edition of the *Observations*, Gurney emphasises the need for Friends to be particularly aware of the importance of having 'a sedulous attention to the Bible' given the absence of any Quaker liturgy[175] and in *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, proposes that 'daily

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[170] T. Vail Palmer Jr., "Theorising a Quaker View of the Atonement," *Quaker Studies* 16, no. 1 (2011): 113. https://doi.org/10.3828/quaker.16.1.105.

[171] For Samuel Taylor Coleridge, a contemporary of Gurney, the Bible was seen as being like a 'breathing organism' which an individual can actively engage with, rather than being a fixed text underpinned by infallibility; see Samuel Taylor Coleridge and Henry Nelson Coleridge, *Confessions of an Inquiring Spirit. By Samuel Taylor Coleridge. Edited from the Author's Ms. By Henry Nelson Coleridge* (Boston: James Munroe and Company, 1841), 51, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwnpcb.

[172] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 128.

[173] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 4.

[174] Gurney, *Observations*, 228. An example of this can be seen in Gurney's account of his ministry in Arch Street meeting house where he felt led to draw upon some particular words of Scripture; see Joseph John Gurney, *A Journey in North America, Described in Familiar Letters to Amelia Opie* (Norwich: Printed for private circulation by Josiah Fletcher, 1841), 411, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_000000004ED8.

[175] Gurney, *Observations*, 461. It is interesting to note that this particular reference which is absent from the first edition, appears in some of the later editions including the second [see Joseph John Gurney, *Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of the Society of Friends*, 2nd ed. (London: J. and A. Arch; York: William Alexander and Son; Norwich: S. Wilkin; Edinburgh: A. Constable and Co, 1824), 367, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/yale.39002013403846.] but not the '*New Edition*' which was published later in 1842; Joseph John Gurney, *Observations on the Distinguishing Views & Practices of the*

private reading of Scripture' should be a fundamental part of 'Christian education'.[176] It is also important to highlight that Gurney believed there had been a consistent expectation within the Society of Friends that the Scriptures should be read.[177]

The emphasis placed by Gurney upon the Bible, did not mean however that he considered the work of the Holy Spirit to be operating only in this sphere. He also emphasised the Spirit's role of guidance, discernment and witness in the everyday life and practice of Christians both at an individual level and as part of a worshipping community.[178] He also concurred with the early Quaker view 'that the influence of the Holy Spirit, is very far from being confined to those who have a knowledge of Holy writ,' and the narrative about Christ which it conveys.[179] Drawing upon Romans 2:13-15[180] he argues how it is possible for those 'who had received no outward revelation of the moral law of God' could become reconciled with God.[181] Nonetheless, he also considers that Christians receive greater 'measures of the light and influence of the Comforter'[182] and experience more pneumatically led revelation.[183] As part of his private response to Hancock's *Defences* publication, Gurney argues that Hancock had not adequately distinguished between the role of the Holy Spirit in immediate revelation and the Light Within, believed by Quakers to be universally present in all people. Gurney sees this as a fundamental error because he considers the former as

Society of Friends. A New Edition (Norwich: Josiah Fletcher; London: Harvey and Darton; and C. Gilpin, 1842).
[176] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 123.
[177] For example, in *Strictures*, the prominence given to the Bible is highlighted in an appendix which lists several extracts of the Society's '*Advices*' (from both the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries) which exhort Friends to read and value the Scriptures. See Gurney, *Strictures*, 40-48.
[178] Gurney, *Declaration*, 10-11.
[179] Gurney, *Declaration*, 8.
[180] Gurney, *Observations*, 29.
[181] Gurney, *Observations*, 30.
[182] Gurney, *Observations*, 66.
[183] Gurney, *Declaration*, 9.

taking place within the context of an individual specifically growing in their Christian faith.[184] What Gurney does however make clear, is that for those who *do* have access to the Scriptures there is an expectation that they are used. He sees this as being an integral part of early Quaker practice and that Friends understood this to be the way 'to expect the more abundant light and influence of the Holy Spirit'.[185]

In advocating a proactive approach to reading the Bible to help in the nurturing of the spiritual life, I contend that Gurney was not bypassing the role of immediate revelation. The agency of the Holy Spirit could operate both through an illumination of the reading of scriptural text and still also communicate directly with an individual in other ways, but to emphasise Creasey's point, the outward and inward forms of revelation still remain connected because they are rooted in the same overall revelation.[186] However, I *do* argue that indirectly, Gurney was challenging aspects of Quaker tradition. This was not based around the use of the Scriptures *per se* but was rather more about an 'opening up' of the Scriptures to an understanding that may in some cases go beyond a *particular* interpretation made by *some* Quakers and instead to embrace what may be perceived as a broader and more orthodox Christian viewpoint.[187]

1.3.5 Reason

Fundamentally, Gurney sees reason as an ally to his perspective on religious authority and argues that the Christian faith 'is in perfect harmony'[188] with it and that

[184] For example; see part of an extract from a letter written by Gurney to Hancock which was published in the *Memoirs*; Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 33-34.
[185] Gurney, *Observations*, 10.
[186] Creasey, ""Inward" and "Outward": A Study in Early Quaker Language," 12.
[187] A particular example of this can be seen in Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*. See section 2.7 for further details.
[188] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 49.

its doctrinal truths do not run contrary to reason. He perceives the need for religious education and teaching within the Society, commenting in the seventh edition of *Observations* how with 'mistaken notions of high spirituality, we may fold our arms together, and leave both our own minds, and the minds of our young people, in a state of ignorance'.[189] The use of rational thought and reason in the religious life is therefore encouraged by him and proactive biblical education within the Society considered an imperative.[190] For Gurney, a failure to address this issue is likely to be detrimental to a person's spiritual growth.[191] Furthermore, in *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, he argues that if young people are encouraged to use the process of induction when studying the New Testament, they will be able to see the authenticity of its testimonies.[192] Gurney also seeks to build a bridge between epistemology, scientific ideas and Christianity, with the latter presented as a system of divine truth. This is evidenced in a report of a public address he gave at the Mechanics Institute in Manchester. In the speech, Gurney attempts to demonstrate that the principles underpinning particular types of knowledge are based on certain assumptions which people are prepared to accept on trust. He argues that belief in the Christian religion is no different and in fact is more secure in its foundations because of the wide range of evidence which underpins it.[193]

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[189] Gurney, *Observations*, 281-82.
[190] Gurney, *Observations*, 282.
[191] Gurney, *Observations*, 282-83.
[192] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 81-84.
[193] Joseph John Gurney, "Substance of an Address, on the Right Use and Application of Knowledge, Delivered to the Mechanics of Manchester," in *The Minor Works of Joseph John Gurney. In Two Volumes. Volume the Second* (London: Harvey and Darton; Norwich: J. Fletcher: 1839), 193-94. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Mechanics of Manchester*. In the *Memoirs*, Braithwaite comments how the address had been 'widely circulated' after its publication; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 468. A review of the work by the *Mechanics Magazine* was less favourable and contended that Gurney's reasoning had been faulty; see *Mechanics' Magazine, Museum, Register, Journal, and Gazette*, "Gurney's Address to the Manchester Mechanics," *Mechanics' Magazine, Museum, Register, Journal, and Gazette* October 20, 1832, 46, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433069063141. In his critical assessment of Gurney's works, the

However, Gurney's affirmation of human reason is not made in isolation and is always framed within the wider context that ultimate authority lies with God and not human learning.[194] He also argues that reason has its limitations; for example, in being unable to give a full account about the nature of sin[195] or what happens after death.[196] Ultimately therefore, he sees a point where 'we are brought to the line which reason may not pass, and it becomes our *reasonable* duty, to accept the doctrines of revelation with the *faith of the little child*'.[197] Alongside this, Gurney differentiates 'between things *contrary* to reason, and things *above* it'.[198] Consequently, he sees rejection of particular doctrines by the unbeliever as being mistakenly made by not appreciating that some truths are held in mystery[199] and as a result this can lead to a downward spiral of belief in turning away from the Bible, Christianity and God.[200] It is clear therefore that whilst in one sense Gurney embraces the impact of the Enlightenment and the use of reason, he is nonetheless judicious in its application to avoid any perceived undermining of religious faith.

1.3.6 Tradition

For Gurney, elements of tradition play an important but not pre-eminent part in shaping the nature of religious authority which informs his beliefs. Some of his writings for example, include numerous references to the early Church Fathers, and

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Quaker William Hodgson was disapproving of Gurney both for making the address and for what he said; see William Hodgson, Jr., *An Examination of the Memoirs and Writings of J. J. Gurney* (Philadelphia: C. G. Henderson & Co., 1856), 89-93. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044078869146.

[194] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 86.
[195] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 92.
[196] Gurney, *Hints*, 139-40.
[197] Gurney, *Hints*, 159.
[198] Gurney, *Hints*, 160.
[199] Gurney, *Hints*, 160.
[200] Gurney, *Hints*, 161.

he also draws upon the works of various other theologians.[201] There is therefore a willingness by him to acknowledge and engage with some of the traditional teachings of the wider church. However, 'in line' with Quaker beliefs, Gurney does not formally embrace any of the church's historic creeds.[202] In his publication *Puseyism*, he is critical of institutionalised religion and wary of ecclesiastical tradition as represented by particular church organisational structures, any doctrinal teachings which he considers to be of human origin rather than from the Bible, and the role of the priesthood.[203] He also makes clear his belief that the Scriptures 'were not committed as a private treasure to the clergy, but as a public gift, to the church and to mankind'.[204] Tradition therefore has a role for Gurney but it is ultimately subsumed by the authority of the Scriptures.

Gurney rejects the idea of any new tradition emerging that might undermine the supremacy of biblical authority and disputes Martin's contention that if there are books which have been written under the guidance of the Holy Spirit but are outside of the biblical canon, they should be considered as being on a par with the books of the Bible.[205] If this was the case, then Gurney suggests this could apply to works written by some of the early Friends[206] but he argues that they themselves rejected such an idea because of their belief 'that the evangelists and apostles of old, were inspired for the high purpose of *originally promulgating* the great facts and doctrines

[201] For example; see essays 4, 5 and 9 in Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 52-63, 64-72 and 146-63.
[202] For example; see Gurney, *Observations*, 3.
[203] For example; see Gurney, *Puseyism*, 109.
[204] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 14.The context of the latter quote is important because it was written towards the end of Gurney's life when the *Oxford Movement* was active, and I would argue that Gurney was at pains to defend the idea of the priesthood of all believers. But it also gives an insight into his belief of the right of the individual to be able to read and interpret the Scriptures themselves, and as a result possibly query an accepted traditional interpretation of them.
[205] Gurney, *Strictures*, 26-27.
[206] Gurney, *Strictures*, 27.

of Christianity'.[207] Consequently, he maintains that early Quakers completely distanced themselves from any suggestion of being conveyors of 'any new truth'.[208] On this point, Gurney and Barclay are in agreement, with the latter also rejecting the possibility of 'a revelation of a *new gospel*, and *new doctrines*'.[209]

I have argued how Gurney challenged traditional elements of Quaker theology regarding the relationship between immediate revelation and the Bible in terms of authority.[210] Critiques from him also appeared in other ways. For example, a privately circulated work, *Brief remarks on Impartiality*, which rapidly made its way into the public arena[211] highlighted Gurney's preparedness to review the interpretation of some of the biblical texts which had become particularly associated with Quakerism. And publicly, for example in the *Christian Observer*, he was also prepared to accept some of the criticisms[212] that had been made about early Quaker writings where he felt this was justified although it should be stressed that overall, Gurney gave a clear endorsement of these works.[213] As has already been mentioned, Gurney was not alone in having concerns about some aspects of

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[207] Gurney, *Strictures*, 28.
[208] Gurney, *Strictures*, 28. In an unauthorised report of the 1835 yearly gathering of LYM, it is commented that Gurney criticised Hancock's *Defence* publication for 'its references to Barclay rather than the Holy Scriptures'; see *A Report of the Proceedings of the Annual Meeting of the Society of Friends, During the Month of May, 1835; Corrected from the Fourth Edition of the "Christian Advocate" Newspaper, of June 1, 1835. To Which Is Added a Second Report of the Same Proceedings, Never before Published*, (London: John Stephens, 1835), 7, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hnnnns.
[209] Barclay, *Apology*, 87-88. It should, however, be noted that Barclay did not rule out the possibility of '*new revelation* of the *good old gospel* and *doctrines*' or that the canonicity of the Scriptures could be expanded; see Barclay, *Apology*, 88.
[210] See sub-section 1.3.2 for further details.
[211] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*. This is discussed further in section 2.7.2.
[212] In his publication, B.W. Newton had collated extracts from the works of Robert Barclay and William Penn relating to a range of theological subjects which he considered showed their beliefs to be contrary to orthodox Christian doctrine. He also claimed that young Friends were being encouraged to read early Quaker writings in preference to the Bible; see B.W. Newton, *A Remonstrance to the Society of Friends* (London: Nisbet & Co., 1835), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081813784.
[213] Joseph John Gurney, "Mr. J. J. Gurney on the Orthodoxy of Friends. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," *The Christian Observer [Appendix section]* 1835, 791-92.

Barclay's writings. For example, in 1849, not long after Gurney's death, Ash argued against new editions of the *Apology* being printed and circulated.[214] He also claimed that Barclay's exegeses of particular biblical texts to support his views about immediate revelation had been flawed.[215]

Although Gurney queried *aspects* of how early Quaker theology had been *presented* in *some* writings, it is important to note that he drew upon elements of the same corpus of material to support his view that early Friends shared his belief in the divine authority of the Scriptures. This is particularly evident in his *Strictures* publication which includes an appendix listing fourteen different Quaker sources '*respecting the divine origin and authority of the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament*'[216] with extracts from the works of individual Quakers along with statements made on behalf of the Society (including some yearly meetings), covering a time span from 1659 to 1828.[217] On examination of these extracts I have identified that five of them specifically include reference to the Scriptures having 'divine authority'.[218] This is a key point because whilst the other extracts all affirmed the importance and esteem that Quakers attached to the Scriptures, and included use of phrases such as the Scriptures being '"given forth by the Holy Spirit of God,"' '"were given by inspiration of God,"' and '"given by divine inspiration,"'[219] it *might* be considered that these terms have a different meaning to 'divine authority'.

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[214] Ash, *Reasons for Objecting to the Republication and Circulation of Barclay's Apology, Addressed to the Society of Friends by One of Its Members [i.e. Edward Ash]*, Preface.
[215] Ash, *Reasons for Objecting to the Republication and Circulation of Barclay's Apology, Addressed to the Society of Friends by One of Its Members [i.e. Edward Ash]*, 8.
[216] Gurney, *Strictures*, 35.
[217] Gurney, *Strictures*, 35-39.
[218] These are 'The Confession of Faith, signed by thirty-two Friends, and laid before Parliament, in 1693'; 'William Penn, in his "Testimony to the Truth, &c." published 1698', 'Samuel Fuller, in his "Serious Reply" … written in 1728', from 'the Yearly Meeting, A. D. 1829' and the 'Declaration of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, held in Philadelphia, 1828.', see Gurney, *Strictures*, 36, 38-39.
[219] Gurney, *Strictures*, 35, 37-38.

Consequently, by being able to establish that some documents within the early Quaker tradition specifically *do* include reference to the divine authority of the Bible, it can be argued that credence is added to Gurney's view that one form of divine authority (the Scriptures) cannot be lower or higher than another (immediate revelation by the Holy Spirit). This also suggests, I contend, that there is some legitimacy to Gurney's claim that early Friends accepted the *divine authority* of the Bible and therefore by implication that it was not viewed as being secondary with regards to authority. In the LYM Epistle for 1836, reference is made to the central importance of the Scriptures and that 'there can be no appeal from them to any other authority whatsoever'.[220] This also reflects the idea that revelation within the Scriptures represents a collective weight of divine authority which constitutes the benchmark for Christian doctrine and practice, and as such this could not be self-contradicted by other forms of divine revelation.

Gurney also cites in the main body of *Strictures* an extract[221] from *Treatise of the Holy Scriptures*,[222] a work published by the Quaker Richard Claridge.[223] I argue

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[220] London Yearly Meeting (Society of Friends), *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in London, to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in Great Britain, Ireland, and Elsewhere; from 1681 to 1857, Inclusive: With an Historical Introduction, and a Chapter Comprising Some of the Early Epistles and Records of the Yearly Meeting. In Two Volumes. Vol. 2,* 272.

[221] Gurney, *Strictures*, 22-23.

[222] Richard Claridge, *Tractatus Hierographicus: Or, a Treatise of the Holy Scriptures; Containing, I. An Exhortation to the Diligent Reading of the Holy Scriptures. Ii. A Declaration of the True Way, Whereby We May Come to Know a Profiting in the Reading of Them. Iii. That It Is by the Testimony of the Holy Spirit of God in the Hearts of the Faithful, That They Do Certainly and Savingly Know That the Holy Scriptures Are Given by Inspiration of God. Iv. That the Holy Spirit of God Is the Principal and Only Certain and Infallible Expositor or Interpreter of Them. V. That We May Certainly Know, Whether We Have the Holy Spirit of God, and That Our Doctrine Is of Him* (London: Printed and sold by W. Ellis, 1724). Eighteenth Century Collections Online, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0118185499/ECCO?u=bham_uk&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=b7ff5988&pg=219. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the work is *Tractatus Hierographicus*.

[223] For further details about Claridge; see A. C. Bickley and Caroline L. Leachman, "Claridge, Richard (1649–1723), Quaker Minister and Schoolmaster," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004). https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-5454.

that *part* of the extract used by Gurney bears a marked resemblance to some of the wording both in Barclay's *Apology* and also the LYM Epistle of 1836. The similarity of these texts also suggests that a *common theological thread* existed from Barclay, via Claridge and then to the 1836 epistle[224] which Gurney had helped to write.[225]

Whilst the use of isolated texts in this way can run the risk of mis-representing the overall message being conveyed by the original authors,[226] the general point that can be made is clear; Gurney's beliefs on the *divine authority* of the Scriptures can be traced back to earlier times within Quakerism and therefore Quaker tradition, at

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[224] (a) Extracts from Barclay: 'we do look upon them [the Scriptures] as the only fit outward judge of controversies among Christians; and that whatsoever doctrine is contrary unto their testimony, may therefore justly be rejected as false' and '*That whatsoever any do, pretending to the Spirit, which is contrary to the scriptures, be accounted and reckoned a delusion of the devil*.' Barclay, *Apology*, 82- both quotations.
(b) Extract from Claridge cited by Gurney: '"*That the Holy Scriptures are the best outward rule and standard of doctrine and practice. That whatsoever either doctrine or practice, though under pretensions to the immediate dictates and teachings of the Spirit, is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, ought to be rejected and disowned as false and erroneous; for whatsoever is not read therein, nor may be proved thereby, is not to be required of any man that it should be believed as an article of faith"*'; see Gurney, *Strictures*, 22-23.
It should be noted that in the original work by Claridge, nine summary points are made about the Scriptures. The aforementioned quotation are points 3 and 4 which were merged together by Gurney. This matches the original wording by Claridge except for differences in formatting, word abbreviation and the omission of quotation marks by Gurney for the last part of the quotation which Claridge had referenced from '*Art* .VI. of the Church of *England*.', see Claridge, *Tractatus Hierographicus*, 2nd page of Introduction.
(c) Extract from the 1836 Epistle of LYM: 'that no doctrine which is not contained in them can be required of any one to be believed as an article of faith: that whatsoever any man says or does, which is contrary to the Scriptures, though under profession of the immediate guidance of the Spirit, must be reckoned and accounted a mere delusion'; see London Yearly Meeting (Society of Friends), *Epistles from the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in London, to the Quarterly and Monthly Meetings in Great Britain, Ireland, and Elsewhere; from 1681 to 1857, Inclusive: With an Historical Introduction, and a Chapter Comprising Some of the Early Epistles and Records of the Yearly Meeting. In Two Volumes. Vol. 2,* 272.

[225] This is referenced in an extract from Gurney's autobiography published in the *Memoirs*; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 58-59.

[226] As an example of this, Gurney cites Thomas Ellwood [see Gurney, *Strictures*, 37.] but the extract he uses stops short of Ellwood's main point which emphasises the primary role of the Holy Spirit. The text that immediately follows in Ellwood's original is; 'Yet we do not say (as some have done) that the Scriptures are the *only* Rule, or the *chief* and *principal* Rule: because we dare not give the Honour and Office of the Holy Spirit unto the Scriptures; For the Scriptures themselves declare, *That it is the office of the Holy Spirit to guide Believers into all Truth, John. 16.13.*'; see Thomas Ellwood, *An Answer to Some Objections of a Moderate Enquirer* ([London?]: s.n., [1714?]), 4, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, https://link-gale-com.bham-ezproxy.idm.oclc.org/apps/doc/CW0118729041/ECCO?u=bham_uk&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=3d0f8afa&pg=2.

least in part, supports his position.

In contrast, one rather unique example of the interplay between Quaker tradition and biblical authority whereby the former appears to have taken precedence, can be seen in Gurney's views concerning the Society's prohibition of marriage between first cousins. In a work constituting a single printed page he outlines the reasons for upholding this stance although he accepts that there is not a specific biblical injunction to support this position.[227]

1.4 Early Quaker and Gurney perspectives: a comparative analysis

A central part of Gurney's emphasis upon the authority of the biblical record is linked with what he sees as 'the most extraordinary outpouring of the Holy Spirit ever witnessed among men'[228] which took place during the time of the apostles.[229] Accordingly, he considers that it was in the apostolic era after Christ's ascension that

[227] Joseph John Gurney, *On the Marriage of First Cousins* (s.n.: Printed by S. Jones Jun., [1842?]). At the end of the work there is a reference to Leviticus 18:6. In contrast to Gurney, the Quaker Thomas Hodgkin advocated that the ban should be lifted and included in his arguments that Leviticus 18:6 had been mis-understood by Fox when he and others determined that first cousin marriages should not be allowed; see Thomas Hodgkin, *On the Rule of the Society of Friends Which Forbids the Marriage of Fisrt-Cousins [Sic]* (London: Printed by Richard Watts, [1840?]), 6, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100025535782.0x000001.
The exact publication dates are not known for these works by Gurney but it is likely that they were produced a few years after the Society's *Rules of Discipline*, 1834 edition in which reference is made to a 'yearly meeting minute of 1675' which prohibited first-cousin marriages and also to a 'sense and judgment' that this position should be upheld; see London Yearly Meeting (Society of Friends), *Rules of Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends, with Advices: Being Extracts from the Minutes and Epistles of Their Yearly Meeting, Held in London, from Its First Institution*, 3rd ed. (London: Darton and Harvey, 1834), 98. Stephen Geller provides some additional context to Hodgkin's viewpoint including that the Society's rule on this issue had meant that Hodgkin was unable to marry his first cousin; see Stephen A. Geller, "Letter to the Editor: Thomas Hodgkin on the Marriage of First Cousins," *Journal of Genetic Counseling* 11, no. 5 (2002): 421. https://doi.org/10.1023/A:1016845832335. In an article (not connected to the main focus of this thesis) I have outlined how the interplay of various factors shape the outcome of Quaker decision making; see Paul G. W. Harris, "London Yearly Meeting's Response to the Richmond Declaration, 1887: A Case Study in the Avoidance of Religious Schism," *Quaker Studies* 26, no. 2 (2021): 265-66, https://doi.org/10.3828/quaker.2021.26.2.6. In this particular case, concerning marriage of first cousins, I suggest that Gurney was prepared to uphold a Quaker tradition without providing conclusive biblical authority to support it.

[228] Gurney, *Observations*, 476.

[229] Gurney saw this applying to many people in the early history of the Christian Church and not just the apostles; see Gurney, *Essays*, 94.

the doctrinal aspects of Christianity were established in the writings of the New Testament for perpetuity[230] and 'that the inspiration of the apostles and of some of their companions was of a very high and plenary description'.[231] As Gurney views the pre-eminent role of the Spirit at this time to be so significant and the means by which the early church established its doctrines and structural organisation, he is committed to the belief that all principal truths regarding the Christian religion have been revealed. Gurney is therefore circumspect of any outcomes of immediate revelation that an individual might claim which run counter to the weight of authority that was established in New Testament teachings and doctrine. As a result, he argues that such revelation should be tested by the Scriptures.[232]

Nonetheless, Grubb's assertion that Gurney had changed 'the basis of authority from inward to outward'[233] fails to appreciate that Gurney is not questioning the belief that the final authority lies with the Holy Spirit. In this he is in complete agreement with Barclay and early Friends but he offers a different vision in the way he sees the Spirit operating in the post apostolic era. For Gurney, the dynamic interplay between the working of the Spirit and an individual developing an understanding of the Scriptures, enables a person to experience and learn more of God's ultimate revelation to humanity in the person of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. Although this does involve gaining outward knowledge in the form of Christian doctrine it also presents the *person* of Jesus Christ as a perfect pattern to follow; for Gurney, unless scriptural truths are *applied* to the life of the individual their meaning

[230] Gurney, *Observations*, 477.
[231] Gurney, *Letter to a Friend*, 32.
[232] Gurney, *Observations*, 93.
[233] Grubb, *The Evangelical Movement and Its Impact on the Society of Friends. Presidential Address to the Friends' Historical Society, 1923*, 34.

becomes ineffective.[234] Consequently the inward working of the Holy Spirit also remains vital in the life of the Christian[235] as they seek to grow in grace in following Christ. Palmer's assertion that Gurney understood revelation as to '*know about God*'[236] rather than subscribing to Barclay's emphasis to '*know* God',[237] is I would argue, not a fair one because Gurney considered that both approaches worked together and were necessary for the spiritual good.

1.5 Gurney's use of evidence for Biblical Authority

An important feature of several of Gurney's writings and speeches, is the emphasis he gives to presenting *evidence* for the divine origin and authority of the Scriptures. I suggest this was done for two main reasons. First, Gurney was concerned that young people were not being sufficiently supported in learning about the Scriptures and their significance.[238] And secondly, he was keen to engage with a wider reader audience to advocate biblical authority as an integral part of the Christian faith.[239] Linked to the latter, and never far from his mind was the concern that a drift away from biblical authority and particularly the doctrine of the divinity of Christ, opened up the possibility of apostasy.[240]

In drawing upon particular examples of evidence to support his belief in the

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[234] Joseph John Gurney, "On the Moral Character of Our Lord Jesus Christ," in *The Minor Works of Joseph John Gurney. In Two Volumes. Volume the Second* (London: Harvey and Darton; Norwich: J. Fletcher: 1839), 130-32. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Moral Character*.
[235] Gurney, *Observations*, 9-10.
[236] Palmer Jr., "Some Issues from Nineteenth Century Quakerism," 12.
[237] Palmer Jr., "Some Issues from Nineteenth Century Quakerism," 11.
[238] This was reflected, for example, both in his development of a biblical education programme for Quaker schools and the inclusion of this subject in his 1834 lecture series held in Southwark for young Friends; see Gurney, "Guide to the Instruction of Young Persons in the Holy Scriptures; Including the Lock and Key," 107-08. and Gurney, *Four Lectures*, 1-108.
[239] For example; see Gurney, *Essays*.
[240] The focus of Gurney's scholarly work, *Biblical Notes*, is a particular example of this, with its aim clearly stated in the publication's full title; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*.

divine authority of the Bible,[241] Gurney's overall approach appears to mirror elements of Thomas Hartwell Horne's *An introduction to the critical study and knowledge of the Holy Scriptures*,[242] in that he argues the case that the Scriptures are genuine, authentic and credible.[243] Evidence presented includes the biblical record of miracles and prophecies, that the Hebrew Scriptures were used and fully affirmed by Christ and the apostles, the congruity which exists within the Scriptures, and the positive impact of the Bible in developing a person's moral and spiritual growth.[244] The passage in 2 Timothy 3:14-17 which sets out the importance and purposes of Scripture is underscored[245] and also critical to Gurney's beliefs is the importance he

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[241] In some of his works, Gurney specifically outlines this evidence as a discrete subject and devotes significant amounts of text to present his case. For example, in the *Essays*, the first five essays cover themes connected to biblical authority; see Gurney, *Essays*, 1-111. A *Christian Observer* review commented that 'it would be difficult to find, in the same space, a more complete and able summary of the principal evidences of our holy religion'; see *The Christian Observer*, "Review of Gurney's Essays on Christianity," September 1826, 539, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.319510007371956.

[242] Horne was an Anglican priest and theologian, for further details; see Joanna Hawke, "Horne, Thomas Hartwell (1780–1862), Biblical Scholar and Bibliographer," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004). https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-13795. The work cited was first published in 1818 in three volumes and expanded to four volumes in the second edition (see aforementioned reference for details). The first volume presents the evidence for the 'genuineness', 'authenticity' and 'credibility' of the Scriptures; see Thomas Hartwell Horne, *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. Second Edition, Revised, Corrected, and Enlarged. Illustrated with Numerous Maps and Fac-Similies of Biblical Manuscripts. Volume 1*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed for T. Cadell, in the Strand; and James Eastburn, New York, 1821), xix-xx, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433089907335. Gurney references Horne in his *Essays*; for example, see Gurney, *Essays*, 52.

[243] In his first Southwark lecture, Gurney highlights the importance of establishing the '*genuineness* and *authenticity*' of any written work; see Gurney, *Four Lectures*, 2.

[244] Gurney, *Essays*, 522-26. Gurney similarly comments that the 'truth' of the Christian religion is affirmed 'by miracles performed and attested, by prophecies fulfilled, and, above all by the experience of true believers in the Son of God'; see Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 49.

[245] Cited by Gurney as 'All Scripture [is] given by inspiration of God, and is profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, thoroughly furnished unto all good works'; see Gurney, *Essays*, 88. It is of note that Gurney comments that the first part of verse 16 (although the actual verse number is not cited by him) has also been translated by others as '"Every writing, given by inspiration of God, is also profitable," &c.' and whilst he does not agree with this translation he nonetheless argues that even if it was this wording, it would still mean that 'the apostle intended to express all those writings which, in the preceding verse [verse 15], he denominated the *Holy Scriptures*; and it is equally certain that, by these latter expressions, he described the canon of writings received as divine by the Jews; that is to say, *the Old Testament*' (see; Gurney, *Essays*, 88-89.). Angell has commented, that regarding 2 Timothy 3:16, 'some Quakers, including Robert Barclay, [had] utilized an alternative translation of the Greek that significantly changed the meaning of the passage'; see Angell, "Richard Farnworth, Samuel Fisher, and the

attaches to the authority of the apostles both in their writings and actions.[246]

Gurney is cognisant of the significance of what he is trying to convey and in the *Observations*, draws upon the ideas of John Locke[247] to highlight the importance of *evidencing* claims of 'spiritual illumination' and their divine origin.[248] There is, for example, an acknowledgement in *Letter to a Friend* 'that the history of Jesus is a miraculous history, and therefore requires for its confirmation a greater quantity and higher degree of evidence',[249] and in an essay specifically on the subject of miracles in the Scriptures, Gurney presents a wide range of evidence to argue for their authenticity.[250] Whilst the miracles are therefore considered an essential part of New Testament and early Church life, Gurney's writings do not however indicate an

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Authority of Scripture among Early Quakers," 213-14. In the 9th edition of the *Apology*, the first part of verse 16 reads '*All Scripture given by inspiration of God, is profitable for correction*…', see Barclay, *Apology*, 80. It is therefore significant I suggest that Gurney attempted to pre-empt any further discussion on this use by arguing that either interpretation upheld the authority of all the Scriptures.

[246] Gurney, *Essays*, 92-93.

[247] Gurney refers to book three, chapter nineteen of Locke's work but this chapter does not exist. Instead it is likely to be book four, chapter nineteen, see; John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding. With a Life of the Author. In Two Volumes. Volume 2* (Boston: Cummings & Hilliard and J. T. Buckingham, 1813), 248-57, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hn3sti.

[248] Gurney, *Observations*, 89.

[249] Gurney, *Letter to a Friend*, 12.

[250] Evidence used by Gurney in support of the miracles recorded in the New Testament [Gurney, *Essays*, 18-42.] included (a) the role of witness testimony concerning the miracles; for example, the Gospels are based on direct eye witness accounts (*John & Matthew*) or drawn from eye witness accounts (*Luke & Mark*) (b) the consistency of testimony; the agreement between the four gospels in their accounts of the miracles, and that small differences between the testimonies add credibility to their authenticity as being independent witness testimonies (c) reference to William Paley's *Horae Paulinae* and links between the Pauline epistles and the *Book of Acts* (d) that the gospels and *Acts* collectively show a 'circumstantiality and naturalness' which authenticates the truths they are conveying (e) that the characters of the New Testament like Peter show 'the consistency of truth' and the authority of Jesus Christ resonates throughout all four Gospel accounts which gives complete authenticity to what is recorded (f) that the New Testament records detailing the culture and social conventions of the period they were written in, agree with non-Christian historical sources (g) that many people had witnessed the miracles of both Christ and his disciples, including the 'preeminent miracle, the spontaneous resurrection of their Divine Master from the dead' and that 'witnesses of the miracles and resurrection of Christ, were neither *deceived* nor *deceivers*' (h) that those early Christians who preached about Christ 'were enabled, through divine assistance, to confirm their declarations respecting Christ by the miracles which they wrought themselves' (i) the rapid spread of Christianity would not have happened if the claims of miracles were unfounded (j) that there had been many miracles and of different types, which were 'sudden and immediate in their operation' and which could not be explained see; Gurney, *Essays*, 25, 26, 32, 32-33, 34-35 and 40 respectively for quotations.

expectation of miracles taking place in the contemporary world.[251] Rosman has argued that such a view would have been the norm for most evangelical Christians of Gurney's day.[252] A further insight into his thinking concerns his view that an *outward* written record forms an integral part of God's revelation. This can be seen in the *Essays*, where he presumes that 'every divine revelation, intended for permanent utility among men, so obviously requires a divine Scripture'.[253]

1.6 Biblical Authority within the Christian system of religion

The term *system* is one that Gurney uses in several of his publications and is a means by which he is able to convey what he considers to be some of the essential elements of the Christian faith including his belief that Christianity represents God's revelatory plan to humanity and that the great diversity of works within the Bible 'all point in one direction, and combine in developing *one system of truth*'.[254] For example, he describes 'Christianity, … as a system consisting of both doctrines and precepts and applied by faith to the heart'[255] and which leads to moral regeneration and transformation. There are occasions, as noted by Grubb, where Gurney's description of this system almost appears deistical[256] and mechanistic, as he attempts to outline its nature and operation.

It should be stressed that Gurney does not by any means continually use the concept of *system* in his writings and addresses. Nonetheless, it appears not infrequently as a background narrative and I argue that it provides him with a simple

[251] For example, see Gurney, *Essays*, 41-42. and Gurney, "Mechanics of Manchester," 194-95.
[252] Doreen M. Rosman, *Evangelicals and Culture*, 2nd ed. ed. (Havertown: James Clarke Company, Limited, 2012), 155, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=3328468.
[253] Gurney, *Essays*, 89.
[254] Gurney, *Hints*, 6.
[255] Gurney, *Essays*, 66.
[256] Grubb, "The Work and Influence of Joseph John Gurney," 306.

framework to link with various features of Christian theology including its harmony,[257] balance,[258] gradual unfolding to the whole of humanity,[259] equity,[260] perfect nature,[261] and capacity to bring about moral transformation.[262] And vitally, Gurney is able to stress that at the heart of this system is Jesus Christ.[263] Consequently, the whole system can be seen as being *about* Christ and is *dependent upon* Christ through His coming into the world and His atonement; for Gurney 'this is the turning point of the whole system, on which its restoring and saving efficacy mainly depends'.[264]

It is in this context too, that Gurney sees the divinely authorised written record of the Bible as part of God's plan to communicate these truths to humanity.[265] The premise held by Gurney that underpins the system, is the belief 'that Christianity, and Christianity only, is indeed the RELIGION OF GOD'.[266] In other words, Gurney therefore sees God's revelation to humanity being fully expressed in Christianity alone and in that sense the system operates as being exclusive.[267] However, the

[257] For example, Gurney describes how both immediate revelation and the Bible constitute 'two practical guides to righteousness [which] will ever be found in accordance with each other'; see Gurney, *Observations*, 92-93.
[258] For example, 'the holy balance' between justification *and* sanctification; see Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 126.
[259] Gurney, *Hints*, 6-7.
[260] Gurney, *Observations*, 65.
[261] Gurney, *Hints*, 146.
[262] Gurney, *Essays*, 70.
[263] Gurney, *Essays*, 3.
[264] Gurney, *Hints*, 148.
[265] Gurney, *Letter to a Friend*, 79.
[266] Gurney, *Essays*, 525.
[267] For example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 525. Related to the claim of exclusivity, there are a few occasions in his writings where Gurney's language and tone are negative and dismissive of non-Christian religious beliefs and certain cultural practices. As an example, in the *Observations* he writes 'That there is a vast difference, in point of morals and religion, between the condition of the heathen world and that of Christian nations, no well-informed person will pretend to deny; and the more we are aware of our superior advantages in these respects, the more zealous we ought to be in diffusing the benefits which we ourselves enjoy, among our benighted fellow-men.' See Gurney, *Observations*, 9. Set within the context of its day, such a view would not have been atypical, for example; see Michael Gladwin, "Mission and Colonialism," in *The Oxford Handbook of Nineteenth-Century Christian Thought*, ed. Joel D. S. Rasmussen, Judith Wolfe, and Johannes Zachhuber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 287-89.

system is also inclusive, having '*universal applicability to mankind*'.[268]

1.7 Chapter summary

In sections 1.2 to 1.4, the nature of the authority which underpinned Gurney's beliefs with regards to divine revelation was examined and evaluated within the context of early Quaker theology with particular regard to Barclay's *Apology*. Four principal arguments have been presented and are summarised below.

1. Gurney affirms the early Quaker view of the primacy of the Holy Spirit as the origin of divine revelation and the written record of the Scriptures. However, he considers that the distinction made by Barclay that the Spirit is primary and the Scriptures are secondary, is not in reference to authority. The Bible is seen by Gurney as having the same divine authority as immediate revelation because the Holy Spirit is the source of both and cannot self-contradict. Linked to this, is Gurney's conflation of the divine inspiration of the biblical writers with immediate revelation; a key element of his theological thinking and one which has not been fully recognised by modern scholarship. Consequently, as has been noted by some researchers, Gurney is attempting to re-establish what he sees as the original Quaker view which emphasised the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit but which was also anchored in the authority of the Scriptures. For Gurney's contemporaries who saw the Scriptures as being secondary in authority to the Holy Spirit, Gurney's views were considered to be challenging a core element of Quaker identity.[269]

[268] Gurney, *Essays*, 76. Whilst Gurney held the view that Christ's atonement and the possibility of salvation was for all of humanity, he was not a 'Universalist' in the sense of believing that ultimately all people are saved; see Gurney, *A Journey in North America, Described in Familiar Letters to Amelia Opie*, 167.
[269] See sub-sections 1.2.1-1.2.2, 1.3.1-1.3.3 and 1.3.6 for further details.

2. The work of the Holy Spirit in the apostolic period of the early Church and as recorded in the New Testament, is considered by Gurney as a final revelation with regards to Christian doctrine. The outcomes of any modern day immediate revelation should be tested by the Scriptures, if for example, new or changed elements of doctrine or practice are proposed. Whereas Barclay argued that immediate revelation should not be subjected to an outward test (accepting that any true revelation would be confirmed by the Scriptures), Gurney therefore argued the opposite.[270]

3. The Scriptures are not seen by Gurney as solely a record of past events and doctrine but also a way in which Christians with the help of the Holy Spirit can learn more about Jesus Christ in a relational sense which can be applied to their everyday life as they seek to follow Him. The Bible is therefore a source of both propositional and relational revelation. Gurney also sees inward immediate revelation continuing. This is not in relation to doctrinal matters but with regard, for example, to guiding the individual Christian with personal decisions, behaviour and testimonies, and in the wider ministry of the church when discerning the spiritual gifts of its members. For those who do not know the Scriptures, Gurney believes that the universal presence of the Light Within enables salvation to be possible, but that the Light Within should not be seen as being the same as immediate revelation. In comparison with early Quaker beliefs, Gurney has therefore shifted the emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit in the current age; the authority of the Holy Spirit has not been diminished but the Spirit's revelation is more based in the written word. Consequently the Christian faith is rooted, through the work of the Holy Spirit, both in

[270] See sub-section 1.3.2 for further details.

the outward biblical record and its interpretation, and through inward immediate revelation.[271]

4. As the Scriptures present Jesus Christ as God's unique special revelation, the final authority for Gurney's beliefs and faith are therefore in the person of Jesus Christ. For Barclay, the emphasis on inward and immediate revelation places its focus on an inward pneumatic experience and as the Scriptures are not essential for spiritual growth, although valued, there is the potential for revelation to become detached from the Scripture narrative and in particular the person of Jesus Christ.[272]

In sections 1.5-1.6, I argue that Gurney considered there to be substantial evidence to demonstrate the divine authority of the Scriptures. He sees this also being reflected in the position that the Scriptures hold within the system of Christianity in helping to convey God's revelation to humanity in the person of Jesus Christ. Through the agency of the Holy Spirit, the Scriptures can be illuminated and understood, which in turn informs and enhances the spiritual growth of both the individual and the wider Christian community.

[271] See sub-sections 1.3.4-1.3.5 for further details.
[272] See section 1.4 for further details.

CHAPTER 2: SCRIPTURE BASED CHRISTOLOGY

2.1 Chapter introduction

Gurney's Christology is informed and shaped by his belief in the divine authority of the Bible whose 'main purpose from Genesis to Revelation, is to testify of Christ'.[1] In this chapter, the relationship between the Scriptures and Gurney's Christology is evaluated through the lens of biblical exegesis and hermeneutics.[2] As a detailed examination of Gurney's approach to understanding and interpreting the Bible has not been a significant focus of modern-day research, this chapter also presents an original contribution to the subject.

Biblical scholarship played a vital role in the communication of Gurney's beliefs. It acted as a bulwark against Unitarian ideas and sought to further identify common ground between Quakerism and orthodox Christianity. However, at the same time it also highlighted some of the theological elements that were distinctive to Quakerism. Gurney therefore used scriptural exegesis to both review and reaffirm Quaker beliefs. Whilst the Scriptures are used in nearly all of Gurney's writings and addresses, particular works which reflect a significant focus on biblical exegesis have been used in this chapter to evaluate their outcomes.

After this introduction, a brief outline of the nature of biblical exegesis within early Quakerism is given in order to provide a historical backdrop to the study (2.2). In the chapter sections which follow, four arguments are presented.

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[1] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 14.

[2] Doctrinally, it is from this foundation that Gurney affirms the two natures of Jesus Christ and God's redemptive plan; and relationally, the Scriptures also guide Gurney in living out his faith by following the perfect pattern and model of Christ. These particular aspects of Gurney's faith and practice are examined in chapters 3 to 5.

First, that Gurney attempted to bring to Quakerism a systematic approach to understanding the Bible through the use of a variety of methods set within an overall context that guidance by the Holy Spirit is paramount. This is evidenced by what I have termed a 'model of holistic exegesis' which reflects the diversity of approaches used by Gurney in his engagement with the Scriptures and their interpretation (2.3).

Secondly, exegeses of particular scriptural passages were used by Gurney to affirm his belief in the 'deity of Christ',[3] to counter Unitarian interpretations of these texts and to advocate a Christology which maintained an emphasis on Christ's divinity (2.4).[4]

Thirdly, that Gurney's focus upon biblical prophecy differed from the early Quaker emphasis on prophecy stemming from immediate revelation experienced by the individual in their own life. Instead, Gurney highlighted the link which he considered existed between the Old and New Testaments regarding the fulfilment of prophecies concerning Christ as the Messiah. This is used by him as evidence of both Christ's divinity and the authenticity of the Christian religion. These themes are also applied in the formulation of a religious educational work for young Friends (2.5).

And fourthly, I argue that Gurney used biblical exegesis to both support and challenge aspects of Quaker doctrine. Support is shown in his reaffirmation of the Quaker disuse of the outward rites of water baptism and the Lord's Supper (2.6), whilst challenge is evidenced in his questioning the traditional Quaker interpretation of certain scriptural texts and in the holding of a nuanced theological position regarding the Sabbath which only agrees in part with the early Quaker view (2.7). I also contend that Gurney is not always consistent in his exegetical methodology

[3] For example; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*.
[4] This is within the context that Gurney affirmed both the divine and human natures of Jesus Christ.

when attempting to reconcile elements of Quaker belief concerning the sacraments with orthodox Christian practice. The final section (2.8) provides a chapter summary.

2.2 Early Quakerism and Biblical Interpretation

It is important to acknowledge that by the time Quakerism emerged around the middle of the seventeenth century, several hermeneutical methods were already very well established in the wider Christian church to support the interpretation of Scripture.[5] However, Catherine Wilcox has argued that although typological, allegorical and prophetic interpretations were being used by early Friends, they were not 'a rigid three-fold method of interpretation'.[6] Instead inward revelation is seen by her as the starting point in how early Friends related to the Bible and that it was

[5] A brief overview of some aspects of biblical hermeneutics is given below in order to help provide a context to discussions concerning how the Scriptures were interpreted by early Friends and Gurney. The 'Church Fathers' had adopted several approaches to understanding the Scriptures including ''literal', 'typological' and 'allegorical'' interpretations; see Frances M. Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 186. It is important to acknowledge that defining these terms is not necessarily straightforward; for example, Young suggests that the term ''literal'' could have several different meanings; see Young, *Biblical Exegesis and the Formation of Christian Culture*, 188-89. Similarly, McGrath comments that there is overlap in the meaning of typology and allegory; see McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 115. McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 115.) During the medieval period, the '*Quadriga*' approach to interpreting the Bible was based around 'the *literal* sense', '*allegorical* sense', '*tropological* or *moral* sense ' and '*anagogical* sense' of the scriptural text; see McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 117.) However, at the time of the Reformation, J. H. Johansen comments that a key change in emphasis occurred during the emergence of the Protestant faith with Martin Luther moving away from his earlier use of allegory to a much greater emphasis upon a literal-historical interpretation; see J. H. Johansen, "Martin Luther on Scripture and Authority and the Church, Ministry and Sacraments," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 15, no. 4, 2009/02/02 (1962): 351-54. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0036930600003525. Carol Newsom has argued that Luther 'attended both to the literal-historical sense and to the literal-prophetic sense of scripture', with the latter underpinned by a typology based interpretation of some of the Old Testament texts foretelling of Christ; see Carol A. Newsom, "The Interpretation of the Bible. Christian Interpretation in the Premodern Era," in *The New Oxford Annotated Bible. New Revised Standard Version with the Apocrypha. An Ecumenical Study Bible*, ed. Michael D. Coogan (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 2272. The early part of the sixteenth century also saw the '"natural sense"' of Scripture being used by some theologians. This may equate to a literal understanding but cannot always be interpreted in this way, as for example evidenced in Ulrich Zwingli's rejection of belief in transubstantiation; see McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 118.

[6] Catherine M. Wilcox, *Theology and Women's Ministry in Seventeenth-Century English Quakerism. Handmaids of the Lord* (Lewiston/Queenston/Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 77.

'Christ [who] mediated a true understanding of the message of the Scriptures'.[7]

Pyper has also suggested that early Quakers implicitly used a distinctive approach to the Bible, in which direct revelation substituted the need for any further interpretation because 'the spiritual anointing of the present Christ is enough'.[8] Pyper therefore argues that hermeneutics in the traditional sense was not really a part of early Quaker theology[9] and only used to support biblical exegesis when Quakers needed to justify their beliefs to opponents. Nonetheless, as J. William Frost has pointed out, the emphasis given to the role of the Holy Spirit in biblical exegesis was not unique to Quakerism and had, for example, also been highlighted in the Presbyterian based Westminster Confession of Faith. However, in contrast to early Quakerism, the Confession *also* outlined a set of hermeneutical principles for the interpretation of Scripture.[10]

By the early nineteenth century, disagreements within the Society of Friends, particularly in America,[11] highlighted an absence of consensus concerning what constituted Quaker belief. As Hamm has noted, amongst researchers different views

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[7] Wilcox, *Theology and Women's Ministry in Seventeenth-Century English Quakerism. Handmaids of the Lord*, 112.
[8] Hugh S. Pyper, "Can There Be a Quaker Hermeneutic," *Quaker Religious Thought* 97, Article 10 (2001): 67. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol97/iss1/10.
[9] Pyper, "Can There Be a Quaker Hermeneutic," 68. In a similar way, Paul Anderson has proposed that Fox used a 'pneumatic hermeneutic' when interpreting the Scriptures, that is to say it was led by the Spirit; see Paul Anderson, "Was the Fourth Evangelist a Quaker?," *Quaker Religious Thought* 76, Article 3 (1991). https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol76/iss1/3.
[10] J. William Frost, "The Dry Bones of Quaker Theology," *Church History* 39, no. 4 (1970): 508. https://doi.org/10.2307/3162929. The Westminster Confession made clear that 'the inward illumination of the Spirit of God' was needed in order that Scripture could be rightly understood and also gave guidance on how the Scriptures were to be interpreted; see Westminster Assembly, *The Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechism, First Agreed Upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster and Now Approved by the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, to Be a Part of Uniformity in Religion between the Kirks of Christ in the Three Kingdoms: Together with the Sum of Saving Knowledge, and the Practical Use Thereof* (Edinburgh: Printed by John Reid, 1689), 8, 9-10 respectively, https://www.proquest.com/books/confession-faith-larger-shorter-catechism-first/docview/2240855278/se-2.
[11] For example; see Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 39-43.

exist as to whether Orthodox Quakerism arose as a result of the influence of other Christian traditions or was simply a re-expression of already well established Quaker beliefs.[12] Either way, I suggest that a growing reliance on the Bible to try and resolve these issues became a more prominent concern for many Quakers[13] including Gurney. This represented an important change taking place within the Society and it came with the challenge of determining how best to interpret the scriptural narrative, bearing in mind as Pyper has commented, the lack within early Quakerism of a collective and consistent hermeneutical approach to understanding the Bible.[14]

2.3 Gurney's systematic approach to Biblical Exegesis

2.3.1 Introduction

Given the significance which Gurney attaches to the divine authority of the Bible[15] and how this informs his Christology,[16] it is important that the methodology he uses to *understand* the Scriptures is evaluated. In this section it is argued that Gurney's interpretation of biblical texts is rooted in exegeses which are based on several strands of thought and source, and upon an earnest desire to be guided by God at all times. Gurney also makes abundant *use* of Scripture in his writings and addresses. Biblical verses are seamlessly woven into written and oral narratives, interpretations are presented, doctrine highlighted and relevance to real-life experience and practical application is underscored.[17] By drawing upon the wealth of material which exists within his writings, six key elements have been identified which

[12] Hamm, *The Quakers in America*, 42.
[13] For example; see Macy, "Quakers and Scripture," 193.
[14] Pyper, "Can There Be a Quaker Hermeneutic," 68.
[15] See chapter 1 for further details.
[16] For example; see section 2.4 of this chapter.
[17] For example; see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 71-88.

constitute what I have termed a 'model of holistic exegesis' to reflect the comprehensive way he sought to understand and apply biblical texts. Collectively these different elements used by Gurney[18] formed a systematic approach to biblical studies and represented a major contribution to theological discourse within the Society of Friends. Each element is discussed in turn in the next sub-section.

2.3.2 A model of holistic exegesis

Beginning with *the Bible* itself as the first element of the model, it is important to establish more precisely Gurney's view concerning the composition of the scriptural canons. This in turn will shape his use or not of various texts, particularly in the context of whether they are seen by him to be divinely inspired.

Whilst Gurney does on occasions use extracts from the Apocryphal writings, he adopts a Protestant view in regarding them as non-canonical.[19] However, he is not unwilling to support 'Bible Societies on the Continent of Europe' which distribute Bibles containing the Apocrypha.[20] It is therefore reasonable to conclude that he saw these writings as useful in a supporting role to the biblical canon but not having the same authority.

Several of the direct quotations of Scripture in Gurney's works are cited as 'Eng. Trans' or 'Eng. Tr.' i.e English Translation. The wording and formatting of these texts are similar or the same as the Authorized Version of the Bible[21] and it is

[18] Although it should be pointed out that Gurney himself did not present them in a form of a model.
[19] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 195.
[20] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 7.
[21] For example, John 1:18 is cited by Gurney as '"No man hath seen God at any time. The Only-begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, HE hath declared him:" *Eng*. *Trans*.' see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 220. This compares with the Authorized Version which reads; 'No man hath seen God at any time; the only begotten Son, which is in the bosom of the Father, he hath declared *him*.' It is interesting to note that Gurney does not mirror the use of italics as adopted in the Authorized Version.

therefore assumed that this is Gurney's usual source of Scripture.[22] However, Gurney was not reticent in sometimes offering elements of alternative wording to these scriptural texts based on his understanding of their original meaning[23] or adopting a translation that had been authored as a result of a specialist study.[24] This indicates that he was prepared to engage with the text on a linguistic basis where necessary, in order to establish what he considered to be a more accurate translation but not at the expense of changing the text's overall meaning.

Gurney's understanding of Hebrew and Greek equips him to explore in greater depth the construction, grammar and potential meaning of biblical verses.[25] In a few of his works, he also references particular manuscripts[26] as part of a more forensic examination of the Scriptures. Although Gurney fully affirms the divine authority of the Bible, he does not consider the Septuagint version of the Old Testament to be divinely inspired.[27]

An extensive knowledge of the Bible enables Gurney, where necessary, to use Scripture to help with the exegesis of other Scripture, and to make multiple connections between and within the different books of the Bible.[28] He is also deeply aware of the Bible as a source of internal evidence and the way that scriptural texts

[22] For example, the British and Foreign Bible Society (in which Gurney was an active member) had decided to only distribute the 'Authorized Version'; see John Owen, *The History of the Origin and First Ten Years of the British and Foreign Bible Society. In Two Columes. Vol. 1* (London: Printed for L.B. Seeley, 1816), 72-73, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/coo.31924023022365.
[23] For example; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 97.
[24] For example; see Gurney's use of '*Lowth's Version*' of part of Isaiah; Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 300.
[25] For example; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 311-16 and 90-92.
[26] For example; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 121- footnote 9.
[27] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 195- footnote 4. Whilst Gurney acknowledges the use of the Old Testament by Jesus and the apostles as recorded in the New Testament [see Gurney, *Essays*, 87.], he does not comment on the possibility that the Septuagint might have been their source. Timothy Law has argued that its use was prevalent in New Testament times; see Timothy Michael Law, *When God Spoke Greek. The Septuagint and the Making of the Christian Bible* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 99-102.
[28] For example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 423-25.

can sometimes substantiate others indirectly, as shown for example, in the use in some of his works[29] of William Paley's *Horae Paulinae*.[30] Of all the written sources therefore that Gurney can and does use, the source he gives greatest attention and authority to, is the Bible.

Turning to the second element, namely *non-biblical sources*, Gurney makes substantial use of these but in selective ways. For example, it is noticeable that reference to Quaker sources are generally restricted to publications whose target audience is more likely to be Quaker.[31] Additionally, these sources are used in a more general way to support biblical authority rather than the exegesis of specific scriptural texts.[32] Neither does Gurney draw upon the biblical expertise of early Friends such as Elizabeth Bathurst.[33]

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[29] For example; see Gurney, *Letter to a Friend*, 12. and Gurney, *Essays*, 22. A general picture of the extensive reading about theology which Gurney had undertaken is outlined by Braithwaite in the *Memoirs*; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 37-38. Gurney had also authored an academic critique of an archaeological based work; see J.J.G., "Critical Notice of Sir W. Drummond's Dissertations in the "Herculanensia."," vol. 2, *The Classical Journal; for September and December, 1810* (London: Printed by A. J. Valpy; sold by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown; Lunn; Richardson; Dulau; Law; and Sharpe and Hailes, 1810), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwt5bf.

[30] William Paley, *Horae Paulinae, or the Truth of the Scripture History of St. Paul Evinced, by a Comparsion of the Epistles Which Bear His Name, with the Acts of the Apostles, and with One Another* (Dublin: Printed for W. M'Kenzie, J. Moore, A. Grueber, W. Jones, J. Milliken, and R. White, 1790), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/yale.39002088375630.

[31] Joseph John Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan* (New York: Mahlon Day and Co., 1839), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100054449787.0x000001.

[32] Examples of such sources include those from the works of individual Quakers, epistles from LYM and declaratory statements made on behalf of the Society of Friends. For example, in Gurney's *Strictures*, the following are cited; Edward Burrough; George Fox; 1689 'Declaration of the Faith of the Society of Friends'; 1693 'Confession of Faith, signed by thirty-two Friends, and laid before Parliament'; a 1694 work co-authored by 'William Chandler, Alexander Pyott, Joseph Hodges, and others'; Thomas Ellwood; 'an Epistle by way of preface to a collection of the "Doctrinal Books" of George Fox issued by the Second Day's Morning Meeting in London, anno 1705'; William Penn; Samuel Fuller; 1731 'document … published by the Friends of Bristol'; 1829 declaration; 1835 'Committee of the Yearly Meeting'; 'Declaration of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, held in Philadelphia, 1828' and 1828 Epistle of New England Yearly Meeting. See Gurney, *Strictures*, 35-39.

[33] For example; see Bathurst, *Truth's Vindication or, a Gentle Stroke to Wipe Off the Foul Aspersions, False Accusations and Misrepresentations, Cast Upon the People of God, Called, Quakers. Both with Respect to Their Principle, and Their Way of Proselyting People over to Them. Also, an Epistle to Such of the Friends of Christ, That Have Lately Been Convinced of the Truth, as It Is in Jesus*.,

In Gurney's writings aimed at a wider audience beyond Quakers, the work of Friends is very rarely mentioned[34] whereas non-Quaker sources are evident in several of these publications. Collectively such sources constitute a large and diverse corpus of material which includes the writings of many early Church leaders, reformation theologians and more contemporary biblical scholars. In addition, Gurney draws upon the work of Jewish scholars and texts, and a wide range of historians and philosophers.[35] An issue highlighted by the *Christian Observer* was that the range of sources used by Gurney might seem overwhelming and a detriment to his case if *too* much reliance is placed upon sources that would be difficult for others to obtain; the concern also being that the reader was then entirely reliant upon Gurney's own interpretations.[36] Gurney, possibly sensitive to this issue, was himself keen to stress that for those who do not have access to such materials this should not be problematic because fundamentally it is God's Spirit that will enable the Scriptures to be properly understood and a 'true and experiential knowledge of religion'[37] gained. Nevertheless, Gurney's use of sources reveals his willingness when necessary, to go beyond the 'hedge' of his faith tradition, in order to help support an exegesis of Scripture. I argue this is an important aspect to his approach in studying the Bible and contributes to the concept of holistic scriptural exegesis.

The third element has been termed *perspectives* to reflect Gurney's views regarding the role that both reason and hermeneutical principles play in scriptural exegesis. Gurney does not see reliance upon God's Spirit as being incompatible with

[34] For example, in the *Essays*, no Quaker sources are used; see Gurney, *Essays*.
[35] The index to the *Biblical Notes* publication is particularly instructive in evidencing the wide range of sources used by Gurney; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, index i-ix.
[36] *The Christian Observer*, "Review of Davies, &c. On Divine Influences," December 1824, 777, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.74879766.
[37] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 128.

the use of reason in trying to understand the meaning of the Scriptures.[38] Instead, he sees it as a 'duty' to use resources and methods to help understand biblical text and these include 'History, geography, the records of ancient customs, and the testimony of modern travellers … the critical study of the original languages, and philology in all its legitimate applications'.[39] An example of this can be seen in his views about creation which he discusses in the article *Conversation on Geology*. Whilst he accepts the literal truth of Genesis 1, Gurney also argues that 'a fair interpretation of that chapter obviously allows a large scope, as relates to *time*'.[40] Nonetheless, more generally, it is clear that Gurney is wary of what he sees as the possibility that reason is relied upon *too* much and argues that ultimately there has to be an acceptance of its limitations and a willingness to embrace a trusting faith.[41]

Although he accepts the possibility that exegesis could sometimes be problematic,[42] Gurney generally has a confidence that biblical interpretation is relatively straightforward. For example, in his work *Puseyism*, he describes how 'laws of grammar and philology, and the science of exegesis, in all its branches, are open to all mankind, and have actually led to the pouring in of so much light on Scripture, as very much to fix its meaning'.[43] These comments reveal his readiness to use different approaches to interpret Scripture but his belief that the outcomes of such

[38] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 3.
[39] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 128- both quotations.
[40] Joseph John Gurney, "Conversation on Geology. Extracted from a Manuscript Entitled "Colloquia Edinensia."," *The Aurora Borealis, A Literary Annual* (Newcastle Upon Tyne: Charles Empson; London: Charles Tilt, 1833), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.aa0002977296. 184. In a later work, Gurney argues that between Genesis 1:1 and Genesis 1:2, a potentially indefinite period of time could have existed; see Joseph John Gurney, *Letter to a Clerical Friend on the Accordance of Geological Discovery with Natural and Revealed Religion* (Norwich: Printed by Josiah Fletcher, 1836), 11-12, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100050069552.0x000001.
[41] Gurney, *Hints*, 159.
[42] Gurney, *Hints*, 2.
[43] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 15.

exegesis have led to a consensus in their interpretation can be questioned given the nature of some of the biblical criticism that was developing in his day and the challenge this was presenting to orthodox Christianity.[44] Gurney was certainly aware of some of these developments but appears to have been optimistic that views which undermined beliefs, for example in Christ's divinity and the authority of the Bible, would be overridden by orthodoxy.[45]

The model's fourth element of *attitudes*, identifies Gurney's expectations of an individual's disposition and state of preparedness when studying the Scriptures. He comments on the need when exploring the Bible to avoid 'a haughty and self-sufficient spirit'[46] and that meekness and humility are important.[47] He also advocates an avoidance of bringing to the reading of the Scriptures a particular mind-set,[48] the need for '*broad impartiality*',[49] to make every effort to avoid personal beliefs influencing the selection and interpretation of texts and potentially skewing a correct exegesis,[50] and to also have a willingness to 'take the sacred records as they are given to us'[51] in a balanced way. Reading the Scriptures is therefore seen by Gurney as a spiritual exercise which requires serious preparation, the right mind-set and a

[44] For example, the work of Ferdinand Baur and David Strauss; see David Lincicum, "Criticism and Authority," in *The Oxford Handbook of Nineteenth-Century Christian Thought*, ed. Joel D. S. Rasmussen, Judith Wolfe, and Johannes Zachhuber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 76-77.
[45] Joseph John Gurney, *Address of J. J. Gurney, Esq. At the Thirty-Second Anniversary of the Norfolk and Norwich Auxiliary Bible Society, Held on the 27th of September, 1843* ([London]: Printed by Richard Watts, [1843?]), 4-5.
[46] Gurney, *Hints*, 1.
[47] Gurney, *Hints*, 2.
[48] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 124.
[49] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 124.
[50] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 3.
[51] Joseph John Gurney, "Christianity, a Religion of Motives," in *The Minor Works of Joseph John Gurney. In Two Volumes. Volume the Second* (London: Harvey and Darton; Norwich: J. Fletcher: 1839), 140.

readiness to be fully engaged with the text.[52] He also champions the daily reading of the Bible and is particularly anxious that young people are encouraged into this practice so that they can learn what the Scriptures say about 'the Lord Jesus, whose example, character, and doctrine, are brought before us in the most vivid manner in the four gospels'.[53] And whilst Gurney counters any idea that the Bible is simply to be interpreted as someone chooses, he advocates that under divine guidance, everyone should be encouraged to read and seek to understand the Scriptures.[54] These views are also mirrored as part of Gurney's advocacy for prison reform in which he recommends that prisoners should be able to have access to Bibles[55] and that 'the inculcation of peculiar and non-essential tenets be strictly avoided'.[56] In highlighting these different ways of engaging with the Scriptures, I argue that Gurney was promoting within the Society of Friends, the need for a more active involvement with the Bible, to have a greater recognition of the Bible's authority as a source of divine revelation and a desire to a nurture a culture of biblical study.

The model's fifth element of *outcomes* links biblical exegesis to practical application. This forms an integral part of Gurney's theology whereby the interpretation of scriptural text is not simply seen as an abstract, intellectual pursuit

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[52] Gurney's emphasis on the importance of avoiding eisegesis is an important one. The possibility that some of his own interpretations might also be susceptible to this is further explored in sections 2.6 and 2.7.
[53] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 123.
[54] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 15.
[55] Gurney, *Notes on a Visit Made to Some of the Prisons in Scotland and the North of England, in Company with Elizabeth Fry; with Some General Observations on the Subject of Prison Discipline*, 31.
[56] Gurney, *Notes on a Visit Made to Some of the Prisons in Scotland and the North of England, in Company with Elizabeth Fry; with Some General Observations on the Subject of Prison Discipline*, 148. In a joint work with Elizabeth Fry as first author, an issue was raised that some Roman Catholic priests in their chaplaincy role had stopped the Bible being read within some Irish prisons. In an attempt to resolve the problem, recommendations were made to address the concerns of the clergy; see Elizabeth Fry and Joseph John Gurney, *Report Addressed to the Marquess Wellesley, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, by Elizabeth Fry and Joseph John Gurney, Respecting Their Late Visit to That Country* 2nd ed. (Dublin: John Cumming and D. F. Gardiner, 1827), 18-19, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026169130.0x000001.

but one that informs, nourishes and guides an individual's spiritual life and everyday practice. For Gurney, the Scriptures speak to the human condition and 'every man who compares what it says of mankind with his own experience … is furnished with practical proof of the divine origin of our religion', and so the Bible is seen as 'the *portable* evidence of Christianity'.[57] There is therefore an *outcome* to studying the Scriptures and Gurney adjures the reader not to forget that the Christian faith exists 'for *practical purposes*' as well.[58]

The sixth element of the model and underpinning the whole of Gurney's approach to the Scriptures is his belief that without the *guidance of the Holy Spirit* they cannot be properly understood.[59] This emphasis on God's Spirit is vital to Gurney's approach to reading Scripture and for the outcome of exegesis to always be within a biblical framework. For example, in answer to a concern raised in the *Christian Observer* periodical, about the weight given by Quakers to inward revelation compared to the Bible,[60] Gurney comments that it is true that Friends believe 'that we cannot rightly understand the Scriptures without the aid of the Holy Spirit' but makes clear this is not the same as basing interpretation 'according to the impressions made on our own minds'.[61] The work of the Holy Spirit and the Scriptures are therefore seen by Gurney as operating in unison in an individual's

[57] Gurney, *Hints*, v- both quotations.
[58] Gurney, *Hints*, 2.
[59] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 124-25.
[60] *Christian Observer*, "The Society of Friends," 629.
[61] Gurney, "Mr. J. J. Gurney Upon the Divine Nature, and the Doctrines of Friends. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 674- both quotations.

spiritual life. He describes, for example, how his sister Elizabeth drew heavily upon the Bible[62] and that her ministry was under the blessing of God's Spirit.[63]

Gurney's holistic and systematic approach to studying the Scriptures therefore brought to Quakerism a collective set of methodologies which could be used to help understand divine revelation. Crucially, as this was set within a biblical framework, it meant that the focus of this revelation was Christocentric. This link between scriptural exegesis and Christology is further examined in the next section.

2.4 Scriptural exegeses and the Deity of Christ

2.4.1 Introduction

In this section, it is argued that many of Gurney's scriptural exegeses are directly linked to a key element of his Christology, namely his belief in the deity of Christ. This is demonstrated using examples from his publication *Biblical Notes*; a scholarly work written with an aim to present evidence of Christ's deity and uphold 'pure and orthodox Christianity'.[64] The principal approaches used by Gurney to aid his interpretation of the biblical texts are described by him as mainly 'critical and philological'[65] and based upon 'the obvious sense of Scripture'.[66] Interpretations are also often supported with references to New Testament Greek, Hebrew and Latin, alongside a wide ranging set of sources.

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[62] *Brief Memoirs of Thomas Fowell Buxton and Elizabeth Fry. With Some Corrections and Additions*, (London: Charles Gilpin; Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1845), 50.
[63] *Brief Memoirs of Thomas Fowell Buxton and Elizabeth Fry. With Some Corrections and Additions*, 54.
[64] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, iii. In a detailed review of the publication, *The Eclectic Review* was generally favourably disposed to the work and commented that it evidenced 'abundant marks of extensive reading and accomplished scholarship'; see *The Eclectic Review*, "Gurney's Biblical Dissertations," February 1833, 175, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.aa0001463223.
[65] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, iii.
[66] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, iv.

Belief in the deity of Christ is fundamental to Gurney's Christology and threaded through the publication are counter arguments designed to challenge Unitarian[67] viewpoints that could potentially undermine belief in the divinity of Christ. From the many examples of biblical exegesis contained within the work, three are used in sections 2.4.2 to 2.4.4, to illustrate Gurney's methodology.

2.4.2 Johannine exegesis and the pre-existence of Christ

One of the principal themes developed by Gurney in *Biblical Notes* is the scriptural basis for the pre-existence of Christ which is then used by him as supporting evidence to affirm Christ's deity. Several essays within the publication focus upon a particular time before the incarnation and these are used by Gurney to present evidence that Christ also existed at this time.[68] In this sub-section elements from three of these essays with their key biblical texts are discussed. These relate to the time before John the Baptist (John 1:15), before Abraham (John 8:58), and for all eternity (John 1:1).[69]

In reviewing part of the verse in John 1:15, which records the words spoken by John the Baptist, Gurney makes a comparison with a Unitarian translation. He argues, drawing upon his knowledge of the Greek language, that the original word for

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[67] Gurney makes several references to 'the Unitarian New Version of the New Testament'; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 40. For details about this Unitarian publication, see *The New Testament, in an Improved Version, Upon the Basis of Archbishop Newcome's New Translation: With a Corrected Text, and Notes Critical and Explanatory. Published by the Unitarian Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge and the Practice of Virtue, by the Distribution of Books. The Fourth Edition, with Corrections and Additions. [Edited by Thomas Belsham.]*, 4th ed. (London: Printed by Richard and Arthur Taylor, 1817), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah5h62. Michael Watts has argued that Unitarians had been more receptive to the findings of German biblical criticism and by around 1850 had rejected the idea of the Scriptures being infallible; see Michael R. Watts, "The Ground on Which Rational Christianity May Firmly Take Its Stand': Higher Criticism and the Unitarians," *The Dissenters Volume III: The Crisis and Conscience of Nonconformity* (Oxford: online edn, Oxford Academic, 2015), https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198229698.003.0003. 22.

[68] For example; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 40-122.

[69] These correspond to essays 2, 4 and 15 respectively; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 40-45, 52-63 and 264-96.

'*was*' in the translated verse of the Authorized Version[70] is correct with its use of the past tense. Similarly, he comments that although '*before*' can sometimes mean 'preeminence of station or dignity'[71] in the context of this particular verse its meaning is temporal and should be interpreted as being earlier in time. Consequently, Gurney considers that John 1:15 should be understood as Christ having existed prior to John the Baptist[72] and indeed Gurney's exegesis goes further to argue that Christ was also '*first* before him' and therefore 'before all other creatures also'.[73] This interpretation is used as a rebuttal of the Unitarian translation which neither affirms Christ's pre-existence nor His deity.

In his exegesis of John 8:58,[74] Gurney argues that the text 'plainly declares that before Abraham was born Jesus *existed*'.[75] In support of this interpretation, he also places particular weight on the views of the early Church leaders such as Origen and Chrysostom. Whilst Gurney makes clear that he has 'no intention to plead the authority of these writers as plenary or irresistible', he nevertheless argues there are several reasons why he sees them as being especially important.[76] This highlights Gurney's willingness to make use of selective external sources but at the same he shows caution in not conferring them too great an authority *in lieu* of the Scriptures. Nonetheless, the *reasons* Gurney uses to justify his reliance upon the early Church leaders are not all objective. Whilst for example, he comments that 'they wrote when

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[70] Gurney's cites the '*Eng*. *Trans*.' for part of this verse as '"He that cometh after me is preferred before me, for he *was before me.*"' (this wording is identical to the Authorized Version) and the Unitarian version as '"He who cometh after me, is before me, *for he is my principal*."' See Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 40.
[71] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 40- all quotations.
[72] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 40-41.
[73] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 42- both quotations.
[74] This verse is cited by Gurney as '"Verily, verily, I say unto you, before Abraham was, I am."' See Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 52.
[75] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 54.
[76] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 62, footnote 6.

the original language of the New Testament was a living language' and 'a great proportion of them used the same language themselves', he also uses more subjective criteria such as 'many of them, [were] men of eminent piety, sound religious principles, and great learning'.[77]

In his analysis of John 1:1,[78] Gurney robustly defends an orthodox position in which he sees the verse having 'the marks of *apostolic authority and decision*',[79] fully clear in its meaning and 'declaratory of the preexistence and deity of our Lord Jesus Christ'.[80] From this perspective, he disputes the Unitarian New Testament version that the word '*beginning*' in the verse refers to the start of Christ's work on Earth or the new dispensation[81] and also rejects the Socinian idea that 'the title *Word*…applied to Jesus Christ, merely because he was a person by whom the word of God was revealed'.[82] Gurney draws upon the authority of 'the early fathers of the Christian church' and argues that they knew and used 'the title *Word*, which they uniformly applied to the Son of God, *in reference to his divine and unchangeable nature*'.[83] Concerning the verse's words 'he was *with* God',[84] Gurney disagrees with the Unitarian position that Christ was with God in the same sense that '"Moses was with God in the mount"'[85] as he considers that the wording beforehand indicates that

[77] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 62, footnote 6. Later sections of this chapter further discuss the subjective nature of some of Gurney's exegeses.
[78] Cited by Gurney as '"In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God."' See Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 264.
[79] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 265.
[80] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 266.
[81] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 266.
[82] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 267.
[83] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 269. Gurney comments that 'the apostolic fathers- that is, the Christian writers who immediately succeeded the apostles' do not in their writings describe 'Christ … under the title Word', but nonetheless believed in His pre-existence; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 272- both quotations.
[84] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 273.
[85] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 273.

this is referring to Christ's pre-existence.[86] Similarly, he challenges a Unitarian revised presentation of the wording at the end of the verse where an indefinite article has been added.[87] He argues that such an interpretation would suggest the existence of more than one God, which is clearly counter to monotheism,[88] and that the Unitarian commentary is incorrect to suggest that the term '*a god*'[89] can be applied to Christ in reference to his prophetic ministry rather than His divinity.[90] Gurney also argues that there is no need for an article in the verse to be placed before the word 'God' which ends the verse. This is because there are several instances elsewhere in the Bible where similarly no article is used[91] and also grammatically, an article should not be used when the word is a '*predicate of the proposition*'.[92] The conclusion drawn by Gurney regarding this verse is of paramount importance to his Christology as it affirms his belief in Christ's deity.[93]

2.4.3 Philippians 2:5-9 and Kenotic Christology

In an essay devoted to Philippians 2:5-9,[94] Gurney places a particular focus on verses 6 and 7. With regards to the first part of verse 6, he is critical of the Unitarian

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[86] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 274.
[87] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 275.
[88] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 275.
[89] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 279.
[90] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 279-80.
[91] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 277-78.
[92] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 278.
[93] For an example of a modern day exegesis of John 1:1 leading to the same interpretation, see Benjamin L. Merkle, *Exegetical Gems from Biblical Greek. A Refeshing Guide to Grammar and Interpretation* (Grand Rapids, MI: Baker Academic, 2019), 10-14.
[94] The verses which follow are from Gurney's publication, which in turn have come from what he terms the '*Eng. Trans.*' (this is assumed to be the Authorized Version). The text in brackets has been added by Gurney. I have added verse numbers for ease of reference;
'"[5] Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus:[6] who, being (or subsisting) in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal (or on an equality) with God: [7] but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men (or-but reduced himself, taking the form of a servant, being made in the likeness of men): [8] and being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross. [9] Wherefore God also hath highly exalted him, &c."' See Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 97.

argument that Christ was a human who had been given '"divine powers'"[95] from God, rather than seeing Him as being both God and human. He argues that the original Greek participle in this part of the verse, which has been translated as meaning 'being', indicates 'a *substantial* or *natural* existence'.[96] And similarly, the word translated as 'form' should be understood as an *actual* expression 'of the *thing itself*'.[97] Consequently, Gurney views the first part of verse 6 as evidencing 'that Christ *possessed and displayed the characteristic attributes of the Deity*'.[98] Gurney extends his exegesis of this part of the verse, and with the support of a wide range of sources, he makes the case that the wording means that Christ has 'the *essential nature*, of God'[99] as well. Likewise, with reference to the wording of Christ being '"equal (or on an equality) with God"'[100] in the second part of verse 6, Gurney views the equivalent Unitarian translation, '"*the resemblance to God*."',[101] as diluting the significance of the original meaning. Instead, he argues that on the basis of a detailed examination of the Greek text, this part of the verse is speaking of Christ's '*equality with God*'.[102]

Philippians 2.6 has been a long standing area of Christological controversy.[103] The issue centres on the word *harpagmos*, a transliteration of the original Greek word.[104] Robert Murray describes its meaning as being 'to seize or snatch' which in

[95] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 98.
[96] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 98.
[97] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 98.
[98] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 99.
[99] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 99.
[100] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 97.
[101] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 101.
[102] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 105.
[103] For example; see L. D. Hurst, "Re-Enter the Pre-Existent Christ in Philippians 2.5–11?," *New Testament Studies* 32, no. 3 (1986): 449, https://doi.org/10.1017/S0028688500013679.
[104] N. T. Wright describes how this word 'plays an obviously crucial, but often baffling, role in the second half of v.6' and notes that it does not appear anywhere else in the New Testament; see N. T. Wright, "Ἁρπαγμός and the Meaning of Philippians 2: 5-11," *The Journal of Theological Studies* 37, no. 2 (1986): 321. http://www.jstor.org/stable/23962449.

the context of verse 6, could be interpreted in one of two ways; 'to the act of seizing or the thing seized'.[105] Gurney's interpretation is the former.[106] This reflects a key element of his Christology which is consistent with believing in the deity of Christ and His pre-existence, so 'that *before his incarnation*, he was "in the form of God, and thought it not robbery to be equal with God"'.[107]

Gurney's exegesis of verse 7 also highlights another important part of his Christology. Christ's voluntary adoption of servanthood and an 'emptying'[108] of Himself at the incarnation is not seen by him as meaning that His divine nature is lost at this point as he considers this an impossibility because God's nature cannot change.[109] Consequently, he argues that during his time on Earth, Jesus Christ 'veiled his glory'[110] and quoting from the Congregationalist minister, John Pye-Smith,[111] Gurney comments that Christ 'in a great degree abstained from the "manifestations and outward exercises of the divine perfections."'[112] Gurney does not elaborate any further on this but in essence the kenotic Christology[113] he has articulated places its focal point on the incarnation when Christ's human nature came

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[105] Robert Murray, "Philippians," in *The Oxford Bible Commentary*, ed. John Barton and John Muddiman (2001; paperback, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 1184.
[106] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 112.
[107] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 119.
[108] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 119.
[109] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 119.
[110] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 119.
[111] John Pye Smith was a significant figure within Non-Conformism. For further details; see R. Tudur Jones, "Smith, John Pye (1774–1851), Congregational Minister," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004). https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-25862.
[112] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 119-20. For the original source of the quotation; see John Pye Smith, *The Scripture Testimony to the Messiah: An Inquiry with a View to a Satisfactory Determination of the Doctrine Taught in the Holy Scriptures Concerning the Person of Christ. In Three Volumes. Volume 2. Second Edition, Much Improved and Enlarged*, 2nd ed., 2 (London: Holdsworth and Ball, 1829), 444, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah4p8t.
[113]This is not a term used by Gurney himself. David Law describes how ''kenosis' has come to … denote the means by which divine and human natures were able to be united in the incarnate Christ without compromising the integrity of either nature'; see David R. Law, *Kierkegaard's Kenotic Christology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 34.

into co-existence alongside His pre-existing divine nature through an 'emptying or reducing himself from his condition of glorious exaltation'.[114] *The way* Gurney has therefore affirmed Jesus Christ's divine and human natures has not been by suggesting that some divine attributes have been *abandoned*.[115] This stands in contrast to some of the developments which took place within kenotic Christology during the first half of the nineteenth century which Bruce McCormack has highlighted, particularly with regards to the Erlangen school and the work of Gottfried Thomasius.[116] The latter's emphasis on Christ's *abandonment* rather than a *suspension* of some of His divine attributes at the incarnation differs sharply with Gurney's more orthodox position. Gurney's emphasis on both natures of Jesus Christ and his unwillingness to marginalise the importance of His divine nature, is a hallmark of his faith and forms an essential part of his understanding of the Christian *system* of religion[117] and God's redemptive plan.[118]

Larry Hurtado has commented that many theologians nowadays view the Philippians 2: 6-11 passage as either originating from or being 'an early Christian "hymn" or "Christological ode" whose original provenance was in the setting of

[114] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 119.
[115] To use a parallel example, in their discussions about the kenotic beliefs of the sixteenth century Lutheran theologian, Martin Chemnitz, both Law and Bruce McCormack comment how Chemnitz believed the incarnate Christ maintained a divine nature but withheld expressing certain elements of it; see David R. Law, "Luther's Legacy and the Origins of Kenotic Christology," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 93, no. 2 (2017): 47. https://www.manchesterhive.com/view/journals/bjrl/93/2/article-p41.xml. and Bruce McCormack, "Kenoticism in Modern Christology," in *The Oxford Handbook of Christology*, ed. Francesca Aran Murphy (2015; paperback, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 448. I argue that Gurney saw kenosis in a similar way to Chemnitz in not regarding kenosis as divestment. To quote McCormack but in a different context, this type of kenotic Christology is 'taking place through addition rather than subtraction; that is, through an assumption of human 'nature''; see McCormack, "Kenoticism in Modern Christology," 445.
[116] McCormack, "Kenoticism in Modern Christology," 450-51.
[117] See section 1.6.
[118] Given that Gurney devotes a whole essay to Philippians 2:5-9, it is striking that no reference is made to this passage by Barclay in his *Apology*. I suggest this reflects the emphasis Gurney placed on the historic Christ in comparison to Barclay.

corporate worship'.[119] Whilst Hurtado sees this as a modern day understanding of the context of these verses, it is interesting to note the distinctive way in which Gurney sums up part of this passage in the *Biblical Notes* through a combination of semi-creedal statements followed by more poetic language.[120] Whether this literary style to mirror a hymnal theme was intentional or not can be debated, but it is nonetheless evidence of the importance which Gurney attached to these verses and indeed parallels the significance which Hurtado believes was afforded to them by the early Church in its faithful commitment to Jesus Christ.[121]

2.4.4 Titus 2:11-14 and grammatical rules for interpretation

In his twentieth essay of *Biblical Notes*, Gurney makes a particular examination of Titus 2:11-14.[122] He identifies that the Authorized Version presents some ambiguity as to whether the part of the verse which says '*the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ'* should be understood as referring to 'one or of two persons'.[123] He argues that due to 'sound critical reasons, as well as of the authority of the ancient church in general'[124] *both* of these terms related to Christ. The significance therefore of this particular interpretation is its affirmation of Christ's deity.

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[119] Larry W. Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God? Historical Questions About Earliest Devotion to Jesus* (Grand Rapids, Michigan and Cambridge, U.K: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 2005), 84.
[120] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 122.
[121] Hurtado, *How on Earth Did Jesus Become a God? Historical Questions About Earliest Devotion to Jesus*, 87.
[122] Quoted by Gurney as '"For the grace of God which bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men, teaching us that, denying ungodliness, and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of *the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ*, who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works."' See Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 398.
[123] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 398- both quotations.
[124] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 399.

Key to this exegesis is Gurney's use of some Greek grammatical rules[125] which he employs to argue that the text should be understood as referring to one person.[126] He also addresses any criticism that such a rule would not operate within 'the less cultivated dialect'[127] of the New Testament writers as being unfounded, as it was 'so plain a principle, that it could hardly be otherwise than *practically familiar* to every writer and speaker of Greek'.[128] Along with seeing this interpretation being 'plainly supported by the context' of the verse,[129] Gurney concludes 'Jesus is not only OUR SAVIOUR, but OUR GOD'.[130] This interpretation highlights the pivotal role an analysis of grammar and language sometimes played in Gurney's exegeses and which informed his Christology.[131]

Gurney also highlights several other passages of Scripture[132] where the application of similar principles and grammatical rules of interpretation suggest 'that Jesus Christ is denominated GOD'.[133] Collectively these scriptural texts, with their

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[125] If 'two or more attributives, joined by a copulative or copulatives, are *assumed* of the same person or thing, persons or things, the article is *inserted* before the first of such attributives, but is *not repeated* before the remaining ones' and if 'two or more attributives, so connected, are *assumed* of different persons or things, the article is inserted before each of them in succession'; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 399-400.

[126] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 414.

[127] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 410.

[128] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 411.

[129] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 416.

[130] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 419.

[131] Gurney was not alone in reaching this particular interpretation.For example, the American Presbyterian theologian Albert Barnes, a contemporary of Gurney, held a similar view; see Albert Barnes, *Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Epistles of Paul to the Thessalonians, to Timothy, to Titus, and to Philemon* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1859), 316, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t46q21k75. Barnes' various works had received a wide circulation; see Earl A. Pope, "Albert Barnes, the Way of Salvation, and Theological Controversy," *Journal of Presbyterian History (1962-1985)* 57, no. 1 (1979): 21. https://www.jstor.org/stable/23327935.

[132] Ephesians 5:5, 2 Peter 1:1, 2 Thessalonians 1:12, 1 Timothy 5:21 and Jude 4; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 420-22. According to Daniel Wallace, these verses along with Titus 2:13, 2 Timothy 4:1 and Acts 20:28, constitute 'eight Christologically significant texts' which the biblical scholar Granville Sharp examined using his formulated grammatical rules; see Daniel. B. Wallace, "Granville Sharp: A Model of Evangelical Scholarship and Social Activism," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 41, no. 4 (1998): 606. https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/granville-sharp-model-evangelical-scholarship/docview/211235543/se-2.

[133] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 420.

focus on Christ's deity, demonstrate the centrality of this belief to his Christology. Bright has argued that a particular feature of Gurney's theology was his focus on the human nature of Christ during His ministry on Earth.[134] Although the importance of this is not disputed, I argue that the emphasis placed by Gurney on Christ's divinity is greater because of his concern that without this belief people diminish the significance of sin and the need for redemption.[135]

2.5 Biblical Prophecy regarding Jesus Christ

2.5.1 Introduction

In this section, the focus is on prophecy and it is argued that Gurney's emphasis on the exegesis of particular prophetic scriptural texts was used to demonstrate their realisation in Jesus Christ and thereby affirm His divinity. Prophetic fulfilment of this nature is also seen by him as evidence for the genuineness of Christianity and a concept which can be applied to an educational setting for young Friends as part of their learning about the Scriptures.

2.5.2 The use of prophecy: early Quakers and Gurney compared

Prophecies recorded in the Bible as predictions about the future, whether concerning particular people, nations or events, or prophecies made by Christ or about Him, collectively form an important part of Gurney's theology.[136] Gurney also saw '*prophesying*' in the context of the Apostle Paul's teaching, namely as a spiritual gift for those individuals who lead in 'preaching, praying, and singing praises,'[137] as a

[134] Bright, "'Friends Have No Cause to Be Ashamed of Being by Others Thought Non-Evangelical': Unity and Diversity of Belief among Early Nineteenth-Century British Quakers," 345-46.
[135] Gurney, *Essays*, 544-45.
[136] For example; see (a) Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 297-350. (b) Gurney, *Essays*, 43-61. and (c) Gurney, *Hints*, 12-21.
[137] Gurney, *Observations*, 196- both quotations.

result of being directly inspired by the Holy Spirit.[138] In his *Declaration*, he affirms the early Quaker understanding and practice that both men and women can participate in the prophetic ministry as outlined in Joel 2:28.[139]

Many prophecies within the Old Testament were a particular focus for Gurney's writings and seen by him as foretelling Christ's incarnation, ministry and atonement; and at the same time, also highlighting both His human and divine natures. The fulfilment of these prophecies as recorded in the New Testament helped to substantiate Gurney's belief in the authenticity of Christianity as a divinely authorised religion.[140] This reinforced for him the vital link between the Old and New Testaments,[141] and how both were a necessary and essential part of the scriptural canon. Gurney also regarded the prophecies, as recorded in the New Testament, which Christ Himself had made and which had been fulfilled, as reflecting His prophetic office.[142] Biblical prophecy therefore helped to both illuminate Gurney's Christology and reaffirm his belief in the divine authority of the Bible.

Whilst prophecy in Gurney's works was primarily based within the existing framework of the biblical record, in contrast, many early Friends presented to the world what they believed God had shown them as a result of their *own* experience of immediate revelation. Prophetic ministry of this type was a hallmark of early

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[138] Gurney, *Observations*, 196-97. Although not referenced in any of Gurney's published writings, there is a report of an unusual occurrence which took place during his time in America involving what would seem to be a prophetic ministry made by him in which he forewarned a husband and wife of their early deaths; a prediction that came to pass. See "The Lord Confirming the Word by Signs Following. [Extract from a Letter by Moses H. Beede]," *Friends' Review. A Religious, Literary and Miscellaneous Journal* Third month 2, 1872, 433-35, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah6gjp. The account also appears in a later issue of the *Annual Monitor*; see *The Annual Monitor for 1891, or Obituary of the Members of the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland, for the Year 1890*, (London: sold by Edward Hicks, Jun.; York: Mary Sessions; Dublin: John Gough; Scarborough: the editor, William Robinson, 1890), 179-87, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433082206909.
[139] Gurney, *Declaration*, 11.
[140] Gurney, *Essays*, 54-57.
[141] Gurney, *Four Lectures*, 83.
[142] Gurney, *Essays*, 45-48.

Quakerism and although biblical language was often used as part of the prophetic message, the message itself came from individuals rather than the Scriptures themselves. However, prophecy for early Friends was likely to have been set against a background of belief which Gwyn has described as 'a 'realizing eschatology".[143] Consequently, prophetic messages often had an urgency and warning associated with them.[144] In contrast, a 'later' work in 1694 by the Quaker, John Tomkins, highlights a different perspective on prophecy. This has a greater Christological focus whereby Tomkins presents Old Testament texts considered by him to be prophecies about Christ and links these to relevant New Testament texts to show their fulfilment.[145] Gurney's approach to the examination of prophecy was similar[146] and therefore his practice can be seen as being more rooted in this *later period* of early Quakerism.

During his lifetime, Gurney was not alone in exploring Old Testament prophecies and linking these to New Testament texts which suggest their fulfilment.[147] Others who were contemporary to him but outside of Quakerism, such

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[143] Gwyn, "Quakers, Eschatology, and Time," 205.

[144] For example, Dorothy White, who played a major part in this prophetic outreach, wrote in *A Lamentation unto this Nation* how 'verily the day is at hand, that the Lord God will pour out his wrath without *mixture*', and that she was sending 'a *Message* and a *Warning*' to people; see D. W. [Dorothy White], *A Lamentation Unto This Nation; and Also, a Warning to All People, of This Present Age and Generation; with the Voice of Thunder, Sounded Forth from the Throne of the Lord God. And This Is More Particularly, a Warning Unto the Inhabitants of England: And Is to Go Abroad Thorow All Parts of This Nation. [Signed by D. W., i.e. Dorothy White.]* (London: Printed for Robert Wilson, [1660]), 8- both quotations, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100054527605.0x000001.

[145] John Tomkins, *The Harmony of the Old and New Testament and the Fulfilling of the Prophets, Concerning Our Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and His Kingdom. And the Grace and Glory That Shall Be Reveal'd in the Latter Days. Published for the Benefit of Christians and Jews, by J.T. One of the People in Scorn Call'd Quakers. With an Appendix to the Jews by W.P.* (London: Printed for Tho. Northcott, 1694), https://www.proquest.com/books/harmony-old-new-testament-fulfilling-prophets/docview/2240931097/se-2.

[146] As outlined in sub-section 2.5.3.

[147] For example, the Anglican priest Thomas Hartwell Horne, provides a formal classification and comprehensive account of four different types of prophecy including prophecies about the Messiah; see Horne, *An Introduction to the Critical Study and Knowledge of the Holy Scriptures. Second Edition, Revised, Corrected, and Enlarged. Illustrated with Numerous Maps and Fac-Similies of Biblical Manuscripts. Volume 1*, 339.

as the Anglican priest, Edward Bickersteth, had also made an especial study of prophecies.[148] However, the growth in biblical criticism during the first half of the nineteenth century, particularly in Germany but also in Britain, meant that orthodox theology including affirming the divinity of Christ was being challenged.[149] At the same time, a counter narrative that maintained a more conservative position also existed and so the wider theological milieu Gurney operated in was complex.[150]

2.5.3 Gurney's use of biblical prophecy

In the reported account of Gurney's *Four Lectures*, he proposes that three criteria need to be met to confirm 'the divine origin of a prophecy'.[151] First, that the prediction has taken place *before* its realisation. Secondly, the nature of the prophecy needs to be one that could not be made simply on the basis of an individual's own knowledge, understanding or wisdom, and therefore it has to be from God. And thirdly, historical evidence is needed to authenticate the claim that the prophecy has been accomplished.[152] In formulating these criteria, Gurney is attempting to establish a threshold that a potential prophecy must meet in order for its authenticity to be

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[148] Edward Bickersteth, *A Practical Guide to the Prophecies, with Reference to Their Interpretation and Fulfilment, and to Personal Edification. From the Sixth London Edition, Enlarged* (Philadelphia: Orrin Rogers, 1841), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015063544889.

[149] For example; see John W. Rogerson, "The Bible and Theology," in *The Blackwell Companion to Nineteenth-Century Theology*, ed. David Fergusson (Newark: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2010), 455-61. ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=514446. and David Fergusson, "History, Tradition, and Skepticism: The Patterns of Nineteenth-Century Theology," ed. Warren Breckman and Peter E. Gordon, vol. 1, *Chapter. The Cambridge History of Modern European Thought: Volume 1: The Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), https://doi.org/10.1017/9781316160855.004. 70-72.

[150] For example; see Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, *Christology of the Old Testament, and a Commentary on the Predictions of the Messiah by the Prophets. Translated from the German, by Reuel Keith*, vol. 3 (Washington, D. C.: William M. Morrison; Boston: Crocker and Brewster; New York: Gould, Newman, and Saxton; Philadelphia: William Marshall, and Co., 1839). https://hdl.handle.net/2027/yale.39002007524300.

[151] Gurney, *Four Lectures*, 62.

[152] Gurney, *Four Lectures*, 62-63. In *Hints*, Gurney also gives further arguments to disprove any suggestion that a prophecy could have been made *after* the predicted event or that Christ sought ways to fulfil prophecies purely in order to affirm their fulfilment; see Gurney, *Hints*, 18-19 and 20-21.

validated, and as he makes clear in *Hints*, to be aware 'that neither were these prophecies produced by the events, nor the events occasioned by the prophecies'.[153]

In the third essay of his *Essays* publication, Gurney places a particular focus on prophecies[154] as a way of demonstrating Christianity's divine origin, arguing 'that an *actual knowledge* of the future' is a feature which belongs to God and '*that a religion which is attested by such prophecies is a divinely authorized religion'*.[155] Gurney provides a range of New Testament texts to demonstrate that 'Jesus Christ himself was a prophet.'[156] He does this by giving a concise account of aspects of Jesus' ministry linked to particular texts. For example, Christ's assurance to His disciples that they would receive the Holy Spirit after His ascent to heaven is seen by Gurney as being 'plainly foretold by Jesus' as recorded in John 14:16, John 16:7 and Acts 1:5,8. Of particular note, is Gurney's exegesis of Matthew 24 in which he sees Christ making a two-fold prediction; the first concerning 'the fall and desolation of Jerusalem' which he considers has already happened, and the second part relating to the end time which is yet to come.[157] The latter is linked by Gurney to Matthew 24:34-36 and his view that 'these awful and still future events' await fulfilment.[158]

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[153] Gurney, *Hints*, 18.
[154] Gurney, *Essays*, 43.
[155] Gurney, *Essays*, 44- both quotations.
[156] Gurney, *Essays*, 45.
[157]Gurney, *Essays*, 46. Reference is also made to Josephus as a historical source concerning the fall of Jerusalem; see Gurney, *Essays*, 47.
[158] Gurney, *Essays*, 47. It is interesting to note that Barclay links Matthew 24:27 to 'the day of God's gracious visitation to thy soul' which implies an individualised form of reckoning rather than for the whole of humanity at the same time; see Barclay, *Apology*, 141. Pennington has argued that Barclay 'emphasized the salvation of the individual, universally available' but did not link this to a wider soteriological happening involving others; see Pennington, *Quakers, Christ, and the Enlightenment*, 156. Gerard Guiton has also argued that early Quakers gave less emphasis to the orthodox view of a final day of judgement; see Gerard Guiton, "The Kingdom of God, Quakers, and the Politics of Compassion," in *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 223.

Gurney also discusses prophecies within the Old Testament with a particular focus on those which foretell of the Messiah. He presents approximately fifty prophecies from twelve books of the Old Testament with an especial emphasis on Isaiah and some of the Psalms.[159] Gurney sees these prophecies being fulfilled in Jesus Christ.[160] They are viewed by him as being a dramatic illustration of God's divine plan for humanity. Their number and variety over such a long time period[161] are seen 'as so many *rays* of divine instruction … and in the end meeting to display the fulness of their light in a *single focus*'[162] in the person of Jesus Christ.

Biblical prophecy therefore forms an integral part of Gurney's Christology and he likens the fulfilment of Old Testament prophecies in Christ as being 'a lock and key [which] precisely correspond'[163] with each other and show that they both 'proceeded from the same master-hand'.[164] I argue that this perceived harmony of design fits well with Gurney's views about Christianity being a *system* of religion which include the divinely authorised Scriptures pointing as a waymark to God's final revelation in Jesus Christ. The 'lock and key' idea is referenced in some of Gurney's other works as well. For example, in *Hints*, he comments how this New Testament key can help to unlock parts of the Old Testament and assist in the understanding of scriptural texts which would otherwise have remained a mystery to the reader.[165]

Such was the importance of prophecy to Gurney, that he made it a major theme of another work which was specifically aimed at young Friends. In this

[159] Gurney, *Essays*, 55-57.
[160] Gurney, *Essays*, 59-60.
[161] Gurney, *Essays*, 58.
[162] Gurney, *Essays*, 59.
[163] Gurney, *Essays*, 60.
[164] Gurney, *Essays*, 61.
[165] Gurney, *Hints*, 18.

publication, *Guide to the Instruction of Young Persons in the Holy Scriptures*; *Including the Lock and Key*[166] one of his aims was that students should know about the major prophecies and types that speak of Christ, and also where these appear and are used in the New Testament. In the work, Gurney uses a relatively short narrative to outline the prophetic predictions made about the life of Christ, linking these to specific Old Testament verses. He then uses a second narrative with similar wording and references from New Testament verses to show how these predictions were fulfilled. The 'lock and key' idea is used to show 'that the prophecies concerning Jesus Christ were true prophecies; that they were inspired by an omniscient God' and that consequently Christianity 'is a religion of divine origin'.[167] The publication ends with a tabulation of three columns; the first, lists references to Old Testament prophetic verses; the third, has the corresponding New Testament text related to that prophecy, and the second, middle column carries brief statements to describe the nature of the prophecies.[168] Several of the Old Testament texts listed in the table are also found in the third essay of the *Essays* publication, and both publications have some additional biblical texts which are not found in the other. The texts in common highlight various aspects of Christology including the birth of Jesus, miracles

[166] Gurney, "Guide to the Instruction of Young Persons in the Holy Scriptures; Including the Lock and Key." 103-16.
[167] Gurney, "Guide to the Instruction of Young Persons in the Holy Scriptures; Including the Lock and Key," 112.
[168] The table has biblical texts from sixteen different books of the Old Testament which address over sixty themes connected to Jesus Christ. The range of books used indicates Gurney's belief that prophetic evidence concerning Jesus Christ is present both within and outside the prophetic books of the Bible, although many texts do come within this former category particularly from Isaiah. The middle column of themes represents Gurney's brief description of the relevant texts, all of which link to Jesus Christ in some way. The themes do not form a single continuous narrative because the Old Testament texts are arranged in canonical order and not by theme. However, from the themes, major Christological elements and phrasing are apparent including 'Christ, the Son of God', 'Christ, the Light of the Gentiles, and the Saviour of the world', and 'The blood of Christ's Covenant delivers from the bondage of sin'; see Gurney, "Guide to the Instruction of Young Persons in the Holy Scriptures; Including the Lock and Key," 114-15.

performed, suffering and sacrifice, and the resurrection. However, an examination of the additional texts which are only present in the *Guide*, suggests that *some* of them may have been included to highlight the Quaker emphasis on God's Spirit.[169] Given that the *Guide* was written for young Quakers in mind, I argue this is a good example of Gurney showing what he perceives to be the biblical roots of Quaker theology. In the *Essays*, where the readership was intended for the wider Christian Church these texts are not given as examples because I suggest Gurney wishes to provide a different (but not mutually exclusive) emphasis. The statements in the *Guide's* table are therefore in effect, acting as 'exegetical micro summaries' of Gurney's interpretation of them, and provide an example of his adherence to several elements of orthodox Christology.

For the purposes of further analysis of Gurney's approach to biblical prophecy it is useful to reflect on how these relate to some particular principles of scriptural interpretation. Writing from a modern-day Christian perspective,[170] Gordon Fee and Douglas Stuart, highlight that it should not be assumed that all Old Testament prophecy is predicting about Christ or the distant future. They argue that whilst some prophecy is connected with this, much should be seen in its original historical context and as being meant for people at the time it was written.[171] Fee and Stuart also suggest that for some prophecies there can be a duality in meaning which applies to both the historic context of when the prophecy was first made *and* much further into

[169] Examples include Isaiah 55:1-5 cited with the accompanying statement 'Living Water or the Holy Spirit given through Christ'; Jeremiah 31, 31-44 and 'The Spiritual nature of the Christian dispensation'; and Joel 2. 28-32 and 'Effusion of the Holy Spirit after the ascension of Christ'; see Gurney, "Guide to the Instruction of Young Persons in the Holy Scriptures; Including the Lock and Key," 114-15.
[170] Gordon D. Fee and Douglas Stuart, *How to Read the Bible for All Its Worth*, 4th ed. (Grand Rapids, Michigan: Zondervan Academic, 2014), 17.
[171] Fee and Stuart, *How to Read the Bible for All Its Worth*, 188.

the future.[172] Reviewing Gurney's approach in light of Fee and Stuart's points, it is possible to see that he has to a degree, recognised the significance of a text's original meaning.[173] He describes how prophetic prediction of the future might therefore have a 'double sense' and also how 'temporal and spiritual predictions' can become '*intermingled*' although still discernible from each other.[174] Nonetheless, for many Old Testament prophecies, it would appear that Gurney has generally placed little emphasis on any original context and instead focused on the link between the relevant Old and New Testament texts.

Alongside what Gurney sees as the fulfilment of particular Old Testament predictions, he also argues that some prophecies are akin to 'types'.[175] For example, he suggests that 'Moses, David, and Solomon, may justly be regarded as having been, in some respects, personal types of the Messiah'.[176] Consequently, in this sense, Gurney sees some Old Testament prophecies having to a degree 'a double application' with regard to both the type and antitype although he considers this to be the case only '*to a certain extent*' and also notes for many Old Testament prophecies 'a considerable proportion …are susceptible *only* of a direct and exclusive application to the *Messiah* himself'.[177]

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[172] Fee and Stuart, *How to Read the Bible for All Its Worth*, 207.
[173] For example, see; Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 317.
[174] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 317- both quotations.
[175] Gurney, *Essays*, 57.
[176] Gurney, *Essays*, 58.
[177] Gurney, *Essays*, 58- all quotations. As a general observation, an 'overlap' being made in this way between prophecy and typology can be problematic. Geoffrey Grogan notes that whilst they share common features, a key difference lies in the nature of their 'retrospective recognition' which for typology involves 'both form and content' but for prophecy 'content only'; see Geoffrey Grogan, "The Relationship between Prophecy and Typology," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 4, no. 1 (1986): 13. https://www.biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/sbet/04-1_005.pdf.

An example of Gurney's approach to the interpretation of prophecy can be seen in his exegesis of Isaiah 7:14[178] which he considers to be a prophecy predicting the virgin birth of Jesus Christ, the Messiah. Gurney argues that prior to this time there is no evidence that the prophecy had been fulfilled.[179] For example, he rejects the idea that the verse might be referring to Hezekiah[180] or about a future son of Isaiah.[181] Instead, he interprets it as a prediction concerning the coming of the Messiah and then links this to the coming of Jesus Christ.[182] Micah 5: 2-4 is also used as supporting evidence. However, Gurney's main evidence is 'the positive declaration'[183] in Matthew 1:23 along with some other verses in this chapter, which he considers collectively show the prophecy's fulfilment.[184] In giving this example of exegesis, it is not the intention to assess the relative merits of Gurney's arguments in comparison to other views held about the Isaiah 7:14 and Matthew 1:23 texts; passages which have been the source of much debate.[185] The key point being made is that the *outcome* of Gurney's interpretation is his belief that an Old Testament prophecy was fulfilled in the coming of Christ and that this view unites with the

[178] Cited by Gurney (based on Lowth's translation of Isaiah) as 'Therefore, JEHOVAH himself shall give you a sign: Behold, the VIRGIN conceiveth and beareth (or shall conceive and bear) a son: And she shall call his name IMMANUEL'; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 325.
[179] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 325.
[180] Gurney cites Justin in connection with this; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 325. Gurney argues that Hezekiah had been born a few years before the prophecy had been made. On the basis that the prophecy is predicting a *future* birth he therefore does not consider it to be referring to Hezekiah; see; Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 326.
[181] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 325.
[182] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 327. Although Gurney acknowledges a tradition that considered Hezekiah to be the person being referred to in the text, he argues that it is likely that others including 'Jonathan, the Targumist' thought the verse was about the Messiah, and he uses this as evidence instead (see aforementioned reference).
[183] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 327.
[184] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 328-29.
[185] For example; see R. Coggins, "Isaiah," in *The Oxford Bible Commentary*, ed. John Barton and John Muddiman (2001; paperback, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 445. and
Dale C Allison, Jr, "Matthew," in *The Oxford Bible Commentary*, ed. John Barton and John Muddiman (2001; paperback, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 849.

Matthean understanding of the Isaiah verse.[186] Consequently, biblical prophecy has been used by him to affirm the orthodox Christian belief in the virgin birth of Christ.[187]

2.6 The Sacraments

2.6.1 Introduction

In upholding the Quaker belief that the outwardly performed 'rites' of '*baptism with water*' and '*the Lord's Supper*'[188] are no longer needed under the Christian dispensation,[189] the argument made in this chapter section is that Gurney's exegesis is both distinctive in its Christology in comparison to an orthodox Christian interpretation but also prone to a degree of inconsistency when compared to the way the Scriptures have been interpreted by him in relation to other aspects of theology.

2.6.2 Gurney's underpinning argument

In his written works, Gurney takes a consistent approach in the rejection of any outward practice of rites. He also disagrees with the idea that such rites are divine ordinances and neither does he consider them to be sacramental.[190] His main treatises on the subject can be found in *Observations*[191] and *Puseyism*[192] but there are also useful insights and overviews of his beliefs in some other publications too.[193] In *Observations*, Gurney notes that whilst Christians generally agree 'that, when the

[186] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 328.
[187] As cited in the Nicene Creed, for example; see Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes. In Three Volumes. Volume 1. The History of Creeds*, 28.
[188] Gurney, *Observations*, 99.
[189] Gurney, *Observations*, 100.
[190] For example; see Gurney, *Observations*, 169-70.
[191] Gurney, *Observations*, 99-177.
[192] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 68-90.
[193] For example, see both (a) Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 48. and (b) *The Contribution of a Member of the Society of Friends, to a Lady's Album*, 2nd ed. (Norwich: Printed by S. Wilkin, 1827), 5-8. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081820284. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Lady's Album*.

New Covenant was established in the world, by the death of Christ, the ceremonies of the Jewish law were abolished',[194] he nonetheless acknowledges that particularly baptism by water and the Eucharist[195] have continued to be practised by many in the wider church.[196] In presenting the Quaker view regarding these practices, Gurney comments:

> that we have been led out of the practice of these rites by the Spirit of Truth; that we could not recur to them without grieving our heavenly Monitor; and that, in fact, they are not in accordance with the entire spirituality of the Gospel dispensation.[197]

This is the lynchpin of Gurney's arguments in the rejection of outward rites and it has for example, been presented in modern scholarship as reflecting the traditional Quaker view.[198] It is significant that Gurney on this occasion appears to place direct revelation by the Holy Spirit as the primary reason for disuse of these practices rather than biblical exegesis.[199] This was noted by the *Christian Observer* which saw Gurney's comment making 'no allusion to Scriptural authority'[200] and was also identified as an issue by the 'Johnsonian Baptist', Seacome Ellison,[201] who suggested Gurney's 'monitor must be something of your own imagination' and

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[194] Gurney, *Observations*, 99.
[195] Gurney, *Observations*, 99. Gurney predominantly uses the term '*the Lord's Supper'* [for example; see Gurney, *Observations*, 99.] but also uses other equivalent terms such as 'eucharist' [for example; see Gurney, *Puseyism*, 69.]
[196] Gurney rejects the other sacraments which are upheld by some Christian traditions, namely '*Confirmation*', '*Penance*', '*Ordination*', '*Extreme Unction*' and '*Marriage*'; see Gurney, *Puseyism*, 69-71. He also acknowledges that within those Christian traditions which do affirm the ordinances of baptism and the Lord's Supper this may or may not also mean that these ordinances are considered to be sacraments; see Gurney, *Observations*, 148-50.
[197] Gurney, *Observations*, 100.
[198] Stephen W. Angell, "Early Friends' View of the Sacraments," *Quaker Religious Thought* 109, Article 2 (2007): 7-8. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol109/iss1/2.
[199] The spiritual nature of Christianity is seen by Gurney as being rooted in a 'principle … declared in a clear and forcible manner by Jesus Christ himself'; see Gurney, *Observations*, 100.
[200] *Christian Observer*, "Review of Davies, &C. On Divine Influences," 771.
[201] For further details about Seacome Ellison; see Robert Dawbarn, "The "Johnsonian Baptists"," *Transactions of the Baptist Historical Society* 3, no. 1 (1912): 57-58. https://biblicalstudies.org.uk/pdf/tbhs/03-1_054.pdf.

contrary to the scriptural endorsement of the sacraments.[202] However, in a later article published a few years later in the *Christian Observer*, it is evident that Gurney does see the rejection of outwardly practising the sacraments as being in accordance with the Scriptures.[203]

The ordinances therefore pose a particular theological challenge to Gurney. As a Quaker he rejected outward rites and ceremonies but given his reliance upon the authority of the Bible such beliefs need to be affirmed from the Scriptures. As the majority of Christians *do* accept and practise the ordinances at least of water baptism and the Eucharist (whether viewed as sacraments or not), Gurney's biblical exegeses are inevitably going to run counter to those of the wider church; the very body of people he seeks to be more united with on core elements of the Christian faith.[204] Although he makes clear that he is not insisting Christians should desist from practising these rites if it is beneficial to their spiritual life,[205] Gurney nevertheless, is openly critical of certain beliefs connected to them; commenting for example, that some people 'have entertained the extraordinary opinion, that the rite of baptism, more especially, is indispensable to salvation'.[206] It is also important to note that the seventh edition of *Observations*, published in 1834, included an addendum to the chapter on the sacraments. In this additional section, Gurney candidly writes that he

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[202] Seacome Ellison, *A Letter to Joseph John Gurney, Esq. Author of Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of the Society of Friends, Animadverting Upon That Part of His Work Which Relates to the Ordinances of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper* (London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.; Liverpool: D. Marples, 1833), 6, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100102315956.0x000001.
[203] J. J. Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," *The Christian Observer* May 1845, 275.
[204] It should be noted that given Gurney's belief that direct revelation and the Scriptures both originate from the Holy Spirit and therefore cannot contradict each other, it follows from his statement that if Quakers have been led by the Spirit to desist from participating in outward rites then biblical exegeses will support this. The complication for Gurney is that the majority of Christian traditions argue that biblical exegeses support the use of certain outward rites and sacraments.
[205] *Lady's Album*, 5.
[206] Gurney, *Observations*, 99.

'has not been without pain and conflict' in holding to his views about the sacraments which he appreciates other Christians see differently. However, he considers it would be a mistake for Quakers to move away from this 'more spiritual standard' and he therefore stands by what he had written a decade or so earlier.[207] A letter by him to the *Christian Observer* in 1835 similarly reflects his views on this subject.[208]

As part of the scriptural justification for his position on eschewing the outward nature of the ordinances, Gurney draws upon John 4:21-24[209] and argues that Christ is referring 'to two separate and distinct systems of worship, belonging to two dispensations' and that one was about to be replaced by the other with its emphasis on spiritual rather than outward forms.[210] However, his exegesis of this text to suggest it supports the *ending* of practices such as water baptism and the Lord's Supper was met with criticism from both the *Christian Observer*[211] and the Anglican priest, George Bliss. Bliss who published a work specifically to refute Gurney's views on the sacraments, accepts that these verses represent a transition to a spiritual religion but queries that this should equate to stopping '*all external expression* of the inward feelings of devotion'.[212] In developing his argument further, he considers that Gurney has approached this passage of Scripture from a pre-existing viewpoint which has biased his interpretation of it. Additionally, Bliss argues that in using just

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[207] Gurney, *Observations*, 171- both quotations.
[208] Gurney, "Mr. J. J. Gurney Upon the Divine Nature, and the Doctrines of Friends. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 674-75.
[209] Cited by Gurney as '"Woman, believe me, the hour cometh when ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father … The hour cometh, and now is, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father *in spirit and in truth*; for the Father seeketh such to worship him. God is a spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and truth."' See Gurney, *Observations*, 101.
[210] Gurney, *Observations*, 101.
[211] *Christian Observer*, "Review of Davies, &C. On Divine Influences," 774-75.
[212] George Bliss, *The Obligatory Nature of the Sacraments; or, Strictures on Mr. Gurney's Remarks Respecting Baptism and the Lord's Supper* (London: Printed for J. Hatchard & Son by W. Mason, Chichester, 1826), 7, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026366812.0x000001.

one passage of Scripture, Gurney has narrowed his perspective on the subject too much[213] whereas 'the appeal must be made to the Scriptures- to the Scriptures as a whole'.[214] He also perceives that Gurney is *assuming* the text means the sacraments should no longer be practised rather than *being able to prove* this interpretation.[215] In contrast, for Gurney, his understanding of what is considered to be a spiritual dispensation is one that means an inevitable end to any 'system of types and sacrificial ordinances'[216] and so the absence of any outward rite.[217] Nonetheless, the critique by Bliss raises a question as to whether Gurney may be susceptible to eisegesis on this occasion, given his preparedness with regards to the sacraments to adopt a spiritual rather than literal hermeneutic for the biblical text, whilst on other points such as the six of days of the Creation as recorded in in Genesis 1, he maintains a more literal interpretation.[218]

2.6.3 Water Baptism

Gurney uses several arguments in support of his view that water baptism should not be practised. Some of these are of a somewhat general kind[219] whilst others are based on a more detailed examination of particular scriptural texts.

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[213] Bliss, *The Obligatory Nature of the Sacraments; or, Strictures on Mr. Gurney's Remarks Respecting Baptism and the Lord's Supper*, 10.
[214] Bliss, *The Obligatory Nature of the Sacraments; or, Strictures on Mr. Gurney's Remarks Respecting Baptism and the Lord's Supper*, 11.
[215] Bliss, *The Obligatory Nature of the Sacraments; or, Strictures on Mr. Gurney's Remarks Respecting Baptism and the Lord's Supper*, 11.
[216] Gurney, *Observations*, 104.
[217] Frederick Lucas (see footnote in sub-section 1.2.2 for background details) challenges Gurney's position regarding 'types' and argues that 'The believer in the sacraments does not believe baptism to be a mere type.' See Lucas, *Reasons for Becoming a Roman Catholic; Addressed to the Society of Friends*, 35.
[218] Gurney, *Letter to a Clerical Friend on the Accordance of Geological Discovery with Natural and Revealed Religion*, 17.
[219] More general points include that although Christ was baptised, He did not carry out any water baptisms Himself and that the Apostle Paul only did so on a small number of occasions; see Gurney, *Observations*, 144-45. Also whilst Gurney has deep respect for 'the forms and ceremonies of the Jewish law' (see Gurney, *Observations*, 102.) he considers water baptism aligns more with the Old rather than the New Covenant; see Gurney, *Observations*, 105-15.

In this sub-section, a particular focus is given to Gurney's exegesis of Matthew 28:18-20 and whether water baptism should be seen 'as a Christian ordinance'.[220] Barclay, describes those who believe in the necessity of water baptism as having this 'whole superstructure'[221] based upon verse 19. Both Gurney and Barclay therefore see the exegesis of this passage of Scripture[222] as being key to whether water baptism is practised or not as a sacrament.

Barclay's starting point is the principle '*not to go from the literal signification of the text, except some urgent necessity force us thereunto*.'[223] In the case of verse 19, he considers the literal version to be adequate and because there is no actual mention of water in the verse, it cannot therefore be assumed that it is referring to water baptism.[224] In contrast, in setting the scene for his overall approach to examining scriptural texts connected to the ordinances, Gurney argues that where it is reasonable to consider 'either a literal or a spiritual interpretation' and the spiritual 'is far more in harmony' with regards to 'the Christian dispensation' than a literal interpretation, then it is acceptable to use this approach as the basis of exegesis.[225] This suggestion by Gurney was strongly criticised by Bliss.[226] The *Christian Observer*

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[220] Gurney, *Observations*, 137.
[221] Barclay, *Apology*, 410.
[222] Cited by Gurney as; '"Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, (or, as in the Greek, "Going therefore, make disciples of all nations") *baptizing them in the name* (or "into the name") *of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost;*"' see Gurney, *Observations*, 137-38.
[223] Barclay, *Apology*, 410.
[224] Barclay, *Apology*, 410.
[225] Gurney, *Observations*, 118-19. In earlier editions of *Observations*, Gurney makes reference to this approach being based on 'philological principles'; for example, see Joseph John Gurney, *Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of the Society of Friends [1st Ed.]* (London: J. and A. Arch; York: William Alexander and Son; Norwich: S. Wilkin; Edinburgh: A. Constable and Co., 1824), 79, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026735235.0x000001.
[226] Bliss, *The Obligatory Nature of the Sacraments; or, Strictures on Mr. Gurney's Remarks Respecting Baptism and the Lord's Supper*, 19.

was similarly dismissive, describing it as 'the art and mystery of *philology*' and that Gurney operated under a 'veil of … scholastic mysticism'.[227]

Gurney also provides several other reasons why he sees Matthew 28:18-20 referring to a spiritual baptism. In *Puseyism*, he argues that even if, hypothetically, the verses referred to water baptism, this does not mean that it was to become a 'permanent ordinance'. Neither, should it be seen as a commandment by Christ but more likely the setting of 'a *new direction*'[228] for the apostles in their mission to the wider world. In *Observations*, he also argues that Mark 16:15-16[229] supports his interpretation because it refers to '*the baptism which saves*' which he sees as being baptised in a spiritual sense as it is linked to salvation.[230] Similarly, in *Puseyism*, he describes this as this 'the baptism of the Holy Ghost'.[231]

In the seventh edition of *Observations*, Gurney acknowledges how 'the participle "baptizing," as it is used in this passage [Matthew 28:19], is capable of being interpreted in its literal sense, as relating to an outward immersion'. This is a significant admission by him and he does not criticise those who in good conscience have interpreted the verse in this way.[232] However, Gurney's *own* view is that there

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[227] *Christian Observer*, "Review of Davies, &C. On Divine Influences," 777- both quotations.
[228] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 74- both quotations.
[229] It should be noted that these verses are part of a 'longer ending' version of the 16th chapter in Mark's Gospel; see *The New Oxford Annotated Bible. New Revised Standard Version with the Apocrypha. An Ecumenical Study Bible*, ed. Michael D. Coogan, 5th ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 1863.
[230] Gurney, *Observations*, 141. It should be noted that Bliss takes issue with Gurney's comments about this passage, highlighting that Gurney did not include the full text of Mark 16:16 which ends with '"But he that believeth not shall be damned."' As a result, Bliss argues that the full verse is about both outward and inward baptism which 'gives us an awful warning against resting *in the outward sign*, without the inward and spiritual grace'; see Bliss, *The Obligatory Nature of the Sacraments; or, Strictures on Mr. Gurney's Remarks Respecting Baptism and the Lord's Supper*, 24. Bliss' critique of Gurney's interpretation therefore suggests the possibility of eisegesis.
[231] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 76. It is interesting to note that in Barclay's *Apology*, Mark 15:15 is cited just once and not in connection with water baptism. Instead the verse is used to emphasise the possibility of universal salvation for humankind; see Barclay, *Apology*, 113.
[232] Gurney, *Observations*, 138.

is no reason to assume the verse means baptism *by water*.[233] What this suggests is Gurney's willingness to affirm the Quaker view on water baptism even when the majority of Christians interpret the verse differently to him and he has accepted that their interpretation is potentially feasible.[234]

2.6.4 The Eucharist

In his exegesis of 1 Corinthians 11:23-29,[235] Gurney presents his case[236] that the scriptural passage is neither advocating the establishment of the Eucharistic sacrament nor should its context be extended as referring to the *whole* church or for *all time*.[237] The interpretation includes some subjective judgements. For example, he argues that because the passage cites Christ *only* addressing the apostles it cannot be assumed that it applies to anyone else. Although Gurney accepts that such an argument could also be used in relation to other teachings which Jesus only gave to his disciples, he argues that these *do* apply to everyone because 'they are *moral* in

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[233] Gurney, *Observations*, 138.
[234] In the later 'New Edition' of *Observations*, although the comment is still made that this verse is understood by many Christians as meaning a water baptism, the reference that a literal interpretation of the verse has possible legitimacy is absent; see Gurney, *Observations on the Distinguishing Views & Practices of the Society of Friends. A New Edition*, 146.
[235] In the *Observations* this is cited by Gurney as follows :
'"For I have received of the Lord," says he, "that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread: and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you; *this do in remembrance of me*. After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood; this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me. For as often," adds the apostle, "as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do show the Lord's death till he come. Wherefore, whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty of the body and blood of the Lord. But let a man examine himself, and *so* let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup. For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh condemnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body."' See Gurney, *Observations*, 151-52.
[236] Although this biblical passage is the main focus of this chapter sub-section, Gurney's rejection of the Eucharist as a sacrament is not solely based on the exegesis of 1 Corinthians 11. For example, with Luke 22:19-20, he notes that the words '"Do this in remembrance of me,"' [see Gurney, *Observations*, 156.] are not included in the related passages of Matthew and Mark. Whilst he accepts that these words *were* said, he argues that for Matthew and Mark to leave them out suggests that they did not perceive them to be meant for everyone and for all time; see Gurney, *Observations*, 156-57. Gurney contends that it would therefore seem to be 'by no means very improbable that it was to the cup of the Passover exclusively that our Saviour's injunction applied'; see Gurney, *Observations*, 158.
[237] Gurney, *Observations*, 152.

their nature, and belong to that unchangeable law of God'.[238] Gurney has therefore used a hermeneutic, as defined by himself, to help support his position and presents what is effectively a closed argument.[239] Creasey has queried the general principle that Gurney adopts with regards to biblical interpretation concerning the sacraments whereby the literal meaning of the scriptural text is overridden by the spiritual, and argues that as a result the conclusions drawn by Gurney (and indeed earlier Quakers) have already been pre-determined.[240] In discussing general Quaker attitudes towards the Eucharist, Creasey challenges the assumption that because the 'bread, wine and water'[241] may have been part of both Jewish and subsequently Christian practices this means that the latter is considered part of the Old Covenant. Instead he argues that these Christian practices were sufficiently different in their own right and therefore could be seen as being part of the New Covenant.[242]

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[238] Gurney, *Observations*, 154.

[239] This can be seen in two further examples. First, with regards to the washing of the disciples' feet by Christ and Him asking them to also practise this. Gurney does not view this as being sacramental because he considers it 'an act of no moral importance in itself'; see Gurney, *Observations*, 155. Secondly, Gurney's interpretation of the 1 Corinthians 11 passage is further complicated by his understanding of what Paul meant at the start of verse 23, namely '*For I have received of the Lord*'. In earlier editions of the *Observations*, Gurney remarks that it has often been assumed that this was 'communicated to him [Paul] by an *immediate and special revelation from Jesus Christ himself*' (see Gurney, *Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of the Society of Friends [1st Ed.]*, 110.) but his own view is that this is unlikely. In reaching this conclusion, Gurney is not questioning the overall divine authority of the text but because he considers the revelation as being mediate (based on Paul being told about the Last Supper) rather than immediate, he does not view Paul's words carrying an especial meaning to establish the Eucharist as a sacrament (see; Gurney, *Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of the Society of Friends [1st Ed.]*, 111.) However, it is interesting to note that in the seventh edition of *Observations*, Gurney is more circumspect and does not give this personal view; see Gurney, *Observations*, 152.

[240] Creasey, "Quakers and the Sacraments," 11-12.

[241] Creasey, "Quakers and the Sacraments," 12.

[242] Creasey, "Quakers and the Sacraments," 12-14. Creasey also makes the point that early Friends believed that God's Kingdom had already come and therefore continuance of sacraments such as the Lord's Supper was not necessary. However, he argues that this should be reappraised in the context that 'Christ's … glory is both "now" and also "not yet"' and therefore these sacraments offer a continuing relevance. Additionally, he queries that if Quakers accept some outward expressions such as plainness of dress, why are the '"outward"' aspects of the sacraments seen differently; see Creasey, "Quakers and the Sacraments," 15. Creasey's basic argument is that inclusion of simple expressions of baptism and the Lord's Supper within early Christian communities would have also merited similar practices within Quakerism rather than a total rejection and he views this an important part of New Testament Christianity; see Creasey, "Quakers and the Sacraments," 16-17 and 22-23.

Gurney not only argues against the Eucharist as a sacrament but he also criticises elements of theology connected to how it is understood by those Christians who do practise it. In *Puseyism*, he makes clear his complete rejection of transubstantiation.[243] In *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline* he takes a similar stance[244] and also highlights his belief that he does not see the Eucharist as a miraculous event. Gurney argues that miracles 'are opposed only to the *order of nature*, and are at all times possible to nature's Author' whereas he sees transubstantiation as being 'at variance with the *eternal nature of things*'.[245] Likewise, Gurney considers Christian truths as being 'simply *beyond* reason' whereas something such as transubstantiation as '*contrary* to it'.[246] This subtlety in how he regards the relationship between reason and religious belief is a further example of refinements made within his hermeneutical methodology. It is nonetheless based on his own particular definition of what may or may not count as a miracle, and so is open to challenge on the basis of it being a subjective viewpoint.

Gurney also queries the Protestant idea that those who participate in 'the Lord's Supper *do thereby feed together, in a spiritual sense, on the body and blood of Christ*'.[247] For example, he sees this being a belief within the Church of England and considers that it falsely attaches 'a mystical importance' to the Eucharist rather than as an act of remembrance. Instead he argues 'that this spiritual eating and drinking' can take place on any occasion and does not need to be a rite.[248]

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[243] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 83.
[244] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 48.
[245] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 48- both quotations.
[246] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 48- both quotations. Gurney does not make reference to consubstantiation.
[247] Gurney, *Observations*, 148.
[248] Gurney, *Observations*, 149.

Dandelion has argued that Gurney was more sympathetic towards Christians of other traditions who practiced the Eucharist than the early Friends had been. He suggests this was because they held common theological ground in not expecting Christ's imminent return which meant the issue of whether or not to practice the ordinances was restricted to what should be done in the current age.[249] However, I argue that Gurney's exegeses do *remain* distinctive and set apart from an orthodox Christian perspective with regards to the sacraments because of the emphasis that he places on true communion being an inward spiritual experience.[250]

2.7 Challenging Quaker tradition

2.7.1 Introduction

In this section, I argue that on the basis of his own understanding of the meaning of certain scriptural texts, Gurney was prepared to challenge an existing set of established Quaker interpretations. Additionally, in the case of upholding the Sabbath he differed from the view of Barclay, in that he considered the moral code of the commandment to remain operative and should be followed.

2.7.2 Exegesis of particular 'Quaker texts'

Brief Remarks on Impartiality is the work which perhaps more than any other reflects Gurney's readiness to challenge particular Quaker interpretations of biblical text[251]. It has been the source of controversy ever since and seen by Gurney's critics as proof of his move away from early Quakerism[252] and a mis-interpretation of

[249] Dandelion, *The Liturgies of Quakerism*, 56.
[250] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 90.
[251] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 3-4.
[252] For example; see Hodgson, *An Examination of the Memoirs and Writings of J. J. Gurney*, 108-25.

particular Scriptural texts.[253] Before examining some of Gurney's exegeses it is important that a context is provided.

The work was printed in 1836 and its front cover made clear that it was 'for private circulation only'.[254] However, in spite of this restriction, it became more widely known through being reprinted by *The Inquirer*[255] periodical in 1838,[256] and by Isaac Hopper, an American Hicksite Quaker,[257] in 1840.[258]

In the work,[259] Gurney reviews several passages from the New Testament in which he perceives there may have been a misinterpretation by some Quakers in the past.[260] He comments that potentially all religious institutions face the possibility of some errors in biblical interpretation and whilst he is not aware of any within the published work of the Society, he believes that a small number exist amongst Friends. Although the errors may seem minor, Gurney's concern is that if they are ignored and not addressed then there is a risk that they will gain wider acceptance and potentially fragment correct belief into something more heretical.[261] His main contention is that the scriptural texts in question have been misinterpreted, and their meaning made to be about 'the influence of the Holy Spirit in the heart' rather than

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[253] For example; see Grubb, *Separations, Their Causes and Effects: Studies in Nineteenth Century Quakerism*, 68.
[254] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*.
[255] *The Inquirer* was a periodical published by the Beaconite 'Evangelical Friends'; see Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 94.
[256] "Misinterpretation of Holy Scripture," *The Inquirer* (London) July 1838. *The Inquirer* in an earlier issue described this work as one that would help 'to advance the cause of evangelical inquiry'; see *The Inquirer*, "Joseph John Gurney and the American "Orthodox Friends."," January 1838, 27.
[257] Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 333-34.
[258] Joseph John Gurney and Isaac T. Hopper, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality in the Interpretation of Scripture. Printed for Private Circulation Only* (New-York: Printed for Isaac T. Hopper, 1840), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081820334.
[259] The work also sets out Gurney's vision of Quakerism being an expression of New Testament Christianity; see Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 20.This is discussed in section 6.5.
[260] The passages reviewed are 2 Peter 1:19-22; Romans 1:14-17; Colossians 1:21-23; John 1:9; John 6:3-40 and 6:47-51; Colossians 1:26-28; Matthew 13:31-32; Matthew 16:15-18; Acts 4:9-12 and Hebrews 9:27; see Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 3-19.
[261] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 4.

the Scriptures themselves or the historic person of Jesus Christ.[262] Three of the biblical passages cited by him in support of his claim are evaluated below.

First, in the interpretation of John 1:9,[263] Gurney in common with early Friends, views this verse as meaning 'that our Lord Jesus Christ-the eternal Word,-bestows a measure of the enlightening influence of his Spirit on *all* mankind'.[264] In a similar way, Barclay's *Apology*, notes John 1:9 as the 'Quaker's text'[265] because it reflects the Quaker belief in the universality of the Light Within. However, Gurney considers that some Friends have erroneously expanded upon the meaning of the text by suggesting 'that the light of the Spirit of God in the heart of man, is itself actually *Christ*'.[266] The issue raised by Gurney is therefore not about the universality of the Light but the idea that the inward spiritualisation of Christ as the Light, might be taken to such a degree, that the historic Christ becomes no longer significant. Consequently, he is concerned that this would be 'to deprive the Saviour of his personal attributes, and to reduce him to the rank of a *principle*'.[267] In his *Letter to the Followers of Elias Hicks*, published in 1839 during his time in America,[268] Gurney makes a similar point and argues 'that this strange notion, is the root of all the other errors' which have emerged in Hicksite Quakerism. Gurney's exegesis of this verse is therefore seen by him as being key in preventing Quaker theology moving away from the person of Jesus Christ.[269]

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[262] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 18.
[263] Cited by Gurney as '"That was the true Light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."' See Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 8.
[264] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 8.
[265] Barclay, *Apology*, 153.
[266] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 8.
[267] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 8-9.
[268] See sub-section 6.3.2 for further details.
[269] Gurney, *Letter to the Followers of Elias Hicks*, 24. Pennington has highlighted how the issue within Quakerism concerning the level of emphasis given to Christ Within and the person of Jesus Christ had been unresolved since the controversy in the seventeenth century involving George Keith; see

Angell has argued that Gurney's interpretation makes him 'closer to seventeenth-century Puritan critics of Quakerism than to the Quaker founders'[270] because of the de-emphasis concerning Christ, the Light Within. Gurney's exegetical stress upon the person of Jesus Christ, does I suggest, reflect a more orthodox Christian position. Swift has similarly highlighted Gurney's concerns about an over spiritualisation of Christ.[271] However, I argue that the issue also highlights two further important Christological points. First, that Gurney's framework of reference is based more upon the two *natures* of Christ, divine and human, rather than an *inward and outward* Christ. Creasey has commented that the early Quaker focus on the inward and outward became problematic because it fostered the idea of there being two separate and parallel forms of revelation; inward and outward.[272] In contrast, Gurney is advocating that there is one revelation, namely Jesus Christ. Secondly, Gurney's emphasis on the two natures of Jesus Christ is not restricted to his time on Earth but continues with his belief that Christ in His exalted divine state retains in some form His human nature as well. Angell has commented that the Quaker emphasis on John 1:9 contrasted with the greater stress placed by other Christian traditions on John 1:14 and the incarnation.[273] Gurney's own exegesis of John 1:9 can be seen, I

Madeleine Pennington, "'The Most Serious Dissention': Implications of a Theological Reading of the Keithian Controversy," (2022): 99. https://doi.org/10.3828/quaker.2022.27.1.8.

[270] Angell, "God, Christ, and the Light," 165.

[271] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 177.

[272] Creasey, ""Inward" and "Outward": A Study in Early Quaker Language," 22.

[273] Stephen W. Angell, "The Light of Life," in *The Quaker Bible Reader*, ed. Paul Buckley and Stephen W. Angell (Richmond, Indiana: Earlham School of Religion, 2006), 168-69. John 1:14 itself is open to a wide range of interpretive emphasis as Maarten Menken has highlighted; see Maarten J. J. Menken, "The Christology of the Fourth Gospel: A Survey of Recent Research," ed. Martinus C. de Boer, *From Jesus to John: Essays on Jesus and New Testament Christology in Honour of Marinus de Jonge* (Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 1993), ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=742674. 293.

suggest, as being medial and an attempt to affirm both these theological positions in and through the two natures of Jesus Christ.

The second example concerns 2 Peter 1:19-21.[274] Gurney draws attention to the wording '"more sure word of prophecy,"' commenting that in the past, Quakers have interpreted this as being a reference to the work of God's Spirit, 'that divine illuminating influence, by which the prophets were inspired'.[275] Although Gurney sees this interpretation as being much less common than it was, he nevertheless is keen to argue that the text's meaning should be understood as referring to the scriptural record.[276] In a later critique, concerning Gurney's position about this biblical passage, the Quaker William Hodgson[277] refers to a publication[278] specifically about this and which highlights extracts from the writings of several early Friends which argue against the idea that the verse is about the Scriptures. Hodgson therefore sees Gurney's interpretation as being completely apostate to early Quaker beliefs.[279]

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[274] Cited by Gurney as '"We have also *a more sure (or very sure) … word of prophecy*; whereunto ye do well that ye take heed, as unto a light that shineth in a dark place, until the day dawn and the day-star arise in your hearts; knowing this first, that *no prophecy* of the Scripture is of any private interpretation; for *the prophecy* came not of old time by the will of man; but holy men of God spake *as* they were moved by the Holy Ghost"'; see Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 4.

[275] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 4- both quotations.

[276] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 5. Gurney received support in challenging early Quaker interpretations of this biblical text; see J. H Cockbain, "Letter from Mr. Cockbain, Manchester," *The Inquirer* May 1838, 158.

[277] Hodgson, *An Examination of the Memoirs and Writings of J. J. Gurney*, 109.

[278] Although Hodgson does not give the title of the publication, he provides sufficient information to indicate that it was a collation of extracts from works of early Friends' on this subject which was published in 1838; see *The Interpretation of the Scripture Passage, the "More Sure Word of Prophecy, &C.," 2 Peter, Chap. I., Verse 19, as Given by George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Whitehead, Francis Howgill, Samuel Fisher, and James Parnel in Reply to Opposers: Also Extracts from the Writings of Ambrose Rigge, William Bayly, Charles Marshall, Josiah Coale, Margaret Fox, and Elizabeth Bathurst, on the Same Subject*, 2nd ed. (Manchester: Printed by John Harrison, 1838), 24, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hnnnnc. It is interesting to note that the last page of the aforementioned publication alludes to some wording in Gurney's *Brief Remarks on Impartiality* and comments 'that the "idea" was *more* than just "*rather prevalent,*"' among early Friends about their particular interpretation of this Petrine passage; see *The Interpretation of the Scripture Passage, the "More Sure Word of Prophecy, &C.," 2 Peter, Chap. I., Verse 19, as Given by George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, George Whitehead, Francis Howgill, Samuel Fisher, and James Parnel in Reply to Opposers: Also Extracts from the Writings of Ambrose Rigge, William Bayly, Charles Marshall, Josiah Coale, Margaret Fox, and Elizabeth Bathurst, on the Same Subject*, 24.

[279] Hodgson, *An Examination of the Memoirs and Writings of J. J. Gurney*, 109.

Similarly, Barclay had unequivocally seen the passage as referring to the inward working of God's Spirit.[280]

Thirdly, in connection with Romans 1:14-17,[281] Gurney challenges how the text 'the "gospel of Christ" is the "power of God unto salvation,"'[282] has been interpreted such that the second part of the wording defines the first part. On this basis, Gurney argues that the gospel is being described as the inward work of God's Spirit upon the human condition, rather than the 'good news of salvation'[283] through Christ's sacrifice. In sharp contrast, Barclay viewed proclaiming the gospel outwardly as merely a '*metonymy*'.[284] Gurney's own interpretation of this text highlights his strong belief both in the efficacy of the atonement and its centrality within the Christian faith. His concern is that the alternative interpretation undermines a central and foundational tenet of Christianity.[285]

Gurney's questioning of these particular texts does not mean that he is in disagreement with the basic Quaker belief of immediate and inward revelation. It does however, indicate that he is acutely aware of the potential of some biblical interpretations to follow a trajectory that he would consider to be neither Quaker nor

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[280] Robert Barclay, *Truth Clear'd of Calumnies: Wherein a Book, Intituled, a Dialogue between a Quaker and a Stable Christian, (Printed at Aberdeen, and Upon Good Ground Judged to Be Writ by William Mitchell, a Preacher near by It, or at Least That He Had the Chief Hand in It) Is Examined, and the Dis-Ingenuity of the Author in His Representing the Quakers, Is Discovered* (London: Printed by the assigns of J. Sowle, 1717), 296-97, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0118421025/ECCO?u=bham_uk&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=167519cc&pg=2.

[281] Cited by Gurney as '"I am a debtor both to the Greeks and to the Barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise; so, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also; for I am not ashamed of the gospel of Christ; *for it is the power of God unto salvation*, to every one that believeth; to the Jew first, and also to the Greek; for therein is the righteousness of God revealed from faith to faith (that is, I presume, from the faith of the preacher to the faith of the hearer;): as it is written, the just shall live by faith,"' See Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 5.

[282] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 6.

[283] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 7.

[284] Barclay, *Apology*, 160.

[285] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 7.

Christian. His critics were not prepared to counter his arguments with their own exegeses of these scriptural passages, and instead affirmed the authority of Quaker tradition as their guide.[286] Consequently, this was an unresolved matter and reflected potentially different visions held about the nature of Quakerism.[287]

2.7.3 The Sabbath

Gurney's publication about the Sabbath[288] has received little attention in modern day scholarship. Whilst the subject does not emerge as a major theme in his other writings, I argue that this work reveals some nuanced positions in Gurney's theology with regard to his understanding of the commandment concerning the Sabbath[289] and how this links to his beliefs about biblical authority and the historic Christ. Gurney's perspective on this subject also challenges the early Quaker view.

For early Quakers, the arrival of the Christian dispensation as recorded in the New Testament meant that they considered the outward law of the fourth commandment in terms of Sabbath observance as no longer being needed. Fox saw 'in the old Covenant and Testament, God gave unto the *Jews* his Sabbath as a Sign, after he brought them out of *Egypt*' but under the new Covenant in Christ the 'Signs and Shadows'[290] come to an end. In a similar vein, Barclay argued that 'we know no

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[286] Hodgson, *An Examination of the Memoirs and Writings of J. J. Gurney*, 108-09.
[287] This is discussed further in section 6.4.
[288] Joseph John Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the History, Authority, and Use, of the Sabbath* 2nd ed. (London: J. and A. Arch and C. J. G and F. Rivington, 1831). http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100091648758.0x000001. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*.
[289] The commandment can be found in Exodus 20.8-11 and Deuteronomy 5.12-15. It is described as the fourth commandment in this thesis but it is acknowledged that in some Christian traditions it is considered to be the third commandment; see *Catechism of the Catholic Church. Revised Edition with Amendments Following the Publication of the Editio Typica, Containing Extended Subject Index and the Reader's Guide to Themes*, (London: Burns & Oates, 1999), 468.
[290] George Fox, *Here All May See a Clear Distinction between the Old Covenant & Old Testament, and the New Covenant and New Testament. And How That Christ Hath Abolished and Taken Away the First Covenant and Testament, and Established the Second / by G.F* (1680), 15- both quotations. https://www.proquest.com/books/here-all-may-see-clear-distinction-between-

moral obligation by the fourth command, or elsewhere, to keep the first day of the week more than any other, or any holiness inherent in it'.[291] Nevertheless, he acknowledges the usefulness of having such a time set aside for collective worship and rest, but he does not see justification for this from the Scriptures.[292]

Although Gurney's publication on the Sabbath was written more than a hundred and fifty years after the *Apology*, differences of opinion remained within the Society of Friends[293] and the wider Christian church about how the Sabbath commandment should be interpreted.[294] These tensions had become even more

old/docview/2240871238/se-2. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Here All May See*.

[291] Barclay, *Apology*, 332.

[292] Barclay, *Apology*, 332-33.

[293] For example, in 1830 the *Friends' Monthly Magazine* included a letter against the idea that maintaining the Sabbath remained an obligatory decree; see R.K, "(to the Editors.)," *The Friends' Monthly Magazine*, Eighth month, 1830, 612-13. A letter disagreeing with this view was published the following month; see A.T, "On the Obligation of the Sabbath. (to the Editors.)," *The Friends' Monthly Magazine*, Ninth month, 1830, 663.

[294] For example, see George Holden, *The Christian Sabbath; or, an Inquiry into the Religious Obligation of Keeping Holy One Day in Seven* (London: C. and J. Rivington, 1825), Preface, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433068295579. Disagreements about the nature of the Sabbath had been a long-standing issue within the Christian Church well before the nineteenth century. For example, Stephen Tong comments that early English reformers such as Robert Barnes and William Tyndale 'understood the biblical requirement to observe the Sabbath in a purely spiritual sense'; see Stephen Tong, "The Doctrine of the Sabbath in the Edwardian Reformation," *Historical Research* 91, no. 254 (2018): 649. https://onlinelibrary.wiley.com/doi/abs/10.1111/1468-2281.12249. In contrast, in the Edwardian Reformation period that followed after the death of Henry VIII, Bishop John Hooper proposed that the moral aspects of the commandment as opposed to the ceremonial, are 'never to be abolished, as long as the church of Christ shall continue upon the Earth'; see John Hooper, *Early Writings of John Hooper, D.D. Lord Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester, Martyr, 1555. Edited for the Parker Society, by the Rev. Samuel Carr* (Cambridge: Printed at the University Press, 1843), 341, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/yale.39002003023364. Further interpretations of the commandment can be seen in other strands of reformation theology when John Calvin in his *Institutes* wrote that anything 'of a ceremonial nature was without doubt abolished by the advent of the Lord Christ' but that although 'the sabbath is abrogated' it remains the custom to meet for public worship and rest from work, which thereby helps to maintain 'order and decorum' within the Church; see Jean Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion. Translated from the Original Latin, and Collated with the Author's Last Edition in French, by John Allen. Third American Edition, Revised and Corrected. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1*, 1 (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of publication. James Russell, publishing agent, 1841), 356-57, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/ia.ark:/13960/t50g3s826. The Westminster Confession, however, considered that maintaining the Sabbath to be 'a positive, Moral and perpetual Commandment, binding all men, in all Ages', see; Westminster Assembly, *The Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechism, First Agreed Upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster and Now Approved by the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, to Be a Part of Uniformity in Religion between the Kirks of Christ in the Three Kingdoms: Together with the Sum of Saving Knowledge, and the Practical Use Thereof*, 51.

public with the emergence of an active sabbatarian movement[295] which advocated a range of societal measures to promote Christian worship on Sundays and reduce secular activities.[296]

Gurney's target audience for his work were Christians from all traditions[297] and its purpose was to affirm 'the divine authority'[298] of the Sabbath and to encourage Christians to abide it. Aspects of the Sabbath are reviewed by him with a chronology which begins with the patriarchal period, followed by the Mosaic, then the Jewish Sabbath during the time period of the New Testament and finally, the Christian Sabbath itself.[299] By arranging his argument in this way, Gurney makes clear that a central part of his thesis is that 'God claims every recurring *seventh day* as peculiarly his own'[300] and that this has been in existence since the creation of the world when God rested on the seventh day. The Sabbath is therefore seen by Gurney as being divinely initiated,[301] and both universal and permanent in its applicability.[302]

It is important to appreciate that Gurney's views on the Sabbath pivot around a distinctive theological axis. He is *not* saying that there are no parts to the Mosaic Sabbath which are ceremonial. Under the Christian dispensation, he argues that the '*ceremonial law*' effectively disappeared 'when the great Antitype had offered up himself on the cross, as an atonement for the sins of the world'.[303] *Nor* is he saying

[295] Paul Heintzman, "Recreation and Leisure," in *The Oxford Handbook of Nineteenth-Century Christian Thought*, ed. Joel D. S. Rasmussen, Judith Wolfe, and Johannes Zachhuber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 325-26.
[296] Rosman, *The Evolution of the English Churches 1500-2000*, 225-27.
[297] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, iv.
[298] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, v.
[299] The book's main chapter headings follow this pattern.
[300] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, 21.
[301] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, 19.
[302] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, 19.
[303] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, 63.

that one particular day of the week is inherently more important than another.[304] But what he *does believe* is that the 'Mosaic sabbatical code'[305] is in two parts. One part is considered by him to be relevant to all of humanity, to have been in existence from the beginning of human history and continues to remain operative for Christians. The other part, consisting of ceremonial and civil aspects, Gurney views as no longer being applicable to Christians.[306]

Alongside proposing that the Sabbath was established for all people for all time, Gurney addresses the significance of the first day of the week being chosen by Christians for its observance. He reminds the reader that as Christ rose on 'the morning *of the first day of the week*'[307] this meant that 'the Son of God was now distinguishing with peculiar honour the day of the *new creation*'.[308] The day of Christ's resurrection is therefore seen by Gurney as 'the first Christian Sabbath'[309] and he postulates that both Christ's ascension[310] and Pentecost[311] also took place on first days of the week. As a result, Gurney explicitly links the Sabbath to the life of Jesus Christ in order to act as a 'remembrance of his resurrection and ascension, and of the gift of the Holy Ghost'.[312]

In coming to these beliefs about the Sabbath, Gurney was not alone among his contemporaries. In the preface of his publication he comments that his 'worthy friend' the Anglican priest, Daniel Wilson, had already published a work which shared

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[304] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, 20.
[305] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, 42.
[306] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, 42.
[307] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, 66.
[308] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, 66.
[309] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, 67.
[310] Gurney interprets the biblical reference to the period of time from Christ's resurrection to His ascension as likely to mean that '"forty days" denotes a *round number*, and is in fact a mere synonyme for "*six sabbaths or weeks*."' See Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, 69.
[311] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, 70.
[312] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, 72.

much in common with his views.[313] In an added preface to an American edition of Gurney's publication, the biblical scholar Moses Stuart strongly approved the work[314] and encouraged Quakers to read the publication and adopt the principles it sets out.[315] This sentiment of persuasion is also espoused, but somewhat obliquely, by Gurney himself when he writes of those 'who entertain a high view of the spirituality of the Gospel, [and] regard the sabbath as an outward rite' and its use purely seen as a way to enable public gatherings for worship to take place.[316] Gurney disputes this interpretation, arguing that the Sabbath day 'is a divine ordinance'[317] and that it would be a grave mistake not to acknowledge this.[318]

There can be little doubt that Gurney's views[319] on the Sabbath are at variance with those contained within Barclay's *Apology*. The significance of this, I argue, is threefold. First, with regards to the fourth commandment, unlike early Friends, Gurney believed that its moral code in the form of the institution of the Sabbath continues to operate for all humanity, and that as this has not been

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[313] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, first page of advertisement. The work by Wilson which Gurney mentions (but without any further details provided) is Daniel Wilson, *The Divine Authority and Perpetual Obligation of the Lord's Day, Asserted in Seven Sermons, Delivered at the Parish Church at St Mary, Islington, in the Months of July and August, 1830. First American Edition, with a Recommendatory Preface, by Rev. L. Woods, D.D.,* (Boston: Crocker & Brewster; New-York: J. Leavitt: G. Wilson, 1831), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t5db84q2d.

[314] Joseph John Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the History, Authority, and Use, of the Sabbath. With Notes by M. Stuart*, From the 2d London ed. (Andover: Flagg, Gould and Newman, 1833), vii, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah4fkx.

[315] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the History, Authority, and Use, of the Sabbath. With Notes by M. Stuart*, viii.

[316] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, 88.

[317] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, 88.

[318] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*, 89.

[319] In his *Declaration* (published posthumously) in which Gurney gives a written defence that his beliefs have not strayed from Quakerism, he briefly mentions the Sabbath. Whilst in agreement that the ceremonial aspects no longer play a part under the Christian dispensation he makes clear that 'the blessed purposes of rest and worship, is not to be regarded as a matter of mere expediency, but as a moral and religious duty, truly belonging to the law of our God'. After this comment he then goes on to 'fully unite … [with] Robert Barclay and others of our early friends' in rejecting any idea of certain times being more holy than others. But the point had been made; that in his view, elements of the Sabbath commandment remained operative, see; Gurney, *Declaration*, 25- all quotations.

subsumed under the spiritual dispensation of the new covenant it therefore should still be observed. As a result, it can be argued that by taking this stance, Gurney is strengthening the continuity between the Old and New Testaments and thereby further enhancing from a Christian perspective, the authority of the two canons of Scripture.[320] Secondly, the Christian Sabbath provides a way for Christians to publicly acknowledge the saving works of Christ and in so doing a greater emphasis is placed upon the outward historic Christ compared to the early Quaker witness of inward revelation. And thirdly, Gurney is prepared to question the authority of elements of early Quaker thinking and tradition if his *own* exegesis of the Scriptures leads to a different outcome. It is noticeable that there are no references in Gurney's publication to early Quaker works regarding the Sabbath; to speculate, this might be because he wished to avoid giving the impression of partisanship to his readers but I suggest that it was more likely that he was attempting to establish what he considered a universal Christian position on this subject which would include Quakerism, in the hope that Friends would move in his theological direction.

It is perhaps not surprising that to many Quakers, Gurney's views on this subject were controversial. For example, in the years that followed Wilbur,[321] PYM

[320] Whereas Marcionism took an extreme stance by developing a belief system that detached itself from the Old Testament, McGrath notes that 'The majority position within Christian theology has emphasized the *continuity* between the two testaments while affirming the *distinction* between them.'; see McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 110.

[321] John Wilbur, *A Narrative and Exposition of the Late Proceedings of New-England Yearly Meeting, with Some of Its Subordinate Meetings & Their Committees, in Relation to the Doctrinal Controversy Now Existing in the Society of Friends: Prefaced by a Concise View of the Church Showing the Occasion of an Apostacy, Both under the Former and Present Dispensations. With an Appendix. Edited from Records Kept, from Time to Time, of Those Proceedings, and Interspersed with Occasional Remarks and Observations. Addressed to the Members of the Said Yearly Meeting* (New York: Piercy & Reed, printers, 1845), 299-301. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100025495210.0x000001 The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Narrative and Exposition*.

(Orthodox)[322] and Hodgson[323] gave critical appraisals of extracts from the work, with the latter seeing it as 'a direct attack upon the early exponents of our doctrines, and that without scruple or apology'.[324] But at the same time, other Friends, such as Edward Ash,[325] held similar views to Gurney, and the *Friends' Monthly Magazine* on reviewing the work commented 'that the author is firm in the belief of *the moral and perpetual obligation of the Sabbatic Institute*' and that they fully supported the arguments and conclusion Gurney had presented.[326]

Nonetheless, Gurney's refusal to accept a complete spiritualisation of an Old Testament commandment does establish a small but significant boundary line which clearly demarcates him from early Friends on this subject.

2.8 Chapter summary

In this chapter, I have shown how Gurney's knowledge, understanding and interpretation of the Bible informed his Christological beliefs, and how these both affirmed and challenged elements of Orthodox Christianity and Quakerism. Four key arguments have been presented within this scriptural frame of reference with the following main findings:

1. Gurney developed and used a systematic approach to the interpretation of biblical text. In addition to the extensive use of the Bible itself to help understand particular texts within it, he drew upon a wide range of other sources and adopted

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[322] Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *An Appeal for the Ancient Doctrines of the Religious Society of Friends. Published by Direction of the Yearly Meeting Held in Philadelphia, in the Fourth Month, 1847: Addressed to Its Members*, 45-47.
[323] Hodgson, *An Examination of the Memoirs and Writings of J. J. Gurney*, 73-78.
[324] Hodgson, *An Examination of the Memoirs and Writings of J. J. Gurney*, 73.
[325] Ash, "An Inquiry into Some Parts of Christian Doctrine and Practice, Having Relation More Especially to the Society of Friends. With an Appendix. [the Preface Signed: E. A. i.e. Edward Ash.]," 372.
[326] *The Friends' Monthly Magazine*, "Reviews," 6th month, 1831, 270, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hnga56.

hermeneutical principles such as philology to help with exegesis. Gurney actively promoted the 'intellectual' inquiry of the Scriptures with an emphasis on study, learning and reason whilst also highlighting the 'attitudinal' dispositions that an individual needed in preparation for the right reading of Scripture. Above all else, he affirmed that without the guidance of the Holy Spirit, a true understanding of the Scriptures is not possible. These different approaches used by Gurney collectively helped in his interpretation of the scriptural text. Holistic exegesis is a hallmark of his overall engagement with the Bible and represents an innovation within Quakerism.[327]

2. Interpretations of Scripture are presented, argued and justified by Gurney to support his belief in Christ's deity and refute Unitarian narratives. Both the pre-existence of Christ and the two natures of Jesus Christ, divine and human, constitute an integral part of Gurney's understanding of Christian belief.[328]

3. Gurney's primary use of prophecy is to affirm Christ's divinity and the veracity of Christianity by showing how prophecies in the Old Testament about the Messiah are fulfilled in Jesus Christ, as recorded in the New Testament. This further establishes Gurney's orthodox position with regards to the authority of the whole biblical canon, and its record of God's supreme revelation in Jesus Christ. Prophecy set within a scriptural framework with its focus on the evidence of Christ's divinity, is not mutually exclusive to other forms of prophecy under the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit, which are also recognised by Gurney. However, his emphasis on biblical prophecy including a bespoke work on the subject written for young Quakers,

[327] See section 2.3 for further details.
[328] See section 2.4 for further details.

contrasts with the prophetic ministries of some of the early Friends which stemmed from their own experience of immediate revelation.[329]

4. Biblical exegesis is used by Gurney to uphold the Quaker rejection of the outward rites of water baptism and the Eucharist. However, in contrast to his approach in other areas of Christian doctrine, Gurney's allowance that for scriptural texts concerning the sacraments a spiritual interpretation can potentially override a literal interpretation, and his assumption that outward rites automatically cannot form part of the spiritual dispensation of the Christian Gospel, suggest that some hermeneutical principles are not always applied by him in a consistent way. On the question of observing the sacraments, Gurney's scriptural exegeses distance him from the orthodox Christian position.[330] In contrast, on other matters, his interpretation of particular New Testament texts lead him to challenge perceived existing Quaker beliefs regarding their meaning, and represents a move towards a more orthodox understanding of the relationship between Christ and the Holy Spirit.[331] Gurney's belief that the Sabbath continues to operate under a divine ordering also highlights his preparedness to challenge traditional Quaker views on this subject.[332] In summary, the exegetical methods used by Gurney have been diverse and comprehensive although not always consistent in their method of application. Nonetheless, what emerges from this chapter is Gurney's unceasing focus on the person of Jesus Christ as revealed in the Scriptures.

[329] See section 2.5 for further details.
[330] See section 2.6 for further details.
[331] See sub-section 2.7.2 for further details.
[332] See sub-section 2.7.3 for further details.

CHAPTER 3: CHRIST'S DIVINE NATURE

3.1 Chapter introduction

In one of Gurney's lectures to young Quakers, he is reported as saying:

> And here we come to what may truly be called the very centre and turning point, the very hinge and moving principle, of the christian system; and that is, the Divinity of Jesus Christ.[1]

The comment reflects a cardinal element of Gurney's Christology and highlights the significance he attaches to Christ's divinity.[2] In the lecture he describes how the Scriptures show 'the divine attributes of Christ, in every stage of his revealed history … that he was called by the name of God, and that it was directly declared that he was God'.[3] Gurney therefore in this context equates divinity to deity, with his focus including 'Christ in his pre-existence',[4] and the divine nature of Jesus Christ during His earthly ministry, resurrection and ascension.[5] In this chapter, Gurney's beliefs concerning these features of the divinity of Christ are examined in detail.

Although aspects of Trinitarian theology represented by the doctrine were accepted by early Friends, neither the term *Trinity*, its bespoke language,[6] nor the Church Creeds which support it were recognised.[7] Consequently, Trinitarian doctrine

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[1] Gurney, *Four Lectures*, 113.
[2] For a further example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 543.
[3] Gurney, *Four Lectures*, 138.
[4] Gurney, *Four Lectures*, 139.
[5] Gurney, *Four Lectures*, 139-41.
[6] See section 3.3 for further details.
[7] In *Observations*, Gurney comments that Quakers believed in the sufficiency of the Bible and 'have always refused to bind themselves by any other written creed'; see Gurney, *Observations*, 3. The Apostles', Niceno-Constantinopolitan and Athanasian creeds reflect various aspects of Trinitarian doctrine with the Athanasian Creed providing an especially detailed statement of belief. The Nicene Creed was first formulated by the Council of Nicea in AD 325 and was further developed by the Council of Constantinople in AD 381, and according to Philip Schaff was not officially recognised until AD 451 at the Chalcedonian Council; see Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes. In Three Volumes. Volume 1. The History of Creeds*, 25. The Niceno-

represents an important boundary line between Quakerism and orthodox Christianity, and one that is used in this chapter to help pin-point the theological position of Gurney's beliefs concerning Christ's divinity.

After this introduction, section 3.2 presents an overview of early Quaker beliefs concerning the divinity of Christ in relation to Trinitarian based ideas. This is followed by a parallel study of Gurney's theology on this subject (3.3) including a particular focus in relation to Christ, as the Son of God (3.4). The chapter concludes with a comparative analysis of beliefs between Gurney and early Quakerism (3.5) followed by a chapter summary (3.6).

Three key arguments are presented. First, that Gurney and early Friends are aligned in their refusal to publicly endorse the term *Trinity*, and in their affirmation that there is one God who is Father, Son and Holy Spirit (3.3.1).

Secondly, in contrast to early Quakerism, Gurney is prepared to more actively engage with the content of Trinitarian theology, embrace the language of Christian orthodoxy, and use both as a framework to emphasise the importance of belief in Christ's divinity. Specific examples will be used to illustrate this (3.3.2).

Thirdly, it is argued that Gurney's distinctive approach in his tenth essay of the *Essays*[8] in which he presents scriptural evidence for Christ's divinity, reflects a

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Constantinopolitan (often abbreviated to Nicene) Creed of 381 A.D is particularly significant in that not only was it a statement of faith agreed upon by the early Church but since this time it has also been widely accepted amongst different Christian traditions; see Ian A. McFarland, "Nicene Creed," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christian Theology*, ed. David A. S. Fergusson Ian A. McFarland, Karen Kilby and Iain R. Torrance (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 343. https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511781285.015. For versions of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds; see Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes. In Three Volumes. Volume 1. The History of Creeds*, 27-29. For a version of the Athanasius Creed; see Philip Schaff, *History of the Christian Church. Volume 3. Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity. From Constantine the Great to Gregory the Great A.D. 331-600*, 3 (Grand rapids, Michigan: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1858), 690-93, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiug.30112011946313.

[8] Gurney, *Essays*, 214-370.

Trinitarian perspective in his emphasis on Christ the Son of God in His pre-existence, incarnation and exalted state. This leads him to placing Jesus Christ at the centre of his beliefs and highlighting how the exalted Christ continues to represent, mediate and intercede for humanity (3.4). In contrast, early Friends developed a different and less Trinitarian based language to express their religious experiences whereby the belief in Christ the Light became central, and the concept of the *vehiculum Dei*[9] was given greater prominence than the person of Jesus Christ and His exaltation (3.5).

3.2 Christ's divinity in a Trinitarian context: early Quaker beliefs

3.2.1 Early Quakers and the Trinity

Although early Quakers rejected any use of the word *Trinity*,[10] it would be erroneous to see this as equating to non-belief in all of the theology being conveyed within the doctrine itself.[11] There is in fact, good evidence that the Society of Friends in the latter half of the seventeenth century accepted belief in the one God who is

[9] Barclay, *Apology*, 131.

[10] Although the word *Trinity* is not found in the Bible, the doctrine itself is considered by many to be one which the Scriptures reflect. McGrath, for example, has argued that the nature of God is such that a Trinitarian perspective is necessary; see McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 302. and as Thomas McCall has commented, the Trinity 'has commanded common assent from Roman Catholic, Protestant, and Orthodox Christians alike'' see Thomas H. McCall, "The Trinity," in *The Routledge Companion to Modern Christian Thought*, ed. Chad Meister and James Beilby (2013; paperback, Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2015), 493.

[11] The fundamental elements of Trinitarian theology are that there is one God who is triune. McGrath comments 'there are three persons within the Godhead- Father, Son and Holy Spirit- and that these are to be regarded as equally divine and of equal status'; see McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 17. Ian Markham notes that the early Eastern Christian tradition 'saw God as three particular persons (*hypostases*) in one essence (*ousia*)' whereas the Western Christian tradition described these concepts as '*persona* and *substantia*' respectively. See Ian S. Markham, *Understanding Christian Doctrine* (Newark, United States: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2017), 78-79, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=7104291. As Mark Makin has highlighted, an integral part of Trinitarian doctrine is also the idea of 'eternal generation' which he describes as 'the *divine processions* or the *eternal relations of origin* in God', whereby 'the Son is eternally begotten of the Father, and the Spirit eternally proceeds from the Father (and the Son or through the Son); see Mark Makin, "God from God: The Essential Dependence Model of Eternal Generation," *Religious Studies* 54, no. 3 (2018): 378- all quotations. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0034412518000197.

Father, Son and Holy Spirit.[12] As Fox wrote:

> Of the Word *Trinity* the Scripture is silent; but the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, the *Water*, *Blood* and *Spirit*, which are one, that is owned by us, as was by the Apostle, which did not give them other Names, as the World doth.[13]

In this text, Fox affirms belief in the one God who is triune. In a different work, he expands upon these views by commenting that not only is the word '*Trinity*' seen as not scriptural but also the phrase '*three Persons*'.[14] Fox re-iterates the Quaker belief that 'we own the *Father*, the *Son*, and the *Holy Ghost*'[15] but strongly rejects any idea that Friends cannot be Christian because of their refusal to use these other Trinitarian terms.[16] Several scriptural texts are used by him to affirm belief in the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, and 1 John 5:7 '*For there are three that bear record in Heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one*;'[17] is referenced or paraphrased on more than one occasion.[18]

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[12] Evidence that early Quakers affirmed belief in the deity of God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit can be found in (a) Barclay's 'Confession of Faith', 'Article 1' which includes the scripture text of 1 John 5:7; 'There are three that bear Record in Heaven, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and these three are one.'; Robert Barclay, *A Catechism and Confession of Faith, Approved of and Agreed Unto by the General Assembly of the Patriarchs, Prophets and Apostles, Christ Himself Chief Speaker in and among Them* (Philadelphia: Printed by Solomon W. Conrad, 1828), 68; all quotations, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433082197306. and (b) the Society's 1693 'Declaration of Christian Doctrine' publication which includes references to 'the Father, the Word and the Holy Spirit are one, in divine being inseparable; one true, living, and eternal God, blessed for ever'; 'We sincerely confess and believe in Jesus Christ, both as He is true God and perfect man' and 'That the gospel of the grace of God should be preached in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, being one in power, wisdom, and goodness; and indivisible (or not to be divided) in the great work of man's salvation.' See London Yearly Meeting (Society of Friends), *Book of Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends in Great Britain; Consisting of Extracts on Doctrine, Practice and Church Government from the Epistles and Other Documents Issued under the Sanction of the Yearly Meeting Held in London from Its First Institution in 1672 to the Year 1883.* (London: Samuel Harris & Co., 1883), 6 (first quotaion), 7 (last two quotations), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015064369260.
[13] Fox, *Some Principles of the Elect People of God Who in Scorn Are Called Quakers, for All People Throughout All Christendome to Read over, and Thereby Their Own States to Consider*, 32.
[14] Fox, *Something in Answer*, 27.
[15] Fox, *Something in Answer*, 27.
[16] Fox, *Something in Answer*, 28.
[17] Fox, *Something in Answer*, 27.
[18] Fox, *Something in Answer*, 27-28.

I suggest that the particular use of 1 John 5:7-8, as opposed to other biblical passages which also reflect a Trinitarian formulation,[19] is significant. As Grantley McDonald has commented, elements of these verses had been a source of controversy because a section of text from each of them, termed the '"Johannine Comma"',[20] could not be found in early versions of the Greek New Testament.[21] McDonald describes how these parts of the Johannine verses had been seen by many scholars as providing strong evidence for Trinitarian doctrine'.[22] It could therefore be argued that Fox in his use of these verses was attempting to emphasise Quaker alignment to this aspect of Trinitarian doctrine. Of relevance in the context of this study, is Hannah Barnard's rejection of the verses as evidence of the Trinity. Barnard who was disowned by the Society in the early nineteenth century for her beliefs,[23] considered the verses 'a corrupt interpolation, for the very purpose of establishing the absurd and pernicious doctrine of the Trinity in Unity'.[24] I suggest this indirectly adds further import to Fox's *earlier* use of this Johannine text as evidence of his belief in the one *triune* God. William Braithwaite has also highlighted the importance which early Friends attached to this biblical passage.[25]

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[19] McGrath for example, cites Matthew 28:19 and 2 Corinthians 13:14. See McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 302.
[20] Grantley McDonald, "Erasmus and the Johannine Comma (1 John 5.7-8)," *The Bible Translator* 67, no. 1 (2016): 42. https://doi.org/10.1177/2051677016628244.
[21] McDonald shows this by placing the text that constitutes the Johannine Comma in italics, as follows; '"[7] For there are three that bear record *in heaven, the Father, the Word, and the Holy Ghost: and these three are one*. [8] *And there are three that bear witness in earth*, the Spirit, and the water, and the blood, and these three agree in one"'. See McDonald, "Erasmus and the Johannine Comma (1 John 5.7-8)," 45.
[22] McDonald, "Erasmus and the Johannine Comma (1 John 5.7-8)," 46.
[23] David W. Maxey, "New Light on Hannah Barnard, a Quaker "Heretic"," *Quaker History* 78, no. 2 (1989): 65. https://doi.org/10.1353/qkh.1989.0010.
[24] Cited in Bevans; see John Bevans, *Some Tracts Relating to the Controversy between Hannah Barnard and the Society of Friends, Wherein the Primitive Christian Principles of the Said Society Are Presented to the Public* (London: Darton and Harvey, 1802), 16, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hxjh4q.
[25] William C. Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism. With an Introduction by Rufus M. Jones* (London: MacMillan & Co., Limited, 1921), 156.

Several other elements of theology associated with Trinitarian doctrine can also be found in some of the writings of early Friends. For example, Edward Burrough comments on the pre-existence of Christ[26] and Elizabeth Bathurst affirms belief in Christ's divine and eternal nature.[27] Bathurst also addresses the potential issue of subordinationism.[28] Citing the text '*where Christ saith, My Father is greater than I*', she argues that this referred to when Christ 'assumed the Nature of Man; [and] not at all relating to the fullness of the God-head that dwelleth Bodily in him'.[29]

Although early Quakers were therefore ready to confirm aspects of Trinitarian doctrine, they were unwilling to incorporate into their narratives, particular words such as *person* and *coequal*, which were associated with Trinitarian language. A piece of evidence which emerged towards the end of the seventeenth century demonstrates this particularly well**.** In connection with the formulation of the 1689 Act of Toleration,[30] the Quaker George Whitehead, described how Friends were prepared to affirm their agreement to the statement:

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[26] Edward Burrough, *A Declaration to All the World of Our Faith, and What We Believe* (London: Printed for Thomas Simmons, 1657), 4, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100100861954.0x000001.

[27] Bathurst, *Truth's Vindication or, a Gentle Stroke to Wipe Off the Foul Aspersions, False Accusations and Misrepresentations, Cast Upon the People of God, Called, Quakers. Both with Respect to Their Principle, and Their Way of Proselyting People over to Them. Also, an Epistle to Such of the Friends of Christ, That Have Lately Been Convinced of the Truth, as It Is in Jesus*, 10-12.

[28] 'Subordinationism' as described by Markham is 'the denial of the equality of the three persons of the Trinity'; see Markham, *Understanding Christian Doctrine*, 80. See sub-section 3.3.3 for further discussion about this.

[29] Bathurst, *Truth's Vindication or, a Gentle Stroke to Wipe Off the Foul Aspersions, False Accusations and Misrepresentations, Cast Upon the People of God, Called, Quakers. Both with Respect to Their Principle, and Their Way of Proselyting People over to Them. Also, an Epistle to Such of the Friends of Christ, That Have Lately Been Convinced of the Truth, as It Is in Jesus*, 12- both quotations.

[30] For some additional historical context to this Act, see George Southcombe, "The Quakers and Politics, 1660-1689," in *The Quakers, 1656-1723: The Evolution of an Alternative Community*, ed. Richard C. Allen and Rosemary Moore with specialist contributors (University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2018), 187-88.

> *I profess Faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ, His Eternal Son, the True God, and in the Holy Spirit, One God Blessed for ever: And do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to be given by* Divine Inspiration.[31]

This not only indicates an acceptance of a Trinitarian based statement by Friends but also a willingness to affirm this in connection with the laws of the state.[32] However, as Whitehead observed, an *earlier* draft had been rejected by Friends. A Quaker amendment to its wording which involved the omission of '*Coequal with the Father and the Son*' proved acceptable to the authorities and led to the statement which Friends were able to affirm.[33] The amendment therefore suggests that whilst early Quakers accepted the deity of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit they were not prepared to use the concept of 'coequality' which alludes to the idea of three persons and their interrelationship within the Godhead.[34]

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[31]George Whitehead, *The Christian Progress of That Ancient Servant and Minister of Jesus Christ, George Whitehead. Historically Relating His Experience, Ministry, Sufferings, Trials and Service, in Defence of the Truth and God's Persecuted People, Commonly Called Quakers. In Four Parts. With a Supplement to the Same* (London: Printed and sold by the assigns of J. Sowle, 1725), 635, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/njp.32101067676567. Interestingly, William Braithwaite who considered the text of the *Johannine* comma to be a 'spurious insertion' into the scriptural narrative, also posed the question that had this passage been absent from the Bible, what would have been the impact upon Quakers in relation to meeting the requirements of the Toleration Act? See Braithwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism. With an Introduction by Rufus M. Jones*, 156.

[32] Further evidence to support this can be seen in a publication by George Whitehead and William Mead which was addressed to the Lower House of Convocation, 1712. Referring to the 1689 Act of Toleration affirmation, they acknowledge its legal provision and importance to Friends; see George Whitehead and William Mead, *The People Call'd Quakers Truly Represented, and Vindicated from Some Mistakes in the Representation of the Lower House of Convocation. With a Brief Enquiry into a Persecuting Pamphlet, Lately Deliver'd to the Members of Parliament, Stiled, a Winding-Sheet for Quakerism; Unjustly Design'd against the Said People, and the Toleration* (London: Printed and sold by Philip Gwillim, 1712), 3, Eighteenth Century Collections Online: https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0120002172/ECCO?u=bham_uk&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=9afa2708&pg=2.

[33] Whitehead cites the original statement which was problematic to Friends as being '*That all such profess Faith in God the Father, and in Jesus Christ His Eternal Son, the True God, and in the Holy Spirit, Coequal with the Father and the Son, One God: And do acknowledge the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, to be the Revealed Will and Word of God.*' See Whitehead, *The Christian Progress of That Ancient Servant and Minister of Jesus Christ, George Whitehead. Historically Relating His Experience, Ministry, Sufferings, Trials and Service, in Defence of the Truth and God's Persecuted People, Commonly Called Quakers. In Four Parts. With a Supplement to the Same*, 634.

[34] See also George Whitehead, *Memoirs of George Whitehead; a Minister of the Gospel in the Society of Friends: Being the Substance of the Account of His Life, Written by Himself, and Published after His*

3.2.2 Early Quakers and the Light Within

Whilst the previous sub-section evidenced how aspects of Trinitarian belief were affirmed by early Friends, it is important to stress that this should be seen within the wider context of early Quakerism which was particularly characterised by an emphasis both upon immediate revelation and the universal Light Within.[35]

Rosemary Moore has commented that a wide variety of terms associated with '"light"'[36] were used by Fox in the early 1650s including the '"the light (or "the light of Christ") in your conscience,"' and '"the light of Christ (or "God") within you,"'[37] and that this type of phraseology started to be used by others in the Quaker movement as well. However, she also highlights the difficulty in ascertaining exactly what Quakers sometimes meant by these terms.[38] David Manning has suggested 'the Light within'[39] at the outset of the Quaker movement represented an understanding of God which was removed from the idea of the three persons of the triune Godhead and was seen by some non-Quakers as a form of 'non-Trinitarianism'.[40] The ambiguity in theological language identified by Moore and Manning, highlights I suggest the difficulty in establishing the degree of Trinitarian orthodoxy within early Quakerism. A brief examination of Barclay's *Apology* will further illustrate this point.

Decease, in the Year 1725, under the Title of "His Christian Progress;" with an Appendix, Containing a Selection from His Other Works. Also Introductory Observations, by Samuel Tuke. In Two Vols.- Vol. 1, 1 (Philadelphia: Nathan Kite, 1832), 133-34 [volume 1], http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044055045652.

[35] See for example the section on 'Early Quakerism' in the Introductory chapter..

[36] Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666*, 81.

[37] Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666*, 81.

[38] Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666*, 103.

[39] David Manning, "Accusations of Blasphemy in English Anti-Quaker Polemic, C. 1660–1701," *Quaker studies* 14, no. 1 (2009): 32. https://doi.org/10.3828/quaker.14.1.27.

[40] Manning, "Accusations of Blasphemy in English Anti-Quaker Polemic, C. 1660–1701," 33.

In the *Apology*, a nuanced and detailed discourse is presented by Barclay concerning the '*light*'.[41] The emphasis placed by him on this concept is immediately apparent in his opening statement on the subject in which he which adds some wording to part of the John 3:16 passage that is cited in order to stress the soteriological significance of the Light of Christ.[42] As his commentary continues, Barclay's Christological position further develops whereby 'the *light* is taken for Christ'[43] and that '*God hath communicated and given unto every man a measure of the light of his own Son, a measure of grace, or a measure of the Spirit'*.[44] Consequently, Barclay's narrative begins to stand apart from a more orthodox Trinitarian position in terms of how Christ is described and the relationship between Christ and the Spirit. Similarly, the soteriological element of the economic Trinity[45] becomes different under Barclay's perspective in that rather than explicitly linking the second person of the Trinity with salvation, he comments how '*God, in and by this Light and Seed, invites, calls, exhorts, and strives with every man, in order to save*

[41] Barclay, *Apology*, 104.
[42] Extract from Barclay's fifth proposition: 'God, out of his infinite love, *who delighteth not in the death of a sinner, but that all should live and be saved, hath so loved the world, that he hath given his only Son a* LIGHT*, that whosoever believeth in him should be saved,* John iii. 16, *who enlighteneth EVERY man that cometh into the world,* John i. 9'. See Barclay, *Apology*, 104. The Authorized Version texts for John 3:16 and John 1:9 are respectively 'For God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life' and '*That* was the true Light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world.'
[43] Barclay, *Apology*, 137.
[44] Barclay, *Apology*, 126.
[45] The Trinity can also be seen in terms of being an '"essential" or "immanent" Trinity' and an '"economic Trinity"'; see McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 308. The former represents an ontological focus on the Godhead itself, whilst the latter highlights the work of the Godhead in relation to the world and human history. In modern day scholarship, Karl Rahner has developed this idea further and advocated that '*The "economic" Trinity is the "immanent" Trinity and the "immanent" Trinity is the "economic" Trinity.'* See Karl Rahner, *The Trinity* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2001), 22, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=436043. Although this suggested relationship between the two Trinities, sometimes called '"*Rahner's Rule*"' [for example, see McCall, "The Trinity," 495.] is a modern construct, the *ideas* that it reflects concerning the relationship between the immanent and economic Trinities can be used I suggest to help with the interpretation of theological works that pre-date this model.

him'.[46] Although elsewhere in the *Apology*, direct reference *is* made to salvation through Christ,[47] I suggest the overall Christological emphasis is linked to the idea of Christ, the Light Within. The culmination of Barclay's thinking is to argue that '*a spiritual, heavenly, and invisible principle, in which God, as Father, Son, and Spirit, dwells*; a measure of which divine and glorious life is *in all men* as a *seed*'.[48] Here his use of Trinitarian language is evident although Pennington makes a persuasive case that Barclay was not attempting to assert a Trinitarian perspective *per se* but rather 'the minimization of separate hypostases'.[49] Barclay also describes this principle as '*vehiculum Dei*, or the *spiritual body of Christ, the flesh and blood of Christ, which came down from heaven*, of which all the saints do feed, and are thereby nourished unto eternal life'.[50]

Given that Barclay also states the '*divine supernatural light or seed is* vehiculum Dei'[51] and he has already identified that the Light Within is Christ, it is clear that his theology does not embrace an orthodox Trinitarian position and as Pennington notes it 'posed a challenge to Chalcedonian orthodoxy'.[52] However, I consider Barclay's primary purpose in conveying the concept of '*vehiculum Dei*',[53] whatever the limitations and possible self-contradictions within this construct, was

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[46] Barclay, *Apology*, 126.
[47] Barclay, *Apology*, 112-14.
[48] Barclay, *Apology*, 131.
[49] Pennington, *Quakers, Christ, and the Enlightenment*, 143.
[50] Barclay, *Apology*, 131.
[51] Barclay, *Apology*, 136.
[52] Pennington, *Quakers, Christ, and the Enlightenment*, 142. The Chalcedonian Creed reaffirmed the Nicene Creed but also stated that the person of Jesus Christ has two natures; divine and human, and that these exist '*without confusion, without conversion, without severance, and without division*' and are in a hypostatic union with each other. The Creed also made clear this meant 'not a Son divided and sundered into two persons, but one and the same Son, and Only-begotten, and God-Logos, our Lord Jesus Christ'; see Schaff, *History of the Christian Church. Volume 3. Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity. From Constantine the Great to Gregory the Great A.D. 331-600*, 745-46. For a useful summary of the key doctrinal elements of the Chalcedonian Creed; see Weinandy, "The Doctrinal Significance of the Councils of Nicaea, Ephesus, and Chalcedon," 558-61.
[53] Barclay, *Apology*, 131.

that it represented the spiritual means within an individual through which immediate revelation from God could be *experienced*. The key point I therefore wish to emphasise is that in his attempt to explain this feature of Quaker belief, Barclay replaced one non-scriptural term, *Trinity*, with another,[54] namely '*vehiculum Dei*',[55] and in doing so moved away from the language of orthodox Christianity.

Moore argues that towards the end of the seventeenth century there was a move towards greater Christological orthodoxy amongst Friends, and that through a key work 'Fox … [was trying] to unite the original Quaker faith with the necessary new forms of expression'.[56] This 'dual' approach is also reflected to some degree in the 1693 Declaration by Whitehead and other Friends with its affirmation of the one God who is triune[57] whilst also retaining an emphasis on 'Light'.[58]

3.3 Christ's divinity in a Trinitarian context: Gurney's beliefs

3.3.1 Introduction

Belief in Christ's divinity is considered by Gurney to be of critical importance. It is a focus of some of his major works, [59] several sermons,[60] and in his *Four Lectures*

[54] Although as Pennington notes, Barclay claimed there was a scriptural basis for the term; see Pennington, *Quakers, Christ, and the Enlightenment*, 140-41.
[55] Barclay, *Apology*, 131.
[56] Moore, "Quaker Expressions of Belief in the Lifetime of George Fox," 154. For the work by Fox which was cited by Moore; see Fox, *Something in Answer*.
[57] George Whitehead, *The Christian Doctrin [Sic] and Society of the People Called Quakers; Cleared from the Reproach of the Late Division of a Few in Some Part of America, as Not Being Justly Chargeable Upon the Body of the Said People There or Elsewhere* (London: Printed for Thomas Northcott, 1693), 2, https://www.proquest.com/books/christian-doctrin-sic-society-people-called/docview/2240896112/se-2.
[58] For example; see Whitehead, *The Christian Doctrin [Sic] and Society of the People Called Quakers; Cleared from the Reproach of the Late Division of a Few in Some Part of America, as Not Being Justly Chargeable Upon the Body of the Said People There or Elsewhere*, 2,3.
[59] For example; see Gurney, *Essays*., Gurney, *Biblical Notes*., and Gurney, *Hints*.
[60] For example; see Richard Batt, "Sermon by J. J. Gurney," *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner* 20, no. 77 (1886): 27. and Gurney, *Sermons and Prayers, Delivered in the City of Philadelphia, by Joseph John Gurney. Taken in Short-Hand*, 7, 39, 68 and 72.

addresses, one of the lectures was specifically devoted to the subject.[61] It is also a belief which Gurney regards Christians should affirm and uphold without any ambiguity or equivocation. He describes how 'there is an infinite difference of *opinion* between those who believe that Jesus Christ is GOD and those who regard him only as a *creature*'.[62] In other words, this is seen by him as a *defining feature* and cornerstone of Christian faith.[63] In the sub-sections which follow, Gurney's belief in the divinity of Christ is evaluated within the context of Trinitarian based theology. Arguments will be presented to show how his views both aligned with some elements of early Quakerism (3.3.2) but also differed because of his greater engagement with particular aspects of Trinitarian doctrine (3.3.3).

3.3.2 Gurney and the Trinity: agreed areas with early Quakerism

In 1831, there was a failed attempt within the BFBS to restrict membership to only those who would affirm their belief in the Holy Trinity.[64] Gurney, who was an active and committed member of the Society,[65] saw this as the right outcome even though he had no desire to underplay 'the importance of that great doctrine'.[66]

'THE TRINITARIAN BIBLE SOCIETY'[67] which subsequently split from the BFBS, did introduce such a stipulation for its own organisation. Gurney as part of his publication *Terms of Union* comments in some detail why he would not be prepared to join that Society, giving as one of his key reasons that such membership would

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[61] Gurney, *Four Lectures*, 109-53.
[62] Gurney, *Essays*, 545.
[63] Gurney, *Essays*, 545.
[64] Joseph John Gurney, *Terms of Union. Remarks Addressed to the Members of the British and Foreign Bible Society* (Norwich: Printed by Wilkin and Fletcher, 1832), 18. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100037351190.0x000001. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Terms of Union*.
[65] Martin, "Quakers, the Bible, and the British and Foreign Bible Society," 19.
[66] Gurney, *Terms of Union*, 19.
[67] Gurney, *Terms of Union*, 35.

require an affirmation of '"belief in the godhead of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, THREE CO-EQUAL AND CO-ETERNAL PERSONS, IN THE ONE TRUE AND LIVING GOD"'.[68] He argues that whilst he can see 'we are sometimes almost compelled to apply *names*, not contained in the Scriptures, to doctrines which are in themselves perfectly scriptural'[69] he rejects the adoption of such an approach and notes that it was very unlikely that he could ever subscribe to this statement of belief.[70] In making this stand, in print, Gurney publicly aligns himself with the early Quaker practice of not adopting the term *Trinity*. My argument that Gurney and early Friends held similar views in this respect is further evidenced by Gurney's posthumously published *Declaration*, in which he makes clear, that although 'TRINITY'[71] is not a word used by him, he nonetheless accepts the doctrinal affirmation of there being one God who is triune, and that 'the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, are all three presented to us in Scripture as actually divine'[72] but also that 'these Three are One'.[73] The use of the latter phrase, although not referenced to the Scriptures by Gurney, draws upon part of verse 7 from 1 John 5, and parallels the use early Friends made of this biblical text.[74] Extracts from the writings of various early Friends and the Society's 1693 Declaration are also used by Gurney to substantiate his views[75] and give credence to his agreement with the early Quaker position on this issue. Pennington has highlighted how early Friends placed an emphasis on the unity and oneness of God.[76] In Gurney's writings this is also

[68] Gurney, *Terms of Union*, 37.
[69] Gurney, *Terms of Union*, 37.
[70] Gurney, *Terms of Union*, 37.
[71] Gurney, *Declaration*, 18.
[72] Gurney, *Declaration*, 19.
[73] Gurney, *Declaration*, 20.
[74] See previous sub-section 3.2.1.
[75] Gurney, *Declaration*, 21-22.
[76] Pennington, *Quakers, Christ, and the Enlightenment*, 86.

stressed[77] and he makes clear that any suggestion of tritheism should be seen as 'blasphemous and absurd'.[78]

3.3.3 Gurney's further use of Trinitarian based theology

Having established that there are elements of agreement between Gurney and early Friends regarding aspects of the Trinity, I argue that there is also a key difference in Gurney's greater willingness to engage with aspects of Trinitarian theology and to use it to underpin and scaffold his beliefs.

It is clear from several of Gurney's writings, that his belief in the one triune God had been a view he had held for many years.[79] A temporal consistency in his understanding of the nature of God and overt use of Trinitarian based language is reflected not only in written works but also in some of his addresses[80] and in his understanding of worship.[81] It is also noticeable that on occasions when conveying his views, Gurney uses language which appears to be almost doxological[82] or creedal. For example with the latter, he describes how 'the Scriptures afford us abundant evidence that the Father is God, that the Son is God, and that the Holy

[77] For example, Gurney comments 'that God is ONE; *that there is no other God but Jehovah*'; see Gurney, *Essays*, 113.
[78] Gurney, *Hints*, 61.
[79] For example, see (a) Gurney, *Letter to a Friend*, 38. (b) Gurney, *Hints*, 62. And (c) Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 137. It is interesting to note that a large extract from *Letter to a Friend* formed part of a compilation of writings by various authors and used by a third party to advocate Trinitarian principles; see John Edmonds Stock and Layman, *Unitarianism Tried by Scripture and Experience: A Compilation of Treatises and Testimonies in Support of Trinitarian Doctrine and Evangelical Principles. With a General Introduction. By a Layman [i.e. by J. E. Stock]* (London: Hamilton, Adams and Co, 1840), 77-99.
[80] For example; see Gurney, *Sermons and Prayers, Delivered in the City of Philadelphia, by Joseph John Gurney. Taken in Short-Hand*, 94. and Joseph John Gurney, *Sermon and Prayer, by Joseph John Gurney, Delivered at Arch Street Meeting, Philadelphia, on the Evening of First-Day, Seventh Month 19th, 1840* (n.p, [1840?]), 5, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081820367.
[81] For example; see Gurney, *Observations*, 319. and Gurney, *Puseyism*, 90.
[82] For example; see the final sentence of his eleventh essay in Gurney, *Essays*, 469.

Spirit is God'[83] which mirrors almost identical wording from the Athanasian Creed.[84]

Alongside the general use of Trinitarian based language to help frame and articulate his beliefs, Gurney was also prepared to engage more forensically with aspects of Trinitarian theology. Four examples will be used to illustrate this point. These relate to the nature of the relationships within the Godhead, the concept of eternal Sonship, evidence for the one, *triune* God in the Old Testament, and the economic Trinity in relation to human salvation.

First, Gurney emphasises 'that the equality of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, is an equality in point of *nature*; for in their nature, they are God and God is one'.[85] This establishes a Trinitarian framework *within* which he operates to explore 'the *order*' of the relationships within the Godhead, which he considers to be that 'The Father is the *first*: the Son is the *second*: the Holy Spirit is the *third*.' Consequently, he argues that subordination exists in the sense that 'The Son is subordinate to the Father, because he is *of* the Father' and 'The Holy Spirit is subordinate to the Father and the Son, because he is the Father's and the Son's'.[86]

Interpreting the orthodoxy of Gurney's views with specific regard to subordination within the Godhead is potentially complex. Looking at the issue in a generic sense, any inequality between the Father, Son and the Holy Spirit could be seen as non-orthodox, as for example Ian Markham has suggested.[87] However, it is important to establish how *inequality* within subordinationism is *defined*. In this

[83] Gurney, *Hints*, 61.
[84] This part of the Athanasian Creed states that 'the Father is God: the Son is God: and the Holy Ghost is God', see Schaff, *History of the Christian Church. Volume 3. Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity. From Constantine the Great to Gregory the Great A.D. 331-600*, 692.
[85] Gurney, *Essays*, 147.
[86] Gurney, *Essays*, 147- all quotations.
[87] Markham, *Understanding Christian Doctrine*, 80.

regard, Mark Edwards has argued that a narrative of the Son being subordinate to the Father within the Godhead, could be on an 'ontological', 'aetiological', 'axiological' or 'economic' basis.[88] As a result, opinions may differ concerning the significance of a particular form of subordinationism as constituting a move away from orthodox Trinitarian principles. For example, Edwards comments that the John 14:28 text '"the Father is greater than I"' was seen by Tertullian[89] to mean 'that the Son is not identical with the Father', whereas Athanasius considered that '"greater"' should be seen aetiologically as signifying '"causally prior"' which would mean that the natures of the Father and Son were the same.[90] In contrast, R.T. Mullins using analytic theology, has queried Edwards' hypothesis that aetiological subordination might be considered orthodox.[91] Returning to Gurney's understanding of the Godhead, it is clear that he sees no difference in the nature of God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit but rather a difference which equates to Edwards' description of aetiological subordinationism.[92] This is therefore a good example of Gurney engaging more deeply with Trinitarian ideas but at the same time it highlights the challenge this can bring to articulating a particular theological position in relation to orthodoxy.[93] It

[88] Mark Edwards, "Is Subordinationism a Heresy?," *TheoLogica: An International Journal for Philosophy of Religion and Philosophical Theology* 4, no. 2 (2020): 69-70. https://doi.org/10.14428/thl.v4i2.23803.
[89] Bryan Litfin describes how Tertullian 'The great apologist not only bequeathed us the term 'Trinity', he also offered a formula that, more than a century later, would assume the status of doctrinal orthodoxy.' However, Litfin also considered that Tertullian's belief in subordinationism reflected Arianism tendencies; see; Bryan M. Litfin, "Tertullian on the Trinity," *Perichoresis* 17, no. 1 (2019): 81, 95. https://doi.org/10.2478/perc-2019-0012.
[90] Edwards, "Is Subordinationism a Heresy?," 71- all quotations.
[91] R. T. Mullins, "Trinity, Subordination, and Heresy: A Reply to Mark Edwards," *TheoLogica: An International Journal for Philosophy of Religion and Philosophical Theology* 4, no. 2 (2020): 95-96. https://doi.org/10.14428/thl.v4i2.52323.
[92] Edwards, "Is Subordinationism a Heresy?," 69.
[93] As a further example of the complexity of this issue, R. C. Sproul has argued that the Son is subordinate to the Father with regards to the workings out of God's redemptive plan but ontologically within the Godhead there is parity; see R. C. Sproul, *John: An Expositional Commentary* (Sanford, FL: Ligonier Ministries, 2009), 80.

should also be noted that Gurney's acceptance of the *'Filioque'*[94] aligns with the Western Church tradition that the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and Son.[95]

A second example of Gurney's Christology linking to Trinitarian doctrine relates to his belief in Christ's eternal Sonship. It is helpful at this stage to set Gurney's position alongside that of Adam Clarke, a leading 'Wesleyan Methodist minister and scholar',[96] who was a contemporary of Gurney. In his exegesis of Luke 1:35, Clarke makes clear his rejection of the idea of 'the *eternal Sonship* of Christ'; a belief he describes as being 'anti-scriptural, and highly dangerous'. Clarke presents several arguments to support his position including 'If Christ be the *Son* of God, as to his *divine* nature, then the *Father* is of necessity *prior*, consequently *superior* to him.'[97] For Clarke, the title of Son of God only applied to Christ's human nature and he saw any attempt to link this to His divine nature as something that 'destroys the *deity* of Christ' and undermines the efficacy of the atonement.[98] Barry Hamilton highlights that Clarke's perceived unorthodoxy was viewed with serious concerns within Methodism.[99] This can be seen in a work by Richard Watson, a fellow

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[94] In the original Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed of AD 381, the Holy Spirit is said to have proceeded from the Father. The filioque clause changed this to 'the *double procession* of the Spirit from the Father *and the Son*'; see Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes. In Three Volumes. Volume 1. The History of Creeds*, 26. The later introduction of the *filioque* by the Western tradition of Christianity has therefore meant that there have been two versions of the Nicene Creed in existence for many years, each with a different theological interpretation concerning the procession of the Holy Spirit.

[95] For example; see Gurney, *Hints*, 61.

[96] Sellers, "Clarke, Adam (1762–1832), Wesleyan Methodist Minister and Scholar."

[97] Adam Clarke, "The Gospel According to St. Luke," *The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ: the text carefully printed from the most correct copies of the present Authorized Version including the marginal readings and parallel texts, with a Commentary and Critical Notes. Designed as a help to a better understanding of the sacred writings. New edition, improved. Completed in one volume* (Philadelphia: Thomas, Cowperthwait & Co., 1842), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015074646251?urlappend=%3Bseq=183. 176- all quotations.

[98] Clarke, "The Gospel According to St. Luke," 177.

[99] Barry W. Hamilton, "The "Eternal Sonship" Controversy in Early British Methodism," *Wesleyan Theological Journal* 40, no. 2 (2005): 225. https://wtsociety.com/files/wts_journal/2005-wtj-40-2.pdf.

Methodist, who argued against Clarke's viewpoint.[100] It is significant therefore, that on this subject, Gurney held a more orthodox position. Whilst he accepts the possible argument 'that our Saviour was the *Son of God*, in certain *subordinate* and *secondary* senses' because of His earthly life, Gurney nonetheless believes this does not run counter to the scriptural narrative of Him being 'the Son of God in his eternal preexistence'[101] and that 'proof of his eternal Sonship'[102] is evident in the appearances of the resurrected Christ. However, given that the 1689 Quaker Declaration also mentions '*His Eternal Son*'[103] it might be countered that Gurney is not articulating anything new about this doctrine from an early Quaker perspective. However, I argue that the difference lies in him placing a *greater* emphasis on the concept of Sonship. For example, his use of the title 'Son of God'[104] forms an important narrative thread in one of his essays with the idea of eternal Sonship constituting an integral part of this account.[105]

Thirdly, Gurney argues that the triune nature of the one God is evident in the Old Testament as well. For example, the plural wording expressed within the text of Genesis 1:26 is interpreted by him in this sense.[106] A further example can be found in his exegesis of part of Isaiah which he links to two New Testament texts. Drawing upon John 12:41 Gurney argues that the theophany recorded in the sixth chapter of

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[100] Richard Watson, *Remarks on the Eternal Sonship of Christ; and the Use of Reason in Matters of Revelation: Suggested by Several Passages in Dr. Adam Clarke's Commentary on the New Testament. In a Letter to a Friend* (London: Printed by T. Cordeux and sold by T. Blanshard, 1818), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015073325220.
[101] Gurney, *Essays*, 229- both quotations.
[102] Gurney, *Essays*, 284.
[103] Whitehead, *The Christian Progress of That Ancient Servant and Minister of Jesus Christ, George Whitehead. Historically Relating His Experience, Ministry, Sufferings, Trials and Service, in Defence of the Truth and God's Persecuted People, Commonly Called Quakers. In Four Parts. With a Supplement to the Same*, 635.
[104] Gurney, *Essays*, 214-370.
[105] See section 3.4.
[106] Gurney, *Essays*, 149.

Isaiah had been 'the *Son of God* whose glory appeared to him, and through whom therefore the Father was manifested'.[107] Similarly, Acts 28:25 is used to highlight that Isaiah's ministry was inspired by the Holy Spirit. Both of these insights are then seen by him to suggest that the plural terms used in Isaiah 6:3,8 indicate a triune God.[108] Gurney was not alone in drawing this conclusion. Others before him had made the same interpretation[109] although Albert Barnes, a contemporary biblical scholar, saw this as more circumstantial evidence of the Trinity rather than direct proof.[110] Gurney also highlights that the 'plural substantive, ELOHIM'[111] is used on several occasions in the Old Testament. Although he recognises that there are several possible explanations concerning the meaning of this word when it is linked to God, Gurney considers that the most likely 'is *plurality* in *unity*'[112] which reflects the triune nature of the Godhead.[113] Gurney's belief that the imprint of Trinitarian doctrine can be found in the Old Testament therefore highlights his openness to explore this idea throughout the Scriptures.

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[107] Gurney, *Essays*, 149.
[108] Gurney, *Essays*, 149.
[109] For example; see John Gill, *An Exposition of the Books of the Prophets of the Old Testament, Both Larger and Lesser, in Two Volumes. In Which, It Is Attempted to Give an Account of the Several Books, and the Writers of Them; a Summary of Each Chapter; and the Genuine Sense of Every Verse: And Throughout the Whole, the Original Text and Various Versions Are Inspected and Compared; Interpreters of the Best Note, Both Jewish and Christian, Consulted; and the Prophecies Shewn Chiefly to Belong to the Times of the Gospel, and a Great Number of Them to Times yet to Come. In Two Volumes. Volume 1. Containing the Prophecies of Isaiah, Jeremiah, and the Book of Lamentations* (London: Printed for the author and sold by G. Keith and J. Robinson, 1757), 32-34, Eighteenth Century Collections Online, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0119101693/ECCO?u=bham_uk&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=496eefc9&pg=54.
[110] Albert Barnes, *Notes: Critical, Explanatory, and Practical on the Book of the Prophet Isaiah; with a New Translation, by Albert Barnes. In Three Volumes*, 1 (Boston: Crocker & Brewster; New-York: sold by their agent, Jonathan Leavitt, 1840), 222-23, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b110083.
[111] Gurney, *Essays*, 149.
[112] Gurney, *Essays*, 153.
[113] Gurney, *Essays*, 153.

Fourthly, Gurney uses a Trinitarian framework to connect divine nature with divine action. For example, with regards to the economic Trinity, he comments how the Father, Son and Holy Spirit 'have severally distinct offices' which he sees as the 'The Father originates and elects. The Son mediates and atones. The Holy Spirit regenerates and sanctifies.'[114] He also presents their respective roles as 'Creator … Redeemer … Sanctifier'.[115] There can be a danger as Leander Keck has identified of replacing the Trinitarian formula for expressing the Godhead with 'a triadic functionalism' which narrows 'the role of the Second Person to redemption'.[116] However, Gurney's highlighting of particular roles within the economic Trinity does not overemphasise the distinction between the functions of the Godhead to such a degree which might suggest a form of modalism.[117] Instead, there is an implicit appropriation[118] within his theology.[119]

In this sub-section I have argued Gurney showed a greater engagement with Trinitarian doctrine compared with early Quakerism. There is however, an area of theology which requires further discussion and this concerns his views regarding the concept of *persons* within the Godhead. Here, I would contend that establishing Gurney's position on this issue is more complicated, primarily because of a degree of inconsistency by him.

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[114] Gurney, *Hints*, 61- both quotations.
[115] Gurney, *Essays*, 148.
[116] Keck, "Toward the Renewal of New Testament Christology," 375, note 6- both quotations.
[117] In contrast to the possibility of tritheism, modalism places an overemphasis on the oneness of the Godhead. McGrath comments how this can be '*Chronological modalism*' whereby only one modal form of God is manifested at any particular stage during the course of history or '*Functional modalism*' in which although the three modes operate at the same time they equate to specific functions of God rather than persons; see McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 309-both quotations.
[118] The idea of 'Appropriation' counters any modalist tendencies by acknowledging that whilst the Father, Son and Holy Spirit all participate in all the acts and work of the Godhead, it can nonetheless be 'appropriate to think of those actions as being the particular work of one of the persons'; see McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 305, 450.
[119] Gurney, *Hints*, 59-60.

First, there is a general acknowledgement by Gurney that attempting to describe and explain the dynamics within the Godhead between the Father, Son and Holy Ghost is an impossibility for humans but he nonetheless affirms 'that there *is* such a union, and that there *is* such a distinction'.[120] But at the same time, there is a tendency in some of his writings to suggest a potential willingness to use the term *person* or a closely related word, with regards to the Holy Spirit. For example, in the first edition of the *Essays*, mention is made of 'his personal character' and 'the personality of the Holy Spirit'.[121] Of particular note is his comment regarding Matthew 12:31-32 and that 'our Saviour made mention of the Holy Ghost, as of a Person against whom the sin of blasphemy could never be committed with impunity'.[122] This is a clear reference to personhood and yet, for example in the fifth edition of the publication, the wording 'a Person'[123] is replaced with 'One'.[124] Whilst this alteration might therefore suggest Gurney's decision to no longer use *person* based wording,

[120] Gurney, *Essays*, 154.
[121] Joseph John Gurney, *Essays on the Evidences, Doctrines, and Practical Operation of Christianity [1st Ed.]* (London: J. and A. Arch, and Hamilton, Adams & Co; York: W. Alexander & Son; Edinburgh: A. Constable & Co; Norwich: S. Wilkin, 1825), 145-46. These phrases are also found in later editions of this publication, for example see Gurney, *Essays*, 141. It is helpful to provide some further context regarding the Trinitarian doctrine about 'persons'. Historically, different emphases emerged between the Eastern and Western Church traditions. As McGrath has noted the former focused more on 'the distinct individuality of the three persons or *hypostases*' whereas the latter placed greater emphasis on 'the unity of God, … and to interpret the relationships of the three persons in terms of their mutual fellowship'; see McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 305- both quotations. Additionally, Leo Davis has contended that the use of alternative Trinitarian terms by different traditions within the early Church to address very similar concepts caused some confusion and Peter Phan, for example, has highlighted the way in which '"person"' within the context of the Trinity is to be understood has been and continues to be the source of much debate; see respectively Leo Donald Davis, *The First Seven Ecumenical Councils (325-787): Their History and Theology* (Wilmington, Delaware: Michael Glazier, Inc., 1983), 48. and Peter C. Phan, "Systematic Issues in Trinitarian Theology," in *The Cambridge Companion to the Trinity*, ed. Peter C. Phan, Cambridge Companions to Religion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 19-20. https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL9780521877398.
[122] Gurney, *Essays on the Evidences, Doctrines, and Practical Operation of Christianity [1st Ed.]*, 145.
[123] Gurney, *Essays on the Evidences, Doctrines, and Practical Operation of Christianity [1st Ed.]*, 145.
[124] Gurney, *Essays*, 141.

his *Hints* work also references how the Bible presents the Holy Spirit 'under a personal character'[125] whilst also recognising His divinity.

This element of ambiguity in Gurney's writings regarding the term *person* attracted criticism from some and was used as evidence that he had moved away from the early Quaker position of not accepting the use of Trinitarian language. For example, the American *Berean* periodical,[126] commented that in the seventh essay of *Essays*, Gurney 'laboured ... to establish the doctrine of the trinity with all the zeal of a *new convert*'.[127] Writing a few years later after Gurney's death, Hodgson was also very critical of the *Essays* for several reasons including the use, as he saw it, of Trinitarian language.[128] However, in his *Declaration*, Gurney categorially states that any reference in his works 'to the "personality," or "personal attributes" of the Holy Spirit' was not to suggest the Spirit 'possesses a personal form' but rather that 'he must be regarded as a divine intelligent Agent, truly ONE with the Father and the Son'.[129] Overall, I would argue that it would be incorrect to conclude that Gurney used the Trinitarian understanding of *person* in any *systematic* way in his writings. Traces of this terminology which are sometimes apparent should therefore be seen in the wider context of Gurney's general willingness to engage with Trinitarian theology.

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[125] Gurney, *Hints*, 59.
[126] This was a Hicksite publication; see Hamm, *Liberal Quakerism in America in the Long Nineteenth Century, 1790-1920*, 19.
[127] *The Berean*, "Spirit of Religious Publications. Gurney's Doctrines," February 20, 1827, 228, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hnt9x3. In contrast, *The Eclectic Review* saw Gurney's views in this essay as being orthodox but expressed a degree of caution in his attempt to prove 'the 'subordination' of the Spirit to the Father and the Son' using the text of John 15:26; see *The Eclectic Review*, "Gurney's Essays on Christianity," April 1826, 303, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.aa0001463082.
[128] Hodgson, *An Examination of the Memoirs and Writings of J. J. Gurney*, 63.
[129] Gurney, *Declaration*, 20- both quotations.

3.4 Christ, the Son of God: Gurney's distinctive focus

3.4.1 Introduction

According to Braithwaite, Gurney had originally planned to publish a major work based on his long term studies concerning the divinity of Christ. However, this did not come about. Nonetheless, Gurney drew upon this material to help write *Essays* and *Biblical Notes*, both of which were substantial works in their own right.[130]

The tenth essay[131] in *Essays* provides a particularly valuable insight into Gurney's understanding of the nature of Jesus Christ and has as its principal aim the presentation of the scriptural evidence for 'his *deity*'.[132] Gurney structures the work using a metanarrative of 'the *history* of the Son of God, as it is revealed to us in the Bible'.[133] The approach used is significant for several reasons. First, this is an account based on the Scriptures and their interpretation, thereby establishing the biblical record as the primary source of authority for the essay. Secondly, Gurney's specific focus on 'the title *Son of God*' is important because he sees this as representing a unique relationship which exists within the Godhead between the Father and the Son.[134] Gerald O'Collins comments that the title is found throughout the New Testament,[135] particularly in the Gospel of John,[136] and it became the main one to be used in the creeds of the early Church.[137] Gurney has therefore chosen a Christological title of especial theological significance. O'Collins also highlights 'the relational nature of the title' describing how this can be seen as being both 'vertical'

[130] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 109-10. See also Gurney, *Essays*, viii.
[131] Gurney, *Essays*, 214-370.
[132] Gurney, *Essays*, 215.
[133] Gurney, *Essays*, 214.
[134] Gurney, *Essays*, 227.
[135] O'Collins, *Christology: A Biblical, Historical, and Systematic Study of Jesus*, 121-22.
[136] O'Collins, *Christology: A Biblical, Historical, and Systematic Study of Jesus*, 137.
[137] O'Collins, *Christology: A Biblical, Historical, and Systematic Study of Jesus*, 120.

and 'horizontal';[138] rather like for example, as between *parent and child*, and between *siblings* respectively. The analogy, I suggest, if applied to Gurney's Christology would dovetail well with his understanding of how the divine and human natures of Jesus Christ relate to the Godhead and humanity respectively. And thirdly, Gurney's use of a *timeline*, similar to the way in which the Nicene Creed is structured,[139] helps him to present a holistic account of the stages concerning the 'preexistence [of Christ]- his abode upon earth- and his reign in glory'.[140] Each of these will be discussed in turn in the sub-sections which follow, drawing upon those elements of Gurney's essay which link to a Trinitarian perspective, with particular regard to Christ as the Son of God.

3.4.2 The Pre-existence of Christ

Gurney uses biblical texts to argue that Christ had existed before individuals such as John the Baptist and Abraham, and had been present when the world was created and indeed before creation had taken place.[141] However, his main proposition is that this pre-existence has been of an eternal nature,[142] and that '*Christ the Word*'[143] as highlighted in John 1:1, has always existed.

Gurney argues that the form of Christ's pre-existence was 'the nature of GOD HIMSELF'.[144] As eternal pre-existence is seen by him as being applicable only to God, and on the basis that Christ has always existed, Gurney therefore sees it as a

[138] O'Collins, *Christology: A Biblical, Historical, and Systematic Study of Jesus*, 121- all quotations.
[139] With reference to Christ, the Nicene Creed begins with His pre-existence, followed by His incarnation and earthly ministry, and then His exaltation; see Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes. In Three Volumes. Volume 1. The History of Creeds*, 27-29.
[140] Gurney, *Essays*, 215. Interestingly, Creasey has argued that early Friends emphasised these different stages although he does not link this to Christ as the Son of God; see Maurice A. Creasey, "The Quaker Interpretation of the Significance of Christ," *Quaker Religious Thought* 2, no. 2 (1959): 7. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol2/iss1/2.
[141] Gurney, *Essays*, 218-20, 23.
[142] Gurney, *Essays*, 222.
[143] Gurney, *Essays*, 220.
[144] Gurney, *Essays*, 222.

logical outcome that Christ must be divine. He adds further evidence in support of this view by arguing that there is nothing in the Bible which suggests that there *was* a time *when* Christ's pre-existence began, and his interpretation of scriptural passages such as Micah 5:2 and Revelation 22:13 are also used to highlight Christ's eternal nature.[145] Gurney presents several other arguments to support his belief in linking the pre-existence of Christ with His divine nature[146] but the one that I wish to particularly highlight is that 'Christ in his preexistence was the Son of God'.[147] In making this statement Gurney has emphasised a fundamental relationship which exists within the Godhead from a Trinitarian perspective. As Christ was God's '"*only-begotten*"' Son, Gurney therefore argues that 'the title *Son of God* represents a relation to the Father Almighty absolutely peculiar to Jesus Christ'.[148] This is especially important because it enables Gurney to affirm 'that Christ, … really participates in the *nature of* God'[149] and consequently that Christ in His pre-existence was divine and divine only.[150] Geoffrey Nuttall has suggested that early Friends held an unorthodox belief in equating 'the Logos or eternal Christ with the Holy Spirit' rather than Christ as the Son of God. In light of this, I suggest that Gurney's particular focus on Christ as the Son of God indicates a re-alignment towards greater Trinitarian based principles.[151]

3.4.3 The Son of God and the Incarnation

For Gurney, God's eternal nature and immutability, means that when the Son of God entered the world at the incarnation, His divine nature did not disappear.[152]

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[145] Gurney, *Essays*, 222-23.
[146] For example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 251.
[147] Gurney, *Essays*, 226.
[148] Gurney, *Essays*, 227- both quotations.
[149] Gurney, *Essays*, 228.
[150] Gurney, *Essays*, 252.
[151] Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience*, 175.
[152] Gurney, *Essays*, 253.

Instead, 'he who before had been God *only*, became *God* and *Man*'.[153] Gurney therefore fully acknowledges that Jesus Christ had both a divine and a human nature, and he comments that prior to the incarnation, Christ was 'the *Son of God*' but 'at his incarnation, he is the *Son of Man*'.[154] However, this does not mean Gurney no longer sees Jesus Christ as the Son of God, rather that he is now trying to place this in the context of Christ's human nature as well.[155] This can be seen in his description of 'that glorious delineation, presented to us in the Gospel, of the SON OF GOD, actually manifest in the flesh, and yet assuming the character, exercising the attributes, and receiving the honours of deity'.[156]

The emphasis placed by Gurney on the constancy of Christ's divinity is something I wish to highlight from a different perspective; namely that he does not hold an adoptionist position whereby Jesus Christ *becomes*, rather than already *is*, divine. For example, the descent of the Holy Spirit like a dove upon Jesus, as described in John 1:32, is seen by Gurney as *confirmation* of Christ's divinity.[157] If an adoptionist Christological view *were* to be taken of the verse, as for example Francis Watson has contended should be considered a possibility, this could be interpreted as Jesus only becoming divine *at* the time when the Holy Spirit was received by Him, and not before.[158] However, as Jeremiah Coogan has observed, implicit within

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[153] Gurney, *Essays*, 253. The essay also includes a wide ranging commentary on the *evidence* of Christ's divine nature during His earthly ministry. Although not the focus of this chapter section, it nonetheless underscores the great importance Gurney attached to this part of Trinitarian doctrine. Gurney argues that there are five types of evidence that show Jesus' divine nature whilst he was in the world; that Christ Himself affirmed his divinity, that he showed aspects of His divinity during His lifetime, that there were those who acknowledged His divinity, that particular events and circumstances happened which suggest His divinity, and that 'he is described as God or Jehovah'; see Gurney, *Essays*, 258.
[154] Gurney, *Essays*, 254.
[155] For example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 229, footnote 7.
[156] Gurney, *Essays*, 369.
[157] Gurney, *Essays*, 292-93.
[158] Francis Watson, "Is John's Christology Adoptionist?," in *The Glory of Christ in the New Testament: Studies in Christology in Memory of George Bradford Caird*, ed. L. D. Hurst and N. T. Wright (Oxford:

adoptionism is the rejection of any 'divine pre-existence'.[159] Gurney's belief in the presence of Jesus' divine nature *at* His incarnation,[160] is therefore I argue, a logical outcome of a Christology which also affirms the pre-existence of Christ.

Richard Watson, who had defended the idea of eternal Sonship during the controversy with Adam Clarke,[161] argued that this concept went to the heart of the very nature of the triune Godhead and 'that to deny the eternal filiation of the second person in the Trinity, is to deny the essential paternity of the first'.[162] Gurney's theology reflects a similar position to Watson's view about eternal Sonship. This in turn provides further evidence of the coherency in Gurney's belief in the divine nature of the pre-existent Christ.

Gurney's affirmation of Christ's divinity permeates his Christology at all levels and the concept of Sonship plays an integral role in his understanding of the nature of the Godhead. The inter-relatedness that Sonship expresses between God the Father and the Son, is highlighted by him with the use of several scriptural texts, particularly from John's Gospel.[163] Gurney builds a picture of deep association, a perichoresis which exists within this eternal filial relationship whereby the actions of the Son reflect the Father and 'harmony and union in the exercise of divine attributes' exists between them.[164]

Oxford University Press, 1987), 121-23. Angell has commented that Hicks held this form of belief; see Stephen W. Angell, "A New Light on Elias Hicks," *Quaker Religious Thought* 119, Article 3 (2012): 9. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol119/iss1/3.

[159] Jeremiah Coogan, "Rethinking Adoptionism: An Argument for Dismantling a Dubious Category," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 76, no. 1 (2023): 34. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0036930622000710.

[160] Gurney, *Essays*, 291.

[161] See sub-section 3.3.3 for further details.

[162] Watson, *Remarks on the Eternal Sonship of Christ; and the Use of Reason in Matters of Revelation: Suggested by Several Passages in Dr. Adam Clarke's Commentary on the New Testament. In a Letter to a Friend*, 13.

[163] Gurney, *Essays*, 269-74.

[164] Gurney, *Essays*, 272.

Turning to the hypostatic union and the way in which the divine and human natures of Jesus Christ are united; this is seen by Gurney as a mystery and unknowable[165] but nonetheless, considered as '*fact*'[166] and a necessary part of God's redemptive plan for humanity.[167] Gurney's caution in trying to explain how the *two natures* are interrelated is reflected in the avoidance of using any specific Chalcedonic terminology.[168] Instead, he describes how '*the nature of God and the nature of man became united in him* [the Son of God]',[169] that this was a 'perfect union',[170] and that 'we have not two Saviours, one God and the other man, but one Saviour only, one Mediator of the New Covenant, one Lord Jesus Christ'.[171] Gurney's Christology is therefore orthodox in affirming the doctrine of the one person, two natures of Christ. The theological significance of this is vitally important. In *Hints*, he argues that it was *because of Jesus Christ's divine nature* that redemption and the imputation of Christ's righteousness become possible, and that it was *because of His human nature* that He was able to atone for humanity's sins and perfectly demonstrate how to live.[172]

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[165] In his *Four Lectures*, Gurney is reported as saying how this uniting of the two natures 'gleams forth in the brightest characters in every page of scripture; but the *how*, the mode of that doctrine, is not a subject for human speculation'; see Gurney, *Four Lectures*, 129-30. It is also telling that the title page of *Biblical Notes* holds a Latin quotation from Athanasius. Gurney's translation of this reads '"I know that he is truly God, from heaven, impassible. I know that he was of the seed of David, according to the flesh, a man, and passible. I do not enquire *how* the same person is both passible and impassible—*how* he is both God and man; lest, whilst I busy myself about the How, and am investigating the MODE, I should miss of THAT GOOD THING which is set before us."'; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, iv-v.
[166] Gurney, *Essays*, 257.
[167] Gurney, *Essays*, 256.
[168] For example, '*without confusion, without conversion, without severance, and without division*'; see Schaff, *History of the Christian Church. Volume 3. Nicene and Post-Nicene Christianity. From Constantine the Great to Gregory the Great A.D. 331-600*, 745-46.
[169] Gurney, *Essays*, 256.
[170] Gurney, *Essays*, 257.
[171] Gurney, *Essays*, 257.
[172] Gurney, *Hints*, 53-54.

Although his main focus in the essay is on Christ's deity, Gurney emphasises Jesus' human nature too, and that He was also fully human in body and soul.[173] In relation to this, he highlights the need to interpret biblical texts about Jesus according to whether it is to be understood in the context of his human or divine natures. This is a subtle but important point and helps to ensure that scriptural exegesis remains orthodox. For example, Gurney lists several aspects of Jesus' life as reflecting his human nature such that He 'was born a child, grew to the stature of a man, and died a violent death' but he also says that these events relate 'only to his humanity'.[174] In stating that Christ's death was in the context of his human nature, Gurney has implicitly avoided suggesting that God had died.[175] Whilst Gurney therefore makes a clear distinction between the human and divine natures of Christ, he also sees their individual expressions coming together holistically in the one person of Jesus Christ.[176] However, his reference to Mark 13:32 and Jesus saying that only God the Father knew when the *last days* would appear,[177] is presented by him as a further example of Christ's humanity but without addressing why this would not be known through Christ's divine nature. As Barnes noted in his commentary, the verse 'has always presented serious difficulties'[178] and Gurney's non-examination of this issue is perhaps a further indicator of his wariness in attempting to fully explain the theology underpinning the hypostatic union.

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[173] Gurney, *Essays*, 253.
[174] Gurney, *Essays*, 257.
[175] For a wider discussion on this issue; see McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 181-87.
[176] Gurney, *Essays*, 257.
[177] Gurney, *Essays*, 257.
[178] Albert Barnes, *Notes, Explanatory and Practical, on the Gospels. With an Index, a Chronological Table, Table of Weights, Etc. Carefully Revised, by the Rev. John Cumming, D.D.* (London: G. Routledge & Co, 1857), 436, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwjsxn.

3.4.4 The Exalted Christ

Gurney's considers Christ's reign, which he sees as being foretold in the Scriptures,[179] as principally being from when He ascended to heaven and that this has continued ever since.[180] As Jesus had a human soul as part of His human nature during his earthly life, and because souls are not material and therefore not subject to death, Gurney argues that Christ's human soul continued to exist after His crucifixion and was 'reunited to his body, which was raised on earth and glorified in heaven'.[181] Consequently, Gurney believes that the glorified Christ 'is still clothed with the human nature, and that he is, therefore in all things subject to God the Father' but at the same time he 'is also GOD'.[182] A form of aetiological subordination is therefore being proposed by Gurney concerning the relationship between the exalted Christ and God the Father, whilst an ontological parity is also being simultaneously advocated. Additionally, the argument made by Larry Hurtado that the New Testament Gospels show that it was the *person* of Jesus Christ who was resurrected and exalted, is particularly pertinent because for the early Christians this was a vital element of their faith as it meant that the connection was *maintained* between the ministry of Jesus during His time on Earth and the exalted Christ.[183] Similarly, I argue that this was also an integral part of Gurney's theology in which the personal identity of Jesus Christ is seen in His exalted state to eternally exist.

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[179] Old Testament Messianic prophecies which are seen by Gurney as foretelling this include Psalm 2:7-12, Psalm 72:6-9 and Isaiah 9:6-7; see Gurney, *Essays*, 309-10. New Testament texts such as Ephesians 4:10 and Philippians 2:9-11 are also cited by Gurney to illustrate how they complement earlier biblical predictions; see Gurney, *Essays*, 313.
[180] Gurney, *Essays*, 312.
[181] Gurney, *Essays*, 315.
[182] Gurney, *Essays*, 316- both quotations.
[183] Larry W. Hurtado, "Resurrection-Faith and the 'Historical' Jesus," *Journal for the Study of the Historical Jesus* 11, no. 1 (2013): 51-52. https://doi.org/10.1163/17455197-01101003.

Gurney's theological position also presents some questions. Drawing upon Law's kenotic Christology work[184] and applying this to the context under discussion, it can be asked whether this means that the presence of human nature in the exalted Christ has changed the second person of the Trinity in comparison to the state of pre-existence, and if so, whether this would not be contrary to the immutable nature of God. Alongside this issue, it is important to acknowledge that the approach used by Gurney in presenting a '*history* of the Son of God'[185] is also inherently limited by the paradox of time when his narrative also includes the concept of eternal existence.[186] These points reflect the complexity and challenge of the Christology which Gurney is attempting to address but nonetheless I suggest that the overall idea that he is trying to convey is that the exalted Christ is *facing* both *towards humanity* and *towards God* through the economic and immanent dimensions of the Trinity, respectively. In this way, Gurney can affirm 'that the risen and ascended Jesus is *man*, the glorified brother and sympathising master and friend of his unworthy

[184] In discussing the 'states of Christ' [Law, *Kierkegaard's Kenotic Christology*, 50.], Law suggests that these should be considered as the "state of pre-existence", 'the state of earthly humiliation', that is to say when Christ was on Earth as Jesus Christ and 'the state of exaltation to which Christ is raised after his resurrection and ascension'; see Law, *Kierkegaard's Kenotic Christology*, 51- all quotations. Alongside this, Law draws upon *Logos* (*the Word* or second person of the Trinity) theology to link 'the 'unfleshed' Logos' to the 'non-incarnate state' and 'the 'enfleshed' Logos' to the 'incarnate state'; see Law, *Kierkegaard's Kenotic Christology*, 45- all quotations. A significant point highlighted by Law is whether the *Logos* of the exalted Christ is considered to be the same or different (if for example, human nature remains with the exalted Christ) to the *Logos* before the incarnation; see Law, *Kierkegaard's Kenotic Christology*, 63.

[185] Gurney, *Essays*, 214.

[186] The immanent Trinity is based in a reality of eternal existence which by definition sits outside of time. In contrast, the agency of the economic Trinity is by its very nature linked to the world and human history, and consequently operates within a human construct of time. I suggest that Wolfgang Vondey's 'pneumatological approach to time' may help to resolve this issue; see Wolfgang Vondey, "The Holy Spirit and Time in Contemporary Catholic and Protestant Theology," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 58, no. 4 (2005): 393. https://doi.org/10.1017/S003693060500147X.

followers'[187] and also God, who 'with the Father, and with the Holy Spirit, he will, to all eternity, reign over the universe'.[188]

It is clear from Gurney's essay commentary that he wishes to emphasise to the reader, the width and depth of scriptural evidence which he considers demonstrates the divinity of the exalted Christ and thereby the authority which underpins His work.[189] Alongside this he describes how the exalted Christ continues as '*Mediator between God and Man*',[190] is like 'a viceroy'[191] who reigns the Kingdom granted to Him by God the Father;[192] a Kingdom which is a spiritual and not an earthly one,[193] how He is 'the Shepherd and Bishop of souls',[194] who '*as a Son*, governs that larger family of God, the Christian church'[195] and how all things created are 'made subject to his reign'.[196] The exalted Christ's '*final and universal judgment of mankind*'[197] is also highlighted. In contrast to Barclay's particular '*day or time of visitation*' for each person,[198] in this *particular essay* Gurney stresses how Christ will be the judge of all people and in so doing demonstrate that He is omniscient.[199]

What also emerges from Gurney's understanding of the risen and ascended Christ, is the deep sense of commitment that a believer should have in Him. Christ is the 'author of *grace*'[200] who forgives, and through the work of the Holy Spirit,

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[187] Gurney, *Essays*, 362.
[188] Gurney, *Essays*, 366.
[189] Gurney, *Essays*, 316-60.
[190] Gurney, *Essays*, 314.
[191] Gurney, *Essays*, 315.
[192] Gurney, *Essays*, 321-22.
[193] Gurney, *Essays*, 328.
[194] Gurney, *Essays*, 317.
[195] Gurney, *Essays*, 318.
[196] Gurney, *Essays*, 318.
[197] Gurney, *Essays*, 340.
[198] Barclay, *Apology*, 146.
[199] Gurney, *Essays*, 347. Gurney also makes clear in some other writings that he considers each person will have their own 'day of visitation'; see Gurney, *Observations*, 8. and Gurney, *Letter to the Followers of Elias Hicks*, 24.
[200] Gurney, *Essays*, 322.

'bestowed on the people of God *by the Lord Jesus Christ*',[201] converts and sanctifies.[202] Gurney sees Christians *belonging* to Christ,[203] and wanting to obey, follow and be totally devoted to Him.[204] This highlights the importance that he places in the individual having a *personal relationship* with the *living exalted* Christ and the adoration which should follow from this.[205]

Bringing together Gurney's views concerning the exalted Christ, a clear picture emerges. First, 'the *history* of the Son of God'[206] narrative that he has used is a *living account* which has not ended because Christ's Kingdom exists both now and in the future. Secondly, Christians should therefore be partakers of this Kingdom, giving full allegiance and adoration to Christ who is their mediator with God and the head of His Church. Thirdly, this spiritual Kingdom is both within and without; *within*, by the relationship the believer has with the living exalted Christ through the work of the Holy Spirit, and to the glory of God the Father; *without*, when the exalted Christ sometime in the future brings final judgment to the world.

3.4.5 Gurney's overall perspective

In bringing this evaluation of Gurney's essay to its conclusion, it is important to highlight the distinctive metanarrative he has used including the focus upon Christ, as the Son of God. As a result, I argue that Gurney has set out a different perspective and vision compared to early Friends because his theological position is articulated more in the language of Trinitarian ideas and concepts. Consequently, Gurney has been able to emphasise Christ's divinity through the eternal filiation which exists

[201] Gurney, *Essays*, 325.
[202] Gurney, *Essays*, 323.
[203] Gurney, *Essays*, 336.
[204] Gurney, *Essays*, 337.
[205] Gurney, *Essays*, 334.
[206] Gurney, *Essays*, 214.

between the Father and the Son. It has also enabled him to convey his belief, using scriptural exegeses as his source of authority, that Christ as the Son of God whether in His pre-existence, on Earth or exalted in heaven, was, is and always will be central to a believer's understanding and their relationship with God. This emphasis on Christ, the Son of God contrasts sharply with the stress placed by early Friends on Christ, the Light Within.

3.5 Trinitarian based beliefs: a comparative analysis

Trinitarian doctrine provides a concept and language to help describe and explain the nature and works of God. It draws upon the scriptural texts and presents a paradigm which orthodox Christianity has affirmed through early Church Councils. The word *Trinity* may be missing from the Bible but the key ideas that it represents have united the majority of Christendom for most of its existence. However, given the importance which early Quakers attached to immediate revelation, their desire to keep only to the words of Scripture in matters of theological discourse and their rejection on principle to the use of creeds, it is perhaps not surprising that their engagement with Trinitarian ideas was cautious and limited. Nonetheless, and in common with Gurney they affirm belief in the one triune God; Father, Son and Holy Spirit. The Scriptures are used to support their position but the absence of the word *Trinity* from its pages meant that for both parties the word itself was not used.[207]

Differences appear between Gurney and early Friends in the degree to which Trinitarian language and concepts are used, with Gurney more accommodating, proactive and open in his application of such doctrine. I suggest that a key element that underpins these differences is Gurney's greater engagement with the Scriptures

[207] See 'Early Quakerism' in the introductory chapter and also sub-sections 3.2.1 and 3.3.2.

which has led to a change, at least to a degree, in the emphasis and style of language used to try and express religious belief and experience. Thus for Gurney, the triune nature of the Godhead which he sees in both the Old Testament and more fully in the New Testament, provides him with a framework to help understand more about God, and through the use of Trinitarian language affirm the second person of the Trinity, as Christ the Son of God.[208]

The Trinity, if not by the word itself but the ideas it contains, enables Gurney to see how Christ's divinity determines His interconnectedness in nature, order and procession both with the Father through an eternal filiation, and with the Holy Spirit.[209] For early Quakers, this framework of language was not abandoned but a new one, the Light Within, was also placed alongside it and used more. Ultimately, as epitomised in Barclay's *Apology*, a new theological construct was built, the 'vehiculum Dei' to express the overriding importance of the Light Within.[210]

The biblical narrative also gave Gurney scope to explore 'the *history* of the Son of God'[211] whereby the temporal part of this history in the incarnation, is connected to the eternal dimensions of His pre-existence *before* and his exaltation *since*.[212] And this leads to a key difference in emphasis compared with the early Friends. Because for Gurney, the history of Christ is a *living eternal history* where the eternal Son continues to redeem, mediate, and intercede for humanity. In contrast for early Quakers, the *distinction* between Christ in His pre-existence and the exalted Christ is less emphasised and I contend that the Light of Christ is seen to

[208] See sub-section 3.3.3.
[209] See section 3.3.
[210] Barclay, *Apology*, 136.
[211] Gurney, *Essays*, 214.
[212] See section 3.4 for further details.

apply to both in the same way. The emphasis therefore remains upon Christ but has been expressed differently and in the absence of Trinitarian based language.[213]

Brian Donne has commented how the ascension 'holds the Jesus of history and the Christ of faith together, refusing to allow us, either to relegate him to the past as a mere figure of history, or to interpret his presence among us now as something which is vague and impersonal.'[214] Such a description I suggest can be aptly applied to how Gurney has portrayed his vision and understanding of Jesus Christ.

3.6 Chapter summary

In this chapter, Gurney's belief in Christ's divine nature has been examined through the lens of Trinitarian doctrine and compared with the position of early Quakerism. Three key arguments have been presented as summarised below.

1. There are some areas of agreement between Gurney and early Friends, as evidenced in their refusal to adopt the word *Trinity* in their writings and speech, and in their affirmation of the one triune God who is Father, Son and Holy Spirit. They were also not prepared to use specific Trinitarian terms such as *coequal* and *person*.[215]

2. Gurney was more actively engaged with Trinitarian principles than early Quakers, as reflected in several of his publications and addresses. There was also a willingness by him to further explore aspects of Trinitarian theology such as subordinationism, eternal Sonship and seeking to identify the one triune God within the Old Testament. There is some evidence to suggest that Gurney sometimes used terms closely associated with the Trinitarian idea of *person*, although this was not

[213] See sections 3.2 and 3.5.
[214] Brian K. Donne, "The Significance of the Ascension of Jesus Christ in the New Testament," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 30, no. 6 (1977): 567. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0036930600030076.
[215] See section 3.2 and sub-sections 3.3.1 & 3.3.2 for further details.

done in a systematic way and was perceived by him as an unwarranted criticism of his beliefs.[216]

3. Gurney's detailed scriptural study to demonstrate Christ's divinity in His pre-existent, incarnate and exalted states, highlights how he saw these as being inextricably interconnected through the title of *the Son of God*. This provided him with a Trinitarian framework to articulate his understanding of the nature of the Godhead, and to emphasise the centrality of Jesus Christ in His engagement with the world throughout the ages including now and in the future as the exalted Christ and in the presence of His kingdom.[217] This contrasts[218] with early Quakerism which placed less emphasis on both a Trinitarian understanding of religious experience, and the person of Jesus Christ and His exaltation. Instead, for early Friends, the focus was based on Christ the Light Within and presence of the 'vehiculum Dei'.[219]

[216] See sub-section 3.3.3 for further details.
[217] See section 3.4 for further details.
[218] See section 3.5 for further details.
[219] Barclay, *Apology*, 136.

CHAPTER 4: THE NATURE OF REDEMPTION

4.1 Chapter introduction

> Saviour, incarnate, glorified, enthroned,
> Whose precious blood for all our race atoned,
> Well versed in death, familiar with the grave-
> A man to sympathise, and God to save-[1]

The above lines, an extract from a poem by Gurney, elegantly show his belief in the two natures of Jesus Christ, divine and human, and how they become united in purpose and action in bringing about the salvific outcome of the atonement. The focus of this chapter stems from this and examines what Gurney terms 'the plan of redemption'[2] or 'the scheme of redemption'[3] which is made possible through Christ's atonement and the potential 'regeneration, justification, and sanctification'[4] that can take place within individuals as a result.

After this introduction, overviews of redemption theology as reflected in Barclay's *Apology*[5] (4.2) and Gurney's writings are given (4.3) followed by a detailed study of Gurney's beliefs with particular regards to justification and sanctification (4.4-4.5). Drawing upon these findings, three key arguments are presented.

First, that Gurney's beliefs concerning justification challenge Barclay's position on this subject with regards to how justification is defined, its relationship to sanctification, the role of good works, and the doctrine of the imputed righteousness of Christ. Secondly, that Gurney's redemption theology is characterised by a greater

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[1] Joseph John Gurney, *Sabbatical Verses* (London: J. and A. Arch, 1837), 22, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100096555640.0x000001.
[2] Gurney, *Observations*, 27.
[3] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 44.
[4] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 102.
[5] Barclay, *Apology*.

emphasis on Christ's atonement. Both of these arguments indicate that Gurney's faith represented a realignment within Quakerism and a shift in the locus of redemption theology from a distinctly Quaker position as reflected by Barclay to a more orthodox Christian one (4.6-4.7). However, whilst there are these differences, the third argument presents the case that a detailed examination of Gurney's works also suggests that there is evidence that his views in relation to justification, sanctification and redemption do share some common ground with early Friends (4.8). Previous academic studies have tended to focus on differences in redemption theology between Gurney and early Quakerism. It is contended that much of this research has been limited to highlighting general aspects of these differences rather than examining them in detail[6] and also that potential areas of overlap in redemption theology between early Friends and Gurney have not been explored. It is argued that findings in this chapter more fully acknowledge the latter and thereby provide a more complete and accurate appraisal of Gurney's beliefs. Consequently where differences in belief do exist, the realignment from early Quakerism to Gurney's position is seen as one that is still operating *within* a Quaker paradigm (4.8).

Section 4.9 provides a summary of the chapter.

4.2 Barclay's Redemption theology: an overview

In presenting his beliefs regarding the '*doctrine of justification*',[7] Barclay in his *Apology* attempts to place early Quakerism in a nuanced theological position which

[6] For example, with regards to the doctrine of imputation of Christ's righteousness; see sub-sections 4.6.2 and 4.6.4.
[7] Barclay, *Apology*, 187.

distinguishes itself from Catholic and Protestant ideas on this subject.[8] There are five main ideas set out by him in this regard.

First, that only God can bring about justification; human efforts to overcome sin and to reconcile humanity with God do not work. God's preparedness to act is based '*of* and *from* his *love*'. Secondly, that this is shown by 'the sending of his beloved Son the Lord Jesus Christ into the world' and through Christ's atonement. Thirdly, everyone has 'need of this Saviour, to remove the wrath of God from them due to their offences' and that Christ who 'is the *only Mediator*', through His sacrifice on the cross has taken upon Himself all of humanity's sins.[9] In relation to this, redemption is seen 'in a two-fold respect or state' with both parts interdependent of each other and necessary constituents of justification.[10] These parts are the 'capacity of salvation'[11] which each person has and which has come about because of Christ's atoning sacrifice and also 'the redemption wrought by *Christ in us*'.[12] The latter is described by Barclay as 'purifying, cleansing, and redeeming'[13] and takes place if the individual recognises their sin and responds to God.[14] Barclay describes this process

[8] Barclay, *Apology*, 192. This is a complex area of theology. Drawing upon some of McGrath's commentary, a very brief outline of the Catholic and Protestant positions concerning justification is given as follows. In essence, the Catholic view maintained the Augustinian teaching that justification was essentially 'an event and a process- the event of being declared to be righteous through the work of Christ and the process of being made righteous through the internal work of the Holy Spirit'. In contrast, the Protestant position took the view 'that the righteousness which justifies sinners is outside them' and therefore has to be 'imputed, not imparted'. As a result, justification is seen as being separate to '"sanctification" or "regeneration"'; see McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 342- all quotations. As Anthony Lane has pointed out, the Catholic and Protestant viewpoints on this subject at the time of the Reformation and since, need to be seen in the context that justification has been defined differently by the two parties; see Anthony N. S. Lane, *Justification by Faith in Catholic-Protestant Dialogue: An Evangelical Assessment* (2006), 152-56, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=742909. *How* justification has been defined by Barclay and Gurney is critical to understanding some of the theological differences which exist between them; this issue forms part of the discussion within this chapter.
[9] Barclay, *Apology*, 193- all quotations.
[10] Barclay, *Apology*, 194.
[11] Barclay, *Apology*, 194.
[12] Barclay, *Apology*, 194.
[13] Barclay, *Apology*, 194.
[14] Barclay, *Apology*, 195.

as the 'formal cause of justification'[15] in contrast to the first part of redemption which is described as 'the *procuring efficient*' cause.[16] Fourthly, Barclay argues that the second part of redemption as the immediate cause of justification, represents 'inward birth, this Jesus brought forth in the heart'[17] and fifthly, this will lead to 'works' which he carefully explains 'we be not justified *for them*, yet are we justified *in* them; and they are necessary'.[18]

Barclay's understanding of justification is that it is a process whereby a believer is '*made just*'.[19] Consequently he rejects the idea that it is possible solely on the basis of belief in Christ's sacrifice upon the cross, arguing that an inward spiritual sanctifying transformation is a necessity as well.[20] Sanctification and justification are therefore seen by Barclay as operating together.[21] Additionally, Barclay accepts the possibility that complete sanctification of an individual can lead to a state of '*perfection*'.[22]

The articulation by Barclay of a Quaker theology of justification attempted to occupy a highly specific niche that drew upon aspects of both Catholic and Protestant doctrine in addition to Quaker ideas.[23] Nonetheless, it can be argued that by maintaining sanctification as part of justification, Barclay's theology on this issue

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[15] Barclay, *Apology*, 196.
[16] Barclay, *Apology*, 195.
[17] Barclay, *Apology*, 196.
[18] Barclay, *Apology*, 197.
[19] Barclay, *Apology*, 205.
[20] Barclay, *Apology*, 229. Barclay's emphasis on inward change is seen by Margaret Benefiel as a profound theological insight in which he is attempting to engage with a form of 'interiority analysis'; see Margaret J. Benefiel, "The Doctrine of the Atonement," *Quaker Religious Thought* 70, Article 3 (1988): 24. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol70/iss1/3.
[21] Barclay, *Apology*, 198.
[22] Barclay, *Apology*, 230.
[23] Barclay, *Apology*, 191-92. It should be acknowledged that defining what is understood by justification has been a source of immense theological scrutiny over the centuries and one that continues to the present day. In a major work on this subject, McGrath comments 'We shall never know what Paul *really* meant by justification.'; see Alister E. McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, 4th ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 414.

was closer to the Catholic perspective. This was certainly the view of John Wesley who commented 'This is flat Justification by Works.'[24]

4.3 Gurney's Redemption theology: an overview

It is important to acknowledge that in Gurney's lifetime, differences in belief within the Society of Friends concerning elements of redemption theology were not purely matters of abstract discussion. Rosemary Mingins has noted that several of the resignations from the Society during the *Beacon* controversy were connected to this subject[25] and extracts from some of their resignation letters cited by Edward Milligan also show this.[26] Additionally, in an anonymous work addressed to the Quaker, Thomas Hancock, former Friends highlight that differences of view concerning the nature of justification between them and others within the Society had been a significant issue.[27] It is therefore important that Gurney's theology on this subject is evaluated as comprehensively as possible in order to accurately gauge the relationship between his views with those of some of his contemporaries and with early Quakerism.

In a description of '*salvation*' from his *Biblical Notes*, Gurney comments how this comprises 'immunity from condemnation, freedom from sin; grace here, and glory hereafter'.[28] This links to his understanding of redemption, which in the *Essays* he

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[24] Wesley, *A Letter to a Person Lately Joined with the People Call'd Quakers. In Answer to a Letter Wrote by Him*, 5.
[25] Rosemary Mingins, "Light within or Beacon Without? An Evaluation of the Impact of Evangelicalism on Quakers 1820-1840," *Quaker Studies* 8, no. 1, Article 4 (2003): 60. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/quakerstudies/vol8/iss1/4.
[26] Edward H. Milligan, "'The Ancient Way': The Conservative Tradition in Nineteenth Century British Quakerism," *The Journal of the Friends' Historical Society* 57, no. 1 (1994): 76. https://journals.sas.ac.uk/fhs/article/view/3513.
[27] *A Letter to Dr. Hancock, from the Children of a Deceased Minister of the Society of Friends, on the Doctrine of Justification by Faith in Christ Crucified. Published by a Member of That Society*, 22-25. As will be discussed in section 6.4, redemption theology was also one of the areas of theological dispute between Gurney and the American Quaker, John Wilbur.
[28] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 459- both quotations; Gurney, *Biblical Notes*.

describes as being about 'the forgiveness of sins that are past, and a deliverance from sin for the future'.[29] Salvation and redemption are therefore closely associated terms, and whilst possible distinctions can be made between them as O'Collins has suggested,[30] in Gurney's case it appears that he generally uses these two terms and their derivatives in similar ways.[31]

A marked feature of several of Gurney's works is reference to God's redemptive plan for humanity.[32] At its heart, he sees such a plan as a direct expression of God's majesty, and one which is perfect in design and application, initiated by God, and cosmic in its impact.[33] Christ as God's '*only begotten Son*'[34] and His atoning sacrifice are at the heart of this plan which Gurney sets within a Trinitarian context.[35] Consequently, any rejection of 'the divinity, incarnation, and atonement of Christ' is seen by him to be deeply undermining of the Christian faith because these constitute vital salvific elements.[36] In his *Letter to a Friend*, some of the narrative in the space of a couple of pages encapsulates how he believes God's plan is designed to bring about humanity's deliverance and recovery from a fallen state, to be saved from eternal ruin, to have reconciliation with God, and for people to experience regeneration and sanctification.[37]

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[29] Gurney, *Essays*, 373.
[30] O'Collins argues that to some extent "redemption" tends to be more focused on what Christ has already done through the cross whereas "salvation" links Soteriology more to a time that is either current or yet to come, and is a wider concept which relates both to this life and to the time after death; see Gerald O'Collins, *Jesus Our Redeemer: A Christian Approach to Salvation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 7-8, 10, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=728878.
[31] For example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 134, 374 and 380. Occasionally, Gurney refers to 'redemption and salvation', for example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 528.
[32] For example; see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 44.
[33] Gurney, *Hints*, 121.
[34] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 461.
[35] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 462.
[36] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 465.
[37] Gurney, *Letter to a Friend*, 69-70.

Gurney does not use a specific term such as 'ordo salutis'[38] to describe the different stages of the salvific process, although in *Hints* he does refer to the idea of a 'chain' leading to a final destination of a saved state.[39] On occasions there is a degree of fluidity in his language; for example, when he cites 'sanctification' alongside 'redemption'[40] rather than as being *part* of redemption, which he does elsewhere.[41] Nonetheless, a carefully structured narrative in some of his works makes clear that he does follow a particular sequence of theological ideas when discussing the stages leading to salvation.[42] In *Hints*, for example, he emphasises how '*regeneration*' or 'new birth' through the work of the Holy Spirit is fundamental and that other parts of the redemptive plan are dependent upon this.[43] Regeneration in this sense is therefore towards the start of the redemption process, and in *Essays*, Gurney describes how the work of God's Spirit in illuminating a person's spiritual cognizance is linked to their regeneration; a spiritual re-birth which involves 'a change, of *view* on the one hand, and of *disposition* on the other'.[44] He also highlights that justification comes before sanctification, whilst at the same time emphasising that they are closely associated.[45]

Gurney's understanding of redemption can therefore be seen as constituting regeneration, justification and sanctification, with the latter two considered by him to

[38] Geerhardus J. Vos, *Reformed Dogmatics. Volume Four: Soteriology. Translated and Edited by Richard B. Gaffin, Jr. With Kim Batteau, Harry Boonstra, Annemie Godbehere and Allan Janssen* (Ashland: Faithlife Corporation, 2015), 8, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=5153200.
[39] Gurney, *Hints*, 107.
[40] Gurney, *Essays*, 153.
[41] For example; see Gurney, *Hints*, 134.
[42] For example; see Gurney, *Hints*, 142-43.
[43] Gurney, *Hints*, 126- both quotations.
[44] Gurney, *Essays*, 452.
[45] Gurney, *Essays*, 490.

be its principal parts.[46] Drawing upon a range of biblical texts,[47] he argues that both justification and sanctification are made possible because of Christ's atonement.[48] Consequently, Christ coming into the world and His sacrifice upon the cross are seen by Gurney as pivotal acts within God's redemption plan.[49] In describing Jesus Christ as 'a Mediator who was not only man to *die*, but God to *save*',[50] Gurney is able to convey in these few words, the importance which he attaches to the two natures of Christ. This is a fundamental part of his Christology, and his particular emphasis on the divinity of Christ is also described by him as 'the spring and centre of the system'.[51]

In the chapter sections which follow, Gurney's beliefs concerning justification and sanctification are examined in detail.

4.4 Gurney's Redemption theology: Justification

4.4.1 Introduction

In his publication *Puseyism*, Gurney comments that 'The pardon of sin through faith in Christ crucified, is often described by Paul as *justification*.' This is a view which Gurney himself affirms.[52] The wording used in this statement is significant for three main reasons. First, it can be seen that Gurney considers justification, based

[46] Gurney, *Essays*, 540.
[47] Including Titus 2.14; Hebrews 9.14 and 1 Peter 2.24; see Gurney, *Letter to a Friend*, 66.
[48] Gurney, *Letter to a Friend*, 66.
[49] Gurney, *Hints*, 148.
[50] Gurney, *Hints*, 129.
[51] Gurney, *Hints*, 130. In the early part of the twentieth century, Benjamin Warfield in his apologetic work and defence of the belief in the two natures of Christ argued that 'No Two Natures, no Incarnation; no Incarnation, no Christianity in any distinctive sense.' See Benjamin B. Warfield, "The 'Two Natures' and Recent Christological Speculation: I. The Christology of the New Testament Writings," *The American Journal of Theology* 15, no. 3 (1911): 337. http://www.jstor.org/stable/3155232. Gurney's theological position would be the same and in many ways it can be seen to foreshadow the Christological debates that later took place which Warfield sought to address.
[52] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 93.

on his understanding of Pauline theology, to involve forgiveness and absolution from transgressions which have been committed.[53] Secondly, justification is *linked* to the atonement, in that it is only by Christ's sacrifice on the cross that reconciliation between God and an individual becomes a possibility. And thirdly, Gurney stresses that '*faith in* [emphasis added] Christ crucified'[54] is necessary for justification to come about. These three points, I suggest form the core elements of Gurney's beliefs concerning justification and are examined in greater detail in sub-sections 4.4.2 to 4.4.4. In addition, the relationship between justification and good works is examined in 4.4.5.

4.4.2 Justification and the forgiveness of sins

In a few of his writings, Gurney draws upon the theology of imputed righteousness in connection with justification. For example, in the *Essays* he uses texts from Romans 3:28 and Romans 4:6,11 to argue 'that we are *justified* by faith in Christ *without the deeds of the law,*' and also 'that "without works" "*righteousness*" is "*imputed*" to the believer in Jesus'.[55] Gurney develops his point further through the exegesis of various scriptural texts to contend that this is 'the righteousness of the Lord Jesus Christ himself'.[56] The nature of this righteousness is seen by Gurney to be twofold; the sinlessness of Christ which enabled the atonement to be fully efficacious and also the completely obedient way in which He followed God's laws and purposes.[57] Consequently, Gurney argues that as a result of Christ's atonement

[53] For example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 489.
[54] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 93.
[55] Gurney, *Essays*, 423- both quotations.
[56] Gurney, *Essays*, 424.
[57] Gurney, *Essays*, 425.

and also from '*his merits*'[58] in being totally obedient to God, 'the righteousness of Jesus Christ is imputed' to those persons who truly believe.[59]

The concept of the imputation of Christ's righteousness is therefore a way which Gurney used on occasions to expand upon his ideas about justification. When he describes how believers can be seen 'as if, like him [Christ]' and so are not guilty nor subject to condemnation or consider that by merit they had upheld God's laws and so gained eternal happiness,[60] Gurney is trying to articulate at a deeper level what it means when it is said that someone is justified. He is also careful in his wording; 'as if, like him'[61] does not mean the person has become Christ but rather reflects the righteousness that is in Christ. Gurney also sees a form of imputation operating *from* the believer *to* Christ, in that human sin was '*imputed* to Christ' at the time of His atoning sacrifice such '*as if* [emphasis added] he had been himself the sinner'.[62]

Gurney's belief in the imputed righteousness of Christ has some important implications. First, it gives hope to the repentant believer because their past sins have been forgiven. Secondly, it highlights the central importance of Christ's atonement because it is through this means that justification is made a possibility. And thirdly, Gurney identifies how imputation of Christ's righteousness leads to a believer's '*union through faith with Jesus*' which results in their protection from perdition and opens the way ahead to a potential heavenly future.[63]

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[58] Gurney, *Essays*, 426.
[59] Gurney, *Essays*, 426.
[60] Gurney, *Essays*, 426.
[61] Gurney, *Essays*, 426.
[62] Gurney, *Essays*, 426- both quotations.
[63] Gurney, *Essays*, 426.

4.4.3 Justification and the Atonement

Christ's atonement[64] is considered by Gurney as essential in bringing about the possible justification of an individual[65] and that this was of universal significance because '*Christ died for all*'.[66] Consequently, as the potential for salvation is available to all people, Gurney sees that by God's grace everyone has been offered 'the free gift of justification unto life' which through the work of the Holy Spirit it may become possible to receive.[67] He also makes clear that whilst 'forgiveness and salvation are ours, *on the condition of repentance and amendment*', God's mercy has come about through Christ's atonement and not as a result of human actions and efforts.[68] This was a point of contention for Joseph Barker, a 'freethinker'[69] contemporary of Gurney, who took the view that Gurney was wrong to suggest that God's forgiveness

[64] In this chapter, the main focus of Gurney's understanding of the atonement is made in the context of its relationship to justification and sanctification. Whilst this also links to his understanding of the *nature* of the atonement, it does not include a specific analysis of Gurney's beliefs in relation to specific *models* of atonement theory such as those proposed by Gustav Aulén in the century after Gurney. In his landmark book, Aulén detailed three major 'models' concerning the atonement; 'Christus Victor' which emphasises Christ's victory over evil, 'satisfaction' in which remittance for humanity's sins is made through Christ's sacrifice, and the atonement seen as an act of love which humanity should respond to and 'on which reconciliation and forgiveness rest' See Gustaf Aulén, *Christus Victor. An Historical Study of the Three Main Types of the Idea of Atonement. Translated by A. G. Herbert* (1931; republished by Eugene, Oregon: Wipf & Stock, 2003), 4, 93 and 96 respectively. Other models of the atonement also exist. These include a 'penal substitutionary' model, which is a variation of the satisfaction model. Ben Pugh describes this as being when 'Christ himself is *punished* for sinners' rather than 'Christ offers himself to God as *an equivalent to* the punishment of sinners', and the 'recapitulation' model where the focus is on the idea of Christ as a 'Second Adam'; see Ben Pugh, *Atonement Theories: A Way through the Maze* (Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock, 2014), 57 (first three quotations) and 26 (last two quotations). Daniel Migliore defines the atonement as 'the reconciling act of God in Jesus Christ, especially though not exclusively through his passion and death, that mends the broken relationship between God and humanity caused by sin'; see Daniel L. Migliore, *Faith Seeking Understanding: An Introduction to Christian Theology*, 3rd ed. (Grand Rapids, US: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co., 2014), 413, ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=4859168. This provides a helpful reference point which encapsulates what is meant by the phrase *Christ's atoning sacrifice* when used in a general sense in this chapter.

[65] Gurney, *Hints*, 127.

[66] Gurney, *Observations*, 24.

[67] Gurney, *Observations*, 26.

[68] Gurney, *Essays*, 380.

[69] Timothy Larsen, "6 Joseph Barker," online edn, Oxford Academic, 1 Jan. 2007 ed., *Crisis of Doubt: Honest Faith in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), under "Oxford Academic." https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199287871.003.0006,. 136.

was conditional upon an individual's repentance and their being obedient rather than '*because* of their repentance and the like'.[70]

The use of sacrificial language and imagery form an important element of Gurney's written and spoken narratives concerning the atonement. Christ's sacrifice is expressed in various ways including as 'propitiatory';[71] that He 'gave his life a ransom for them all';[72] that He 'bestowed on us redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins',[73] and in the *Essays*, Gurney lists a wide range of descriptions about Christ's atonement which are drawn from the Scriptures.[74]

Of vital importance to Gurney is the recognition that redemption is founded upon God's love and a desire to be fully reconciled with humanity. He argues that the Bible does not present the view that God's 'wrath was appeased by the sacrifice of an innocent victim'; an idea which he sees as being contrary to the Christian faith.[75] Instead God's love for humanity is seen by him in the context of the filial relationship between God the Father and the Son, and I suggest this forms the overarching narrative of his redemption theology in which he describes God's merciful nature, grace and universal love, as particularly shown in 'the gift of his ONLY-BEGOTTEN SON'.[76] Consequently for Gurney, the atonement is understood as being a voluntary, self-giving, and 'vicarious' but necessary act, in which Christ's propitiation of human sins is the ultimate expression of God's desire for reconciliation

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[70] William Cooke and Joseph Barker, *The Authentic Report of the Theological Discussion between the Rev. W. Cooke and Mr. Jos. Barker, Held During Ten Nights in Newcastle* (London: Bakewell, 1845), 82, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uiuo.ark:/13960/t7kq35604.
[71] Gurney, *Hints*, 111.
[72] Gurney, *Observations*, 40.
[73] Gurney, *Sermon and Prayer, by Joseph John Gurney, Delivered at Arch Street Meeting, Philadelphia, on the Evening of First-Day, Seventh Month 19th, 1840*, 6. This is based on a reported account.
[74] Gurney, *Essays*, 410.
[75] Gurney, *Hints*, 119.
[76] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 41.

with humanity.[77] This redemptive plan is considered by Gurney as not only the way by which this rectification can be achieved but also the means by which God's holy nature can remain unchanged and unaffected by human sin.[78] It is in this context, I suggest, that Gurney links his theology of the atonement to the *response* that he considers a person should make. For example, there is a deeply empathetic strand in his writing when reflecting upon the suffering experienced by Jesus upon the cross and how this 'ought to move every heart to tenderness'.[79] Gurney also shows a desire for people to embrace the salvific implications of Christ's atonement, to have 'hope, and joy, and encouragement' from this[80] and to be humble before the cross.[81] And there is also an expectation by him, that as a person contemplates both Christ's divine nature and the atoning sacrifice He has made, a deeper awareness both of human sinfulness and the need for personal transformation will develop. Alongside this, Gurney argues that fully recognising God's love of humanity as seen in Christ's atonement should inspire people to give themselves completely to Him in both obedience and ministry.[82]

It is also important to stress that Gurney's view of the atonement has a cosmic dimension to it given that 'There is no tense with God.'[83] In saying this, he argues that the atonement has provided the means of redemption for all of humanity for all

[77] Gurney, *Essays*, 411. An important part of Gurney's redemption theology seeks to articulate how there is unity, co-operation and shared purpose within the Godhead in enabling the possibility of human redemption to come about; see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 48 and 74. In the *Essays*, he describes how this divine orchestration of the one triune Godhead brings about the redemption plan for humanity whereby 'the FATHER decrees, the SON conducts, and the SPIRIT assists'; see Gurney, *Essays*, 469. In the *Habitual Exercise*, where he makes a similar point, he also emphasises the unity of the Godhead; see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 85. It is also important to stress that this description does not belie an implicit form of modalism within Gurney's understanding of redemption theology.
[78] Gurney, *Essays*, 401.
[79] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 54.
[80] Gurney, *Essays*, 431.
[81] Gurney, *Essays*, 420.
[82] Gurney, *Essays*, 422-23.
[83] Gurney, *Essays*, 417.

time. In other words, the redemption of anyone who lived and died *before* the atonement, was only possible *because* of the atonement. Additionally, Gurney not only sees the impact of the atonement as spanning the whole of human history, he is also open to the possibility that it may go *beyond* humanity itself[84] and asks the readers of *Habitual Exercise* whether anyone can say that it 'does not extend to an infinite number of rational beings, beyond the boundaries of this narrow sphere?'[85]

4.4.4 Justification and faith

Having established Gurney's understanding of the nature of justification and its relationship to the atonement, this sub-section focuses upon what Gurney considers to be the 'faith'[86] which forms part of an individual believer's justification. Gurney claims 'that the faith in Jesus Christ, by which the *ungodly are justified*, has respect, in a very preeminent manner, to the *atonement* which he made for the sins of the world'.[87] Consequently, there is an expectation by him that this would be evidenced in a personal belief and dependency in Jesus having done this.[88] Faith is not, however, seen by Gurney as being *just* based on intellectual acquisition of knowledge, important though this is. Instead, he sees it as something that is alive within a person, whereby there is a genuine desire to seek forgiveness of their sins, to move closer to Christ in a spiritual sense, to place their absolute trust in Him and

[84] Ted Peters references several nineteenth century theologians who showed an interest in the possibility of life elsewhere in the Universe; see Ted Peters, "Astrotheology," in *The Routledge Companion to Modern Christian Thought*, ed. Chad Meister and James Beilby (2013; paperback, Abingdon, Oxfordshire: Routledge, 2015), 842. Thomas Chalmers is one of the persons mentioned by Peters (see aforementioned reference) and Gurney knew Chalmers (according to Braithwaite their first meeting was in 1830; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 406.)
[85] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 36.
[86] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 93.
[87] Gurney, *Essays*, 489-90.
[88] Gurney, *Essays*, 489.

affirm that He is their 'only Saviour'. This is seen by Gurney as 'Saving faith' and is also reflected in a person's readiness to be subject to Christ's authority.[89]

There are three further points to make in connection with Gurney's understanding of faith in the context of this study. First, that he is not suggesting that an individual repenting of their sin is the reason for their redemption. This is because Gurney believes redemption is divinely initiated.[90] Secondly, the juxtaposition between justification and the sanctification which follows after this, in Gurney's understanding of redemption becomes apparent at this point because it is '*through faith in Christ crucified'* that an individual also receives the Holy Spirit[91] and by whom the work of sanctification is enabled. And thirdly, the discussion which has been presented so far, is in the context of a person knowing about Christ's atonement through the scriptural narrative. In this regard, Gurney makes clear that believing the Scriptures for those in possession of them is vital and should be an inevitable outcome of their faith.[92] For those who do not know the biblical account of Christ, Gurney notes that in Romans 4:3-8, Abraham and David are cited as having faith which justified them although they would not have known about Christ's atonement.[93] Similarly, he argues that this would apply to other righteous people both within the Old Testament and to the many others who are not aware of Christianity.[94] Consequently, Gurney sees justification as being possible in these cases because

[89] Gurney, *Essays*, 491. This commitment to Christ as a form of discipleship is explored in chapter 5.
[90] Gurney, *Hints*, 108.
[91] Gurney, *Essays*, 490.
[92] Gurney, *Essays*, 478.
[93] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 95-96.
[94] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 96.

people ‘believed in God, according to the measure of the light of the Holy Spirit immediately bestowed upon them’, and were willing to be guided by this.[95]

4.4.5 Justification and good works

Gurney argues that James 2:14-26 which includes the wording ‘“that by works a man is justified, and not by faith only”’[96] should be seen as ‘an explanatory addition’[97] to Romans 3:28 rather than being any form of contradiction. He contends that although James is arguing that works are vital, what underpins this assertion is ‘*faith*’.[98] Consequently for Gurney, the idea of being justified by faith alone is upheld by both these scriptural texts.[99] However, he also argues that both James and Paul share a common understanding of justification by linking faith to the importance of being obedient to God.[100] In following Christ, Christian believers should therefore demonstrate the highest moral standards and behaviour.[101] In this way, Gurney emphasises the important role that good works play in the life of the believer because they effectively act as a mirror to their justified state and if they are absent this indicates that justification has not come about.[102] In making this *particular* argument, Gurney has minimised the *usual* distinction he makes between justification and sanctification[103] as a result of emphasising that justification (seen as the first stage of redemption) involves a genuine religious commitment that can be evidenced by *outcomes*.

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[95] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 95-96.
[96] Gurney, *Essays*, 506.
[97] Gurney, *Essays*, 506.
[98] Gurney, *Essays*, 506.
[99] Gurney, *Essays*, 507.
[100] Gurney, *Essays*, 515.
[101] Gurney, *Essays*, 510-11.
[102] Gurney, *Essays*, 505.
[103] See sub-section 4.5.2 for further details.

For Barclay, because of his understanding that sanctification is part of justification[104] he interprets James 2:24 as direct support that 'works are necessary to *justification*'.[105] Whilst there is an overlap in the views between Gurney and Barclay in the sense that both agree on the importance of good works, there is nonetheless a significant difference because Gurney accommodates belief in justification by faith *without* the need for works prior to sanctification.[106] In the *Friendly Letters*, he comments that good works show '*a necessary evidence*' of being justified; they are not therefore the causal agent of justification rather an outcome. Gurney considers that Barclay would view 'good works … *a necessary condition*' for justification and believes they are essentially in agreement on this issue.[107] However, I would suggest Gurney's perception is flawed in this regard because as Barclay has commented he sees them as being 'absolutely *necessary to justification*'.[108]

A difference between Gurney and Barclay on the role of good works would therefore appear to exist. This comes about I contend because of the different ways they have defined justification as either being towards the beginning or the end of the redemptive process. Barclay's particular emphasis on distinguishing between 'the *works* of the *law*, and those of *grace*, or of the *gospel*'[109] in which only the latter are considered to support, and indeed be a necessity for justification, is used by him to highlight the need for a person to be inwardly sanctified in order to *become* justified.[110] In a similar vein, Leif Eeg-Oloffson has argued that for Barclay there was

[104] Barclay, *Apology*, 187.
[105] Barclay, *Apology*, 218.
[106] See sub-section 4.5.2 for further details.
[107] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 27.
[108] Barclay, *Apology*, 220.
[109] Barclay, *Apology*, 220.
[110] Barclay, *Apology*, 220.

an expectation that good works would be a natural outcome for an individual who responded to and followed the Light Within.[111] In contrast, I argue that for Gurney, justification itself does not require the human agency of good works but such works are an expected outcome as an individual grows in holiness and becomes sanctified, the latter also being a necessity for redemption.[112] Good works are therefore an integral part of redemption theology for *both* Gurney and Barclay.

4.5 Gurney's Redemption theology: Sanctification

4.5.1 Introduction

Three key themes about sanctification have been identified from an examination of Gurney's works. First, that there is an emphasis by him on the very close association which exists between sanctification and justification. Secondly, the role of the Holy Spirit is presented by Gurney as being essential for sanctification. Thirdly, that he considers sanctification to nearly always be a progressive process that takes place over time. Each of these points are discussed more fully in sub-sections 4.5.2 to 4.5.4.

4.5.2 The relationship between Justification and Sanctification

> while the doctrine of justification declares the pardoning love of God towards a guilty world, that of sanctification proclaims with a voice equally strong and clear, the indispensable necessity of personal holiness[113]

The above quotation from Gurney's *Hints* highlights the importance that he attaches to both justification *and* sanctification. For Gurney, it is not a question of justification being the *only* necessary part of the redemption plan; sanctification is

[111] Leif Eeg-Olofsson, *The Conception of the Inner Light in Robert Barclay's Theology. A Study in Quakerism*, Studia Theologica Lundensia 5, (Lund: CWK Gleerup, 1954), 120.
[112] Gurney, *Hints*, 145.
[113] Gurney, *Hints*, 145.

also needed. It is also evident from Gurney's writings that he views the association between these two aspects of redemption as being connected and linked to each other, interwoven, and yet also distinctive. For example, he comments how they 'may indeed be rightly distinguished, but can never be rightly separated- justification through the blood of Christ, and sanctification through his Spirit.[114] I argue that this connection between justification and sanctification can also be seen in what I term *theological word pairing* that Gurney sometimes adopts in his writing. For example, his use of the phrase '*indemnity* and *cure*'[115] which he links to the 'the forgiveness of sins that are past, and a deliverance from sin for the future',[116] and the idea gleaned from a fellow Quaker of '"a right and a rightness"' which describes how the 'right of entrance' comes about because of Christ's atonement and that through the Holy Spirit's work '*rightness*' is seen in an individual's spiritual growth and sanctification within their Christian life.[117]

Alongside the importance which Gurney attaches to the deep connection that he considers exists between justification and sanctification, it is also his view that it is vital they are kept on an even keel with each other. An over emphasis on justification at the expense of sanctification is seen as increasing the likelihood of 'antinomianism'. In contrast, if the opposite takes place there is the possibility of an individual being overwhelmed 'by the burden of our past sins'.[118] *Balancing* elements

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[114] Gurney, *Essays*, 444.
[115] Gurney, *Essays*, 373.
[116] Gurney, *Essays*, 373. Further reference to this word pairing can be found in Gurney, *Essays*, 467-68. Arthur Roberts has argued that 'Fox … insisted that grace was not only imputed in forgiveness but also imparted in sanctification'; see Arthur O. Roberts, "Early Friends and the Work of Christ," *Quaker Religious Thought* 5, Article 2 (1961): 17. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol5/iss1/2. I suggest that the premise of this idea could be applied to Gurney's position to help illustrate the way he considers justification and sanctification operate.
[117] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 102- all quotations.
[118] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 125. In his polemic work about Quakerism, Edgar Sheppard argues that Gurney's spiritual life often seemed to experience inward tension and conflict;

of belief in this way forms an important part of Gurney's theology.[119] Consequently, redemption carries an equal weighting to both the work of Christ's atonement in justification and that of the Holy Spirit in sanctification.

Drawing upon Romans 5:16 and Romans 3:23-25, Gurney argues that '*justification* precedes *sanctification*'[120] and is considered by him as being closely linked to a person's trust and belief in Christ's atoning sacrifice.[121] Like Gurney, Barclay also uses Romans 3:25 to highlight his belief that Christ's atonement brings about the forgiveness of past sins.[122] However, Barclay does not equate this to justification because people continue to sin afterwards and a perfect reconciliation has not taken place with God.[123] Barclay argues that *if* justification really had occurred this would mean sinning does not prevent reconciliation with God.[124] Consequently, if this was the case Barclay considers that this would undermine the need for Christ's ongoing intercessions on behalf of humanity.[125] Instead, Barclay sees the believer to be continually in the process of *becoming* justified and Christ's intercessions supporting this.[126]

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see Edgar Sheppard, *A Fallen Faith: Being a Historical, Religious, and Socio-Political Sketch of the Society of Friends* (London: Piper, Stephenson and Spence, 1860), 121-31, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/yale.39002013412557.

[119] This idea of a balanced approach can also be seen in Gurney's article *Christianity, a Religion of Motives* in which he argues that within Christian belief there can sometimes be a dynamic tension between opposing ideas which nonetheless are able to co-exist; see Gurney, "Christianity, a Religion of Motives," 141-42. Similarly, reverential 'fear', 'hope' and 'love' are also able to work together to bring about spiritual growth and holiness; see Gurney, "Christianity, a Religion of Motives," 144.

[120] Gurney, *Essays*, 489.

[121] Gurney, *Essays*, 489-90.

[122] Barclay, *Apology*, 198.

[123] Barclay, *Apology*, 199.

[124] Barclay, *Apology*, 199.

[125] Barclay, *Apology*, 201.

[126] Barclay, *Apology*, 202. Similar parallels can also be seen in Barclay's exegesis of 1 Corinthians 6:11. Part of this verse states '*but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified*' and Barclay interprets '*justified*' to mean '*being really made just*'; Barclay, *Apology*, 205- all quotations. Consequently, he implicitly interprets the verse in the order of its own wording, meaning that sanctification comes before justification. In contrast, for 1 Corinthians 6: 9-11, Gurney does not make reference to justification, but instead relates the passage to sanctification with regards to the individual and the wider church; see Gurney, *Essays*, 460-62.

Barker argued that Gurney's placement of justification before sanctification was contrary to the biblical narrative and antithetical to the beliefs of the early Friends.[127] However, it is important to acknowledge that whilst Gurney does see justification coming before sanctification in terms of the *order* of the redemption process, this does not translate into a difference between them regarding their *significance*. For example, he describes how in the Bible they are usually viewed '*conjointly*' in which justification *and* sanctification are considered as being 'essential to the work of salvation'.[128]

4.5.3 Sanctification and the role of the Holy Spirit

The work of the Holy Spirit is seen by Gurney as being at the heart of sanctification and the means by which an inward transformation slowly takes place within the believer[129] and shapes their thinking and behaviour to good spiritual ends.[130] He describes how the Holy Spirit's 'enlightening, enlivening, and sanctifying influences' help to bring about changes within a person from the very beginning of their journey of faith and which will include the 'inward purification' which provides essential and vital preparation for the heavenly life to come.[131] Similarly, in a report of one of his sermons, Gurney places considerable emphasis upon being completely open and dependent upon the Holy Spirit.[132] In a published extract of a private letter

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[127] Joseph Barker, *Letters to J. J. Gurney, Containing Remarks on His Views of the Atonement, Imputed Righteousness, &C* (Newcastle: s.n., [1840?]), 14-15. Special Collections (Main Library) Unitarian College (1801-) Printed Collection (BD Z381(30)), John Rylands Library, The University of Manchester. Courtesy of the University of Manchester.
[128] Gurney, *Essays*, 444- both quotations. Similarly, in *Observations* he describes them as being 'hand in hand'; see Gurney, *Observations*, 14.
[129] Gurney, *Hints*, 134.
[130] Gurney, *Hints*, 133.
[131] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 125-both quotations.
[132] Joseph John Gurney and Elizabeth Fry, *Sermons & Prayers, by Joseph John Gurney, Esq. And Mrs Elizabeth Fry. Printed from Notes Taken in Short Hand* (London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1836), 71.

from Gurney to a Quaker minister he comments that the work of the Holy Spirit in sanctification 'is yet *unfinished*, in the church at large, and in us individually'.[133]

4.5.4 Sanctification as a process of inward change over time

Whilst sanctification is considered by Gurney as being a gradual process and one which never stops in this lifetime, he does however, make allowance for exceptional circumstances where this may not apply, citing the example in the New Testament of the thief on the cross whose belief in Christ meant he would shortly be entering paradise. But the clear picture from his writings is that sanctification is nearly always a slow and lengthy process of change where one should 'not … expect the fullness of light all at once'[134] and which will involve constant challenge to the individual and the need for great fortitude.[135] Gurney links this inner nurturing and a person's growth in experiencing God, to a growing presence of divine influence. In a reported account of one of his lectures, he describes how for a person who 'follow[s] the light of the Spirit of Christ' this influence grows, that as a result they will become more aware of their sins and crucially 'find a refuge in Jesus Christ, and him crucified'. Sanctification is therefore anchored in Christ and the enlightening that is taking place is the work of the Holy Spirit.[136] Gurney's belief in the progressive nature of sanctification stood in sharp contrast to some of the changes, as for example noted by David Bebbington, that were taking place in the wider Church in the 1840s and onwards with its message that sanctification could be experienced more instantaneously.[137]

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[133] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 421.
[134] As reported in Gurney, *Four Lectures*, 176-77.
[135] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 102.
[136] Gurney, *Four Lectures*, 177- both quotations.
[137] David Bebbington, *Holiness in Nineteenth-Century England. The 1998 Didsbury Lectures* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2000), 65-66.

Further insight into Gurney's understanding of sanctification can be seen in his sensitivity to the spiritual condition of specific individuals, as two examples will illustrate. First, in paying homage to his late friend, the Quaker Jonathan Hutchinson, Gurney paints a moving picture of his character as being one which demonstrated 'that silent growth in grace, of that gradual deepening of the root, and unfolding of the precious plant above'.[138] He goes on to describe how individuals like Hutchinson, although isolated in their living circumstances and rarely 'hearing the Gospel preached,' were nonetheless very much being guided in their lives by the Holy Ghost.[139] These comments indicate Gurney's openness to the different ways in which God's Spirit may work within an individual and how sanctification is usually a gradual process leading to spiritual maturation.

A second example, can be found in a publication written by Gurney in connection with the case of John Stratford, a Norwich citizen, who had been executed for murder in 1829. Gurney had visited Stratford in prison and his published report received wide circulation. According to Gurney, Stratford had expressed deep remorse, was repentant of his crime and had committed himself to the Christian faith.[140] However, Gurney was not prepared to say what he thought would happen to Stratford in the spiritual sense after his execution and that although he hoped that God would be merciful, judgement was for God alone to make. The lack of opportunity for Stratford to reflect his new found faith in personal conduct and

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[138] Joseph John Gurney, "A Tribute to the Memory of Jonathan Hutchinson. By J. J. Gurney," in *Extracts from the Letters of Jonathan Hutchinson, with Some Brief Notices of His Life and Character*, ed. Josiah Forster (London: Harvey & Darton, 1841), xx.
[139] Gurney, "A Tribute to the Memory of Jonathan Hutchinson. By J. J. Gurney," xxi.
[140] Joseph John Gurney, *Some Account of John Stratford, Who Was Executed after the Last Assizes for the City of Norwich, for the Crime of Murder. By One of His Fellow-Citizens* (Norwich: Printed by S. Wilkin, 1829), 13, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwjnwv.

morality is seen by Gurney as meaning that the outcome of any inward change could not be shown. Gurney's position therefore highlights the importance that he attached to sanctification and an expectation that in usual circumstances this would be a gradual lifetime process.[141]

Having established the nature of Gurney's redemption theology, the chapter sections which follow present three arguments which focus upon specific differences (4.6-4.7) and similarities (4.8) in his beliefs compared to early Quakerism. It is proposed that collectively they constitute a re-alignment of particular elements of theology within Quakerism and a re-appraisal of some previous academic studies.

4.6 A Realignment of Redemption theology: Justification

4.6.1 Introduction: the Imputation of Christ's righteousness

The concept of the imputed righteousness of Christ is used within the Protestant tradition to explain *how* a person becomes justified.[142] However, the doctrine does not necessarily take precedence for all Protestants. For example, John Wesley in a publication on the subject, argued that there is no specific reference in the Scriptures to this form of imputation and expressed concerns that the idea had been used by some to support Antinomianism.[143] A similar attitude can be

[141] Gurney, *Some Account of John Stratford, Who Was Executed after the Last Assizes for the City of Norwich, for the Crime of Murder. By One of His Fellow-Citizens*, 15- both quotations. In the *Memoirs*, an extract from Gurney's autobiography suggests that privately he was hopeful that this would be the case; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 386.

[142] McGrath describes this as meaning that those who believe 'are righteous on account of the alien righteousness of Christ which is imputed to them- that is, treated as if it were theirs through faith'; see McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 340.

[143] John Wesley, *Thoughts on the Imputed Righteousness of Christ* 2nd ed. (London: Printed by W. Strahan, 1762), 9-10, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100054531697.0x000001. It should, however, be noted that there is some ambiguity concerning Wesley's view about imputed righteousness. For example, in one of his sermons he appears to affirm the doctrine; John Wesley, *The Works of the Rev. John Wesley, A.M., Sometime Fellow of Lincoln College, Oxford. Volume V. With the Last Corrections of the Author*, 4th ed. (London: John Mason, 1840), 227, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433087372987.

seen with Edward Ash, a Quaker contemporary to Gurney. Ash, like Gurney, believed in justification by faith, but saw no scriptural support for the imputed righteousness of Christ.[144] It is important therefore to highlight that Gurney's clear affirmation of this doctrine in some of his works,[145] reflects his conviction to adopt this particular view of justification.

4.6.2 The Doctrine of Imputation: Barclay and Gurney compared

In the *Apology*, Barclay categorically rejects the idea that justification involves the imputation of Christ's righteousness or the imputation of a person's sins to Christ. He takes this standpoint for several reasons. First, he argues that 2 Corinthians 5:21, which he anticipates his opponents would cite in support of imputation, is not meant to be understood in this way. If imputation *were* the case, Barclay contends that if taken to an extreme position, it would follow that as Christ is without sin, if His righteousness were imputed to an individual they might consider themselves immediately free of all sin and that no further redemption was necessary.[146] Secondly, Barclay notes that he is unable to find reference to the doctrine in the Scriptures.[147] And thirdly, he argues that those who believe in the imputation of Christ's righteousness also think that a believer still continues to sin and therefore cannot reach a state of perfection in their lifetime, which early Quakers considered a possibility.[148] The latter point, is of significance if considered a valid argument,

[144] Ash, "An Inquiry into Some Parts of Christian Doctrine and Practice, Having Relation More Especially to the Society of Friends. With an Appendix. [the Preface Signed: E. A. i.e. Edward Ash.]," 80.
[145] Gurney, *Essays*, 425.
[146] Barclay, *Apology*, 203-04.
[147] Barclay, *Apology*, 204.
[148] Barclay, *Apology*, 230.

because Gurney's *acceptance* of imputed righteousness might suggest he rejects the idea that perfection can be attained.[149]

In 1836, the Congregationalist, Ralph Wardlaw,[150] published a critique of various aspects of Quaker belief[151] including justification.[152] Regarding the latter, Wardlaw believed that overall, the views expressed by Gurney on this subject to be 'clear, simple, [and] scriptural'. However, he queried whether they represented original Quakerism.[153] In contrast, it is interesting to note that in relation to Wardlaw's analysis, the Christian leader John Nelson Darby,[154] considered that whilst Gurney held 'justification in an evangelical point of view' he saw it compromised and unsound because Gurney also maintained 'the mediation of Christ to be the procuring cause of that light from which accountability springs'.[155]

Wardlaw is particularly critical of Barclay's understanding of justification and raises five key areas of disagreement,[156] one of which relates to the subject of the

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[149] McGrath describes Luther's understanding of imputation as being that 'believers remain sinners inwardly but are righteous extrinsically, in the sight of God'; see McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 340. In section 5.7, evidence is presented that Gurney did not overtly promote a doctrine of Christian perfection in his published writings. In contrast, John Wesley who was reluctant to engage with the doctrine of the imputation of Christ's righteousness *did* affirm a doctrine of perfection; see John Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, as Believed and Taught by the Rev. Mr John Wesley, from the Year 1725, to the Year 1777*, 8th ed. (Dublin: Printed by Robert Napper, 1797), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100057599898.0x000001. John Punshon has also suggested that the early Quakers' rejection of the imputation of righteousness may have supported the idea of Christian perfection as an alternative route to salvation; see John Punshon, "The Significance of the Tradition: Reflections on the Writing of Quaker History," *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society* 60, no. 2 (2004): 91. https://journals.sas.ac.uk/fhs/article/view/3401/3353.

[150] Brown, "Wardlaw, Ralph (1779–1853), Congregational Minister and Theologian."

[151] Wardlaw, *Friendly Letters to the Society of Friends, on Some of Their Distinguishing Principles*.

[152] Wardlaw, *Friendly Letters to the Society of Friends, on Some of Their Distinguishing Principles*, 175-233.

[153] Wardlaw, *Friendly Letters to the Society of Friends, on Some of Their Distinguishing Principles*, 195.

[154] Timothy C. F. Stunt, "Darby, John Nelson (1800–1882), Member of the So-Called (Plymouth) Brethren," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004). https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-7141.

[155] J. N. Darby, "Remarks on Light and Conscience," in *The Collected Writings of J.N. Darby*, *ed. William Kelly. Doctrinal No.1, v3* (Kingston-on-Thames: Stow Hill Bible and Tract Depot, 1964), 57.

[156] Wardlaw is critical of how Barclay has defined justification, his rejection that righteousness can be imputed to the believer, his emphasis on good works, that Barclay's system of belief concerning

imputation of Christ's righteousness. On this particular issue, Wardlaw agrees with Barclay, that 2 Corinthians 5:21 should not be interpreted to literally mean that sin was actually taken from people leading to the 'absurdity … that Christ was made a *sinner*' because imputation does not mean '*actual transference*'.[157] Instead, he argues that Barclay's *own* interpretation of the verse that Jesus suffered because of people's sin is no different in meaning to sins being imputed to Christ, and therefore if this is the case, the reverse, namely the imputation of righteousness from Christ to the individual must also take place.[158] Additionally, Wardlaw questions the logic of Barclay's argument that just because the Bible does not include the wording for the imputation of Christ's righteousness, this should mean that the doctrine itself has to be rejected.[159]

4.6.3 Gurney's critique of Barclay

Gurney's response to Wardlaw[160] and his broad agreement with him on this subject, highlights his readiness to challenge Barclay's views on justification, especially with regards to what he considers their insufficient clarity.[161] Crucially, Gurney also highlights that for him the authority for doctrinal matters does not rest with Barclay or other Quakers, but with the Bible.[162] Nonetheless, Gurney sets out to

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justification is compromised with internal contradictions [see Wardlaw, *Friendly Letters to the Society of Friends, on Some of Their Distinguishing Principles*, 209-31.] and that he erroneously implies 'that men might be justified by faith, *continuing in sin'*; see; Wardlaw, *Friendly Letters to the Society of Friends, on Some of Their Distinguishing Principles*, 227.

[157] Wardlaw, *Friendly Letters to the Society of Friends, on Some of Their Distinguishing Principles*, 213- both quotations.

[158] Wardlaw, *Friendly Letters to the Society of Friends, on Some of Their Distinguishing Principles*, 213-14.

[159] Wardlaw, *Friendly Letters to the Society of Friends, on Some of Their Distinguishing Principles*, 212.

[160] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*.

[161] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 26.

[162] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 27. An example of this can be seen in the exegesis of Colossians 1:27-28. Barclay's emphasis on the need for inward transformation as being a necessary part of justification is drawn from various scriptural passages including the Colossians passage, which he cites in part as

explain to Wardlaw, that Barclay's lack of lucidity is largely connected with the way he has chosen to define justification and that once this is acknowledged, Barclay's views generally align to those of Wardlaw and himself.[163] Gurney sees it as 'a mere mistake to suppose that justification, … is capable of the meaning of *being made actually righteous*, i.e. of sanctification'[164] and instead it should be seen within its *legal* meaning as being counted as righteous.[165] However, it is noticeable that Gurney does not address Wardlaw's point about Barclay's rejection of the doctrine of imputation of Christ's righteousness.

4.6.4 Early Quakers and Imputed Righteousness

Barclay's views were criticised by Gurney because in his judgement they were not sufficiently clear.[166] However, Gurney does not see his own beliefs concerning justification as being fundamentally different from those of *other* early Friends. In his *Declaration*, Gurney cites extracts from several early Quaker publications[167] to

'*Christ within, the hope of glory'*. Barclay accepts that the 'original and fundamental cause of justification' is Christ's atonement but argues that it is the work of Christ within which is the immediate and direct cause which leads to a person being justified; see Barclay, *Apology*, 215-both quotations. In *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, commenting on Colossians 1: 26-28, Gurney argues that 'The words, "Christ in you," are often recited, by mistake, as "Christ within;" which in turn is linked to meaning '"the light of the Spirit of Christ in the heart"' and therefore to be 'the same as *Christ himself*'. However, Gurney sees the text referring to the coming of Christ into the world; something which had been kept hidden from the Gentiles until they had themselves come to know and believe in Him; see Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 9- all quotations. Consequently, although Gurney fully accepts the need for the believer to be inwardly changed, his different interpretation of *this particular* biblical passage indicates his willingness to challenge what he sees as an erroneous view held by some Quakers (for example, Hicksite Friends); see Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 10. Angell has also suggested that early Friends were more cautious with part of the Colossians 1:27 verse and its reference to 'the Hope of Glory' in case people misunderstood this as meaning that inward spiritual transformation was not necessary; see Stephen W. Angell, "Universalising and Spiritualising Christ's Gospel: How Early Quakers Interpreted the Epistle to the Colossians," *Quaker Studies* 11, no. 1, Article 3 (2007): 45. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/quakerstudies/vol11/iss1/3.

[163] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 27.

[164] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 29-30.

[165] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 30.

[166] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 26.

[167] Extracts cited by Gurney are from the writings of George Fox, Robert Barclay, William Penn, Isaac Pennington, Humfrey Smith, Richard Claridge, Edward Burrough, a document from PYM (Orthodox), 1828 and a 1668 epistle; see Gurney, *Declaration*, 13-18. Most of the quotations used by Gurney had been taken from Thomas Evans' publication; see Thomas Evans, *An Exposition of the Faith of the*

support his case. Only one of these makes direct reference to imputed righteousness and this is an extract from a work by Edward Burrough. In the extract (contained within Gurney's work), Burrough states that Quakers reject the idea of imputation if it is being applied to anyone '"in the degenerated estate, and unconverted and unreconciled, and unborn again"'.[168] However, the extract goes on to say '"that righteousness *is imputed to us, and reckoned unto us, who believe in Christ and have received him*"'.[169] This suggests that for Burrough the issue was not so much about whether imputed righteousness exists or not, but rather that he is highlighting the dangers of hypocrisy in someone claiming they are justified when their commitment is shallow. But it is also important to note that Burrough does not specifically refer to the imputed righteousness *of Christ*, as although the text refers to imputed righteousness and to Christ, they are not directly linked together.[170]

Burrough's approach also seems to mirror a work published by Fox[171] (but not cited by Gurney) which specifically addressed the subject of justification and included a section about imputed righteousness. Fox comments how imputation of righteousness takes place but only for those who are truly committed and believe, as

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Religious Society of Friends, Commonly Called Quakers, in the Fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion; Principally Selected from Their Early Writings (Philadelphia: printed; York: re-printed by W. Alexander and Son, 1829), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/nnc2.ark:/13960/t3nv9m20w. Note: the 1668 epistle listed above was incorrectly cited by Gurney from Evans' work as being 1688 [see Gurney, *Declaration*, 13.]; see also Evans, *An Exposition of the Faith of the Religious Society of Friends, Commonly Called Quakers, in the Fundamental Doctrines of the Christian Religion; Principally Selected from Their Early Writings*, 29.

[168] Gurney, *Declaration*, 15.

[169] Gurney, *Declaration*, 16.

[170] The nineteenth century Quaker, William Hodgson, was particularly critical of Gurney's use of this extract from Burrough arguing (correctly) that some wording had been left out in the quoted text and that the passage had also been truncated meaning that reference to the Inward Christ was missing; see Hodgson, *An Examination of the Memoirs and Writings of J. J. Gurney*, 131. For the original text, see Edward Burrough, *Satans Designs Defeated* (London: [...] Thomas Simmons, 1659), 5, https://www.proquest.com/books/satans-designs-defeated/docview/2240928322/se-2.

[171] George Fox, *A Testimony Concerning Justification, and Whom Christ Justifieth, and in What: As Likewise Concerning Imputed-Righteousness, and to What and to Whom* (1677), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100028871093.0x000001.

was the case with Abraham.[172] However, Fox does not expressly use the phrase *the imputed righteousness of Christ*. The hesitancy by both Burrough and Fox to not proactively use this form of phraseology is, I suggest, a difference between early Quakers and Gurney.

T. Vail Palmer has also argued that belief in Christ's atonement as a 'satisfaction' for humanity's sins is underpinned by a belief in the imputation of Christ's righteousness as well.[173] As Palmer considers Gurney to have adopted this view of the atonement and made it a necessary qualification for Christian belief, he contends that Gurney's understanding of the atonement[174] contrasts sharply with early Friends, like Fox, who he believes held a 'Christus Victor' view.[175] Leaving aside the issue of whether or not Gurney's view of the nature of the atonement was different from that of early Friends,[176] Palmer's assertion can be challenged in that it cannot be assumed *a priori* that belief in the imputed righteousness of Christ is a pre-requisite to hold a belief in a satisfaction model of understanding of the atonement. Thomas Noble, for example, has identified that John Wesley upheld this particular view of the atonement but had rejected the necessity in justification for the imputation of Christ's righteousness.[177]

Nonetheless, it is clear that critics of Gurney identified his support for the doctrine of imputed righteousness as being out of step with early Quakerism. Samuel

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[172] Fox, *A Testimony Concerning Justification, and Whom Christ Justifieth, and in What: As Likewise Concerning Imputed-Righteousness, and to What and to Whom*, 15.
[173] Palmer Jr., "Theorising a Quaker View of the Atonement," 109.
[174] Palmer Jr., "Some Issues from Nineteenth Century Quakerism," 15.
[175] Palmer Jr., "Some Issues from Nineteenth Century Quakerism," 16.
[176] For a brief overview of early Quaker theology in relation to the atonement see the 'Literature review' section of the introductory chapter and also sub-section 4.7.2.
[177] Thomas A. Noble, "John Wesley as a Theologian: An Introduction," *Evangelical Quarterly: An International Review of Bible and Theology* 82, no. 3 (2010): 244-46. https://dx.doi.org/10.1163/27725472-08203004.

Janney, a nineteenth century American Quaker,[178] argued that Gurney's views did not correspond with those held by Fox, Penn or Barclay.[179] Jones, as part of his wider narrative about Gurney not being aligned to early Quakerism, also contended that this doctrine formed an integral part to Gurney's beliefs,[180] and Hodgson claimed that because of this belief Gurney gave insufficient emphasis on a person's inward transformation.[181]

4.7 A Realignment of Redemption theology: the Atonement

4.7.1 Introduction

In this section, I argue that Gurney's redemption theology when evaluated in a broader context shows some key differences when compared to Barclay's *Apology* in relation to the person of Jesus Christ and His atonement.

4.7.2 The Atonement

Both Barclay[182] and Gurney[183] affirm their belief that Christ's atonement was a sacrifice made for all people, for all time and that as a consequence, salvation is potentially available to everyone. Whilst they therefore share vital soteriological common ground, I contend that they also differ with regards to what I have termed the 'origin of reference' within their redemption theology.

In Gurney's case, the atonement constitutes his origin of reference. This is because both justification and sanctification, which are considered by him to be

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[178] Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost describe Janney as 'a leading interpreter of the principles of Friends'; see Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 338.
[179] *An American View of the Causes Which Have Led to the Decline of the Society of Friends in Great Britain and Ireland* [*By Samuel M. Janney.*]. (London: A. W. Bennett; Philadelphia: T. Ellwood Zell, 1860), 22, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100054605199.0x000001.
[180] Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1*, 502.
[181] Hodgson, *An Examination of the Memoirs and Writings of J. J. Gurney*, 71.
[182] Barclay, *Apology*, 7-8.
[183] Gurney, *Observations*, 24.

necessary for redemption, are seen to arise as outcomes of the atonement[184] and so are *directly linked* to it. In the case of justification, the forgiveness of sins of a truly repentant believer and their reconciliation with God is only possible because of Christ's sacrifice on the cross.[185] And for sanctification, Gurney describes how it is '*through [a believer's] faith in Christ crucified*', that an individual is able to receive the Holy Spirit which enables them to be regenerated and sanctified.[186]

Figure 4.1 provides an illustration of a proposed model for Gurney's redemption theology. The figure shows the atonement as the origin of reference; directly linked to both justification and sanctification, which in turn, collectively lead to an outcome of redemption.[187]

[184] Gurney, *Letter to a Friend*, 66.
[185] Gurney, *Declaration*, 12.
[186] Gurney, *Essays*, 490.
[187] This is a simplified model which does not include regeneration but this is implicitly assumed to have taken place through the work of the Holy Spirit in leading a person to commit themselves to Christ and to spiritually grow in their Christian life. Gurney comments 'that faith in Christ by which we are saved, is also the faith by which we are regenerated'; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 480.

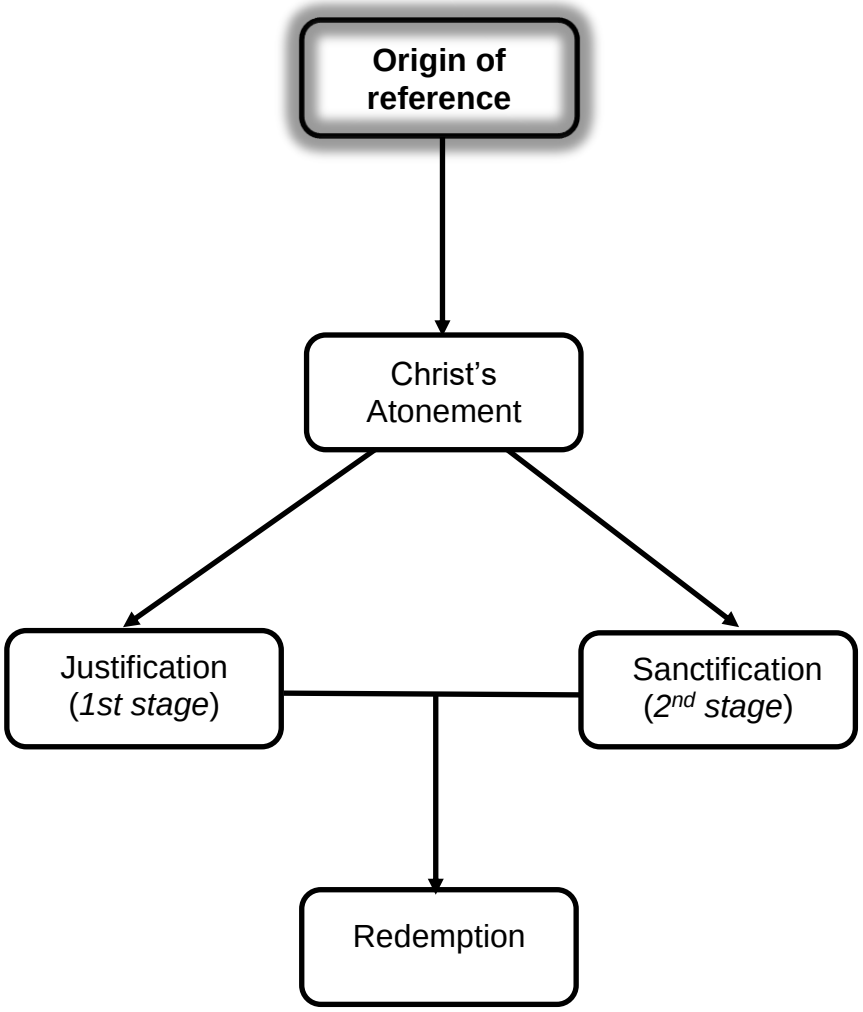


Figure 4.1 A model of Gurney's redemption theology

Christ's sacrifice upon the cross is also a constant focal point in Gurney's Christology from which he draws spiritual sustenance concerning the love, mercy, justice, and holiness of God. The significance of the atonement to Gurney is therefore not only with regards to justification and sanctification but also one that highlights a deeply profound event which should inform a Christian's spirituality and daily walk with God.[188]

[188] Gurney, *Hints*, 132-33.

In the *Apology*, Barclay makes clear that he considers there are two causal factors of justification. The first originates from Christ's atonement and the completely obedient life He led;[189] Barclay describes this as 'the remote procuring cause'.[190] And the second cause is as a result of the inward sanctification of the individual.[191] However, I argue that from Barclay's perspective because the atonement represents a specific event which has *already happened*, what is required of a potential believer is not centred on the atonement because it is not considered the *direct cause* of justification. Additionally, because Barclay considers immediate revelation to subsume scriptural revelation, knowledge about the atonement is not a pre-requisite for salvation.[192]

As Barclay sees justification as a process rather than an event, whereby sanctification is 'the *immediate nearest*, or *formal cause*'[193] of a person *becoming* justified, he does not apply the term justification *solely* to the stage prior to sanctification. J. William Frost argues that 'Barclay distinguished between past and present justification.' He describes this as 'Level one' justification in which the possibility of redemption for humanity had become possible because of Christ's atonement, and the second level of justification being the inward spiritual transformation which can take place within a person as a result of sanctification, and which can lead them to becoming justified. Importantly, Frost comments that Quakers had taken little notice of the first level because of its universality, and I would also add because *the atonement event had already happened*.[194] Consequently for

[189] Barclay, *Apology*, 197.
[190] Barclay, *Apology*, 196.
[191] Barclay, *Apology*, 195.
[192] Barclay, *Apology*, 7.
[193] Barclay, *Apology*, 213.
[194] Frost, "The Dry Bones of Quaker Theology," 514.

Barclay, I argue that the origin of reference becomes the penultimate part of the *chain of causality* for redemption, namely sanctification.

Although, the sanctification process itself is described by Barclay as '*Christ born and brought forth in us*',[195] this is a spiritual experience which does not depend upon the person knowing the scriptural narrative about the sufferings of Jesus on the cross. Therefore although Barclay describes this using Christocentric language it cannot be assumed that the person is necessarily relating their spiritual experience to the biblical commentary concerning the atonement. In contrast, for Gurney, justification (as he defines it) although very closely connected with sanctification, does take temporal precedence to sanctification and because it usually involves a specific *response to knowing about* Christ's sacrifice on the cross, the atonement therefore remains central in his redemption theology.

In his study of Calvin's theology, Paul Helm reflecting on Calvin's belief in the 'inseparability' between justification and sanctification, comments that as Calvin also considered justification came before sanctification this meant that justification 'makes sanctification possible, and also makes it necessary, though it must not be understood as a cause of sanctification'.[196] Given Gurney's view that justification comes before sanctification it could be argued that a similar conclusion could be drawn and therefore *knowledge* about the atonement narrative becomes a pre-requisite before the work of the Holy Spirit in sanctification can take place. However, both Gurney and Barclay affirm the atonement was the first and original cause which enabled the possibility of *redemption* to come about. *Knowledge* about the atonement is not therefore the distinguishing factor between their redemptive

[195] Barclay, *Apology*, 195.
[196] Paul Helm, *Calvin at the Centre* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 213.

theologies in the context of someone who already knows the biblical narrative but rather whether a *response* under God's calling *positively engages* with this knowledge in the sense that Gurney perceives as being part of the justification 'event'. In the absence of knowledge about the atonement, neither Gurney nor Barclay assume that redemption cannot remain a possibility under God's providence, and in Barclay's case that has been particularly emphasised by him.[197]

Barclay's redemption theology is presented in Figure 4.2 with a suggested model that illustrates it as a 'chain' to highlight that the origin of reference is sanctification rather than the atonement because this is then directly linked to the outcome of justification.[198]

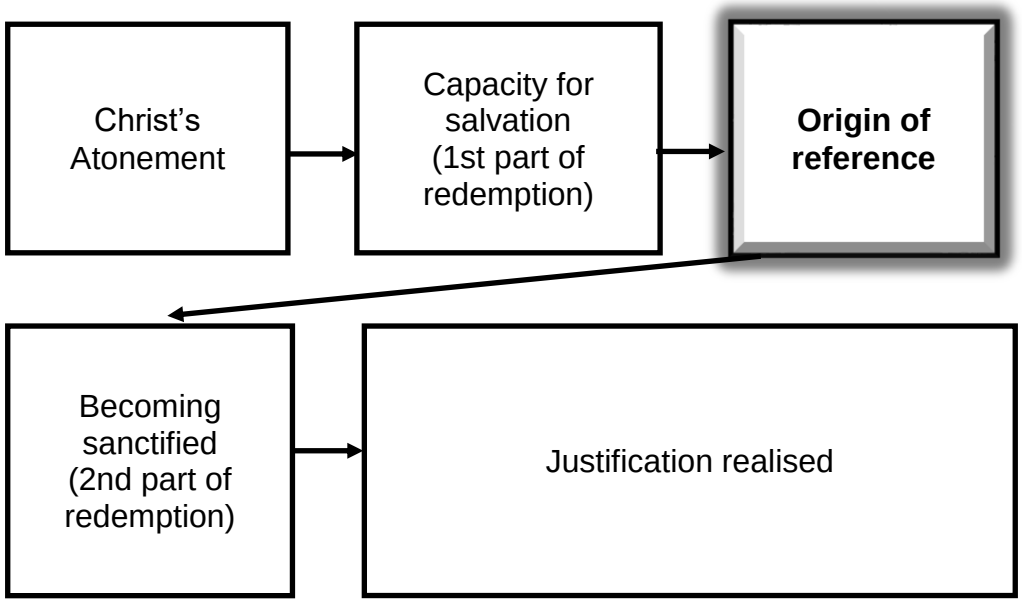


Figure 4.2 A model of Barclay's redemption theology

[197] Barclay, *Apology*, 105.
[198] The model shows that the process of being sanctified leads to a state of justification. Barclay comments 'as we are sanctified, so are we justified in the sight of God'; see Barclay, *Apology*, 187. For the purposes of the model, regeneration is subsumed within sanctification; see Barclay, *Apology*, 214.

The argument presented so far has included a more detailed analysis of the reasons *why* the atonement was particularly important in Gurney's redemption theology. However, the general point that Gurney placed a greater emphasis on the atonement than early Quakers can also be deduced from other sources of scholarship including Dandelion[199] and Thomas Kennedy.[200] In the early stages of the Quaker movement, Moore has commented that Friends were subject to the criticism that they underplayed the importance of Christ's atonement even when they affirmed it,[201] and that early Quaker literature placed less emphasis on the historic Christ.[202] Similarly, Angell has also noted that there was a 'de-emphasis of Jesus' historicity' in this period.[203] In the later years of the seventeenth century, however, it has been argued that Quakers became more orthodox in some aspects of Christian doctrine, including as Richard Allen has suggested, a greater emphasis on Christ during His time on Earth.[204] Nonetheless, this does not mean that the historic act of the atonement became the dominant feature of early Quaker theology. For example, Melvin Endy claims that whilst William Penn recognised the importance of Christ's atonement he nonetheless still maintained a clear emphasis on an inward soteriology[205] and Nikki Tousley, in her study of 'second-generation Friends', has

[199] Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 98.
[200] Thomas C. Kennedy, *British Quakerism 1860-1920: The Transformation of a Religious Community* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 21. Swift has also commented that the cardinal importance attached to Christ's sacrifice upon the cross was evident in Gurney's beliefs by 1825; see Swift, "Charles Simeon and J. J. Gurney: A Chapter in Anglican-Quaker Relations," 180-81.
[201] Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666*.
[202] Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666*, 109.
[203] Angell, "God, Christ, and the Light," 161.
[204] Allen, "Restoration Quakerism, 1660-1691," 41.
[205] Melvin B. Endy, "William Penn's Contributions to Early Quaker Thought," in *Early Quakers and Their Theological Thought 1647-1723*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 247.

also argued that the salvific dimension of belief had become diminished.[206] Collectively, these findings from other researchers help support the contention being made that the atonement played a greater role in Gurney's theology compared to Barclay, and I argue that more precisely, the origin of reference was the atonement for Gurney and sanctification for Barclay. However, developing this argument further, I also claim that because of these different origins of reference, other differences in theological emphasis between Gurney and Barclay can be identified as well. Three examples are used to show this.

First, the role of the Scriptures. It has been noted earlier in this chapter, that Gurney's redemption theology affirms that if someone does not know about Christ from the Scriptures, the universal impact of His atonement nonetheless means that redemption for them still remains a possibility.[207] However, for those people who *do* know the Scriptures then belief in them with regards to the Christian narrative of the atonement and redemption is seen by Gurney as being necessary.[208] In these aspects of belief, Barclay holds a similar position to Gurney.[209] However, in spite of such agreement, I argue that there is an important difference in their 'models of redemption' with regards to the role of the Scriptures.

For Gurney, justification is usually[210] seen when a repentant person commits to Christ in faith, in the knowledge (in a truly believing sense) of the sacrifice made by Him upon the cross. According to Gurney, justification occurs early on in the

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[206] Nikki Coffey Tousley, "The Experience of Regeneration and Erosion of Certainty in the Theology of Second-Generation Quakers: No Place for Doubt?," *Quaker Studies* 13, no. 1 (2008): 46. https://www.liverpooluniversitypress.co.uk/doi/abs/10.3828/quaker.13.1.6.
[207] Gurney, *Observations*, 24.
[208] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 95-96.
[209] Barclay, *Apology*, 7-8.
[210] By 'usually', I mean that this is how Gurney generally presents his views concerning justification. However, he also accepts that a person might be justified without knowledge of Christ's atonement. For example; see Gurney, *Puseyism*, 95-96.

redemption process in the sense that it is seen by him to be before sanctification. As a result, I suggest that it follows that the Scriptures 'automatically' hold a central place in connection with this because the act of justification is relying in part on a knowledge of the Scriptures. In contrast, the absence of a specific justification 'event' in Barclay's redemption plan means the necessity of knowing the biblical narrative is removed, thereby placing a lesser emphasis on the Scriptures. Consequently, as a frame of reference, the scriptural narrative concerning Christ's atoning sacrifice plays a less overt role in Barclay's theology of redemption.

It could however be argued, that for Barclay, the 'day of visitation'[211] when a person decides whether or not to respond to God, is equivalent to a justification 'event' if the individual concerned had fully embraced Barclay's idea that Christ's atonement had provided for 'a capacity of salvation'[212] and linked this to the scriptural narrative. Whilst I concede this might be possible, nonetheless, because it runs counter to the whole tenor of early Quaker emphasis upon immediate and inward revelation,[213] I maintain that the Scriptures would still have a more secondary role.

Secondly, Gurney's focus on the atonement is closely linked to the importance and significance he attaches to the belief in the two natures of Jesus Christ. For example, drawing upon 2 Corinthians 5:19, he makes clear that it was only through His human nature that Christ was able to atone for the world's sin and that it was only by His divine nature that salvation was made possible.[214] In contrast, this emphasis on the two natures of the person of Jesus Christ is less evident in Barclay's theology.

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[211] Barclay, *Apology*, 146.
[212] Barclay, *Apology*, 194.
[213] Barclay, *Apology*, 3-4.
[214] Gurney, *Hints*, 53.

Thirdly, although Gurney affirms the agency of all three persons within the Godhead in the working out of humanity's redemption, he nonetheless sees the role of Christ as being central to this. As a consequence his soteriological focus is on Jesus Christ.[215] For Gurney, the salvific work of Jesus upon the cross connects with the personal response an individual makes when they fully commit themselves *to Him* and become justified before God. Consequently, the atonement, an individual's response to Christ as their personal Saviour *and* their justification are all linked in and through Christ. This is made clear in Gurney's comment that 'Jesus Christ is HIMSELF the Saviour, and therefore HIMSELF the object of saving faith'.[216] In contrast, for Barclay because the atonement is posited as the 'remote procuring cause',[217] an individual's connection with the atonement event and their spiritual relationship with *the person* of Jesus Christ is lessened and instead a greater emphasis is given to the language of 'light' to describe their inward spiritual experience.[218]

4.8 Common roots with early Quakerism

4.8.1 Introduction

In sections 4.6 and 4.7, I have argued that particular differences in redemption theology existed between Gurney and Barclay. However, it is important that these differences are contextualized and in this section I argue that when Gurney's views

[215] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 466-67.
[216] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 465.
[217] Barclay, *Apology*, 196.
[218] Barclay, *Apology*, 6-8.

on redemption are evaluated in the round they can be seen to a degree, to be more closely associated with early Quaker beliefs than some studies have suggested.[219]

4.8.2 Justification

In the *Apology*, Barclay sees Protestant doctrine in narrow terms as advocating that Christians 'are justified merely by believing that *Christ died for them*'.[220] This is a possible oversimplification of the Protestant view of justification as it ignores an implicit expectation that an outcome of such belief should be a living faith.[221] There is therefore the prospect that Gurney's work might have been viewed in a similar way by others and consequently the nuance of his theological position not appreciated. An example of this can be found in an early twentieth century publication by Grubb in which he suggests that Gurney's 'saving faith, … was an *assent to propositions* given on Divine authority'.[222] However, Gurney does make clear that 'a mere intellectual belief in Jesus as our Saviour' is not enough as there needs to be a genuine dependency and commitment to Him[223] and one which is

[219] As an example, Thomas Hamm and Isaac May have claimed that Gurney considered 'Justification was a state of being acceptable to God, or saved; sanctification was holiness.' and that he also believed justification came before sanctification; see Thomas D. Hamm and Isaac Barnes May, "Conflict and Transformation, 1808-1920," in *The Cambridge Companion to Quakerism*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 35. On the basis of these statements, this would mean that Gurney equated justification to salvation, and as justification comes before sanctification this would therefore mean that for Gurney, salvation came before sanctification. However, Gurney considers *both* justification and sanctification are needed for salvation; see Gurney, *Essays*, 444.

[220] Barclay, *Apology*, 190.

[221] For example, McGrath has argued that for the Protestant reformers, '"*trust*"' and '*Faith* [which] *unites the believer with Christ*' were also key elements of their understanding about being justified solely by faith. See McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 339- all quotations. D. A. Carson has also argued that 'all evangelical theology insists that salvation is more than justification, that "faith alone" is never alone- that is, it is accompanied by other things'; see D. A Carson, "Reflections on Salvation and Justification in the New Testament," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 40, no. 4 (1997): 587. https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/reflections-on-salvation-justification-new/docview/211235185/se-2.

[222] Grubb, *The Historic and the Inward Christ: A Study in Quaker Thought*, 68. In fairness to Grubb, he does also include as part of a footnote in the aforementioned reference, a quotation from Gurney's *Observations* which counters Grubb's own view.

[223] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 69.

rooted in an authentic spirituality.[224] Alongside this, Gurney's understanding of justification is such that a justified person still needs to be obedient to God.[225] Furthermore, with another aspect of justification, namely the different terms and stages which are used to define it, I argue there is some evidence to suggest that Gurney and early Quakerism had areas in common which have not been identified in other research studies. Four examples are used to illustrate this.

First, that Gurney's view of justification was closer to that of the Quaker Richard Claridge than to Barclay. In his *Letter to Adrian Monthly Meeting*, Gurney argues 'that some of our early Friends were accustomed to apply the term "justification," in a two-fold point of view' and that it was seen as a result of the sins of a repentant person being forgiven through Christ's atonement *and* the spiritual transformation that takes place within a believer as they are sanctified. As evidence that justification was seen in these two ways by some of the early Quakers, Gurney cites an extract from Claridge.[226] In the extract, Claridge argues that *both* the atonement *and* the inward cleansing from sin are needed to constitute a '"complete and absolute justification"'.[227] With regards to the *first* part of justification, Claridge states (as recorded by Gurney) that:

[224] Gurney, *Essays*, 450.
[225] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 39.
[226] Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*, 6-7. See also sub-section 6.3.3. Gurney uses this extract from Claridge (or part of it) in other works as well; see Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 28., and Gurney, *Declaration*, 15.
[227] Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*, 6. This twofold understanding of justification by Claridge can be found in Richard Claridge and Joseph Besse, *The Life and Posthumous Works of Richard Claridge; Being Memoirs and Manuscripts Relating to His Experiences and Progress in Religion, His Changes in Opinion and Reasons for Them. Collected by Joseph Besse, and First Published in 1726*, 3rd ed. (London: Darton and Harvey, 1836), 71. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nnc1.50179305. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *The Life and Posthumous Works of Richard Claridge*.

> "By the propitiatory sacrifice of Christ, without us, we, truly repenting and believing, are, through the mercy of God, justified from the imputation of sins and transgressions that are past, as though they had never been committed:"[228]

I would argue that on the basis of this particular extract, Claridge's wording aligns well with Gurney's understanding of justification. The difference is of course that whereas Claridge's words essentially match Gurney's definition of justification *per se*, for Claridge this wording constitutes *one part* of his understanding of justification. Nonetheless, given the common ground between Gurney and Claridge on this aspect of the redemption process, if the second part of this process whether this be called sanctification (by Gurney) or justification (by Claridge) is based on the same inward spiritual transformation (even if different language might be used to describe it) are they not essentially the same? And if they are, the case can then be made that Gurney's views, although different terms have been used, are very similar to those of Claridge.[229] In fact this same basic argument which has been made can be found in a work, *Calumny Refuted*, which had been produced in support of Gurney as a response to Wilburite criticisms and which contended that Gurney's 'use of the terms *Justification* and *Sanctification*' equated to the first and second parts of Barclay's characterisation of justification, respectively. The difference it was argued was therefore terminological and not doctrinal.[230]

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[228] Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*, 6-7.
[229] Although Barclay also identifies the importance of Christ's atonement in relation to justification, I argue that this is a more *passive affirmation*; see Barclay, *Apology*, 194-96.
[230] Abigail Barker, *Calumny Refuted; or a Glance at John Wilbur's Book. With New Preparatory Remarks. (Comments on Mutilated Extracts from the Writings of Joseph John Gurney, Contrasted with Selections from the Writings of Fox, Barclay, Penn, and Others; by the Late Abigail Barker, and Other Friends in America)*, 2nd ed. (London: Charles Gilpin, 1846), xii. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100025535783.0x000001. See also sub-section 6.4.3. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the work is *Calumny Refuted*.

The hypothesis that has been presented concerning Claridge can be tested on several fronts. It is important first of all to establish whether the full extract used by Gurney has been accurately transcribed. Although there are some differences between what Gurney cited and the original text, they are essentially the same.[231] However, it should be noted that the extract is part of what would appear to be a *reported* account of conversations held on two occasions in 1698-1699, between Claridge and 'An *Antinomian- Baptist* Preacher'.[232] Consequently, it is based on the assumption that the reporting of Claridge's comments is accurate.

My argument also assumes that Gurney's understanding of sanctification is the same as Claridge's beliefs concerning the second part of justification. This is harder to assess, not least of all because of the subjectivity of religious experience, but I suggest that there is no evidence to indicate that they were substantially different.[233] This last point could be countered by Hamm's contention that Gurney had moved away from early Quakerism by not only equating the 'Inner Light' as essentially being the Holy Spirit's presence within a person but that he also 'saw no "Seed of Christ" in all'[234] which Hamm considers meant that salvation was no longer

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[231] The *main* difference in wording lies in the *part* of the extract which Gurney cites as '"by the mighty work of Christ within us, the power, habits, and nature, of sin are destroyed; that as sin once reigned unto death, even so now grace reigneth, unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord"'; see Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*, 7. This compares with 'by the mighty work of Christ within us, the power, nature, and habits of sin are destroyed, that "as sin once reigned unto death, even so now grace reigneth through righteousness unto eternal life, by Jesus Christ our Lord."' See Claridge and Besse, *The Life and Posthumous Works of Richard Claridge*, 71. There also some minor differences between the two passages in terms of formatting and punctuation.

[232] Claridge and Besse, *The Life and Posthumous Works of Richard Claridge*, 67.

[233] For example, in timescales for the sanctification process.

[234] Thomas D. Hamm, "The Problem of the Inner Light in Nineteenth-Century Quakerism," in *The Lamb's War: Quaker Essays to Honor Hugh Barbour*, ed. Michael L. Birkel and John W. Newman (Printed in the United States of America: Earlham College Press, 1992), 111. It should be noted that Dandelion has argued that the early Quakers did not use the term ''Inner Light'' and that the phrase only started to be used about two hundred years or more much later. He also comments that it is seen by some as not being directly equivalent to what is understood by "the Light Within"; see Pink Dandelion and Stephen W. Angell, "Introduction," in *The Oxford Handbook of Quaker Studies*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 7-8. Gwyn has

being centred on a response of the individual to the Light but one which was instead based on 'faith'.[235] However, as has been previously argued,[236] 'faith' for Gurney is not simply a case of assenting to a set of doctrines but also about it being as he has described 'a living and active principle, implanted by a divine hand in the soul' which enables the believer to place their total trust in Christ.[237]

Elsewhere in the reported account of Claridge's discussion about justification (not cited by Gurney), there is evidence that he does more closely follow Barclay in the articulation of his views. For example, Claridge uses the same phrase as Barclay, namely the 'remote procuring cause'[238] to describe how the atonement is linked to justification,[239] that 'he placed the main stress' on the second part of justification[240] and that sanctification came before justification.[241] The latter point has been particularly highlighted by Hodgson as evidence that Gurney's views were at variance with Claridge and early Quaker beliefs.[242] Whilst Hodgson is right to point out the discrepancy on this issue between Gurney and Claridge, at the same time, there are other comments from Claridge which would align more with Gurney. For example, Claridge does not appear to reject the imputation of Christ's righteousness in principle. Instead for him, the issue lies in an individual claiming this when they have not experienced this inwardly.[243]

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commented how Fox's use of 'the seed metaphor expressed a new sense of divine power'; see Gwyn, *Seekers Found: Atonement in Early Quaker Experience*, 220. The term can potentially have a variety of meaning. For example; see Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666*, 82-83. and Pyper Pyper, "Robert Barclay: The Art of Apologetics," 214-15.

[235] Hamm, "The Problem of the Inner Light in Nineteenth-Century Quakerism," 111.

[236] See sub-section 4.4.4 for further details.

[237] Gurney, *Essays*, 491.

[238] Claridge and Besse, *The Life and Posthumous Works of Richard Claridge*, 70.

[239] Claridge and Besse, *The Life and Posthumous Works of Richard Claridge*, 70.

[240] Claridge and Besse, *The Life and Posthumous Works of Richard Claridge*, 70.

[241] Claridge and Besse, *The Life and Posthumous Works of Richard Claridge*, 72-73.

[242] Hodgson, *An Examination of the Memoirs and Writings of J. J. Gurney*, 55, 57 and 131.

[243] Claridge and Besse, *The Life and Posthumous Works of Richard Claridge*, 72.

Collectively, all of the different comments made by Claridge indicate the complexity of this issue and the challenge to put into words intricate theological concepts. Whilst there are differences between Gurney and Claridge on some points, I would nonetheless argue that there is sufficient evidence overall to indicate that some of Gurney's redemption theology can be aligned to elements of early Quaker views as reflected by Claridge. Nor I believe, should the importance of the Claridge extract be underestimated. Gurney also uses it in both in his *Declaration*[244] and in his response to Wardlaw's critique of Quaker beliefs concerning justification.[245]

The second example of Gurney's beliefs about justification being closer to those of early Friends can be found in *Friendly Letters*. In this work, Gurney includes an extract from one of Penn's works in which Penn argues (as cited by Gurney) that justification can be seen in two ways; '"in the proper and natural sense, it plainly implies, *making* men *just* that were *unjust*"' but it can also represent '"a law sense"' in relation to Christ's atonement.[246] Of these two ways of defining justification, Gurney's states his view that it should be seen as a legal construct. Because Penn admits to the possibility that justification can be seen in this light, Gurney's claim that he is aligned to early Quaker views on this subject has some legitimacy.[247] However, in Penn's work (but not cited by Gurney) he *also* makes clear that whilst Quakers affirm

[244] Gurney, *Declaration*, 15.
[245] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 28.
[246] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 28- both quotations. The extract used by Gurney is from Penn's work; William Penn, *A Key, Opening the Way to Every Capacity; How to Distinguish the Religion Professed by the People Called Quakers, from the Perversions and Misrepresentations of Their Adversaries. With a Brief Exhortation to All Sorts of People to Examine Their Ways and Their Hearts, and Turn Speedily to the Lord* (Philadelphia: For sale at Friend's Book Store, 1849). https://hdl.handle.net/2027/pst.000008011619. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *A Key*.
[247] At the same time, in assuming a legal context to justification, Gurney also comments that this is how most Christian churches have interpreted its meaning; see Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 30.

the meaning behind the 'law-sense'[248] of justification as in Romans 5:9 and 1 John 1:2 he qualifies this by commenting that sanctification is also necessary for someone to be fully justified.[249] Whilst Gurney and Penn therefore only partially share common ground in their understanding of the term *justification* they nonetheless both hold similar positions as to what is necessary for redemption.[250] It is also noteworthy that Gurney suggests that Barclay, Claridge and Penn were all trying in their different ways to tackle what they saw as the key issue, namely Christians believing that justification by faith alone was solely sufficient without any need for personal and spiritual reform.[251]

The third example can be found in Gurney's work *Puseyism*, where his preparedness to engage with the idea of justification being in two parts is apparent. The context of this publication is discussed in the next sub-section but in it Gurney argues 'that as sinners we are justified (i.e. we receive the pardon of our sins) by faith in Christ without the deeds of the law; and that as believers, we are justified by good works' the latter seen by him as proof of a believer's religious commitment in following God. He has therefore linked both 'faith' and 'obedience' within a broader definition of justification but also stresses that *both* are necessary with the former coming first.[252]

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[248] Penn, *A Key*, 17.
[249] Penn, *A Key*, 17-19.
[250] For Gurney, this is justification (as defined by him) and sanctification. For Penn, it is justification which has come about through belief in Christ's atonement *and* sanctification.
[251] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 29. Daniel Migliore makes the important point that differences in emphasis between the theologies of Luther and John Wesley concerning justifcation and sanctification also have to be seen in the context of their day; see Migliore, *Faith Seeking Understanding: An Introduction to Christian Theology*, 240.
[252] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 97. Nonetheless, the idea of merit from good works and supererogatory acts are rejected; see Gurney, *Puseyism*, 97-98.

The final example concerns Gurney's use of material from outside of LYM to support this view. In his *Declaration*, he includes an extract from the declaratory statement made in 1828 by PYM (Orthodox) which also implicitly conveys the idea of two stages of justification by commenting that it is Christ's atonement, '*upon faith and repentance*, that justifies' people from their previous transgressions and that an inward purification is also needed in order to become 'acceptable before God'.[253]

Nonetheless, the complexity of the issues under discussion are such that, not only are there potential differences of opinion *between* individuals, there are also potential differences in how others interpret *an* individual's views. For example, whilst Gurney had cited a work by Penn in support of his view, the Quaker Richard Ball, a contemporary of Gurney and also an advocate of justification by faith, had cited other works by Penn in which he claimed Penn did not support this doctrine.[254]

4.8.3 Sanctification

In Gurney's writings, he consistently makes clear that a very close relationship exists between justification and sanctification. Although, unlike in early Quakerism, he distinguishes between them and places justification before sanctification,[255] they are seen as being interlinked and both necessary for redemption.[256] Spencer's

[253] Gurney, *Declaration*, 17. The original source of the quotation can be found at Society of Friends, *A Declaration of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in Philadelphia, Respecting the Proceedings of Those Who Have Lately Separated from the Society: And Also, Showing the Contrast between Their Doctrines and Those Held by Friends* (New York: Printed by Samuel Wood and Sons, 1828), 26, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwjn5w. The PYM (Orthodox) Declaration comments how the Spirit of Christ 'completes the work of sanctification and justification' and also seems to affirm belief in the imputed righteousness of Christ; see Society of Friends, *A Declaration of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in Philadelphia, Respecting the Proceedings of Those Who Have Lately Separated from the Society: And Also, Showing the Contrast between Their Doctrines and Those Held by Friends*, 27 and 26-27 respectively.
[254] Ball, *Holy Scripture the Test of Truth: An Appeal to Its Paramount Authority against Certain Passages in Dr. Hancock's "Defence" and in the Writings of Barclay and Penn*, 49-50.
[255] Gurney, *Essays*, 489.
[256] For example; see Gurney, *Letter to a Friend*, 66.

contention that sanctification was not a principal subject highlighted by Gurney[257] does not reflect the strong emphasis he placed on its importance; for example, commenting in *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline* that both justification and sanctification are 'equal to each other in magnitude and importance'.[258] What is evident therefore, is that Gurney is not advocating that justification (as an event) in itself is sufficient for redemption but that sanctification is also necessary.[259] This has been noted by others, for example Tousley, but she also comments that Gurney's critics argued that he gave greater emphasis to 'justification without holiness'.[260] I contend that the latter is an oversimplification of Gurney's position and that whilst there are differences in his views compared to Barclay, a point of commonality exists in that both redemption theologies converge through sanctification towards the same outcome, namely redemption.

A counter point to this argument could be made that although sanctification is a common thread in the beliefs of both Barclay and Gurney, the nature of this sanctification is different. For example, Spencer has argued that unlike the early Quakers and Methodists, Gurney's theology did not incorporate the possibility of attaining complete sanctification or Christian perfection in this life, and that instead his focus was purely salvific.[261] Gurney's views concerning perfection are examined more fully in chapter 5, but I would concur with Spencer, that in his publications, he did not unambiguously advocate that a state of perfection could be achieved in this

[257] Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 142.
[258] Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 125.
[259] Gurney, *Sermons and Prayers, Delivered by Joseph John Gurney, in the Friends' Meeting House, Liverpool, 1832. Second Edition, with Additions*, 18-19.
[260] Tousley, "Sin, Convincement, Purity, and Perfection," 182.
[261] Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 141-42.

life in the same way as the early Quakers did. However, salvation was a key element of belief not just for Gurney but for early Friends too. This is evidenced for example, in the *Apology*, where the Light Within is closely linked with salvation.[262] Whether early Quakers assumed that salvation was *only* possible if a state of perfection had been reached, is I suggest, open to some debate.[263] Consequently, I maintain that there was a significant overlap between Gurney's beliefs and early Quakerism concerning the importance of sanctification.

Beyond Quakerism, the doctrine of justification had also become a publicly debated issue within the Church of England during the nineteenth century when John Henry Newman gave a series of lectures on the subject in 1837. Although McGrath is highly critical of Newman's methodology, he argues that Newman attempted to steer a middle course between the Protestant and Catholic traditions by advocating that 'Justification is … *notionally distinct* from sanctification, although inseparable from it'[264] and that it involved 'both imputed and imparted righteousness'.[265]

Although Gurney does not openly engage with Newman's theology about justification in his publications, there is I suggest an intriguing possibility that he tried to further refine his own redemption theology in his later work *Puseyism*; the title of which links to the Anglican, Edward Pusey, who like Newman, was part of the 'Oxford Movement'.[266] Gurney makes the point that sanctification could in principle be seen

[262] Barclay, *Apology*, 104.
[263] Given for example, that Barclay admits that from a state of perfection there still remains a chance of sins being committed at some point in the future; see Barclay, *Apology*, 230; Barclay, *Apology*, 230.
[264] McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, 364.
[265] McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, 365. Newman was a member of the high church 'Oxford Movement' and he subsequently joined the Roman Catholic Church; see Shao Kai Tseng, "Church," in *The Oxford Handbook of Nineteenth-Century Christian Thought*, ed. Joel D. S. Rasmussen, Judith Wolfe, and Johannes Zachhuber (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 619.
[266] Tseng, "Church," 620.

in two possible ways. First, as something that takes place simultaneously with justification and which reflects a change within a person which occurs at the very beginning of their new found relationship with God.[267] And secondly, as a gradual spiritual change that takes place within an individual as they grow and mature in their Christian life.[268] Gurney's comments on this occasion indicate to a degree, a blurring of the boundary between justification and sanctification.[269] This also chimes with a similar view expressed by Claridge in his *Tractatus* work, in which he comments that justifying in relation to the forgiveness of sins 'God doth never pardon any their former Transgressions, without some true Work of Sanctification begun in the soul; yet that pardon is not Sanctification'.[270]

4.8.4 Justification and Sanctification: Gurney's nuanced position

The overarching argument which has been made in this chapter section is that whilst Gurney's beliefs concerning justification and sanctification are distinctive from those of early Friends, a close examination of his writings indicates that there is also evidence to suggest a degree of common ground.

Hamm has argued that 'few historians' have identified, what in his view is the central issue concerning differences between Gurney's beliefs and those of early Quakerism, namely 'the relationship between justification and sanctification'. For Hamm, Gurney's separation of justification from sanctification represented a marked

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[267] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 101.
[268] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 102.
[269] The delineation of justification and sanctification was therefore potentially a 'dynamic' within Gurney's theology, in the sense that he was prepared to give some allowance in the way he articulated the relationship between the two. Gurney was not the first to do this. For example, Michael McClymond and Gerald McDermott argue in their study of the eighteenth century theologian, Jonathan Edwards, that Edwards also held nuanced views on this subject; see Michael J. McClymond and Gerald R. McDermott, *The Theology of Jonathan Edwards* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 400.
[270] Claridge, *Tractatus Hierographicus*, 192.

departure from the traditional Quaker belief in their inseparability.[271] He also comments that Wilburites considered 'Gurney was attempting an easy way to heaven, one that bypassed the discipline of bearing the cross'.[272] This perspective that Gurney's redemptive theology is set apart from the beliefs of early Friends, whether perceived in a negative[273] or positive[274] light, has been a recurring theme over many years. However, I argue that although Gurney's nuanced theological position on this subject has sometimes been acknowledged,[275] in other cases there has been an oversimplification of his views as the examples below illustrate.

Spencer has stated that 'Salvation for Gurney meant imputed righteousness',[276] however, I argue that Gurney did not consider the imputation of righteousness to be salvation but rather a theological explanation as to the way in which justification may come about[277] and that this *with* sanctification was necessary for salvation.[278] Similarly, Hamm's view that Gurney equated justification with 'salvation, a state of acceptability to God'[279] runs counter to Gurney's clear belief that both justification and sanctification are necessary for redemption,[280] and therefore salvation.[281] Hamm also argues that Gurney considered that belief in the effectiveness of Christ's atonement was sufficient for someone to be saved.[282] Again,

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[271] Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, 21.
[272] Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, 30.
[273] For example; see Hodgson, *An Examination of the Memoirs and Writings of J. J. Gurney*, 56-57.
[274] Wardlaw, *Friendly Letters to the Society of Friends, on Some of Their Distinguishing Principles*, 208.
[275] For example; see Bright, "Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847), a Study in Evangelical Quaker Biography," 142. and Tousley, "Sin, Convincement, Purity, and Perfection," 182.
[276] Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 141.
[277] See sub-sections 4.4.2, 4.6.1 and 4.6.2.
[278] See sub-section 4.5.2.
[279] Hamm, "Hicksite, Orthodox, and Evangelical Quakerism, 1805-1887," 70.
[280] See sub-section 4.5.2.
[281] For example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 444.
[282] Hamm, ""New Light on Old Ways": Gurneyites, Wilburites, and the Early Friends," 56.

I would contend that the importance Gurney attached to the atonement was associated with justification *and* sanctification and that he saw both being necessary for redemption.[283] Grubb's critique that whilst Gurney affirmed the importance of sanctification he did not consider it 'a necessary part or aspect of salvation'[284] can also be challenged in that it significantly underplays the importance which Gurney did attach to sanctification as being an integral and vital part of an individual's spiritual growth and redemption.[285]

4.9 Chapter summary

In this chapter, a detailed study of Gurney's redemption theology has been presented with particular regard to justification, sanctification and the atonement. This has also been set within a wider context both of early Quaker beliefs, particularly those of Barclay, and the views held by some of Gurney's contemporaries.

Regeneration, justification and sanctification constitute the main elements of Gurney's redemption theology in association with Christ's atonement. Justification and sanctification are distinguished from each other but they are not seen in isolation as both are considered necessary for salvation. Gurney's theology is multi-faceted and nuanced. Justification by faith is not just about a cognitive acceptance of Christ's atonement but also a heart-felt affirmation coming from an individual's repentance of their sins and a desire to follow Christ, all of which is only possible under God's grace and direction. Sanctification is a gradual and life-long process, a desire to be closer to God in Christ and to be obedient to the divine call. And the atonement lies at the

[283] See sub-section 4.5.2.
[284] Grubb, "The Work and Influence of Joseph John Gurney," 305.
[285] For example; see Gurney, *Sermons and Prayers, Delivered by Joseph John Gurney, in the Friends' Meeting House, Liverpool, 1832. Second Edition, with Additions*, 18-19. See also sections 4.5 and 5.3.

heart of Gurney's redemption theology; an outpouring of God's love, perfectly adapted to bring about reconciliation between God and humanity, universal in its beneficence and effectual across time.[286]

The overarching argument made in this chapter, is that Gurney's beliefs collectively translate into a realignment of aspects of Quaker theology as shown by some significant differences between him and Barclay regarding the nature of redemption. However, there is also evidence that some of Gurney's views do coincide with early Quaker beliefs and that this has not always been fully recognised in previous scholarship. As a result Gurney's beliefs are evaluated as being a re-alignment of redemption theology *within* Quakerism rather than a departure from it. The principal arguments which have been made are summarised below.

1. Gurney defines justification differently to Barclay. An outcome of this is that sanctification is considered by Gurney to be a process which is both separate to justification albeit closely connected, and one which follows after the believer is justified. His affirmation of the imputed righteousness of Christ as part of justification is a concept that had been rejected by Barclay.[287]

2. Christ's atonement forms a more central part of Gurney's redemption theology in comparison with early Quakerism and is placed within a more Trinitarian based framework. Differences also exist in the exegesis of certain scriptural texts between Gurney and Barclay which have been used to support their particular standpoints.[288]

[286] See sections 4.4 to 4.6 for further details.
[287] See sub-sections 4.6.2 to 4.6.4 for further details.
[288] See sub-section 4.7.2 for further details.

3. In spite of theological differences, evidence also exists of a closer association between Gurney's understanding of justification and the views of early Friends, such as those of Claridge. Additionally, Barclay's rejection of '*justification by faith alone*'[289] on the grounds that it is based purely on a cerebral acceptance of Christ's atonement rather than an actual spiritual change within the person, is challenged. Similarly, the importance that Gurney attaches to both justification *and* sanctification negates the idea that he saw redemption being based solely on an event where a person is declared justified rather than a starting point to a subsequent process of an inward experience of sanctifying grace.[290]

As a consequence of these arguments, it is proposed that Gurney's redemption theology represents a re-alignment within Quakerism; a move towards greater Christian orthodoxy, a re-defining of justification, a preparedness to challenge aspects of Barclay's theology and Quaker tradition, and a willingness to identify with other early Quakers instead. The current academic perspective that Gurney was diametrically opposed to early Friends' views concerning redemption has also been replaced by a more nuanced picture which more accurately reflects the distinctive Quaker expression of Gurney's beliefs.

[289] Barclay, *Apology*, 190.
[290] See section 4.8 for further details.

CHAPTER 5: CHRISTIAN QUAKER DISCIPLESHIP

5.1 Chapter introduction

Rufus Jones' assertion that Gurney 'terminated on theology rather than on experience'[1] fails to acknowledge the deep sense of spirituality which can be found in his writings and addresses. Gurney's emphasis on theological issues is not seen by him as an abstract exercise but rather a way that can inform and enhance a person's faith. In the *Essays* for example, he comments that '*mere notions*' do not in themselves provide a sufficient basis for the religious life and that the Christian faith is intended for '*practical* ends'.[2] The focus on Christological doctrine in Gurney's writings and addresses is therefore not disconnected from the importance he also conveys to his audience of linking theology to the outworking of an individual's faith.[3]

'Discipleship', as an outcome of Gurney's Christology and as a follower of Jesus Christ, is used in this chapter as an overarching theme to explore particular aspects of his faith in relation to spiritual growth and practice. This is evaluated within a Christian context with especial regard to Quaker tradition. After this introduction, three main elements of discipleship are discussed.

First, Gurney's emphasis that Christians should seek to imitate the moral attributes of Jesus and to follow His perfect example, is examined with regards to his work, *Moral Character*.[4] It will be argued that Gurney's development of a particular

[1] Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1*, 500.
[2] Gurney, *Essays*, vii.
[3] For example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 541-43.
[4] Gurney, "Moral Character," 117-34.

form of moral and virtue based Christocentric theology is a distinctive contribution to Quakerism (5.2).

Secondly, the idea of discipleship in the context of *growing in holiness* (5.3) will be evaluated. Several different perspectives will be used which are primarily based on Gurney's *Habitual Exercise*,[5] a publication that has received minimal attention in other academic studies. It will be argued that Gurney's beliefs concerning sanctification, holiness and the role of the Holy Spirit play a vital role in his theology (5.4); that his 'acts of the soul'[6] (*ACTS*) set within a Trinitarian context represent a distinctive approach to understanding the nature of spiritual growth (5.5); that he places an important emphasis on preparation for heaven (5.6) and his view of Christian perfection as best discerned from his published works, is that it represents a standard which should always be striven for although not reached in this life (5.7).

Thirdly, Gurney's *Observations*[7] publication is used to evaluate his beliefs and practice with particular regards to two Quaker testimonies; the refusal to use oaths and the rejection of warfare. It will be argued that his views align well with those of early Friends and that a similar theology is used in support of these testimonies although there are some differences in emphasis. Gurney's perspectives about the Quaker testimonies in general, are also used to argue that they represent a specific and differentiating expression of Christian Quaker discipleship and witness to the wider world (5.8). The chapter concludes with a summary (5.9).

[5] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*.
[6] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 186.
[7] Gurney, *Observations*.

5.2 Christian Discipleship and the Imitation of Christ

5.2.1 Introduction

Whilst Gurney places great emphasis on the divine nature of Jesus Christ this is not at the expense of underplaying His human nature.[8] In one of his early works, *Moral Character*,[9] he describes Jesus as the 'perfect man'[10] who never sinned and was inherently without sin.[11] The latter point is significant in that it infers Gurney's understanding of Christ's human nature being impeccable and contrasts with less orthodox Christological views on this subject.[12] Linking with John 3:34, he also comments that Jesus had God's Spirit '*without measure*'.[13] Consequently for Gurney, moral and spiritual qualities reach their ultimate fulfilment and perfection in Jesus. In this sub-section, Gurney's emphasis on Christ being 'a model' whom believers should follow is examined[14] in the context of his use of a moral or virtue based theology to inform his understanding of Christian discipleship. It will be argued that this approach added a new dimension to Quaker spirituality.

5.2.2 The role of moral or virtue based theology

In *Moral Character*, Gurney draws upon several scriptural texts to provide a series of brief comments in which he uses the biblical narrative of Jesus' life to

[8] For example; see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 67.
[9] Gurney, "Moral Character," 117-34. The work was first published in 1832; see Appendix (A) for further details.
[10] Gurney, "Moral Character," 119.
[11] Gurney, "Moral Character," 119-20.
[12] In *Chalmeriana*, Gurney raises his concerns about the possibility of Edward Irving believing in 'the *peccability* of the Holy One of Israel'; see Joseph John Gurney, *Chalmeriana; or, Colloquies with Dr. Chalmers, Author of "Evidences of Christianity," and "Astronomical Sermons."* (London: Richard Bentley; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd; Dublin: Hodges & Smith, 1853), 82, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hn3hhb. Crisp argues that the orthodox Christian position (which he also supports) has been to affirm Christ's impeccability albeit this has been a subject of much modern day theological discussion; see Crisp, *God Incarnate: Explorations in Christology*, 122-36.
[13] Gurney, "Moral Character," 127.
[14] Gurney, "Moral Character," 131.

highlight a wide range of moral attributes. This approach gives a good illustration of how the Scriptures are implicitly interwoven into the practical application of Gurney's theology which can then be adopted as part of Christian discipleship. For example, he identifies Christ's '*fortitude*' prior to His arrest and crucifixion,[15] the '*benevolence*' reflected in His sorrows for Jerusalem, and the '*beneficence*' shown in all the good works and healings that He did during His ministry on Earth.[16] In this way, Gurney is therefore able to build up a composite picture of what human moral perfection looks like, by highlighting Jesus'

> matchless and most astonishing combination of purity, integrity, fidelity, courage, zeal, prudence, fortitude, liberality, temperance, disinterestedness, heavenly mindedness, gentleness, meekness, humility, patience and charity[17]

However, using the Scriptures in this way to identify particular moral characteristics is not without its difficulties. Two key points illustrate this. First, there is the issue of *which* biblical texts should be used, and then *how* they are to be interpreted in order to identify particular moral features. The way such a process is carried out will clearly have an impact upon the outcome. For example, Gurney cites Matthew 4:9-10 to highlight Christ's 'perfect *disinterestedness*'[18] in wealth and power as shown in His rejection of Satan's temptations. But other descriptors could also have been used such as *incorruptibility* or 'forbearance'.[19] Secondly, a question arises as to whether the moral characteristics which believers[20] are attempting to

[15] Gurney, "Moral Character," 121.
[16] Gurney, "Moral Character," 124.
[17] Gurney, "Moral Character," 127. It should be noted that Gurney also identified several other features, such as '*self-renunciation*' and '*long-suffering*', which are not included in this quotation; see Gurney, "Moral Character," 124-25.
[18] Gurney, "Moral Character," 123.
[19] 'Forbearance' is used by Gurney in a different context; see Gurney, "Moral Character," 132.
[20] 'Believer', in the context of this chapter, is used as a generic term (unless otherwise stated) to describe someone who considers themselves committed to Christ and the Christian faith.

copy, constitute a fixed grouping of values or are more open ended. In Gurney's case, the latter applies as there are occasions in other works where he uses different examples rather than always keeping to the same set of moral characteristics.[21] There is also a fluidity in his language when he sometimes describes them as a 'moral quality',[22] 'virtue'[23] or '"fruit of the Spirit"'.[24] Alongside this, as reported in one of his sermons, Gurney saw the reliance of the early Friends upon 'immediate revelation' as leading to a 'noble integrity' which he wishes Quakers of his day to aspire to as well.[25] Bringing together these various points, I suggest that what Gurney is seeking to establish is the *general principle* rather than any doctrinal formulation, that the Scriptures reveal Jesus' perfect human nature, and that this can help guide believers in their spiritual growth and actions.

5.2.3 Moral or virtue based theology in its wider religious context

The advocacy of a moral or virtue based theology by Gurney represents, I argue, an important contribution to Quaker theology and one which engages with the Jesus of the Scriptures, in a way which early Quakerism did not. Whereas early Friends drew upon the teachings of Christ as recorded in the Bible; for example, in their refusal to swear oaths or engage in warfare;[26] I suggest that less emphasis was placed on the actual moral attributes of the person of Jesus Christ, Himself. For example, in Fox's early work, *A Catechisme for Children*, the emphasis is on Christ

[21] For example, in *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, '*economy*' is cited as a virtue; see Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 98. This is not a virtue which is included in *Moral Character*. In *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, Gurney also includes '*good manners*' as an example of 'good moral habits'; see Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 91.
[22] Gurney, "Moral Character," 119.
[23] Gurney, "Moral Character," 121.
[24] Gurney, "Moral Character," 127.
[25] Joseph John Gurney, *Sermon and Prayer, by Joseph John Gurney. Delivered at Arch Street Meeting, on the Evening of First-Day, 8th Month 27th, 1837. Taken in Short-Hand* (Philadelphia: Kay & Brother, 1837), 12- both quotations. Courtesy of Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania, USA.
[26] Barclay, *Apology*, 516 and 532.

the Light Within[27] and no teaching is given about the qualities of Jesus as a human person. Given that the contents of this work can be seen as an indicator of what was considered to be particularly important at the time to convey to the next generation of Quakers, the absence of focus on the *person* of Jesus Christ is significant.

Whilst some examples can be found from early Quakerism,[28] a systematic presentation of Christ's moral features set down as a pattern for believers to follow, does not appear to have been the focus of *early* Quaker theology. However, Jon Kershner has argued that there were strong parallels in the spiritual practice of the eighteenth century Quaker, John Woolman, and the much earlier 'devotional writing of Thomas à Kempis in his *The Christian Pattern*, *or the Imitation of Jesus Christ'*.[29] For example, Kershner highlights the importance which Woolman attached to his belief that 'God was continually revealing God's self to those who were "resigned," or surrendered, to God's will'.[30] In his work, *Habitual Exercise*, Gurney also saw submission to God as an important part of developing an individual's holiness albeit this was not specifically linked to the theme of imitating Christ.[31]

In his promotion of mirroring Christ's moral characteristics within the everyday practice of the Christian believer, it is important to state that Gurney is not proposing

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[27] George Fox, *A Catechisme for Children; That They May Come to Learn of Christ, the Light, the Truth, the Way, That Leads to Know the Father, the God of All Truth. / by G.F* (London: Printed for Giles Calvert, 1657), 2-5, https://www.proquest.com/books/catechisme-children-that-they-may-come-learn/docview/2240925834/se-2.

[28] For example, in a later work by Fox, he describes Peter's encouragement to Christians *'To add to their Faith Virtue', and to Virtue Knowledge, and to Knowledge Temperance, to Temperance Patience, and 'Brotherly-kindness';* see George Fox, *Concerning Christ the Spiritual and Holy Head over His Holy Church and His Church's Stedfastness, and Confidence, and Unity, and Oneness in Him / G.F* (s.l.1677), 20, https://www.proquest.com/books/concerning-christ-spiritual-holy-head-over-his/docview/2240942335/se-2. In the *Apology*, Barclay comments how Christ demonstrated 'patience, charity, [and] forbearance'; see Barclay, *Apology*, 530.

[29] Jon R. Kershner, "John Woolman's Christological Model of Discernment," in *Quakers and Mysticism*, ed. Jon. R. Kershner (Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 122.

[30] Kershner, "John Woolman's Christological Model of Discernment," 125.

[31] See sub-section 5.5.4 for further details.

a form of what McGrath has described as '"degree Christology"', whereby 'a difference of degree, but not of nature, between Christ and other human beings'[32] might exist. Such an idea would run counter to Gurney's belief in Christ's divine nature. In an article specifically about moral theology, McGrath also makes the point that it is important to identify the nature of the authority which is used to acknowledge Christ's moral attributes. He comments that for some Christians this is based on a human construct of moral values which is then used to validate Christ's moral perfection rather than, as McGrath argues, it is Christ Himself who is the authority and determines such attributes.[33] For Gurney, the starting point in his virtue theology begins with Christ. This is because he sees Christ's authority reflected in Him being part of the 'eternal Godhead' and it is *from* this foundation that Gurney presents the moral attributes that people should seek to practice.[34]

Writing from a Roman Catholic perspective, Romanus Cessario highlights the use of categorisation into 'theological virtues [which] include faith, hope, and charity; [and] the cardinal moral virtues, prudence, justice, fortitude, and temperance'.[35] He argues that the virtues should not be seen solely in a theoretical sense and that Thomas Aquinas considered them to be a springboard and a way forward for individuals to develop full happiness.[36] Although Gurney does not adopt the practice of defining and grouping the virtues to the same degree, he has nonetheless, used a

[32] McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 265.
[33] Alister E McGrath, "In What Way Can Jesus Be a Moral Example for Christians?," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 34, no. 3 (1991): 290-91. https://www.etsjets.org/files/JETS-PDFs/34/34-3/34-3-pp289-298_JETS.pdf.
[34] Gurney, "Moral Character," 119.
[35] Romanus Cessario, *Introduction to Moral Theology* (Washington D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2001), 128.
[36] Cessario, *Introduction to Moral Theology*, 128.

similar overall approach to establish a framework of moral theology to help support Christian discipleship.

E.J. Tinsley has argued that the Protestant tradition has been reluctant to engage with the concept of imitating Christ largely due to Luther's concerns that it hid 'an incipient doctrine of works'.[37] Whilst Gurney believes that a person is justified by faith alone, it is also the case that he considers redemption is only possible if they continue to develop spiritually as a result of being receptive to and changed by the sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit.[38] He sees this being evidenced, in part, by the carrying out of good works.[39] In this sense therefore, it could be argued that Gurney's advocacy of imitating Christ, raises the possibility that it represents a form of Christian practice that might lead to an over reliance upon human effort. However, Tinsley also argues that whilst Luther was opposed to the idea of *imitating* Christ because of the issue of minimising 'the work of the Spirit in grace',[40] he suggests that Luther *was* supportive of the concept of 'the Christian life as a process of conformation to Christ through the work of the Spirit'.[41] A similar type of approach is reflected in *Habitual Exercise*[42] which suggests that conformity and imitation are seen by Gurney to be equivalents. Consequently Gurney's use of the imitation of Christ as

[37] E. J. Tinsley, "Some Principles for Reconstructing a Doctrine of the Imitation of Christ," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 25, no. 1, 2009/02/02 (1972): 45, Cambridge University Press. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0036930600027654.
[38] For example; see Gurney, *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*, 125-26.
[39] For example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 510-11.
[40] Tinsley, "Some Principles for Reconstructing a Doctrine of the Imitation of Christ," 45.
[41] Tinsley, "Some Principles for Reconstructing a Doctrine of the Imitation of Christ," 45. Jimmy Agan has also challenged the idea that Protestantism is implicitly against the idea of imitating Christ, arguing that although John Calvin was concerned that it might be problematic, he was not opposed to it in principle; see Jimmy Agan, "Departing from-and Recovering-Tradition: John Calvin and the Imitation of Christ," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 56, no. 4 (2013): 805-12. https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/departing-recovering-tradition-john-calvin/docview/1495422953/se-2.
[42] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 141.

a model for Christian practice can be considered to complement rather than conflict with his belief in justification by faith.

It is also vital to acknowledge the level of spirituality which underpins Gurney's focus on moral attributes as part of Christian discipleship. In following Christ, he is clear that believers cannot do this without the help of God's Spirit. In *Habitual Exercise*, Gurney argues that people have an innate sense of what constitutes as goodness[43] and that this stems from 'the universal visitation of a divine influence' which has come about through Christ's redeeming work for humanity.[44] Whilst he hopes that individuals respond to this inward prompting,[45] Gurney also makes the point that 'the *same* law is unfolded in the Holy Scriptures',[46] and that they in turn have been gifted to humanity by the Holy Spirit.[47]

Bright has argued that Gurney's focus on Christ coming into the world enabled him to show 'historical and immediate revelation operating in unison' and that this informed his social activism.[48] Building on Bright's proposition, I argue that the development of Gurney's virtue based theology particularly demonstrates how he was able to connect the Scriptures and the work of the Spirit within the context of Christian discipleship. This is shown in his reliance upon the Holy Spirit both as a source of the Scriptures where the virtues of Jesus are recorded and also as being necessary for the inward spiritual change within a person as they seek a greater realisation of such virtues.[49]

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[43] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 112.
[44] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 113.
[45] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 113.
[46] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 113.
[47] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 76.
[48] Bright, "'Friends Have No Cause to Be Ashamed of Being by Others Thought Non-Evangelical': Unity and Diversity of Belief among Early Nineteenth-Century British Quakers," 346.
[49] In a wider context, I suggest this also links to Joseph Cunningham's idea of John Wesley having a 'virtue-oriented moral pneumatology'; see Joseph William Cunningham, "John Wesley's Moral

In association with the 'Ascetical' category of her model of holiness, Spencer has commented that the phrase '"Imitation of Christ"' was not one that had been adopted by Gurney.[50] However, this can be challenged. It is evident from works such as *Moral Character*[51] and *Habitual Exercise*[52] that Gurney considers that an important part of the life of the Christian, with the help of the Holy Spirit, is to model personal behaviour and practice in the way that Jesus had demonstrated. Gurney makes this expressly clear when he highlights to the reader the need to '*Imitate the example of the Lord Jesus Christ*'.[53]

5.3 Christian Discipleship and growing in Holiness: an introduction

Gurney's publication, *Habitual Exercise*, provides a particularly rich insight into his beliefs concerning the spiritual life of the believer. This is a key work, and although some reference has been made to it in scholarship,[54] I argue its significance has been undervalued and as a result an incomplete picture has emerged of Gurney's spirituality.

One of the themes which permeates the work relates to holiness which Gurney emphasises in two main ways. First, he highlights how Jesus mirrored God's holy nature,[55] and secondly, that a hallmark of the Christian life should be a genuine

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Pneumatology: The Fruits of the Spirit as Theological Virtues," *Studies in Christian Ethics* 24, no. 3 (2011): 292. https://doi.org/10.1177/0953946811405909. By this term, Cunningham seeks to link the outcomes of the work of the Holy Spirit with particular virtues that predominated in Wesley's theology; see Cunningham, "John Wesley's Moral Pneumatology: The Fruits of the Spirit as Theological Virtues," 276. In a similar way, I suggest that such a concept aligns well to Gurney's understanding of the relationship between the agency of God's Spirit within a person and the development of their spiritual condition.

[50] Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 13, 146.

[51] Gurney, "Moral Character."

[52] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 143.

[53] Gurney, "Moral Character," 131.

[54] For example; see Barbour and Frost, *The Quakers*, 194.

[55] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 70.

longing to become more holy and closer to God.[56] Whilst the nature of being holy is not strictly defined by Gurney, it is associated with 'divine purity'[57] and he describes a 'life of holiness'[58] as having various 'fruit[s] of the Spirit' including 'love and loyalty to God, … devotion to the service of Christ, the fixing of the soul on heaven', and a wide range of virtues.[59] Although Gurney does not explicitly state that holiness is the same as sanctification it is clear that the two are seen by him as being very closely associated.[60] In the context of this chapter, it is assumed that sanctification in its broadest sense is the process which leads to holiness.[61] In the chapter sections 5.4 to 5.7 which follow, *growing in holiness* is used as a metanarrative to examine Gurney's beliefs concerning several aspects of the spiritual nature of Christian discipleship.

5.4 Growing in Holiness: The role of the Holy Spirit

5.4.1 Introduction

> The Spirit who *co-operated* with Christ in his sacrifice on the cross, is, through that sacrifice, *himself* bestowed on mankind to enlighten, teach, regenerate, purify, console, and ripen for heaven.[62]

The above words from *Habitual Exercise* highlight the very close association which exists between Gurney's Christology and Pneumatology. Bebbington has argued that for evangelicals the Scriptures were the principal guide in supporting

[56] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 46.
[57] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 54.
[58] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 114.
[59] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 115- all quotations.
[60] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 143. In a published extract of a private letter written by Gurney to Isaac Crewdson, he comments that part of the work of the Holy Spirit is 'in perpetually directing the children of God to the practice of holiness'; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 22.
[61] Schleiermacher describes 'sanctification … [as] becoming holy, sanctifying oneself' and as 'a striving for holiness'; see Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, 506.
[62] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 74.

personal holiness.[63] Whilst the Bible was of vital importance to Gurney,[64] Frederick Turner's claim that Gurney's faith was 'emphatically a book-religion'[65] ignored vital evidence to the contrary. Gurney also placed a particular emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit in relation to an individual's holiness, and this is the focus of this chapter section.[66]

5.4.2 The Holy Spirit, Holiness and Sanctification

Of all the different 'fruits of the Spirit', Gurney considers the most important to be '*love to God*,'[67] a natural response of the believer to the glory and wonder of God[68] and an absolute necessity to develop both in this life and in preparation for heaven.[69] As human sin is a barrier in developing such love,[70] sanctification is seen by Gurney as a vital way to enable a person to draw nearer to God.[71] This is a gradual and ongoing process, one which requires constant nurturing and is the work

[63] D. W Bebbington, "Holiness in the Evangelical Tradition," in *Holiness: Past and Present*, ed. Stephen Barton (London: Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 2002), 300. ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=1748819.
[64] See chapters 1 and 2 of this thesis for further details.
[65] Frederick Storrs Turner, *The Quakers: A Study Historical and Critical* (London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co, 1889), 298, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044024439895.
[66] In 'RECOLLECTIONS' (see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 521.), Anna (Gurney's daughter) comments on how her father placed great store on 'the immediate and perceptible guidance of the Holy Spirit' and saw this as '"the golden clue,"' by which to be guided in his daily life; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 522. Similarly, in an extract of a letter to his aunt's grandchildren which was published in the *Memoirs* (dated '12th mo., 25th, 1838'; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 150.), Gurney emphasises the importance of being open to the guidance of the Holy Spirit; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 152.
[67] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 8. In *Moral Character*, 'the *love of God*' was also a theme (see Gurney, "Moral Character," 126.). In many ways, *Habitual Exercise* which was published a few years later, presents a more detailed narrative on this subject and is used as the principal source in this chapter section.
[68] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 31.
[69] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 8.
[70] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 5.
[71] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 8.

of the Holy Spirit.[72] The inward spiritual transformation which comes about can lead the individual in developing characteristics which are more Christ-like and holy.[73]

5.4.3 Drawing closer to God

A significant feature of Gurney's understanding of sanctification and holiness concerns the relationship between the believer and Christ. Various terms are used by him to describe this but all reflect the idea of a growing and deeper connection being made. For example, he comments about individuals being 'assimilated to Christ',[74] in 'union with Christ',[75] who 'commune with their Lord'[76] and seek 'to imitate the Saviour'.[77] These terms I suggest are intended to convey to the reader the *depth* of the spiritual relationship between the believer and God rather than an expression of deification,[78] and where Christ can be known as 'Elder Brother'[79] and God as '"Abba, Father."'[80]

What therefore comes across to the reader of *Habitual Exercise*, is I propose, a very real sense of Gurney's spirituality being completely grounded and shaped by

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[72] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 8-9.
[73] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 143.
[74] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 186.
[75] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 63.
[76] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 64.
[77] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 143.
[78] Jean Calvin has described the need for the believer to be 'ingrafted' in Christ; see Calvin, *Institutes of the Christian Religion. Translated from the Original Latin, and Collated with the Author's Last Edition in French, by John Allen. Third American Edition, Revised and Corrected. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1*, 43. J. Todd Billings has argued that it is difficult to conclude whether Calvin's beliefs concerning 'participation, ingrafting, and union' with God correspond to a belief in deification in the strictest sense. However, Billings suggests if they *were* to be seen in this light, then one of the conditions would need to be that Christ's righteousness was imputed to the believer; see J. Todd Billings, "United to God through Christ: Assessing Calvin on the Question of Deification," *The Harvard Theological Review* 98, no. 3 (2005): 333-34. http://www.jstor.org/stable/4125217. In a similar way, I argue that Gurney's position would be equally nuanced.
[79] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 140. This desire to experience and know Christ is for Gurney of great importance. In a report of a sermon during his visit to North America he comments on 'the unutterable awfulness of having no part in Christ!'; see Gurney, *Sermon and Prayer, by Joseph John Gurney, Delivered at Arch Street Meeting, Philadelphia, on the Evening of First-Day, Seventh Month 19th, 1840*, 5.
[80] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 90.

the work of the Holy Spirit and his belief that inward transformation comes about gradually over time.[81] As a consequence he sees the taint of sin being removed and an individual's true and original spiritual nature before God being re-affirmed.[82] Although this spiritual connection between an individual and God is seen in a Trinitarian context[83] it is particularly articulated by Gurney in terms of being united with Christ in which there is a complete dependency upon Him based on faith and trust, and not just on a cerebral understanding.[84] Similarly, this is also fundamental to Gurney's understanding of the Church as the 'mystical body' headed by Christ and that for all the members of the fellowship of believers, 'he dwells *in* them, and they dwell *in* him.'[85]

5.4.4 The Light Within and the Holy Spirit in relation to early Quakerism

In *Habitual Exercise*, Gurney affirms his belief in the Holy Spirit being part of the Godhead.[86] This is an important reminder that his theology is underpinned by Trinitarian based principles and reflects his understanding of human redemption being founded upon the agency of the one triune God.[87] An emphasis is also placed on the close association between the Holy Spirit and Christ's atonement,[88] and in later editions of the publication, he refers to the Holy Spirit and 'the Spirit of Christ' as being the same.[89] Given Gurney's Trinitarian based perspective it is therefore not surprising that when describing God's Spirit, the use of the terms *Holy Spirit* and the

[81] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 143.
[82] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 79.
[83] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 105-06.
[84] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 63.
[85] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 62- both quotations.
[86] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 72.
[87] This can be seen in the specific chapters of *Habitual Exercise* which are devoted to the subject of redemption in relation to God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit; see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 32-88.
[88] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 74.
[89] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 71-72.

Holy Ghost predominate.[90] That is not to say that there are no exceptions to this. For example, he comments that '*through Christ*, a measure of moral and spiritual light'[91] exists in all people and he also makes reference to an 'inward Monitor'[92] and 'a voice which speaks within',[93] both of which seem to implicitly represent the Holy Spirit as well. Nonetheless, these latter terms do not immediately fall within an orthodox Trinitarian categorisation and are used infrequently.

The evidence would therefore *appear* to suggest that in *Habitual Exercise* an emphasis has been placed on a narrative about the Holy Spirit or Holy Ghost rather than the Light Within.[94] This resonates with Angell's comment that in comparison to the theology of earlier Friends, Gurney had placed a greater emphasis in differentiating 'between the Holy Spirit and the Light of Christ' with the latter being highly marginalised.[95] However, I propose that the use of different terms does not necessarily mean they represent different concepts *per se*. For example, in *Primitive Christianity Revived*, Penn presents seven different reasons[96] why '*this* Light and *this* Spirit must be of *one and the same* Nature, that work *one and the Same Effect*, and tend evidently to *one and the Same Holy End*'.[97] Penn therefore equates the Light Within with the Holy Spirit even though he acknowledges that if only a superficial

[90] For example; see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 6.
[91] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 35.
[92] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 78.
[93] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 105.
[94] For example; see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 71-88.
[95] Angell, "God, Christ, and the Light," 165.
[96] William Penn, *Primitive Christianity Revived, in the Faith and Practice of the People Called Quakers. Written in Testimony to the Present Dispensation of God, through Them, to the World; That Prejudices May Be Removed, the Simple Informed, the Well-Enclined Encouraged, and the Truth, and Its Innocent Friends Rightly Represented*, 2nd ed. (London: Printed and sold by T. Sowle, 1699), 52-53. https://www.proquest.com/books/primitive-christianity-revived-faith-practice/docview/2240942307/se-2. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Primitive Christianity Revived*.
[97] Penn, *Primitive Christianity Revived*, 53.

comparison had been made this could have led to a different conclusion.[98] Writing several years after the *Beacon* controversy, Edward Ash also described how the committee appointed to examine Crewdson's work had agreed that the Light Within and Holy Spirit were synonymous terms and that the early Quakers had believed this as well.[99] In a similar way, whilst usage of different theological terms may vary, I contend that the language used by Gurney to express the nature of being sanctified, is not unlike how this is described by Barclay in his *Apology*. For example, Barclay comments about the need to be 'ingrafted into Christ by his *Word* and *Spirit in the heart*'[100] and 'united to the *Divine Light*'.[101] These descriptions by Barclay, like those of Gurney, highlight the idea of a form of spiritual union between the person and Christ. Consequently, I argue that there is a similarity at its core in the way both Barclay and Gurney describe an individual's *religious experience* of sanctification and growth in holiness, albeit that their broader theological frameworks may differ.[102]

5.5 Growing in Holiness: '*ACTS*'

5.5.1 Introduction

Gurney argues that as an individual's holiness develops this is paralleled with a growing love towards God[103] and he presents to the reader specific ways which he considers how such love can be nurtured. In doing this, he is implicitly deconstructing the nature of sanctification and holiness in order to identify the elements which go to

[98] Penn, *Primitive Christianity Revived*, 49.
[99] Edward Ash, "The Beacon Controversy, and the Yearly Meeting's Committee of 1835-7," *The Friend* Ninth month 1st, 1870, 209-10.
[100] Barclay, *Apology*, 262.
[101] Barclay, *Apology*, 91.
[102] For example, in terms of the use of Trinitarian based language and how sanctification is seen in relation to justification; see chapters 3 and 4 respectively.
[103] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 143.

compose it. Considered private between the individual and God,[104] Gurney terms these ways in which a love of God can be fostered as 'acts of the soul' (*ACTS*) and he identifies them as 'contemplation, communion, submission, obedience, imitation of the divine character, and the exercise of charity'.[105] I argue that collectively, these *ACTS* constitute a set of spiritual pathways in Christian discipleship concerning *how* to follow Christ. Alongside this, I propose that *ACTS* represent an important contribution to Quaker thought, particularly with regard to demonstrating the connection between theology and its practical application in religious life. Development of holiness should therefore be seen as a vital part of Gurney's understanding and practice of the Christian faith. This contrasts with Spencer's view that 'Quaker holiness' was not central to Gurney.[106] Each of the *ACTS* will be briefly discussed in turn.

5.5.2 Contemplation

In highlighting the importance of 'contemplating God',[107] Gurney is seeking to establish and uphold within the life of faith of the believer a sense of reverence, wonder and thankfulness to God, and which in turn can be transformed into greater love towards God. One way[108] he does this is by devoting separate sections in *Habitual Exercise* to explore contemplation of the Divine with regards to God the

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[104] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 14.
[105] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 186- both quotations. *ACTS* is an acronym used in this thesis as a collective term to describe 'acts of the soul' (see aforementioned reference). Given that 'imitation of the divine character' (see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 186.) was also the central theme of an earlier work, *Moral Character*, (see Gurney, "Moral Character.") it would seem that in *Habitual Exercise*, Gurney has incorporated this idea within the broader framework of *ACTS*.
[106] Carole D. Spencer, "Holiness: The Quaker Way of Perfection," in *The Creation of Quaker Theory*, ed. Pink Dandelion (Farnham: Ashgate, 2004), 163.
[107] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 30.
[108] The subject of 'contemplating God' (see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 30.) is examined by Gurney in two main ways. First, in relation to '*nature* and *providence*' and secondly, with regards to the agency of God the Father, the Son and Holy Spirit in the redemption of humanity; see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 15 and 32-88 respectively.

Father, Son and Holy Spirit.[109] The approach taken by Gurney is significant in that whilst he is always careful to emphasise the unity and oneness of God,[110] the inclusion of a Trinitarian based perspective ensures that he is able to highlight the agency of all three persons[111] of the Godhead in humanity's redemption.[112] Gurney is therefore placing a Trinitarian focus at the very heart of his thinking about God and as a consequence is making this a foundational element of Christian discipleship. From this position he particularly stresses how Christ coming into the world and His atonement 'is the *centre* of the whole mighty scheme'[113] and in so doing is underscoring the link between his Christological beliefs and contemplative practice.

Spencer has highlighted that Quietist practice involving contemplation naturally aligned with Quakerism.[114] I suggest that Gurney's focus on contemplation connects with this Quietist tradition but has been adapted by him to place a particular emphasis on themes connected to the natural world, God's providential nature[115] and especially with regards to redemption.[116] Moore has commented that unlike in early Quakerism with its emphasis on a gathered community collectively worshipping together, Quietist spirituality was a more individualised experience.[117] The latter I

[109] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 32-47, 48-70 and 71-88.
[110] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 42.
[111] It should be noted that *persons* is not a term used by Gurney himself with regards to discussing the nature of the Godhead.
[112] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 184-85.
[113] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 185.
[114] Spencer, "Quakers in Theological Context," 145.
[115] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 14-31.
[116] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 32-88. Spencer has also argued that the works of the Anglican, William Law, had been influential in shaping Quaker views about Quietism in the eighteenth century; see Spencer, "Quakers in Theological Context," 146. It is interesting to note that *Habitual Exercise* includes a brief extract from William Law which provides a further indication of Gurney's readiness to embrace elements of the Quietist tradition; see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 13.
[117] Rosemary Moore, *George Whitehead and the Establishment of Quakerism* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 26 Aug. 2021), 90, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004500136_002.

suggest also resonates with *ACTS* and Gurney's emphasis upon the personal spiritual life.

5.5.3 Communion

Similarly, 'communing with God'[118] is also seen by Gurney as being a vital part of the Christian life, and if neglected considered to be highly detrimental to the spiritual well-being of the person.[119] He describes how 'the door of communion with our heavenly Father is opened to our souls' when a person repents and places their trust in Christ,[120] and suggests devotional periods alone,[121] family based worship,[122] worshipping as a community of believers[123] and setting time aside for prayer and reading of the Bible, are all ways to help a person commune with God.[124] Communion is seen as a two way process which involves both praying to God and also being receptive to what God communicates to the person inwardly, through the Scriptures, and when people are worshipping.[125] The agency of the Holy Spirit is therefore vital in a person communing with God and Gurney stresses that reliance upon God's Spirit rather than human effort is needed.[126] His emphasis on the role of the Holy Spirit in discerning God's presence, guidance and will, highlights that his understanding of Christian discipleship is strongly pneumatological and aligns well

[118] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 105.
[119] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 93.
[120] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 90.
[121] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 93.
[122] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 95. Gurney's advocacy for families to be engaged with the reading of the Bible was not new. For example, the 1732 epistle makes overt reference to this; see London Yearly Meeting (Society of Friends), *Extracts from the Minutes and Advices of the Yearly Meeting of Friends Held in London, from Its First Institution* (London: Printed and sold by W. Phillips 1802), 175, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nnc2.ark:/13960/t4rj4km58.
[123] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 97.
[124] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 101.
[125] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 105.
[126] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 101.

with the significance placed by early Friends upon immediate revelation.[127] It is also important to acknowledge that Gurney sees the Bible as being *part of*, rather than *separate from*, the work of God's Spirit.[128]

5.5.4 Submission and obedience

Gurney argues that a Christian should accept with humility their circumstances in this life and place their trust in God.[129] Alongside this 'submission to the divine will',[130] he also emphasises the need for obedience to God and a willingness to be guided by the Holy Spirit.[131] An acceptance of potential trials and sufferings in this life might be construed to mean that Gurney is not advocating any social reform for the betterment of people but given his extensive involvement with social activism I suggest that this is not at all the case.[132] Although he does sees this life as a necessary '*state of trial*'[133] which hones and refines the person spiritually,[134] the stress laid by Gurney on submitting to and obeying God is principally about a person giving themselves wholeheartedly to God. In other words, Christian discipleship has to be a total commitment to Christ and what Gurney calls 'an unconditional surrender

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[127] For example; see Barclay, *Apology*, 18.
[128] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 104.
[129] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 116.
[130] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 116.
[131] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 117.
[132] For example, in connection with his anti-slavery work, Gurney makes clear the incompatibility of the Christian faith with slavery; see (a) Gurney, *A Winter in the West Indies, Described in Familiar Letters to Henry Clay, of Kentucky*, 256., (b) *Norwich Mercury*, "West India Slavery," 3rd May 1823, 1. and (c) "Proceedings of a Special General Meeting of the Anti-Slavery Society and Its Friends, Held at Exeter Hall on Tuesday, April 2nd, 1833, the Right Honourable Lord Suffield in the Chair; Containing the Substance of the Speeches Delivered and the Resolutions Adopted on That Occasion," (1833): 66. https://jstor.org/stable/10.2307/60205903. Furthermore, Gurney also advocated the protection of people's rights after their emancipation; see Joseph John Gurney, *Reconciliation, Respectfully Recommended to All Parties in the Colony of Jamaica. A Letter Addressed to the Planters* (London: George Wightman, 1840), 13-20, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100024006180.0x000001.
[133] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 109.
[134] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 109-10.

of the soul to God'.[135] This is therefore 'the taking up of the cross of Christ' and the inward transformation of self to become more aligned with God's purposes.[136] As a result, discipleship becomes a form of servanthood, and critically for Gurney this servanthood is Christocentric and based upon being 'a *servant of the Lord*'.[137]

5.5.5 Conformation

Seeking to imitate Godly attributes[138] is also identified by Gurney as an *ACT*.[139] The moral perfection of Christ as revealed in all its different elements[140] sets out to Gurney the pathway of discipleship for Christians to walk and 'humbly endeavour to imbibe his mind, and follow his footsteps'.[141]

Gurney also gives the reader a further insight into his beliefs when he argues 'that moral excellence attracts *love*'[142] and that this initiates in people a desire to follow the example which has been set.[143] In a wider context, Gurney's views concerning the idea of people being drawn to a higher morality, have, I propose, a degree of unintended overlap with those of Frederick Schleiermacher. In this

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[135] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 123.
[136] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 124. Gurney's reference to the cross in this particular context resonates, I suggest, with Robert Newton Flew's comment that early Friends emphasised that 'the Cross of Christ' experienced inwardly was fundamental in attaining a perfected state; see R. Newton Flew, *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology. An Historical Study of the Christian Ideal for the Present Life* (London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1934), 291.
[137] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 122.
[138] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 186.
[139] As discussed in section 5.2, the work *Moral Character* placed a particular emphasis on the believer seeking to imitate the moral attributes of Christ.
[140] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 141.
[141] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 141.Tinsley has argued that in seeking to imitate Christ it is important that this is seen within its 'eschatological setting' so that the focus is not rooted in a distant, historical sense but rather that it is applied to the present and is forward-looking; see Tinsley, "Some Principles for Reconstructing a Doctrine of the Imitation of Christ," 55. In a similar way, I suggest that this is reflected in Gurney's view that by drawing upon the model of Christ's moral perfection as recorded in the Scriptures, individual Christians are able to make a practical application of these principles, as for example in their Christian witness to the wider world and within the context of their *own* unique circumstances. This then becomes as an expression of their Spirit-led discipleship as they seek to grow in holiness and draw nearer to Christ.
[142] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 134.
[143] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 135.

connection, Schleiermacher makes use of two terms which in a translated version of his work *The Christian Faith*, appear as '***exemplary (vorbildliche)*** *….* [and] ***ideality (Urbildlichkeit)***'.[144] Although McGrath has highlighted the difficulty in translating these terms, he describes how the latter is seen by Schleiermacher as representing Christ as 'the one ideal example of a perfect human consciousness of God'[145] and the former, as Christ eliciting a desire in others to seek this characteristic in themselves.[146] Similarly, Jae-Eun Park describes how this concept of the perfect worthiness of Christ can be the basis to inspire the 'God-consciousness' which is found in other people.[147] Whilst Gurney does not use the same language as Schleiermacher, a parallel is evident for example, when he comments about how 'the image of God is renewed in the soul'[148] of the believer as they draw closer to God. Without wishing to overplay this element of common theological ground between Gurney and Schleiermacher,[149] Gurney's attempt to articulate a post Enlightenment position which tries to steer a course away from a human rationalisation of Christ's moral attributes, appears to parallel Schleiermacher's theology on this issue.

5.5.6 Charity

The *ACTS* discussed so far have focused on Gurney's beliefs concerning how a person can grow in love and holiness towards God. A natural extension to loving God and one that implicitly reflects God's love of humanity, is 'the exercise of charity'

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[144] Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, 378.
[145] McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 266.
[146] McGrath, *Christian Theology: An Introduction*, 267.
[147] Jae-Eun Park, "Schleiermacher's Perspective on Redemption: A Fulfillment of the Coincidentia Oppositorum between the Finite and the Infinite in Participation with Christ," *Journal of Reformed Theology* 9, no. 3 (2015): 289-90. https://doi.org/10.1163/15697312-00903001.
[148] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 141.
[149] For example, Gurney's acceptance of an orthodox understanding of the two natures of Christ (see chapter 3) stands in contrast to Schleiermacher's rejection of this; see Schleiermacher, *The Christian Faith*, 410-13.

to other people.[150] Gurney elaborates upon this using Matthew 22:35-39 and the two commandments of Christ; to love God wholeheartedly and to love others as yourself, arguing that there is a causal connection between the two.[151]

Gurney's understanding of what is meant by Christ's command to love one's '*neighbour*'[152] encompasses all people, everywhere.[153] He also argues that any conflict which might exist between individuals or countries does not nullify the need to obey this command.[154] Although Gurney embraces the commandment to love one's neighbour as oneself he does not interpret this to mean 'to regard all men *equally*'.[155] For example, he argues that an individual's love for their family[156] and their fellow Christians will be stronger, particularly the latter.[157]

Concern for the welfare of others is considered by Gurney in terms of addressing both worldly concerns including the root causes of social injustice[158] and spiritual needs.[159] He also sees opportunities for all Christians to be engaged in various ways with furthering 'the kingdom of Christ'.[160] In this sense, Gurney is evangelical in his desire for the Christian faith to be shared with others, whether this might be through distributing copies of the Scriptures, biblical education or the provision of Christian literature.[161] Alongside this, he describes how Christians can 'be a centre for the diffusion of light' to those they know,[162] to be open about their

[150] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 186.
[151] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 150.
[152] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 151.
[153] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 152-53.
[154] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 153.
[155] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 163.
[156] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 162.
[157] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 164-65.
[158] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 158.
[159] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 160.
[160] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 161.
[161] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 161.
[162] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 162.

faith to others and for their practice to mirror rightness.[163] He also expresses a hope that more people become involved with mission based work in the wider world.[164] The importance which Gurney attaches to practical ministry can also be seen in an article written by him under the title of *Triumph of Christianity over Infidelity*. In the work, Gurney gives a second hand account of an individual, Robert Kenyon, who had adopted deist views but prior to his death had renounced these and accepted the Christian faith. The unconditional financial support of the land owner in supporting Kenyon towards the end of his life appears to have been a significant factor in his conversion.[165]

5.5.7 *ACTS* and their causal connections

In this sub-section, I argue that a particularly distinctive aspect of Gurney's discipleship theology as presented in *Habitual Exercise*, is the way in which he establishes *causal connections* between different elements of faith and belief. Gurney's interest in Science and recognition of laws in the natural world,[166] ties in

[163] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 162.
[164] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 161.
[165] Joseph John Gurney, "Triumph of Christianity over Infidelity," in *The Amethyst: Or Christian's Annual for M.DCCC.XXXII*, ed. Richard Huie and Robert Kaye Greville (Edinburgh: William Oliphant; Glasgow: William Collins; London: Simpkin & Marshall, and Hamilton, Adams & Co; Dublin: William Curry, Jun. & Co, 1832), 209-16. In the article the landowner is named as 'Lord S-', the location as 'M-' and Amos Ogdon described as the person who liaised on behalf of Robert Kenyon; see Gurney, "Triumph of Christianity over Infidelity," 209-10. In the *Memoirs*, an extract of a letter, dated '4th mo., 10th' is included from Gurney to a Lord Suffield; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 525. I suggest it is reasonable to assume that Suffield is the landowner in Gurney's article. This is further evidenced in a memoir about Suffield where correspondence to Ogden is referenced (but not in relation to Kenyon's case) and the location of Middleton mentioned; see Richard Mackenzie Bacon, *A Memoir of the Life of Edward, Third Baron Suffield. Not Published* (Norwich: Printed by Bacon, Kinnebrook, and Bacon, 1838), 265, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.31951001709945p. The latter memoir also includes two letters from Gurney to Suffield discussing matters of faith; see Bacon, *A Memoir of the Life of Edward, Third Baron Suffield. Not Published*, 461-63. An extract of one of these letters is in the *Memoirs* (as the aforementioned letter addressed to Suffield) and helps to give further insight into Gurney's theology when he comments to Suffield that 'The whole of Christianity seems to me to be comprehended in two things: first, the forgiveness of sin, through faith in the atoning blood of Christ; and secondly, deliverance from sin, through the power of the Holy Spirit.'; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 525. This theological position can be seen mirrored in his published work; see sub-section 4.5.2 for further details.
[166] For example; see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 108.

well with this approach in which he attempts to explain how a change in one variable might impact upon another. Four examples are given to illustrate this.

First, Gurney states that '*The degree of our love to holy beings, is always in proportion to the degree of our own holiness*.'[167] As a consequence he argues that as a person grows spiritually and becomes more sanctified, so their appreciation of God's nature deepens, and their desire to follow Christ increases,[168] leading to the relationship between the believer and God becoming further strengthened.[169] Secondly, that as a person progresses 'towards divine purity' so their empathy of the plight of others grows, and there is also a greater awareness of sin, transgressions and being tempted.[170] Thirdly, drawing upon the traditional Quaker understanding of an inward Light or 'divine influence'[171] which guides the human conscience, Gurney describes how 'the more this light is followed in practice, the more brightly does it shine' leading to the conscience becoming more finely attuned.[172] And fourthly, a person's 'unreserved submission' to God results in greater love towards God[173] and that obeying Christ's first commandment to love God will follow into wanting to uphold His second commandment to love others, which in turn further grows a person's love towards God.[174]

I suggest that what Gurney is trying to convey in these examples of causal connections is the interconnectedness which exists between the different elements of spirituality which collectively work together in the development of holiness. Rather

[167] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 142.
[168] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 143.
[169] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 143.
[170] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 54.
[171] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 113.
[172] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 112.
[173] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 124.
[174] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 175.

than see them as separate and isolated parts of a person's faith and practice, Gurney is presenting a picture which shows how they can act synergistically. Growing in faith and holiness is therefore a dynamic process and as spiritual progress is made this in turn helps with making even further progress.

5.6 Growing in Holiness: Preparing for Heaven

5.6.1 Introduction

Growing in holiness in this life is seen by Gurney as a vital pre-requisite for heaven in the next life. He describes this preparation as 'a *meetness* for the heavenly state'.[175] In this sub-section, Gurney's beliefs concerning heaven are examined and the argument presented that he attempts to describe in rational terms what the heavenly realm is like with an emphasis placed on becoming spiritually prepared for it rather than an expectation of an imminent end-time.[176]

5.6.2 The nature of heaven

Gurney gives a rich insight into what he perceives is the nature of heaven,[177] and where 'all is *light*, and in that light, all is *love*'.[178] However, whilst the spiritual journey of the believer can be seen in one sense to reach a final destination when heaven is reached, Gurney does not see this entirely as an end-point. Instead, he suggests that the spiritual development which individuals have undergone may well

[175] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 6.
[176] This makes for an interesting contrast between Gurney and Woolman. Kershner has commented that whilst 'à Kempis viewed the earth as a place of trial that the faithful would escape', he argues that Woolman saw it 'as a place of terrestrial salvation and eschatological fulfilment'; see Jon R. Kershner, *John Woolman and the Government of Christ: A Colonial Quaker's Vision for the British Atlantic World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2018), 147. In this context, Gurney's stress on growing in holiness in the earthly life as a precursor to heaven can be seen to align more with the perspective of à Kempis.
[177] For example, heaven is seen as 'the abode of perfect purity and peace' and 'all is tranquillity, because all is in unison with the mind of God, and subject to his righteous government'; see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 2 and 131 respectively.
[178] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 3.

be put to good use in ‘an errand of office and of mercy’ and that redeemed humanity will be actively engaged, under God’s guidance, with heavenly matters.[179] Additionally, Gurney argues that the *ACTS* which were integral in preparing a person for heaven will carry on for evermore and will be stronger as they are no longer subject to the detrimental influences which afflicted spiritual growth in a person’s earthly life.[180] Consequently, he considers that ‘our love to God will be *for ever* increasing’[181] and this will be paralleled with a greater understanding of heavenly matters.[182] Similarly, he also suggests that within heaven there are ‘different orders and stations of beings, and different degrees of glory’ and considers that their joy will also always continue to grow.[183]

These insights made by Gurney about the nature of heaven indicate, I suggest, three key points. First, there is a degree of speculation. Gurney does not always support his ideas with scriptural references which would be his usual practice.[184] Secondly, to a certain extent, he seems to be trying to rationalise what heaven may be like and apply quasi scientific principles to this in attempting to describe how in the heavenly realm humanity engages with God. There is a sense that in heaven there is a completion and fulfilment of all things but at the same time this coexists with a dimension of eternal spiritual growth. Thirdly, the emphasis placed by Gurney in discussing what heaven may be like, reflects his view that the believer’s spiritual journey in life is very much about preparing for heaven and there

[179] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 177.
[180] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 186-87.
[181] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 187.
[182] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 188.
[183] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 189.
[184] For example, Gurney’s suggestion that on entering heaven ‘our love to God will be *for ever* increasing’ is not supported by him with any biblical references; see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 187.

is an implicit assumption that the journey's aim will not be met until heaven is reached. The spiritual journey is therefore towards heaven. I argue that this contrasts sharply from the early Quaker view. For example, Moore has suggested that by around 1655, Quakers commonly held the belief that God's Kingdom had both arrived and was arriving such that its full establishment was likely to be close at hand.[185] However, it also has to borne in mind, as Dandelion has noted, that this view of an imminent end-time had diminished by the time Barclay had written his *Apology*.[186] Gurney's views seen in this light, whereby the heavenly state is set apart from the present time and can only be reached through the sanctifying work of the Spirit, can therefore be considered to be more aligned with *earlier* rather than the *earliest* Quaker beliefs.

5.7 Growing in Holiness: The nature of Christian Perfection

5.7.1 Introduction

The doctrine of perfection was an important feature of early Quakerism[187] and highlighted a significant theological distinction from other Christian traditions such as Anglicanism.[188] Dandelion has argued that the doctrine gave early Friends a belief that they had been especially chosen to lead the way amongst Christians whilst others outside the Quaker movement considered it to be a particularly contentious idea.[189] In his *Apology*, Barclay makes clear that

[185] Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666*, 68.
[186] Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 57.
[187] For example; see Fox, *Some Principles of the Elect People of God Who in Scorn Are Called Quakers, for All People Throughout All Christendome to Read over, and Thereby Their Own States to Consider*, 22. and Barclay, *Apology*, 230-50.
[188] For example; see the Church of England's fifteenth article of religion; Philip Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom: With a History and Critical Notes. In Three Volumes. Fourth Edition- Revised and Enlarged. Volume 3. The Evangelical Protestant Creeds, with Translations*, 4th ed., 3 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1919), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah69l8.
[189] Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 22.

perfection in this context does not mean having the perfection of God but rather a state of '*perfection* proportionable and answerable to man's measure'[190] in which no sins are committed. Such a spiritual condition is seen by him as being potentially attainable and either temporary (but with the possibility of being re-gained on one or more occasions) or permanent.[191]

In relation to this chapter's theme of Christian discipleship, it is important to establish whether or not the concept of Christian perfection formed a part of Gurney's theology and if he considered that a follower of Christ should be expected to reach a perfected state in this life. The chief argument made is that Gurney saw the Christian life as a *striving* towards perfection rather than an expectation that it can be fully attained in this life, as argued by Barclay.

5.7.2 Gurney's approach to the doctrine of perfection

Gurney's views on perfection are somewhat open to debate. Spencer, for example, claims that he did not appear to support the early Quaker belief in perfection,[192] whereas Bright argues that, at least privately, Gurney seemed to be disposed to the idea.[193] The latter can be seen for example from certain extracts of Gurney's private writings which were posthumously published in the *Memoirs*; a case in point being his self-reflection that Christ's expectation of perfection, as recorded in Matthew 5:48, would not have been said if it were not possible to attain.[194] Similarly, in a letter to a fellow Quaker[195] he rejects any *a*

[190] Barclay, *Apology*, 231.
[191] Barclay, *Apology*, 232.
[192] Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 142.
[193] Bright, "Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847), a Study in Evangelical Quaker Biography," 213-14.
[194] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 30.
[195] The letter (unpublished) was originally written in 1844 and extracts from it were subsequently published in the *Memoirs* (the addressee is not named); see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 436-42.

priori assumption that sinful transgressions are always a permanent aspect of a Christian's life.[196] Quakerism is therefore seen by Gurney as representing an important witness to the upholding of scriptural passages connected to the avoidance of sinning.[197] Nonetheless, the *Memoirs* also record Gurney's wariness in people advocating perfection when their lives do not reflect this.[198]

In evaluating Gurney's views concerning perfection two main approaches have been used in this study. First, what I have termed the *asymptotic* nature of perfection is discussed in relation to his publications. Secondly, various types of 'tangential' evidence are presented which are also used to help provide a wider context to the discussion. These are discussed in turn.

Attaining perfection can be seen as *asymptotic*.[199] By this I mean that as a person grows in holiness in this life they may become ever closer to reaching perfection but will never actually attain it. My argument is that Gurney adopts a similar principle in his writings which can be seen in the way his narrative is constructed and in the nuanced language that he uses, albeit there is a degree of ambiguity on occasions.[200]

Gurney emphasises that God is perfect,[201] that the triune Godhead reflects a perfection of unity,[202] and that 'In *Christ*, God is revealed in all the beauty and majesty of his moral perfections'.[203] God's perfection as seen in the

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[196] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 439.
[197] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 439-40.
[198] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 439-40.
[199] The *idea* (rather than the term itself) of asymptotic perfection in the Christian life can be seen in Gurney's use of an analogy of a young person striving to follow the example set by an older sibling and as a result becoming more and more like them over time; see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 140.
[200] This is discussed later in this chapter section.
[201] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 2.
[202] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 74.
[203] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 134.

person of Jesus Christ therefore represents for Gurney an absolute standard of holiness which cannot be lowered. Consequently, he considers it is both necessary and a responsibility that believers, with divine help, move *towards* this level of perfection and holiness. For example, when describing how God's will is met with perfect accord in the heavenly realm, Gurney comments this 'is the *mark*, at which it is our duty constantly to *aim*',[204] which I suggest implies aspiration rather than a guarantee of full realisation.[205] This sense of a spiritual yearning to grow towards perfection is not only seen in some of the passages within *Habitual Exercise*[206] but also in some of Gurney's other publications. In *Essays*, for example, he writes that in following Christ, a Christian should 'habitually *aim* [emphasis added] at a practical conformity to this perfect model' and he links this to discipleship.[207] Similarly, in *Moral Character*, and drawing upon part of Ephesians 5:1, he comments how Christians are 'to become, although at an *incomprehensible distance* [emphasis added], "*followers of God*."'[208]

Barclay references several scriptural passages, including Matthew 5:48, in support of his views concerning perfection. He comments that these show 'a positive command' for Christians to seek to attain a perfect state and an expectation that it is possible.[209] In *Habitual Exercise*, Gurney uses the aforementioned Matthean verse to demonstrate Christ's moral perfection and

[204] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 115.
[205] Gurney made no claims that he himself had reached a state of perfection; Braithwaite comments how Gurney was deeply humble and aware of his own shortcomings; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 507.
[206] For example; see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 144.
[207] Gurney, *Essays*, 511.
[208] Gurney, "Moral Character," 131.
[209] Barclay, *Apology*, 240.

how it acts as a standard to *seek* to attain rather than overtly seeing it as a command.[210] Nonetheless in *Essays*, the verse is described as an '*awful* injunction', that is to say one which requires deep respect for the challenge it conveys and Gurney argues that Christians are expected to obey all of Christ's commands.[211] Whilst it could therefore be argued on this basis that Gurney is upholding a doctrine of perfection, overall his focus appears to be more about seeking to obey Christ's teaching rather than discussing what it is like to have attained a state of perfection in this life. The sense of awe which Gurney associates with striving towards perfection is similarly reflected in his perspective concerning holiness.[212]

In addition to the idea that Gurney saw perfection as being asymptotic, I suggest there is also tangential evidence to support the conclusion that he did not publicly promote in a proactive way, a doctrine of Christian perfection. Four examples are used to illustrate this. First, Hodgson has commented that no mention had been made of perfection in Gurney's *Observations*. Given that this was a work written to specifically highlight the nature of Quaker identity, Hodgson saw the absence of such material as symptomatic of what he believed to be Gurney's general move away from Quaker principles.[213] This contrasts for example, with the chapter in the *Observations* which is devoted to why Quakers do not participate in the outward forms of baptism and the Eucharist.[214] Although *Observations* does include several references to the work of the Holy

[210] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 139-41.
[211] Gurney, *Essays*, 510.
[212] For example, he comments about the 'awful precept' concerning holiness contained within the 1 Peter 1:16 verse; see Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 136.
[213] Hodgson, *An Examination of the Memoirs and Writings of J. J. Gurney*, 18.
[214] Gurney, *Observations*, 99-107.

Spirit and an individual's inward spiritual transformation,[215] Hodgson's point has merit in that there is no expanded narrative about perfection *per se*.

Secondly, given Gurney's common ground with elements of Methodism,[216] and that Wesleyan Methodism in the eighteenth century had adopted Christian perfection as part of its belief system,[217] it could be argued that a natural opportunity presented itself for Gurney to align Quaker beliefs[218] on this subject with another Christian tradition.[219] That this was not done in any overt way suggests that he did not wish to actively promote the doctrine in the same way that both John Wesley and the early Friends before him had done. Thirdly, and related to the last point, it can however be queried, how much weight of importance the doctrine carried within Quakerism itself once Quietism became predominant. Frost, for example, has argued that by this time although the idea of achieving perfection had not been rejected by Friends it had become more of a distant aim.[220]

The fourth and final piece of tangential evidence relates to Gurney's use, in the later editions of his *Habitual Exercise*, of an extract from an anonymous[221]

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[215] For example; see Gurney, *Observations*, 13.
[216] For example; see Joseph John Gurney, *Two Letters Addressed by J. J. Gurney to Two Young Friends on the Occasion of Their Leaving the Society* (Philadelphia: Henry B. Ashmead, 1859), 31-32, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081820409.
[217] For example; see Wesley, *A Plain Account of Christian Perfection, as Believed and Taught by the Rev. Mr John Wesley, from the Year 1725, to the Year 1777*.
[218] Barclay, *Apology*, 230-50.
[219] Thomas Clarkson has also argued that the 'doctrine of Perfection' was not unique to Quakerism and that it had been an earlier belief held by some within the Christian Church; see Thomas Clarkson, *A Portraiture of Quakerism, Taken from a View of the Moral Education, Discipline, Peculiar Customs, Religious Principles, Political and Civil Economy, and Character, of the Society of Friends. In Three Volumes. Vol. 2*, 3rd ed. (London: Printed by R. Taylor and Co., for Longman, Hirst, Rees, and Orme, 1807), 195, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433069136632.
[220] Frost, "The Dry Bones of Quaker Theology," 517.
[221] The author is Isaac Taylor who wrote on a wide range of subjects; see Barbara Brandon Schnorrenberg, "Taylor, Isaac [Known as Isaac Taylor of Stanford Rivers] (1787–1865), Writer on Theology, Artist, and Inventor," *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (23 September 2004).

publication, *Saturday Evening*.[222] He comments that its author considers that it is only in this life that an individual has a 'mixture of good and evil'[223] within them and that after death, the soul will move towards only one of these dispositions. I suggest that Gurney's inclusion of the reference implies an acceptance of the author's premise that perfection is not reached in this life.

All of these different sources of evidence, when brought together, lend support to the argument being made that perfection in this life is being seen by Gurney in an asymptotic sense. This is illustrated in Figure 5.1 in which the 'up and downs' of an individual's spiritual journey are shown alongside their overall growth in personal holiness.[224] Over the course of time this grows closer and closer to the level of Christian perfection but never actually reaches it.

https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-27034.

[222] For extracts cited by Gurney; see Isaac Taylor, *Saturday Evening. By the Author of Natural History of Enthusiasm* (London: Holdsworth and Ball, 1832), 391-92, in part, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc2.ark:/13960/t9h41mk2q.

[223] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 4.

[224] In the *Observations*, Gurney considers the Christian life to be a constant walk with God, being guided by 'the true voice of Christ in the heart'; see Gurney, *Observations*, 91. He recognises that this spiritual journey will have challenges but encourages the reader not to be deterred by the magnitude of any difficulty and that God will help them. However, he also sees the possibility of a person moving away from God and so God's grace is something that could be resisted if a person chose to do this; see Gurney, *Observations*, 92. Gurney has sombre words for those who claim to have belief in Christ but do not truly follow Him and believes they place themselves in grave peril. In contrast, he upholds those believers who persevere in spite of difficulties; see Gurney, *Observations*, 43-44.

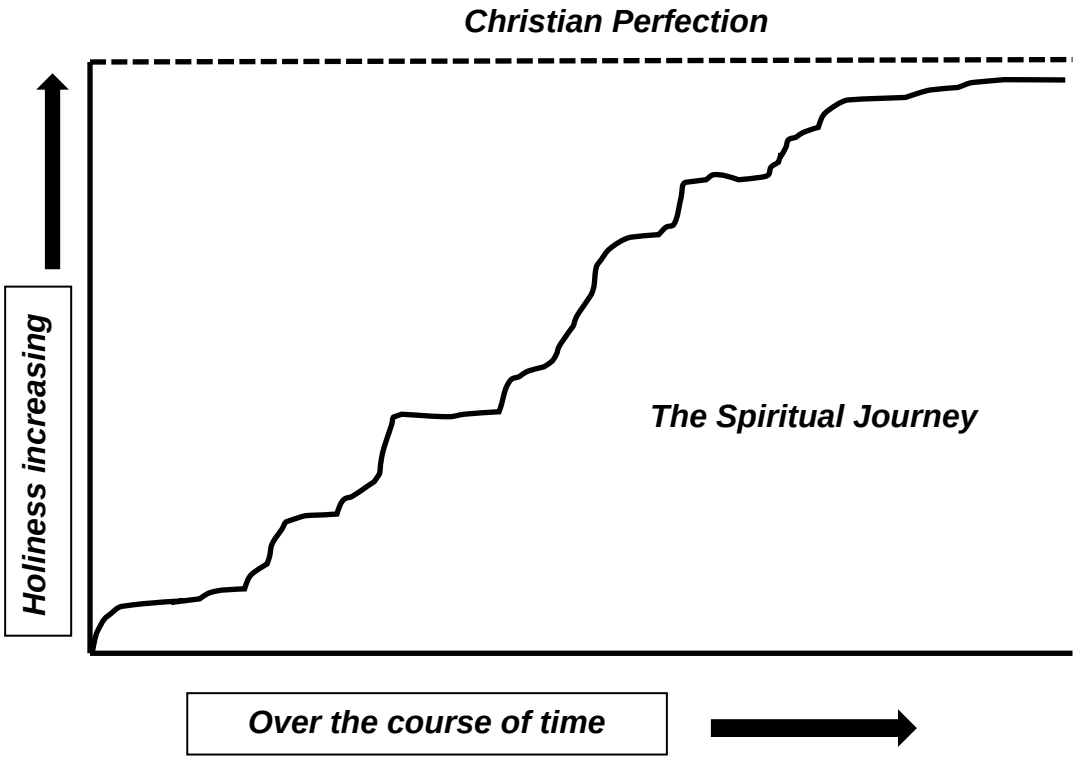


Figure 5.1 The asymptotic nature of Christian perfection

Although a case has been made that Gurney in his written works did not fully advocate a doctrine of perfection, it should nonetheless be recognised that there are instances where he seems to suggest that Christian perfection *is* an expectation in this life. For example, he notes how purification from sinning and the removal of an individual's 'lingering corruptions' takes time to get to the positon whereby 'not even one particle of the polluting mire of this world' remains which could hinder entering heaven.[225] A sentiment such as this would appear to support the doctrine of Christian perfection and indeed imply that it was essential. However, I suggest that the weight of evidence at least indicates that Gurney took a more cautious approach to the

[225] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 102- both quotations.

doctrine of perfection than expressed in early Quakerism. In terms of discipleship, it undoubtedly informed his belief that a Christan 'must never relax in his efforts'.[226]

5.8 Expressions of Christian Quaker Discipleship and Witness

5.8.1 Introduction

In *Observations*, Gurney lists 'the outward religious points' of Quaker identity.[227] Two of these 'testimonies'[228] are examined in this chapter section; the refusal to swear oaths and opposition to war. These particular testimonies are rich in social and historical significance because from the outset of the Quaker movement they represented a challenge to the authorities. As Arnold Lloyd has commented, early Friends 'acknowledged the authority of the State with three exceptions: they would not fight, they would not take an oath and they refused "hat honour"'.[229] The testimonies therefore represent significant elements of Quaker identity. Additionally, there are three further reasons why a focus has been made in this chapter section with regards to not taking oaths or engaging in warfare.

First, they represent expressions of Christian *Quaker* discipleship, the theme of this chapter, and provide an opportunity to examine in depth, Gurney's beliefs concerning them including a comparison with early Quaker views on the subject. Secondly, connected to this is the importance that Gurney attaches to the younger

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[226] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 8-9.
[227] Gurney, *Observations*, 96.
[228] Although various Quaker practices such as the refusal to swear an oath and rejection of warfare are described in this chapter as Quaker testimonies, it is acknowledged that *testimony* can also be seen in a broader sense whereby as Dandelion has commented 'The whole of life was testimony to the inward spiritual experience.' See Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 221.
[229] Arnold Lloyd, *Quaker Social History 1669-1738* (London: Longmans, Green and Co, 1950), 80. Reference to the refusal to remove hats is made by Gurney when discussing '*Plainness of Behaviour*.' See Gurney, *Observations*, 415-17. This was also one of the ways which Gurney himself first publicly showed his commitment to being a Quaker in 1812 and is recorded in an extract from his autobiography published in the *Memoirs*; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 85.

generation of Friends knowing 'the Christian and scriptural grounds' upon which the testimonies and other Quaker beliefs are founded.[230] In other words, he considers right practice as evidenced for example, by the upholding of these testimonies, to require a secure foundation in which to successfully operate and not simply a reliance upon practising a tradition without deeply knowing why it has come about. Thirdly, both the testimonies which are being examined are linked to the teachings of Jesus as recorded in the *Sermon on the Mount* (Matthew 5:33-37 and 5:38-47 respectively). The way these and other related biblical passages have been interpreted by Quakers is particularly distinctive in comparison to the wider Christian Church and therefore it is important to ascertain the nature of these scriptural exegeses to see how they link to the practice of the testimonies.

Gurney's *Observations*, a work which specifically addressed the distinctive witness of Quaker belief and practice is used as the main source for his views concerning oaths and war, and these will be compared with early Quaker thought as reflected principally in Barclay's *Apology*.

5.8.2 The rejection of oaths

In addressing the subject of oaths, Gurney makes clear to the readers of *Observations* that this is an issue which Quakers have consistently witnessed and agreed upon, namely their refusal to swear any form of oath.[231] He argues that there

[230] Gurney, *Observations*, v.
[231] Gurney, *Observations*, 330-31. For a comprehensive set of reasons why early Quakers rejected oaths, see William Penn and Richard Richardson, *A Treatise of Oaths, Containing Several Weighty Reasons Why the People Call'd Quakers Refuse to Swear: And Those Confirmed by Numerous Testimonies out of Gentiles, Jews and Christians, Both Fathers, Doctors and Martyrs. Presented to the King and Great-Council of England, Assembled in Parliament* (London: printed 1675; Dublin: re-printed by E. Ray, 1713), Eighteenth Century Collections Online: https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/CW0104685753/ECCO?u=bham_uk&sid=bookmark-ECCO&xid=0dde1f16&pg=.

are two principal reasons which underpin this testimony; 'plain moral principles'[232] and particularly[233] 'divine commands'.[234]

In line with the teachings of the New Testament, Gurney argues that Christians are morally obliged to tell the truth[235] but this does not necessitate the need for an oath. Indeed if a Christian does use an oath, Gurney considers that this implies it carries with it a greater authority concerning the truth and therefore a double standard exists.[236] In connection with the latter point, he believed that the use of oaths had resulted in a parallel decline in the honesty of everyday language in society.[237] Additionally, Gurney suggests there is a perception that when an individual takes an oath it comes with a potential condemnation that should they be untruthful their future spiritual wellbeing may be compromised.[238] His concern is that there may be circumstances in which a person unknowingly does not give the full truth and therefore brings judgement upon themselves.[239]

Turning to the 'divine commands',[240] and in highlighting the texts from Matthew 5:33-37 and James 5:12,[241] Gurney argues these passages of Scripture show that Christians should not participate in any form of oath taking.[242] He rejects the belief held by many[243] that oaths in a legal setting are permissible,[244] and contends that Christ's precept is completely perspicuous and that refusal to swear

[232] Gurney, *Observations*, 326.
[233] Gurney, *Observations*, 331.
[234] Gurney, *Observations*, 326.
[235] Gurney, *Observations*, 326.
[236] Gurney, *Observations*, 327.
[237] Gurney, *Observations*, 327.
[238] Gurney, *Observations*, 329.
[239] Gurney, *Observations*, 330.
[240] Gurney, *Observations*, 326.
[241] Gurney, *Observations*, 331.
[242] Gurney, *Observations*, 334.
[243] For example; see William Paley, *The Principles of Moral and Political Philosophy*, 8th American ed. (Boston: West and Richardson, 1815), 129-34, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044051146421.
[244] Gurney, *Observations*, 332-33.

applies to all forms of oath.[245] He also comments on the reference in the Matthean passage to not swearing 'by the heaven, by the earth, or by Jerusalem', and argues that as this is almost equivalent to swearing by God, it follows that the latter would also be prohibited.[246] The exegesis of other particular scriptural references also plays an important part in Gurney's rejection of oaths. For example, with regards to Matthew 26:62-64 he contends that when Jesus gave His reply to the question about His identity,[247] this was not the same as taking an oath.[248] This is a good case in point where Gurney's interpretation differs from other Christian traditions. For example, John Wesley affirmed oath taking and gave his reason that 'CHRIST himself answered upon Oath before a Magistrate'.[249]

Gurney also disagrees that particular passages from Pauline writings such as 1 Thessalonians 5:27 and Romans 1:9 should be seen as Paul taking an oath[250] but rather that he was making a 'solemn affirmation'.[251] Refusal to swear an oath is therefore for Gurney an unambiguous stance for a Christian to take. He sees this as a public witness to the wider world with its impact potentially to raise moral standards in public life and a call for other Christians to take up this testimony.[252]

Gurney's views on oaths are consistent with those of early Friends, and in Barclay's *Apology* several of the reasons given as to why Quakers do not take oaths coincide with the arguments later made by Gurney. Principal among these are Barclay's use of the Matthew 5:33-34 and James 5:12 texts and the belief that these

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[245] Gurney, *Observations*, 333-34.
[246] Gurney, *Observations*, 334.
[247] Gurney, *Observations*, 339.
[248] Gurney, *Observations*, 338-41.
[249] Wesley, *A Letter to a Person Lately Joined with the People Call'd Quakers. In Answer to a Letter Wrote by Him*, 15.
[250] Gurney, *Observations*, 341.
[251] Gurney, *Observations*, 342.
[252] Gurney, *Observations*, 348-49.

records of Jesus' words both clearly admonish the use of oaths and instead positively support affirmation.[253] Like Gurney, Barclay does not view particular Pauline texts as meaning that Paul took oaths and even if this had been the case (although neither consider this to be so), they place Christ as a higher authority.[254] Both interpret the passage in Hebrews 6:16 as not advocating that Christians should use oaths[255] and they also argue that Christians in the early Church did not practise oaths.[256]

5.8.3 The rejection of oaths: some theological 'differences' with early Friends

In her study of Quaker testimonies, Rachel Muers has highlighted that the refusal to swear oaths by the early Friends was underpinned by several factors including their use of key biblical texts.[257] However, she proposes that the fundamental issue at the heart of the testimony was not principally shaped by scriptural exhortations[258] but rather that 'under the lordship of Christ' Quakers no longer saw the need for oaths because truth had been established.[259] Muers further suggests that the naming of 'Christ himself as the Oath of God'[260] in some early Quaker works is important and conveys the idea that Christ is 'the oath to end oaths'.[261] Consequently, she considers that for early Friends this represented a new

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[253] Barclay, *Apology*, 516.
[254] There is however a difference between Barclay and Gurney in their discussion of this hypothetical (in their view) scenario of Paul having used oaths. Had Paul used oaths, Barclay sees this as a sinful act against Christ's teachings; see Barclay, *Apology*, 523. In contrast, Gurney highlights to the reader, Paul's standing as someone who had been particularly divinely inspired and whose ministry and teaching had been authorised by God; see Gurney, *Observations*, 342-44. Although this difference between Barclay and Gurney is hypothetical, I suggest it nonetheless indicates Gurney's unwillingness to undermine Pauline authority and by default biblical authority.
[255] Barclay, *Apology*, 524-25. and Gurney, *Observations*, 345-46.
[256] Barclay, *Apology*, 518 and Gurney, *Observations*, 337-38.
[257] Rachel Muers, *Testimony: Quakerism and Theological Ethics* (London: SCM Press, 2015), 110-11.
[258] Muers, *Testimony: Quakerism and Theological Ethics*, 114-15.
[259] Muers, *Testimony: Quakerism and Theological Ethics*, 114.
[260] Muers, *Testimony: Quakerism and Theological Ethics*, 116. Muers suggests this phrase is derived from Hebrews 6:16 and Hebrews 7:20-22; see Muers, *Testimony: Quakerism and Theological Ethics*, 115.
[261] Muers, *Testimony: Quakerism and Theological Ethics*, 115.

and permanent condition which they did not wish to leave by re-adopting oath taking.[262] Muers' insights can be applied within the context of this study to help further explore Gurney's beliefs concerning oaths, and in particular with regards to how they compare both with early Quakerism and in relation to her contention that nineteenth century evangelical Quakers placed a greater emphasis on the biblical basis of the testimony.[263]

In connection with the relevant scriptural text of Matthew 5:33-37, Muers has commented that Christ's teaching on oaths was seen by early Friends as more of a pronouncement rather than a commandment.[264] However, I suggest that the latter was an equally vital element of the early Quaker testimony on oaths. For example, Fox makes clear that, 'if we Swear, contrary to the express command of Christ and the Apostle, we go contrary to true *Christianity*'.[265] He therefore interprets Christ's teaching about oaths as a command and as a disciple of Christ he wishes to obey this. In fact, Fox goes further by saying that it was as a result of making *this* stand that Friends had experienced persecution.[266] I therefore argue that the relevant passages from Matthew 5 and James 5 *did* carry a particularly significant weighting in shaping early Friends' beliefs concerning oaths. Furthermore, Fox in this 1682 work, when addressing accusations that refusal to take oaths meant that Quakers were not Christians, only used these texts in his rebuttal.[267]

Turning to Barclay and Gurney, the question lies as to how much they have in common with Fox regarding these particular aspects of belief. Although both give

[262] Muers, *Testimony: Quakerism and Theological Ethics*, 116-17.
[263] Muers, *Testimony: Quakerism and Theological Ethics*, 114-15.
[264] Muers, *Testimony: Quakerism and Theological Ethics*, 115.
[265] Fox, *Something in Answer*, 7.
[266] Fox, *Something in Answer*, 8.
[267] Fox, *Something in Answer*, 7-8.

various reasons why oaths should not be used there is similarly a strong emphasis on using the New Testament texts[268] and seeing Christ's teachings about oaths as a commandment'.[269] Additionally they identify both the prohibitory and affirmatory elements of the scriptural texts; *not* to swear an oath *and* instead *to say* yes or no.[270]

It is also important to acknowledge that Fox's position on oaths lay within the context of a form of covenantal theology in which he believed 'the New Covenant and Testament' arrive with Christ.[271] Moore[272] and Gwyn[273] have both identified that covenantal beliefs were a feature of the early Quaker movement.[274] This emphasis on the new covenant can be seen in a different work by Fox in which he describes how 'Christ, who is the Oath of God, … takes away and abolishes the Oaths of the old Covenant' and establishes his own precepts instead.[275] Muers' point about 'the Oath of God'[276] can be seen mirrored in Fox's wording and within the broader narrative of it being *part* of a new covenant. Crucially, Fox sees the establishment of

[268] Barclay, *Apology*, 516-18. and Gurney, *Observations*, 331-37.
[269] Barclay, *Apology*, 523. and Gurney, *Observations*, 331.
[270] For example; see Barclay, *Apology*, 516. and Gurney, *Observations*, 333. I also argue that this does not constitute being a "negative testimony" in the sense Muers has suggested (see Muers, *Testimony: Quakerism and Theological Ethics*, 105.) and can be viewed instead as both a *combination* of negation and affirmation.
[271] Fox, *Something in Answer*, 7.
[272] Moore, *The Light in Their Consciences: The Early Quakers in Britain 1646-1666*, 83-84.
[273] Gwyn, "Seventeenth-Century Context and Quaker Beginnings," 22.
[274] I use the term 'covenantal theology' in the sense described by Fox, as referring to 'the New Covenant *and* New Testament, *and* … *the* Old Covenant *and* Testament'. The former is also sometimes described by him as a 'new Covenant of Light and Grace' 'see Fox, *Here All May See*, 3, 15. This is not the same covenantal terminology used in the Westminster Confession, where the '*Covenant of Works*' is before the Fall and the '*Covenant of Grace*' is seen to operate in both the Old and New Testaments but in different ways (as 'the Law' and 'the Gospel' respectively); see Westminster Assembly, *The Confession of Faith, and the Larger and Shorter Catechism, First Agreed Upon by the Assembly of Divines at Westminster and Now Approved by the General Assembly of the Kirk of Scotland, to Be a Part of Uniformity in Religion between the Kirks of Christ in the Three Kingdoms: Together with the Sum of Saving Knowledge, and the Practical Use Thereof*, 20-21.
[275] Fox, *Here All May See*, 19.
[276] Muers, *Testimony: Quakerism and Theological Ethics*, 116.

no oaths in the new covenant as a *re-establishment* of what existed before the Fall of humanity and that a simple affirmation of *yes* or *no* is sufficient.[277]

Like Fox, Barclay uses covenantal theology. With Christ's arrival in the new covenant, Barclay considers oaths are no longer necessary[278] and links this to the idea of a return to the pre-Fall state.[279] Barclay also on one occasion in the *Apology* describes Christ as the 'Essential Oath'[280] which resonates with Fox's 'Oath of God'.[281] In contrast, although Gurney uses the idea of old and new covenants in *Observations*,[282] he does not directly apply this to the subject of oaths. Neither are Fox's 'Oath of God'[283] or Barclay's 'Essential Oath'[284] mentioned, and in the context of the refusal to swear oaths no link to the pre-Fall state is made by Gurney. As a result, I argue that beyond their shared use and reliance of key scriptural texts, there are *some* differences between Gurney and early Friends like Fox and Barclay, in terms of the particular elements of theology used to inform their testimony against oaths. Nonetheless, it is also clear that Gurney considers the refusal to swear oaths as coming about as a result of the arrival of the 'Christian dispensation'.[285] Similarly, he parallels Christ's redemptive work as a divine counterwork to Adam's fall,[286] and so in a sense Gurney's *wider* narrative implicitly suggests the idea of a return to a purer spiritual state. And with specific regard to the issue of oaths, Christ's teaching

[277] Fox, *Here All May See*, 20.
[278] Barclay, *Apology*, 519.
[279] Barclay, *Apology*, 521.
[280] Barclay, *Apology*, 519.
[281] Fox, *Here All May See*, 19.
[282] For example; see Gurney, *Observations*, 99, 102.
[283] Fox, *Here All May See*, 19.
[284] Barclay, *Apology*, 519.
[285] Gurney, *Observations*, 335.
[286] Gurney, *Observations*, 25-26.

is seen by him to represent a 'purer and more perfect law'[287] which he contrasts with the Mosaic tradition which allowed for certain types of oaths to be taken.[288]

5.8.4 The rejection of war

In the *Observations*, Gurney uses a series of arguments to present his views against war.[289] First, he makes the point that whilst there might be a consensus amongst Christians that warfare in principle is contrary to the Christian faith, he comments that Quakers are virtually the only Christian tradition prepared to completely reject it.[290] From the outset of his commentary therefore, Gurney is making clear the distinctive position that Quakerism has on this issue within the wider Christian Church. He next addresses the contention, drawn on the basis of some of the Old Testament accounts of conflict, that support for war can be given when it is considered to be 'a just cause'.[291] Gurney asserts 'that the wars of the Israelites differed from wars in general' and that they had operated under 'divine sanction' for specific reasons.[292] In making this interpretation, Gurney is neither questioning the literal interpretation of certain biblical passages nor whether these might be thought to contradict belief in a God of love. However, he also argues that the scriptural narrative reflected a unique set of circumstances which cannot be extrapolated and applied to situations elsewhere and at other times.[293] Gurney therefore rejects the

[287] Gurney, *Observations*, 336.
[288] Gurney, *Observations*, 336.
[289] Gurney, *Observations*, 351-84. The 1660 Declaration highlights several reasons why early Quakers refused to engage with war; see George Fox, *Fox, George. A Declaration from the Harmles [Sic] & Innocent People of God Called Quakers. Against All Plotters and Fighters in the World* (London: printed for Robert Wilson, 1660), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100035874145.0x000001.
[290] Gurney, *Observations*, 352.
[291] Gurney, *Observations*, 352.
[292] Gurney, *Observations*, 353- both quotations.
[293] Gurney, *Observations*, 353-55.

argument that biblical accounts of conflict could potentially be used to justify the actions of any future warfare.

Turning to the views of those who consider that John the Baptist did not condemn soldiery, Gurney suggests that John's position was likely to have been non-committal on this subject but more importantly that although John was announcing the coming Kingdom of Christ he remained rooted in existing religious traditions.[294] This in turn reflects Gurney's central point, that the Quaker opposition to all forms of war is primarily based '*on that complete revelation of the moral law of God which distinguishes the dispensation of the Gospel of Christ*'.[295] Several Old Testament texts[296] are cited as prophetic evidence that this future spiritual era, founded on peace, was foretold and from the New Testament, most of the passage from Matthew 5:38-48 is presented, along with citations from 1 Peter 3:9 and Romans 12:19-21.[297] Underpinning these scriptural references is what Gurney terms Christ's '*law of love*' and his belief that the practice of any form of warfare would be in direct contradiction to this as Christian discipleship demands complete obedience to the precepts of Christ.[298] As James Andrews has highlighted, it was 'the direct commands of Christ' which principally informed Gurney's pacifism.[299]

Gurney's *Observations* and Barclay's *Apology* share much in common regarding the arguments used in presenting the Quaker position on war, and fundamentally they are in agreement. Like Gurney, Barclay also uses texts from the

[294] Gurney, *Observations*, 356.
[295] Gurney, *Observations*, 356.
[296] For example; Isaiah 2. 2-4, Isaiah 9.6 Micah 4.1-4 and Zechariah 9.9. See Gurney, *Observations*, 357-58.
[297] Gurney, *Observations*, 360-61.
[298] Gurney, *Observations*, 361.
[299] James R. Andrews, "The Rationale of Nineteenth-Century Pacifism: Religious and Political Arguments in the Early British Peace Movement," *Quaker History* 57, no. 1 (1968): 19, https://doi.org/10.1353/qkh.1968.0019. https://doi.org/10.1353/qkh.1968.0019.

Old and New Testament in support of his narrative,[300] and the pericope beginning at Matthew 5:38[301] is similarly central to his argument that Christ's teaching means that Christians should desist from all war. This is also connected to the general belief held by Barclay and Gurney that the Christian dispensation, as for example reflected in the *Sermon on the Mount*, has brought a wider scope and depth to moral law.[302] Both also claim that the early Church upheld a belief which was opposed to the idea of Christians engaging in conflict and they reject the concept of a just war.[303] Barclay and Gurney also take a common approach in their exegesis of Luke 22:36 and reject the suggestion that it could be used to justify possession of weaponry.[304]

[300] Barclay, *Apology*, 533-34.
[301] Barclay, *Apology*, 530.
[302] For example; see (a) Barclay, *Apology*, 530-31. and (b) Gurney, *Observations*, 365. It has been argued from a Jewish perspective that the antitheses within the *Sermon on the Mount* were used to '*intensify* the Law' as a way of ensuring it was upheld; see *The Jewish Annotated New Testament. New Revised Standard Version Bible Translation*, ed. Amy-Jill Levine and Marc Zvi Brettler, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017), 18. Markus Bockmuehl has also highlighted how halakhic influences may have shaped Jesus' teachings; see Markus Bockmuehl, "Halakhah and Ethics in the Jesus Tradition," ed. John M. G. Barclay and John Philip McMurdo Sweet, *Early Christian Thought in its Jewish Context* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511470424.021. 270. These interpretations are not explored by either Barclay or Gurney.
[303] Barclay, *Apology*, 531. and Gurney, *Observations*, 371-75.
[304] G.W. H. Lampe in his evaluation of Luke 22:35-38 has described this as a 'notoriously difficult passage' to interpret and consequently there have been a wide range of exegeses; see G. W. H. Lampe, "The Two Swords (Luke 22: 35–38)," in *Jesus and the Politics of His Day*, ed. Ernst Bammel and C. F. D. Moule (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 335. Verse 36 records that prior to His arrest, Jesus said to the disciples to trade their possessions in order to purchase a sword. In the *Apology*, Barclay includes this as one of the possible reasons why Christians may argue that possession of weapons is not contrary to Christian teaching. He does not give a definitive view about the meaning of the verse but gives examples of different interpretations which have been made and he remains committed to the belief that using weapons is incompatible with the Christian faith; see Barclay, *Apology*, 536-39. Gurney also takes a similar approach. First, he considers that the text (Luke 22:35-37) is the only one in the New Testament that might appear to be at variance with Christ's teaching to love one's enemies. Secondly, he argues that when verse 36 is read in a wider context, its meaning should not be understood in a literal sense; see Gurney, *Observations*, 368-70. Drawing upon interpretations made by others, Gurney comments that the verse should be seen to mean either 'the sword of the Spirit' or as cautionary comment that the days ahead would be perilous for His followers; see Gurney, *Observations*, 371.

It is also important to place Gurney's views in the context of his own time. A work by Jonathan Dymond,[305] a Quaker contemporary known to Gurney,[306] presents an analysis of war in relation to the Christian religion and philosophy. This is a more comprehensive coverage of the subject compared to the chapter on war in the *Observations* and was not written specifically for a Quaker readership. However, there are several aspects of the two works which coincide, and Dymond like Gurney, highlights Jesus' teachings and also argues against particular interpretations of certain biblical texts which have been used to justify war.[307] Peter Brock has commented that Gurney adopted a favourable stance regarding the Old Testament accounts of warfare which he suggests was as at variance to Dymond's view on this matter.[308] However, Dymond, also believed that 'under the Mosaic dispensation, some wars were allowed'.[309]

5.8.5 The rejection of war: some theological 'differences' with early Friends

Although Barclay and Gurney overlap in their views on this subject to a significant degree, there are some differences. These include Gurney's extended argument that although Christ's teachings were presented to *people* they also apply to *countries* and consequently in both cases, engagement with warfare is considered

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[305] Jonathan Dymond, *An Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity, and an Examination of the Philosophical Reasoning by Which It Is Defended. With Observations on Some of the Causes of War and on Some of Its Effects. Fourth Edition, Corrected and Enlarged*, 4th ed. (Hartford: Printed by P. Canfield, for the American Peace Society, 1836), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/umn.319510015612093.
[306] Eddington, "The Gurney Manuscripts," 32-33.
[307] For example, see Dymond, *An Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity, and an Examination of the Philosophical Reasoning by Which It Is Defended. With Observations on Some of the Causes of War and on Some of Its Effects. Fourth Edition, Corrected and Enlarged*, 49-56 and 63-66.
[308] Peter Brock, *The Quaker Peace Testimony 1660 to 1914* (York: Sessions Book Trust, 1990), 259.
[309] Dymond, *An Inquiry into the Accordancy of War with the Principles of Christianity, and an Examination of the Philosophical Reasoning by Which It Is Defended. With Observations on Some of the Causes of War and on Some of Its Effects. Fourth Edition, Corrected and Enlarged*, 77.

by him to be a sinful act.[310] In contrast, Barclay places an emphasis on challenging the authority of the magistrates, arguing that if they are endorsing fighting under certain circumstances and expecting individuals to be engaged with this, then they are contravening Christ's teachings.[311] A difference in perspective can also be seen between Barclay and Gurney with regards to events of war recorded in the Old Testament. Barclay considers them as representing 'a figure of the inward war of the true Christians against their spiritual enemies' and which were reluctantly permitted by God before Christ's teachings became known.[312] Gurney's view that such wars were also part of God's plan at the time gives a different emphasis in divine purpose.[313] I suggest that this difference with Barclay reflects a greater preparedness by Gurney to accept biblical authority and on this occasion a more literal interpretation.

There are however, two differences between Gurney and Barclay that I contend are more significant although their testimony against warfare remains unchanged. The first concerns Gurney's emphasis on the sanctity of human life and the spiritual consequences of someone being responsible for the taking of another's person's life.[314] This dovetails with the importance that he attaches to sanctification in this life being necessary in preparing an individual for the possibility of entering heaven.[315] His concern in this regard is that the actions of a person killing another prematurely places the victim 'prepared or unprepared, to the awful realities of an

[310] Gurney, *Observations*, 362-63.
[311] Barclay, *Apology*, 539.
[312] Barclay, *Apology*, 535.
[313] Gurney, *Observations*, 353.
[314] Gurney, *Observations*, 375.
[315] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 8.

everlasting state'.[316] Consequently Gurney contends there are both the '*visible* effects' of war and its '*invisible* consequences' on the eternal destiny of the soul,[317] a point[318] not specifically discussed by Barclay.

The second difference concerns Barclay more closely associating the testimony against warfare with Christian perfection; for example, in the rejection of self-defence which he argues involves completely trusting God. Although Barclay does not castigate the faith of Christians as such who do engage in self-defence, he nonetheless, contends 'that they are far from the perfection of the Christian religion'.[319] Gurney also acknowledges that many Christians would be prepared to defend themselves under certain circumstances but he maintains that an absolutist stance in rejecting warfare is the only position that should be adopted.[320] His total opposition to war is therefore similar to Barclay's viewpoint on this issue but differs in not being openly linked to Christian perfection.

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[316] Gurney, *Observations*, 377.

[317] Gurney, *Observations*, 377. Gurney also makes a similar point about the sanctity of life in a report of a speech he gave in 1846 against capital punishment; see Gurney, *Substance of a Speech on Capital Punishments, Delivered at a Public Meeting of the Inhabitants of Norwich, Held 4th Month, 17th, 1846*, 4. According to Braithwaite, Gurney's long-standing opposition to capital punishment did not appear to apply to murder until 'later life'; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 402.

[318] A small counter to this argument could be made. Gurney's chapter on war from the *Observations* was published (with some minor changes and not with the addendum from the 7th edition) by the Peace Society as a tract. On page 22 of this publication there is an extra piece of text which is not present in the *Observations (7th edition)*. In this additional passage, Gurney raises the question of whether 'the infliction of death *as a punishment for murder*' is justified on the basis of Genesis 9:6. He comments that this would constitute the view of many Christians including some Friends, and had been carried out in Pennsylvania under laws founded by Penn and others. However, Gurney considers 'that this divine declaration' is no longer operative within the Christian religion; see Joseph John Gurney, *Tract No. Xii. Of the Society for the Promotion of Permament and Universal Peace. An Essay on War, and on Its Lawfulness under the Christian Dispensation*, Stereotype ed. (London Printed by R. Clay, 1835), 22- both quotations, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100023370589.0x000001. Similarly, in the report of Gurney's speech in opposition to capital punishment, he rejects an interpretation of Genesis 9 as meaning that Christians should support the practice; see Gurney, *Substance of a Speech on Capital Punishments, Delivered at a Public Meeting of the Inhabitants of Norwich, Held 4th Month, 17th, 1846*, 1-3.

[319] Barclay, *Apology*, 540.

[320] Gurney, *Observations*, 381.

5.8.6 The rejection of war and Gurney's public witness

The Peace Society[321] in 1840 published a tract by Gurney[322] which he had written on their behalf in light of ongoing conflict and tensions in different parts of the world.[323] The publication was addressed to Christian ministers and Christians, and is a good example of how Gurney's beliefs are translated into a practical advocacy of seeking to garner support from other Christian traditions in opposing warfare.[324]

Two key arguments are used by Gurney in the work. First, and drawing upon Romans 12:20-21 and Matthew 5:43-45, he highlights the expectation from the Scriptures that Christians should love all people including their foes.[325] However, it is noticeable that compared to *Observations*, Gurney does not rule out the possibility of individuals or a country practising 'self-defence' so long 'as their provisions consist with the law of God' and killing is not involved.[326] I suggest that unlike *Observations* which was written for a Quaker readership, Gurney is more cautious in his argument with members of the wider church and is attempting to establish a commitment in the first instance to not proactively be engaged with warfare coupled with promoting a change of attitude that begins to move towards a more pacifist stance. Barclay in the *Apology* takes a similar approach.[327]

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[321] The full name is the '*Society for the Promotion of Permanent & Universal Peace*'; see Joseph John Gurney, *An Address to Ministers of the Gospel, and to All Professors of Christianity, on the Subject of War and Peace; Written at the Request of the Society for the Promotion of Permanent & Universal Peace* (London: Harvey & Darton; Norwich: Josiah Fletcher [1840?]), 1. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100106561204.0x000001. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *An address to Ministers of the Gospel*.
[322] In the *Memoirs*, Braithwaite comments in connection with the period of 1840 about 'war … now raging in Syria, and the threatening of hostilities between France and England' see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 239. This situation had greatly disturbed Gurney; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 240.
[323] Gurney, *An Address to Ministers of the Gospel*, 1.
[324] Gurney, *An Address to Ministers of the Gospel*, 2.
[325] Gurney, *An Address to Ministers of the Gospel*, 2-3.
[326] Gurney, *An Address to Ministers of the Gospel*, 6.
[327] Barclay, *Apology*, 540.

The second main argument used by Gurney stresses life's sacred nature, the horrors of recent conflicts and the implications of someone being killed with regards to their eternal spiritual position.[328] The tract therefore represents an opportunity and attempt by Gurney to witness to Christians outside the Society of Friends his own understanding of what it means to follow Christ. It avoids partisanship with no specific reference to Quakerism but it carries with it the clear message that the 'under the full light of Christianity' warfare and the death penalty should be opposed.[329]

5.8.7 Testimony as a spiritual nexus of Christian discipleship

This chapter section has focused on two of the Quaker testimonies, the refusal to swear oaths or engage in any form of warfare. Along with the other Quaker testimonies and practices,[330] they can be seen as an expression of a distinctive form of Christian discipleship. In the *Observations*, Gurney describes how Friends came to adopt these 'Christian testimonies'[331] as a result of being 'led into the practice of them by the Spirit of Truth', and are seen by him to be mirrored in the biblical narrative and having 'an edifying tendency' both within Quakerism and across other different Christian traditions.[332] The testimonies are therefore a defining witness of Friends and collectively act in what I term a *spiritual nexus*- a coming together both of the inward work of the Holy Spirit and the Scriptures.

It is also important to acknowledge that Gurney does not see the testimonies working in isolation from each other, arguing that any form of partial engagement with these principles is flawed and results in a breakdown of the 'harmony' which

[328] Gurney, *An Address to Ministers of the Gospel*, 6-8.
[329] Gurney, *An Address to Ministers of the Gospel*, 8.
[330] Gurney, *Observations*, 96.
[331] Gurney, *Observations*, 453.
[332] Gurney, *Observations*, 453- both quotations.

holistically exists between them.[333] The reader is reminded of the dangers of being '*formalist*',[334] hypocritical or lacking love[335] which can also lead to the standard of the testimony becoming devalued.[336] Consequently their *right* practice and grounding are vital. As Gurney makes clear, in his view if the Quaker testimonies become 'separated from *vital Christianity*' they will be less efficacious and secure and so he considers that it is crucial they remain underpinned by Christian faith and belief.[337]

5.9 Chapter summary

The theme of this chapter has been Christian Quaker discipleship and how the nature of Gurney's beliefs relate to the spiritual life, its practice and witness. This has been explored in three main ways, with each approach using as its principal source a different publication by Gurney. The sources have been examined in detail with key elements of discipleship identified and evaluated. Comparsions have also been made with early Quaker beliefs as mainly reflected in Barclay's *Apology*. The key arguments which have been presented are summarised below.

1. *Discipleship seen as the imitation of Christ*. Gurney's advocacy in his publication, *Moral Character*,[338] that the moral attributes of Christ provide a perfect model and pattern for Christians to follow, repesents a form of moral or virtue based theology which adds an essentially new dimension to Quaker spirituality .[339]

2. *Discipleship seen as a growth in personal holiness*. Scholarship's relative neglect of Gurney's work, *Habitual Exercise*,[340] has meant that his spirituality with

[333] Gurney, *Observations*, 457.
[334] Gurney, *Observations*, 459.
[335] Gurney, *Observations*, 459-60.
[336] Gurney, *Observations*, 460.
[337] Gurney, *Observations*, 462.
[338] Gurney, "Moral Character."
[339] See section 5.2 for further details.
[340] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*.

regards to holiness has been undervalued. Examination of this publication highlights that central to Gurney's understanding of the Christian life is the need for individuals to develop their love towards God; this is necessary both for this life and in preparation for heaven.

The role of the Holy Spirit is key to the inward spiritual transformation that is necessary for this to come about in the believer. The sanctifying process that forms a major part of this inward change can be nurtured with the help of the Holy Spirit through development and practice of what Gurney terms 'acts of the soul'[341] (*ACTS*). These *ACTS* which are set within a broader Trinitarian based framework include 'contemplation' and 'communion' with God and along with several others, they collectively can help a person grow in holiness.[342] *ACTS* can be seen as the outcome of an implicit deconstruction of the sanctification process by Gurney in order to identify its chief elements, and it represents a further innovation in Quaker theology. Similarly, Gurney's particular emphasis on spiritual preparation to attain a '*meetness* for the heavenly state'[343] forms an important part of his beliefs.

It is also argued, that on balance, in Gurney's published writings the spiritual journey of the believer is seen as one which continually strives towards Christian perfection rather than attaining it. The term *asymptotic Christian perfection* has been used to convey this idea of perpetual spiritual growth and it is also seen in Gurney's speculative views about heaven in which he considers a person's holiness and love towards God working in unison and continuing to grow.[344]

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[341] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 186.
[342] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 186.
[343] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 6.
[344] See sections 5.3 to 5.7 for further details.

3. *Discipleship seen as an expression of Quaker testimony and witness*. Gurney's *Observations*[345] is used to evaluate his views concerning two of the Quaker testimonies, namely the rejection of oaths and war. His beliefs closely align with those of early Friends in upholding these testimonies albeit with some differences in the theology which underpins them, particulary with regards to opposition to warfare. Based on Gurney's insights, the Quaker testimonies in general are seen as a distinctive example of Christian discipleship and witness to the wider church.[346]

[345] Gurney, *Observations*.
[346] See section 5.8 for further details.

CHAPTER 6: GURNEY AS A NEW TESTAMENT QUAKER

6.1 Chapter introduction

In this chapter, Gurney's Christological beliefs in relation to Quakerism are examined through three different lenses; evangelicalism, Orthodox Quakerism and a definition of Quakerism which Gurney himself formulated.

Modern day scholarship has usually described Gurney as an Evangelical Quaker, epitomised in Elizabeth Isichei's comment that 'He was so pre-eminent in the movement that its opponents often called Quaker evangelicalism 'Gurneyism'.'[1] Gurney's theology was also aligned to aspects of the Orthodox Quaker tradition that emerged within North American Quakerism in the early part of the nineteenth century, and so he could therefore be seen in some ways as an Orthodox Friend. Hamm for example, has argued that Gurney's beliefs about the Bible coincided with the views of Orthodox Quakers at this time[2] and Bruce Dorsey has also commented that whilst in America, Gurney was supportive of the Scripture based outreach activities which had been started by Orthodox Friends.[3]

It is not disputed that Gurney's beliefs contained within his publications and the reports of his addresses, reflect both an Evangelical[4] and Orthodox Quakerism. Nonetheless, it is proposed that these terms are neither sufficiently precise enough

[1] Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, 3-4.
[2] Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, 21.
[3] Bruce Dorsey, "Friends Becoming Enemies: Philadelphia Benevolence and the Neglected Era of American Quaker History," *Journal of the Early Republic* 18, no. 3 (1998): 422. https://doi.org/10.2307/3124672.
[4] An extract in *The Friend*, 1870 of some of Gurney's unpublished writings included a comment by him that he and others were not 'a whit less evangelical' than those who had left the Society during the Beacon controversy to form the '*Evangelical Friends*'; see "The Beacon Controversy. [from the Unpublished Diary of J. J. Gurney.]," Eleventh month 1, 1870, 259.

nor adequately comprehensive to fully capture the distinctive elements of his theology and the broader vision of his Quaker faith. Additionally, they do not take on board Gurney's *own* interpretation of what he considered Quakerism to be and whether, as it is contended in this chapter, this provides a more accurate representation of his beliefs.

In relation to *evangelical*, it is argued in section 6.2 that whilst in a general sense Gurney's theological position can be described as being evangelical, there are elements of his belief and practice which do not fall into this category. Additionally, it is suggested that early Quakerism itself had some evangelical based features which further indicates that the term is too broad to use as a *distinguishing* feature.

In section 6.3, Gurney's engagement with two different Quaker communities during his visit to the United States is evaluated and used to demonstrate the Orthodox Quaker elements of his beliefs. However, based on a detailed examination of criticisms of Gurney's theology made by John Wilbur, it is argued in section 6.4 that although Gurney's views coincide with several tenants of Orthodox Quaker belief there are also some theological differences which make it harder to categorise his theology solely in this way.

Having identified some of the limitations of describing Gurney as an Evangelical or Orthodox Friend, the remaining part of the chapter draws upon Gurney's own views concerning the nature of Quakerism. The starting point for this evaluation is a contribution written by Gurney for the *Christian Observer* periodical.[5] A study of this source has identified four key features connected to his definition of Quakerism (6.5). In sections 6.6 to 6.9 these are discussed in turn and relate to

[5] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 273-76.

Gurney's understanding of the nature of divine authority (6.6), core Christian beliefs (6.7), the distinctive nature of Quaker beliefs and practice being linked to the agency of the Holy Spirit (6.8), and Quakerism seen as rooted in the teachings and practices of the New Testament, and therefore an expression of Primitive Christianity (6.9). In section 6.10, it is argued that Gurney's views represent a re-alignment in the 'theology of the hedge' both within Quakerism and between Quakerism and the wider Church. Section 6.11 concludes the main arguments of this chapter and based on Gurney's beliefs, the term *New Testament Quaker*, is devised to portray his theology.

A wide range of Gurney's works are used in the chapter but of particular note is the aforementioned *Christian Observer* article which appears not to have been used before in any academic research. Gurney's work, *Puseyism*,[6] used in the context of this chapter to provide an insight into his opposition to church hierarchical structures, has also received little attention within scholarship.

A chapter summary is presented in section 6.12.

6.2 Evangelicalism and Evangelical

6.2.1 Introduction

David Bebbington has proposed that 'Evangelical religion',[7] which he considered started within the British context from about 1730 onwards,[8] is characterised by four particular features.[9] These are '*conversionism*', in which an individual recognises the need for a life changing personal transformation; '*activism*', reflected in the convert's efforts and lifestyle to encourage others to adopt the faith;

[6] Gurney, *Puseyism*.
[7] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 3.
[8] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 1.
[9] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 2.

'*biblicism*', in which there is a strong emphasis and devotion placed upon the Scriptures and '*crucicentrism*', which highlights the importance of the atonement.[10] These four key criteria, collectively used as a framework in which to define evangelicalism, have been well received within modern day scholarship as Timothy Larsen, for example, has evidenced.[11] Larsen has also proposed some additional features of evangelicalism[12] to help provide a further context to Bebbington's model. These include the idea that evangelicals are 'orthodox Protestant[s]'[13] who believe in the Trinity[14] and are very likely to 'explicitly accept the Apostles' Creed and the Nicene Creed'.[15]

It is also important to acknowledge that a distinction can potentially be made between *evangelical* and *evangelicalism*. As Mark Hutchinson and John Wolffe comment, the former 'has [had] a much longer history, as both a noun and an adjective' whereas ''evangelical*ism*'' was a term which emerged sometime in the early part of the nineteenth century 'as a concept or movement'.[16] Indeed, Mark Noll highlights that '*evangelical*', meaning 'the *good news*',[17] has been part of the 'broad

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[10] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 3- all quotations.
[11] Timothy Larsen, "Defining and Locating Evangelicalism," ed. Timothy Larsen and Daniel J. Treier, *The Cambridge Companion to Evangelical Theology* (2007), https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL0521846986. 1.
[12] Informally called 'the Larsen Pentagon'; see Larsen, "Defining and Locating Evangelicalism," 1.
[13] Larsen, "Defining and Locating Evangelicalism," 1.
[14] Larsen, "Defining and Locating Evangelicalism," 3-4.
[15] Larsen, "Defining and Locating Evangelicalism," 4. Larsen also identifies an evangelical as someone who places great importance upon Christ's atonement and the Scriptures, and 'who stands in the tradition of the global Christian networks arising from the eighteenth-century revival movements associated with John Wesley and George Whitefield'. The emphasis placed by evangelicals on the role of the Holy Spirit, particularly with regards to an individual's conversion and engagement within the wider world is also highlighted; see Larsen, "Defining and Locating Evangelicalism," 1.
[16] Mark Hutchinson and John Wolffe, "Understanding Evangelicalism," *A Short History of Global Evangelicalism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139019811.002. 5-6.
[17] Mark A. Noll, "Defining Evangelicalism," ed. Donald M. Lewis and Richard V. Pierard, *Global Evangelicalism: Theology, History and Culture in Regional Perspective* (Westmont: InterVarsity Press, 2014), ProQuest Ebook Central, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/bham/detail.action?docID=2027790. 19.

Christian tradition' since the early days of the Church.[18] Noll has also argued that from the eighteenth century onwards the term became associated with a particular strand of Protestantism which emphasised the redemptive power of personal salvation through Christ and a desire to communicate this to others.[19]

In the context of this study, the key point I wish to make is that given the potential diversity of meanings that lie behind terms such as 'evangelical'[20] and evangelicalism, their use to *accurately* categorise religious beliefs can be somewhat limited. For example, characterising Gurney's theology as evangelical might imply that early Quakerism was not, and yet as both John Punshon[21] and Grubb'[22] have commented, the early Quaker movement was evangelistic in its nature. On the basis of Bebbington's criteria,[23] I also suggest there *are some* evangelical elements which would resonate with aspects of early Quakerism[24] although the overlap is only

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[18] Noll, "Defining Evangelicalism," 18.
[19] Noll, "Defining Evangelicalism," 20.
[20] To further elaborate on this point, *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*, for example, provides several possible descriptors of the term, all of which are linked to 'having to do with the gospel'. These include being linked to 'the teachings and way of life found in the Gospels', a declaration of its 'good tidings', part of the name and identity of some Protestant denominations around the world, and a reference to Christian traditions which stress 'proclamation and personal transformation'. The term is also defined as sometimes being used in a critical way to highlight what is perceived as religious over-enthusiasm. See The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity, "Evangelical," in *The Cambridge Dictionary of Christianity*, ed. Daniel Patte (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 392-93, all quotations.
[21] John Punshon, "Some Reflections on Quakers and the Evangelical Spirit," *Truth's Bright Embrace: Essays and Poems in Honor of Arthur O. Roberts. Paper 6* (1996): 212. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/truths_bright/6.
[22] Edward Grubb, *Quaker Thought and History. A Volume of Essays* (London: The Swarthmore Press, Ltd, 1925), 6.
[23] It is acknowledged that Bebbington's model is based on a time period which started eighty years or so after the beginning of the Quaker movement. Nonetheless, I suggest this does not mean that *elements* of evangelicalism could not have existed earlier.
[24] For example, Robert Barclay (of Reigate) argued that 'Fox anticipated Wesley and Whitfield in his application of field preaching to the spreading of the Gospel' and that close parallels in their outreach work existed between them; see Robert Barclay [of Reigate], *The Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth: Considered Principally with Reference to the Influence of Church Organization on the Spread of Christianity*, 3rd ed. (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1879), 311, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nc01.ark:/13960/t8ff5c66j. I suggest that the 'convincement' experience of early Friends, their inward spiritual transformation and desire to engage in outreach with the wider world as described by Dandelion [see Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 23-24.] mirrors the

partial.[25] Kershner has similarly highlighted that modern day 'Evangelical Friends can see the roots of contemporary evangelical Quakerism in Quaker origins of the 1650s'.[26] I therefore argue that as it is not straightforward to fully dissociate evangelical features from early Quakerism, *evangelical* as a sole descriptor of Gurney's beliefs is potentially problematic. This becomes even more apparent in the next sub-section where evidence is presented to show that Gurney's beliefs are sometimes at variance from evangelical norms.

6.2.2 Evangelical Quakerism and Gurney

Several theological features within '*conversionism*'[27] are seen by Bebbington to epitomise this strand of evangelicalism. These include belief in being 'justified by faith' and as a result the convert being confident and salvifically 'assured' of this.[28] Gurney's affirmation of the importance of being justified by faith is well established in his works[29] and is underpinned by his complete trust in the effectiveness of Christ's atoning sacrifice in enabling a repentant believer to become acceptable to God.[30] In this sense, Gurney upholds the idea of an assurance of salvation but it is also clear from his writings that he considers salvation cannot be guaranteed without a life-long inward process of sanctification.[31] The possibility of falling away from the Christian

'*conversionism*' and '*activism*' criteria [see Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 3.]

[25] The early Quaker emphasis on the Light Within rather than the historic Christ and His atonement (for example; see Cooper, *A Living Faith*, 16-17.) would I suggest represent a distancing from this element of evangelical belief (see Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 3.)

[26] Jon R. Kershner, "Evangelical Quakerism and Global Christianity," in *The Cambridge Companion to Quakerism*, ed. Stephen W. Angell and Pink Dandelion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 293.

[27] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 3.

[28] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 6- both quotations.

[29] See section 4.4 for further details.

[30] For example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 414-15.

[31] See section 4.5 for further details.

faith is therefore seen by him as something that could happen.[32]

In the *Memoirs*, an extract from Gurney's journal for 1809, highlights his belief that he was 'prejudiced against that set of people who call themselves Evangelical' because of the greater importance which he attached to 'good works'.[33] This insight into Gurney's thinking indicates a self-awareness that there may be some distance between him and other evangelicals on particular aspects of belief. Similarly, Bebbington's observation that there were a few evangelically minded individuals in the nineteenth century who placed an emphasis on an individual's own conviction to attain salvation rather than reliance upon the work of the Holy Spirit,[34] would also be at variance with the importance which Gurney attached to the role of the Holy Spirit in leading a person to seek redemption.[35]

Bebbington has argued that a vital issue within the evangelical movement in the first half of the nineteenth century concerned whether or not the Anglican practice of infant baptism undermined the idea of the necessity of an individual being converted at a later time in their life when they had made their own commitment to the Christian faith.[36] Given Gurney's rejection of outward baptism but affirmation of a spiritual baptism taking place when a repentant individual commits to Christ,[37] this can be seen as another example of how his theology sometimes sat apart from

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[32] Belief that apostasy can happen reflects an Arminian based theology; see for example, Keith D. Stanglin, "Arminian, Remonstrant, and Early Methodist Theologies," in *The Oxford Handbook of Early Modern Theology, 1600-1800*, ed. Ulrich L. Lehner, Richard A. Muller, and A. G. Roeber (Oxford Handbooks, 2016; online edn, Oxford Academic, 3 Mar. 2014), 391. https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199937943.013.11. Bright has also argued that elements of Arminian theology can be found in some of Gurney's writings and that this was also an indicator of his closeness to a form of Methodism which was itself Arminian; see Bright, "Joseph John Gurney (1788-1847), a Study in Evangelical Quaker Biography," 214.

[33] The extract is dated '*April 2nd*, 1809'; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 50-both quotations.

[34] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 8.

[35] For example, see Gurney, *Observations*, 26.

[36] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 9.

[37] See sub-sections 2.6.1.to 2.6.3 for further details.

mainstream evangelicalism.[38] This is also evidenced in his work, *Lady's Album*, where he questions the value in mission work of judging church growth simply by the number of people being baptised rather than focusing on their inward spiritual renewal.[39] Hamm has also commented that evangelical Christians place a strong emphasis on a 'conversion experience' and consider this an event of 'new birth' which happens at a specific point in the life of the individual when a commitment to Christ is made.[40] In contrast, he argues that Quakers in early nineteenth century America sought 'the seed of Christ, the Inner Light, to lead believers *gradually* [emphasis added] into salvation'.[41] This seems to mirror Gurney's own experience,[42] described by Spencer as a 'gradual turning to plain Quakerism'.[43] It could therefore be argued that Gurney's convincement does not coincide with an evangelical perspective of what this would entail.[44]

With regards to *'activism*',[45] Gurney's works reflect his desire to share his faith

[38] As a further example, F. W. Head has argued that from the emergence of Methodism in the eighteenth century and its relationship with Anglican Evangelicalism there was common ground between the two traditions concerning the baptismal and eucharistic sacraments in that these were considered essential; see F. W. Head, *Six Great Anglicans: A Study of the History of the Church of England in the Nineteenth Century* (London: Student Christian Movement, 1929), 10.
[39] *Lady's Album*, 6.
[40] Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, 1.
[41] Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, 2.
[42] For example; see extract from Gurney's autobiography published in the *Memoirs*; Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 84-85.
[43] Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 140. Spencer also argues that Gurney sought to downplay any differences this may seem to have in comparison with an evangelical notion of conversion; see Spencer, *Holiness: The Soul of Quakerism. An Historical Analysis of the Theology of Holiness in the Quaker Tradition*, 140-41.
[44] Although it should also be acknowledged that Bebbington has suggested that within British evangelicalism, opinions differed between evangelicals regarding whether the conversion process could happen over an extended period of time or not (see Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 7-8). Consequently, this subjectivity of the conversion experience and the heterogeneity of views concerning it, provides a further illustration I suggest, that the term *evangelical* can sometimes be of limited value in attempting to convey a particular aspect of religious belief and practice. Edwina Newman has also highlighted some historic examples of diversity of experience amongst Friends on this subject; see Edwina Newman, "John Brewin's Tracts: The Written Word, Evangelicalism, and the Quaker Way in Mid Nineteenth Century England," *Quaker Studies* 9, no. 2, Article 7 (2005): 240. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/quakerstudies/vol9/iss2/7.
[45] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 3.

both within the Society of Friends and the wider church. The concluding section of *Essays*, for example, is rich in language which seeks to persuade the reader to explore the Christian faith.[46] In *Letter to a Friend*,[47] Gurney's willingness on a personal level to help encourage an individual to accept the Christian faith is also very evident.[48] In his public addresses, there is similarly strong evidence of evangelical ministry in seeking to bring to the hearts and minds of his audience a commitment to Christ.[49] Gurney's beliefs and practice, however, did not extend to joining the *Evangelical Alliance* when it was founded in 1846.[50] A report of the organisation's conference in that year, indicates there was representation from a wide range of Christian traditions including from the Beaconite 'Evangelical Friends'

[46] Gurney, *Essays*, 519-47.
[47] Gurney, *Letter to a Friend*.
[48] Although the name of the person is not given in *A Letter to a Friend*, the publication was based on extracts of letters written by Gurney to Dr James Alderson, father of Amelia Opie, the writer. A few years after Gurney's death in 1847, William Allinson published his 'original autograph letters'; see Wm. J. Allinson, *Letters to Dr. Alderson: The Original and History of the Celebrated Tract on Redemption, Now First Printed from the Autograph Letters. Compiled by Wm. J. Allinson* (Historical Quaker Books (43), 1867), 5, http://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/quakerbooks/43. Isabelle Cosgrave has highlighted the role played by Gurney in Amelia Opie's conversion to Quakerism; see Isabelle Marie Cosgrave, '"White Lies': Amelia Opie, Fiction, and the Quakers" (Doctorate Order No. 10094283, University of Exeter, 2014), 134-48, https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/white-lies-amelia-opie-fiction-quakers/docview/1780275326/se-2.
[49] For example, based on an unauthorised short-hand report of an address at Arch Street Meeting House, Philadelphia on 18th February 1838, Gurney urges people 'to throw aside your flimsy webs of unbelief, your hard heart of infidelity, and to humble yourselves this night, under the sceptre of the risen and glorified Jesus'; see Gurney, *Sermons and Prayers, Delivered in the City of Philadelphia, by Joseph John Gurney. Taken in Short-Hand*, 41. On the 19th July 1840, speaking at the same venue, he is also reported as saying 'I implore my endeared friends of every name and class, to follow, follow, follow the Lord Jesus'; see Gurney, *Sermon and Prayer, by Joseph John Gurney, Delivered at Arch Street Meeting, Philadelphia, on the Evening of First-Day, Seventh Month 19th, 1840*.
[50] In the *Memoirs*, a letter dated '9th mo., 25th, 1840' from Gurney to Sir Culling Eardley Smith, is re-printed in connection with what Braithwaite assumes to be Gurney's reply to Smith's invitation to be associated with a future Alliance [Smith subsequently chaired the proceedings of the 1846 Evangelical Alliance conference; see Evangelical Alliance, *Report of the Proceedings of the Conference; Held at Freemasons' Hall, London, from August 19th to September 2nd Inclusive, 1846* (London: Partridge and Oakey, 1847), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433068197601.] In the letter Gurney explains that he does not favour 'attempting a *Church union* among Christians of different denominations' which he also links to the possibility that this will involve 'a doctrinal test' for membership. Instead, he argues that irrespective of particular Christian traditions and differences which can exist between them, unity is found with '*all* who love and serve God, and believe in Jesus Christ, … are members of one true, living, and catholic church, being baptized by one Spirit into one body'. See Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 235- all quotations.

but not from LYM.[51] Gurney's views coincided with many of the articles of faith that underpinned the Alliance's position but I argue this would not extend to an affirmation of '"the Trinity of Persons"', nor support for the outward practice of '"the ordinances of Baptism and the Lord's Supper"' or acceptance of a '"Divine institution of the Christian Ministry"'.[52]

Gurney's belief in the authority of the Scriptures[53] and the importance of them being read on a regular basis[54] dovetails well with the third criterion for evangelicalism, '*biblicism*'.[55] Bebbington has also argued that in the early years of the nineteenth century, whilst evangelicals viewed the Scriptures as divinely 'inspired', a degree of diversity existed amongst them in terms how this was understood.[56] However, he comments that this began to change in later years with some evangelicals, such as Robert Haldane, advocating that the Scriptures should be seen as being inerrant.[57] Thus whilst the importance and authority of the Bible can be

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[51] Evangelical Alliance, *Report of the Proceedings of the Conference; Held at Freemasons' Hall, London, from August 19th to September 2nd Inclusive, 1846*, Appendix C, xcviii. 'Evangelical Friends' were the seceded Quaker community formed following the *Beacon* controversy; see Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 94.

[52] The Evangelical Alliance's Articles at the time of its formation can be found in Evangelical Alliance, *Report of the Proceedings of the Conference; Held at Freemasons' Hall, London, from August 19th to September 2nd Inclusive, 1846*, 189. It is interesting to note that the *Evangelical Magazine*, which supported the development of the Alliance, identified the organisation's 'clause respecting ordinances' as problematic for Quakers and regretted that on this basis someone like Gurney was excluded; see *Evangelical Magazine and Missionary Chronicle*, "Evangelical Alliance," February 1846, 63, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah6lsn.

[53] See sub-section 1.3.2 for further details.

[54] See sub-section 1.3.4 for further details.

[55] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 3.

[56] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 13.

[57] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 13-14, 87. Haldane had also published a critical response to Gurney's work *Terms of Union*; see Robert Haldane, *Mr Joseph John Gurney's Defence of Union with Socinians in the British and Foreign Bible Society, and of the Omission of Prayer by That Society, Proved to Be Untenable* (Edinburgh: Printed for William Whyte and Co. Longman & Co.; J. Hamilton & Co.; Seely and Sons, and J. Nisbet, London; and W. Carson, Dublin1833), 5-6, http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100022982671.0x000001. Gareth Atkins has also argued that evangelicalism became progressively more conservative in its outlook during the third and fourth decades of the nineteenth century; see Gareth Atkins, "Anglican Evangelical Theology, C. 1820–1850: The Case of Edward Bickersteth," *Journal of Religious History* 38, no. 1 (2014): 4. https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9809.12134.

considered a hallmark of evangelicalism, there was not uniformity of opinion as to how the Scriptures were to be interpreted. Swift, for example, has suggested that Gurney's openness to subjects like Science being a useful tool in understanding the Scriptures could be seen 'as notably relaxed for an Evangelical committed to the Bible as inspired inspiration'.[58] Whilst I would maintain that Gurney's overall position concerning the Scriptures was based upon a belief that their perspicuity or plain sense constituted the principal way for their interpretation,[59] his view that the biblical narrative does not support the idea of outward rites and sacraments meant that his position on this subject was noticeably different to that held by the wider Christian Church.[60] Martin also notes that Gurney's concerns about the use of prayers at meetings of the BFBS had led to some tensions which 'eventually turned some evangelicals [in the BFBS] against the Quakers'.[61] It is also important to acknowledge that in situations where the Christian faith as represented by the biblical narrative is not known to individuals, Gurney *did not* consider this in itself to preclude the possibility of their redemption.[62]

A key element of Bebbington's fourth criterion of evangelicalism, '*crucicentrism*',[63] concerns the nature of the atonement. He argues that the evangelical movement's adoption of 'substitutionary atonement' represented a distinctive theological position in comparison to the wider Christian Church.[64] For

[58] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 159. Swift does acknowledge however, that aligning the biblical account of creation with the scientific consensus of the day was more challenging for Gurney, although he was able to do this to at least his own satisfaction; see Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 159-60.
[59] For example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 110-11.
[60] See section 2.6 for further details.
[61] Martin, "Quakers, the Bible, and the British and Foreign Bible Society," 23.
[62] Gurney, *Letter to the Followers of Elias Hicks*, 20.
[63] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 3.
[64] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 15.

Gurney, the atonement was undoubtedly a fundamental part of his theology upon which he placed significant emphasis.[65] In the *Essays*, he comments how different biblical texts collectively provide a wide range of narratives and insights about the atonement and that these usually reflect a '*sacrificial*' nature, describing for example, how Christ gave 'his life a ransom for us; as suffering and dying, not only for our sakes, but instead of us' and that He underwent 'for us an exacted penalty'.[66] These descriptions implicitly suggest a form of substitutionary atonement and therefore align with the evangelical perspective as defined by Bebbington. However, although Gurney does use the language of 'propitiatory sacrifice', he does not see any scriptural foundation to suggest that this was done for any purposes of divine appeasement.[67] Instead he describes how he considers the atonement was an expression of God's love for all of humanity and that Christ was 'a *voluntary* cooperator' in this salvific plan.[68] This sentiment can also be seen in the report of an address made by him at Arch Street Meeting House, Philadelphia in 1838, in which he comments that Christ's 'sacrifice was the consequence of the unchangeable holiness and love of God'.[69]

Turning briefly to Larsen's model of evangelicalism, Gurney's theology aligns to its criteria regarding the importance given by evangelicals to the role of the Holy Spirit, the Bible, and the atonement.[70] However, whilst Gurney upholds key elements

[65] See section 4.7 for further details.
[66] Gurney, *Essays*, 410.
[67] Gurney, *Essays*, 415.
[68] Gurney, *Essays*, 416.
[69] Gurney, *Sermons and Prayers, Delivered in the City of Philadelphia, by Joseph John Gurney. Taken in Short-Hand*, 35.
[70] For example; see sections 5.4, 1.3 and 4.7 respectively.

of Trinitarian doctrine, his unwillingness as a Quaker to use creeds[71] or publicly affirm the term *Trinity* sets him apart from evangelicals in the wider Christian Church.[72]

There are also two further points to highlight. First, it should not be assumed that evangelical Quakerism and Quietism (however these terms may be defined) are completely antithetical to each other. The distinction between Quietist and Evangelical Friend can sometimes be blurred. Jones for example, saw the Quaker Thomas Shillitoe as part of both these traditions[73] and in a report of an address given by Sarah Grubb, both Quietist and evangelical sentiments are evident in her ministry.[74] Similarly, Bright has identified several features of religious practice which he sees as being common to both traditions[75] including that Gurney's reliance upon the work of the Holy Spirit in his public addresses coincided with Quietist theology.[76] H. Larry Ingle has also suggested that aspects of the theology of Elisha Bates, an evangelical American Friend,[77] were aligned to some of the early Quaker beliefs.[78]

The second point concerns Gurney himself. His positive engagement with evangelicals outside of the Society[79] and the friendships he had established,[80] is

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[71] Gurney, *Observations*, 3.
[72] For further details see section 3.3.
[73] Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1*, 281. Cynthia Kerman has also presented Shillitoe as being a direct opponent to Hicks' views and ministry; see Cynthia E. Kerman, "Elias Hicks and Thomas Shilltoe: Two Paths Diverge," *Quaker Studies* 5, no. 1, Article 3 (2000): 22-26. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/quakerstudies/vol5/iss1/3.
[74] *The British Friend*, "Outline of Sermon, by Sarah Grubb, at the Friends' Meeting, Birmingham, on Ist Day Morning, 12th of 5th Month, 1839. For the British Friend," 4th month 30th, 1844, 61.
[75] Bright, "'Friends Have No Cause to Be Ashamed of Being by Others Thought Non-Evangelical': Unity and Diversity of Belief among Early Nineteenth-Century British Quakers," 341-46.
[76] Bright, "'Friends Have No Cause to Be Ashamed of Being by Others Thought Non-Evangelical': Unity and Diversity of Belief among Early Nineteenth-Century British Quakers," 344-46.
[77] Bates was baptised in 1836 and subsequently left the Society; see Donald G. Good, "Elisha Bates and the Hicksite Controversy," *Quaker History* 70, no. 2 (1981): 44-46. https://doi.org/10.1353/qkh.1981.0014.
[78] H. Larry Ingle, *Quakers in Conflict: The Hicksite Reformation* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1986), 28.
[79] For example; see Gurney, *Reminiscences of Chalmers, Simeon, Wilberforce, &c.*
[80] For example; see his affectionate tribute about Charles Simeon; William Carus, ed., *Memoirs of the Life of the Rev. Charles Simeon, M.A. Late Senior Fellow of King's College, and Minister of Trinty*

likely to have influenced his thinking to a degree as Russell, for example, has suggested.[81] Whilst it is clear that several elements of Gurney's religious beliefs aligned with those held by evangelicals of his acquaintance,[82] it nonetheless should not be assumed that they were always operating within the same theological framework. For example, in Charles Simeon's *Horae Homileticae*, his discourse on John 1:9 makes no reference to belief in there being a universal *Light Within* each person and which is separate from the human conscience.[83] Neither was Gurney always in full agreement with evangelicals within the Society of Friends. His autobiographical comment as recorded in the *Memoirs*, that Crewdson and himself '"had started in our race from opposite points, had met, and crossed on the road"'[84] is telling and suggests he was travelling on a trajectory which was away from a complete embracement of all aspects of evangelical religion.

6.3 Orthodox Quakerism: the links with Gurney's beliefs

6.3.1 Introduction

As Hamm has documented, growing tension in the 1820s within American Quakerism between the Quaker minister, Elias Hicks, and those who opposed his views culminated in the schism of PYM in 1827. The outcome of this separation resulted in the establishment of both Hicksite and Orthodox factions.[85] Hamm

Church, Cambridge. With a Selection from His Writings and Correspondence, 3rd ed. (London: J. Hatchard & Son, 1848), 477-80.
[81] Russell, *The History of Quakerism*, 333-34.
[82] For example; see Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 124-25.
[83] Charles Simeon, *Horae Homileticae: Or Discourses (Principally in the Form of Skeletons) Now First Digested into One Continued Series, and Forming a Commentary Upon Every Book of the Old and New Testament; to Which Is Annexed, an Improved Edition of a Translation of Claude's Essay on the Composition of a Sermon. In Twenty-One Volumes. Vol. 13. Luke XVII. To John XII* (London: Holdsworth and Ball, 1833), 189-92.
[84] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 15.
[85] Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, 15-18.

suggests that the reasons for the schism were complicated[86] but included doctrinal issues in which Orthodox Friends considered Hicks to have rejected belief in the divinity of Christ and His atoning sacrifice, underplayed the role of the Bible and placed greater emphasis on the Inward Light.[87]

In the two sub-sections which follow, Gurney's beliefs are evaluated with regards to Orthodox Quakerism set within this North American context during the time of his visit to the continent;[88] a visit which has been variously reported as either the cause of later schisms within American Quakerism[89] or a highly successful, popular and influential ministry.[90] Two specific examples are used to demonstrate how he was able to emphasise different aspects of his faith to distinguish differences *within* Quakerism, namely, between the Orthodox and Hicksite branches of the Society (6.3.2) and to affirm unity of key beliefs *between* Orthodox Quakerism and the wider Christian Church (6.3.3).

6.3.2 Gurney's address to Baltimore Hicksite Friends

In 1839, Gurney wrote to Hicksite Quakers in the Baltimore area, explaining that because of his differences with them concerning religious belief he had been

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[86] Hamm, "Hicksite, Orthodox, and Evangelical Quakerism, 1805-1887," 66.
[87] Hamm, "Hicksite, Orthodox, and Evangelical Quakerism, 1805-1887," 65.
[88] Gurney arrived in the United States in August 1837. In addition to visiting several parts of the country he also travelled to Canada and the West Indies [see James A. Rawley, "Joseph John Gurney's Mission to America, 1837-1840," *Journal of American History* 49, no. 4 (1963): 656. https://doi.org/10.2307/1895752.] He arrived back in England just under three years later in July 1840 [see Rawley, "Joseph John Gurney's Mission to America, 1837-1840," 673.]
[89] For example, see Christopher Densmore, "The Fragmentation of North American Friends: Or, What J.J. Gurney Did When He Was Not at Home," *Canadian Quaker History Journal* 62 (1997): 9. https://cfha.info/journal62.pdf.
[90] For example the American Quaker, John Greenleaf Whittier, described how he 'never saw or felt a more solemn meeting' at which Gurney had spoken with an audience in its thousands; see Samuel T. Pickard, *Life and Letters of John Greenleaf Whittier. In Two Volumes. Volume 1. With Illustrations* (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Company, 1895), 258, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwk6mp. As a further example, Nicole Cline has highlighted the significant impact of Gurney's visit to America on the life and work of the Quaker, Francis T. King; Nicole Srilata Cline, "Francis T. King and the Baltimore Association to Advise and Assist Friends in the Southern States" (Masters University of Birmingham, 2018), 17-19, https://etheses.bham.ac.uk//id/eprint/8769/.

unable to accept their invitation to attend a meeting for worship.[91] The letter afforded an opportunity for him to outline his views and highlight what he considered were the areas of theological disagreement. Central to Gurney's concerns was his opinion that several Hicksite leaders saw Jesus as 'a mere man' who did not possess a divine nature,[92] and that this in turn meant they were very likely to reject belief in Christ's atonement.[93] Affirmation of the divinity of Christ is therefore seen by Gurney to be a fundamental part of the Christian faith and he argues that this belief has *always* been a part of Quakerism.[94] The importance of these issues is such that Gurney suggests that those who *do* still believe in orthodox Christian doctrine should consider leaving the Hicksite fellowship whilst others who *knowingly* reject such doctrines are considered by him to be placing themselves in a state of spiritual danger.[95]

Gurney's stance on these doctrinal matters show a clear alignment with Orthodox Quakerism. For example, a *Declaration* produced by PYM (Orthodox) in 1828[96] makes clear that Hicksite beliefs were seen as rejecting Christ's divinity and 'the universal efficacy of his most satisfactory sacrifice for sin without the gates of

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[91] According to Gurney, sometime in 1838 he had asked permission to use the Hicksite meeting house in Lombard Street, Baltimore for a 'public meeting for worship' but having been refused this but invited to the usual Sunday meeting, he declined. In the follow-up letter that he wrote a few months later, the reason given was that he 'could not conscientiously involve myself in that religious fellowship with your body'; see Gurney, *Letter to the Followers of Elias Hicks*, 3 and 4 respectively. It is interesting to note that the letter's full title does not include the name 'Baltimore Yearly Meeting'. This reflects I suggest, Gurney's refusal to formally recognise Hicksite Friends as Quakers and would be in keeping with LYM's policy at the time not to correspond with Hicksite meetings; see Edwin B. Bronner, ""The Other Branch". London Yearly Meeting and the Hicksites 1827-1912," *Journal of the Friends Historical Society* Supplement 34 (1975): 9.

[92] Gurney, *Letter to the Followers of Elias Hicks*, 4. In his work addressed to Amelia Opie, Gurney comments that for 'Hicksite leaders', the meaning of 'the word Christ does not denote Jesus of Nazareth, but only a divine principle in the heart, to which they strangely ascribe the various offices of the Messiah'. He considers this as undermining 'the whole plan of redemption'. See Gurney, *A Journey in North America, Described in Familiar Letters to Amelia Opie*, 250-51.

[93] Gurney, *Letter to the Followers of Elias Hicks*, 5.

[94] Gurney, *Letter to the Followers of Elias Hicks*, 23.

[95] Gurney, *Letter to the Followers of Elias Hicks*, 8.

[96] Society of Friends, *A Declaration of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in Philadelphia, Respecting the Proceedings of Those Who Have Lately Separated from the Society: And Also, Showing the Contrast between Their Doctrines and Those Held by Friends*.

Jerusalem'.[97] However, for Baltimore Hicksite Friends, Gurney's letter was seen as a complete distortion of their views.[98] In their written response to him, they make clear they reject his assertion that they do not believe in Christ's divinity and that any individual holding such a view would be disowned by the Society.[99] Whether it might therefore be construed that Gurney had misinterpreted their beliefs is open to discussion.[100] However, the perception nonetheless amongst Orthodox Quakers, was that the divinity of Christ and related doctrinal matters had been denied by Hicks and others,[101] and consequently, Gurney was in keeping with their orthodox viewpoint.

6.3.3 Gurney's address to Adrian Monthly Meeting

A different perspective on Gurney's relationship with Orthodox Quakerism can be seen in his printed address in 1839 to Adrian Monthly Meeting, Michigan. The letter was triggered because of his concerns in learning about the departure of several Friends from this Quaker community.[102] Nancy Hewitt *et al* identifies Laura Smith Haviland as one of the Quakers who had tendered her resignation at this

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[97] Society of Friends, *A Declaration of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in Philadelphia, Respecting the Proceedings of Those Who Have Lately Separated from the Society: And Also, Showing the Contrast between Their Doctrines and Those Held by Friends*, 27.
[98] Baltimore Yearly Meeting [Hicksite], *A Defence of the Religious Society of Friends, Who Constitute the Yearly Meeting of Baltimore, against Certain Charges Circulated by Joseph John Gurney* (1839), 18, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=fhtgAAAAcAAJ.
[99] Baltimore Yearly Meeting [Hicksite], *A Defence of the Religious Society of Friends, Who Constitute the Yearly Meeting of Baltimore, against Certain Charges Circulated by Joseph John Gurney*, 3-4.
[100] Hamm has suggested that there were likely to have been some Hicksite Quakers who were nearer to the Orthodox position regarding the Scriptures; see Thomas D. Hamm, "'A Protest against Protestantism': Hicksite Friends and the Bible in the Nineteenth Century," *Quaker Studies* 6, no. 2, Article 4 (2002): 182. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/quakerstudies/vol6/iss2/4. In Gurney's letter there is also a recognition by him that a diversity of beliefs exist within the Baltimore Hicksite community when he refers to those 'who secretly entertain the good old faith of the Christian Quaker'; see Gurney, *Letter to the Followers of Elias Hicks*, 6.
[101] For example; see Society of Friends, *A Declaration of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in Philadelphia, Respecting the Proceedings of Those Who Have Lately Separated from the Society: And Also, Showing the Contrast between Their Doctrines and Those Held by Friends*, 21-25.
[102] Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*.

time.[103] In her publication, *A Woman's Life Work*, Haviland explains that she and other Friends left because of the Society's refusal to engage with abolitionist work outside of its own organisation and that there were also concerns about whether it held sufficiently orthodox Christian beliefs.[104] Gurney considers that the decision to leave was a mistaken one and seeks to outline in his letter the Society's orthodoxy on several theological subjects including '*the divine authority of the Holy Scriptures, and justification by faith in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ'*.[105] This is an example, I argue, in which Gurney attempts to show how Orthodox Quakerism is rooted in both early Quaker beliefs *and* orthodox Christianity.

In relation to the authority of the Scriptures, Gurney reproduces the relevant part of the 1836 LYM Epistle[106] which states that the Society had always held the Scriptures to be divinely inspired and the final written authority. It is significant that he uses this particular document. Howard Macy has commented how Gurney 'heavily influenced' the content of this part of the Epistle[107] and although affirmed by LYM it was considered contentious by some Friends.[108] A *Christian Advocate* newspaper report of the discussions held during the 1836 yearly meeting gathering gives an indication of the range of views on the subject albeit as the report was an unauthorised one its complete accuracy cannot be confirmed.[109] I suggest that the

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[103] Nancy A. Hewitt et al., "Women's Rights and Roles," in *Quaker Crosscurrents: Three Hundred Years of Friends in the New York Yearly Meetings*, ed. Hugh Barbour et al. (New York: Syracuse University Press, 1995), 170. Note: Gurney's letter did not provide the names of any individuals.
[104] Laura S. Haviland, *A Woman's Life Work: Including Thirty Years' Service on the Underground Railroad and in the War*, 5th ed. (Grand Rapids, Mich.: S.B. Shaw, 1897), 32-33, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015071146990.
[105] Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*, 3.
[106] Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*, 4-5.
[107] Macy, "Quakers and Scripture," 194.
[108] Macy, "Quakers and Scripture," 195.
[109] *A Report of the Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, Reprinted, with Corrections and Additions, from the "Christian Advocate" Newspaper, of May 23d & 30th; Together with Notes by Members of the Society; to Which, Is Added the Quakers' Yearly Epistle for 1836*, 14-18.

Epistle's more evangelical statement of belief concerning the Scriptures is therefore being used by Gurney within an Orthodox Quaker setting in order to demonstrate to more evangelically inclined Friends that leaving the Society on this issue was not warranted.[110]

Gurney also comments how 'the influence of the Holy Spirit… [is] the *primary source* of all true knowledge of the things of God'.[111] However, he does not say that the Scriptures are a secondary *authority* to the Holy Spirit; rather he argues that 'Without it, the Scriptures themselves never would have been written; or if written, would never have possessed that divine authority, from which there is no appeal.'[112] Gurney is therefore attempting to uphold the Quaker emphasis on the Holy Spirit whist at the same time trying to convey to the reader that the authority of the Holy Spirit has also been invested within the Scriptures themselves. This is consistent with comments made by him in some of his other works.[113]

In discussing justification, Gurney takes a similar approach to his argument concerning the authority of the Scriptures; namely that he tries to fuse together both Quaker and orthodox Christian ideas. First, he affirms the Quaker belief that for those people who do not know about the Scriptures and Christ, acceptance before God remains a possibility *because* of Christ's atoning sacrifice, assuming they 'are obedient to the measure of the light of Christ, graciously bestowed upon them'.[114] For those who do have the Scriptures, Gurney argues that an essential salvific

[110] Gurney also references that in 1837, New York Yearly Meeting had sanctioned the printing of several thousand copies of the Epistle and for these to be distributed amongst Friends; see Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*, 5.
[111] Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*, 10.
[112] Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*, 10.
[113] See sub-section 1.3.2 for further details.
[114] Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*, 5.

requirement is that they are believed.[115] Given Gurney's concerns expressed in some of his works regarding Barclay's interpretation of the meaning of justification,[116] it is significant that rather than cite the *Apology* he uses an extract from the writings of Claridge. This more openly expresses the idea of justification being a two part process in which the first part involves a repentant individual believing in Christ's atoning sacrifice and the second part, experiencing an inward spiritual transformation.[117] Gurney also comments 'that even in the first sense of the term here set forth, no man can be *justified*, while he continues in his sins'.[118] This may seem to be a contradiction of his own general belief that justification takes place prior to sanctification[119] but I suggest it is being said to emphasise the point which he then goes on to make, that an individual's belief in Christ and His atoning sacrifice has to have integrity and devotion as evidenced by their repentance and distancing from sin.[120] This would resonate with traditional Quaker beliefs that a shallow commitment to Christ is an insufficient foundation of faith.[121]

Gurney's letter can therefore be seen as a bespoke commentary to the community at Adrian in which he seeks to affirm the common ground between Orthodox Quakerism and the wider Christian church, whilst also highlighting the distinctiveness of Quakerism to reflect its 'primitive, unadulterated, Christianity'.[122]

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[115] Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*, 5.
[116] For example; see Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 26-27.
[117] Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*, 6-7. The extract can be found in Claridge and Besse, *The Life and Posthumous Works of Richard Claridge*, 70-71. The same extract is also cited used by PYM (Orthodox) in its *Declaration*; see Society of Friends, *A Declaration of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, Held in Philadelphia, Respecting the Proceedings of Those Who Have Lately Separated from the Society: And Also, Showing the Contrast between Their Doctrines and Those Held by Friends*, 30.
[118] Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*, 7.
[119] For example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 489.
[120] Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*, 7.
[121] For example; see Barclay, *Apology*, 229.
[122] Gurney, *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*, 3.

This approach, I propose, was adopted by him to help promote unity and avoid further secession within the Society. At the same time it also shows how a fusion of his views can be simultaneously positioned on both Orthodox Quaker and Christian axes of belief.

6.4 Orthodox Quakerism: John Wilbur's views of Gurney's beliefs

6.4.1 Introduction

In this section the relationship between Gurney's beliefs and Orthodox Quakerism is examined within the context of opposition to his views as primarily expressed by an American contemporary, John Wilbur. The argument is made that Wilbur's disagreements with Gurney over several aspects of religious belief, practice and authority, highlight differences in emphasis and understanding of particular elements of Orthodox Quaker theology and tradition. Consequently, the term 'Orthodox Quakerism' is open to a degree of subjectivity regarding its meaning and therefore I argue it is best used only as a general descriptor of Gurney's beliefs.[123]

[123] An example of this problem can be seen in the way four different researchers have categorised Wilbur's theology and/or Orthodox Quakerism: (a) Hamm has commented that in 'the 1820s he [Wilbur] was one of the leading Orthodox Friends in New England' (see Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, 28.), (b) Healey describes the religious beliefs of Orthodox Quakers as being 'very similar to that of non-Quaker evangelicals' (see Robynne Rogers Healey, "Introduction," in *Quakerism in the Atlantic World, 1690-1830*, ed. Robynne Rogers Healey (University Park, Pennsylvania: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2021), 15.) (c) Robert Doherty contends that 'Orthodox Friends were in fact not orthodox in their Quakerism.' (see Robert W. Doherty, "A Response to Orthodoxy: The Hicksite Movement in the Society of Friends," *The Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography* 90, no. 2 (1966): 233. https://www.jstor.org/stable/20089902.) and (d) Lloyd Wilson argues in connection with the 1845 NEYM schism that Wilbur had been 'an articulate opponent of Orthodox thought and practice' (see Wilson, "Conservative Friends, 1845-2010," 127.) Although these different perspectives can in part be explained because of developments within Orthodox Quakerism over the years, it nonetheless highlights the difficulty in accurately framing what is meant by Orthodox Quaker beliefs.

Wilbur was a member of New England Yearly Meeting (NEYM), Orthodox until his disownment in 1844.[124] The reasons for his disownment were complex, controversial[125] and connected to his long-standing criticism of some of Gurney's beliefs and practices.[126] Wilbur had also met with Gurney during his visit to America and been unsuccessful in trying to persuade him to reconsider some of his views.[127] In contrast, Gurney was not prepared to engage in an ongoing debate with Wilbur. In a letter to *The Friend* in 1846 he made this position clear and also showed a willingness to have his writings formally scrutinised by 'the Morning Meeting in London' if considered necessary.[128] Opposition to Gurney's views is also evident in Wilbur's posthumously published *Journal* which contains letters from English Friends

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[124] New England Yearly Meeting (Society of Friends), *Narrative of Facts and Circumstances That Have Tended to Produce a Secession from the Society of Friends, in New-England Yearly Meeting* (Providence: Printed by Knowles and Vose, 1845), 33. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hnfgm9.

[125] For example, see the following accounts: (a) from Wilbur; Wilbur, *Narrative and Exposition*. and (b) the opposing view held by the NEYM supportive of Gurney's beliefs; New England Yearly Meeting (Society of Friends), *Narrative of Facts and Circumstances That Have Tended to Produce a Secession from the Society of Friends, in New-England Yearly Meeting*.

[126] Wilbur's main criticisms of Gurney's beliefs can be found in:
(a) Wilbur, *Narrative and Exposition*.
(b) Although Gurney is not mentioned by name, Wilbur's concerns are also evident in parts of a series of personal letters to George Crosfield, an English Quaker. The letters had been subsequently published in 1832; see John Wilbur, *Letters to a Friend, on Some of the Primitive Doctrines of Christianity. [Edited by G. Crosfield.]* (London: Harvey & Darton; Wm. Darton and Edmund Fry; sold also by T. Hodgson, Liverpool; W. Alexander and Co., York; Wright and Bagnall; and G. Davey, Bristol; and D. F. Gardiner, Dublin, 1832). http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100025525276.0x000001. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Letters to a Friend*.
(c) Wilbur's *Journal* also contains a republication of the aforementioned letters; see John Wilbur, *Journal of the Life of John Wilbur, a Minister of the Gospel in the Society of Friends; with Selections from His Correspondence, &C* (Providence: George H. Whitney, 1859), 566-96. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044014524029. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Journal of the Life of John Wilbur*.

[127] Wilbur, *Narrative and Exposition*, 35.

[128] Joseph John Gurney, "Letter from Joseph John Gurney (to the Editors of the Friend.)," *The Friend* 1st month, 1846, 9. The *British Friend's* response to Gurney's letter was highly critical; see *The British Friend*, "Letter of J. J. Gurney," 1st Month 1846, 17-19, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah6idi. as also evidenced in letters published by *The British Friend*; see (a) X, "Joseph John Gurney's Letter. To the Editors of the British Friend," *The British Friend* 1st month 1846, 20-21, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah6idi. and (b) H, "Reply to Joseph John Gurney's Letter. To the Editors of the British Friend," *The British Friend* 1st month 1846, 24, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah6idi.

including Sarah Lynes Grubb[129] and John Barclay[130] expressing their concerns about Gurney's views and similarly from American Friends including Jonathan Evans[131] and Thomas Gould.[132] However, it should be noted that Wilbur himself faced criticism from Quakers who considered him to have wrongly represented Gurney's views[133] and Gurney's visit to America had also been very well received by many Friends.[134]

In 1845, NEYM split into 'Wilburite' and 'Gurneyite' factions with both sides claiming to be the authentic Yearly Meeting. Dandelion comments that only the 'Gurneyite' grouping was subsequently recognised by LYM[135] and Wilson notes that separations also took place over the next few years in New York, Ohio and Baltimore Yearly Meetings.[136] The divergence of views between Wilburite and Gurneyite Friends therefore had a significant impact upon unity within American Quakerism. The dispute also triggered several publications on both sides of the debate[137]

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[129] Wilbur, *Journal of the Life of John Wilbur*, 189.
[130] Wilbur, *Journal of the Life of John Wilbur*, 199.
[131] Wilbur, *Journal of the Life of John Wilbur*, 229.
[132] Wilbur, *Journal of the Life of John Wilbur*, 233.
[133] For example; see Barker, *Calumny Refuted*.
[134] Rawley, "Joseph John Gurney's Mission to America, 1837-1840," 673.
[135] Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 101.
[136] Wilson, "Conservative Friends, 1845-2010."
[137] Examples (other than already cited) include:
(a) a publication issued from the newly formed *Gurneyite* NEYM to support the stance they had taken; see New England Yearly Meeting (Society of Friends), *Narrative of Facts and Circumstances That Have Tended to Produce a Secession from the Society of Friends, in New-England Yearly Meeting*.
(b) a publication issued from the newly formed *Wilburite* NEYM to support the stance they had taken; see New England Yearly Meeting (Conservative), *An Earnest Expostulation with Those Professed Members of the Society of Friends in New England: Who Have Adopted or Became Responsible for the Unsound Doctrines Promulgated by the Late Joseph John Gurney. By the Representatives of New England Yearly Meeting* (Boston: Press of T.R. Marvin, 1851), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081814162.
(c) PYM (Orthodox) a couple of years later, published *An Appeal for the ancient doctrines of the Religious Society of Friends* which included criticism of extracts from some of Gurney's work; see Philadelphia Yearly Meeting of the Religious Society of Friends, *An Appeal for the Ancient Doctrines of the Religious Society of Friends. Published by Direction of the Yearly Meeting Held in Philadelphia, in the Fourth Month, 1847: Addressed to Its Members*.
(d) In John Whitall's reproof of the latter PYM publication, he used additional text citations from Gurney's writings to address the concerns which had been raised; see John Mickle Whitall, *Brief Remarks on the Appeal for the Ancient Doctrines of the Religious Society of Friends. Put Forth by the Yearly Meeting of Philadelphia in 1847* (Philadelphia: Jas. B. Rodgers Co., 1873), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081814147.

including Wilbur's *Narrative and Exposition*, a major work which detailed the issues leading to his disownment and his criticisms of Gurney's views.[138]

It is important at this stage to highlight that Wilbur considered redemption to be founded upon Christ's atoning sacrifice *and* the inward sanctifying work of the Holy Spirit operating within the repentant individual.[139] Both outward and inward elements of redemption were therefore seen by him as being necessary. It is from this context that Wilbur views Hicks and Gurney as both deviating from traditional Quakerism with Hicks rejecting the outward and Gurney neglecting the inward.[140] In other words, Wilbur believed that Hicks and Gurney 'appear to be great debtors to the correct part of each other's doctrine; each apparently holds to half, and each apparently rejects half of the Christian covenant'.[141] Wilbur and Gurney shared common ground with regards to affirming Christ's divinity and the significance of the atonement[142] but *according to Wilbur*, Gurney ignored the importance of the inward work of the Holy Spirit as part of the redemptive process.

(e) Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting saw Gurney's views as the cause of the NEYM separation and commented that his *Brief remarks on Impartiality* had brought 'the writings of our early Friends into disrepute'; see Society of Friends, *An Address from Rhode Island Quarterly Meeting of Friends, to the Members of That Religious Society within the Limits of New-England Yearly Meeting and Elsewhere* (New-York: Piercy & Reed, printers, 1845), 20, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwjt5u.
(f) Charles Evans [Charles Evans, *Considerations Addressed to the Members of the Yearly Meeting of Friends, of Philadelphia* (Philadelphia: John Penington, 1846), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwjpb5.] and a few years later, Joseph Brinton [Joseph Brinton, *Some Extracts for the Consideration of the Heads of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting* (Parkesburg, Pa.: A.H. Potts, 1860), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwjpbk.] also published against the views of Gurney.
(g) Arguably the most forensic examination of Gurney's writings was undertaken by William Hodgson in 1856 whose close scrutiny of a substantial number of passages from Gurney's works was used to evidence his claim that Gurney had strayed far from Quakerism. For example, referring to Gurney's *Essays*, he comments that 'Had it been the work of an Episcopalian writer, it might have passed as an interesting disquisition, though not without characteristic errors and defects.' However, as it had been written by a Quaker, Hodgson considered it 'exceedingly defective and unsound'; see Hodgson, *An Examination of the Memoirs and Writings of J. J. Gurney*, 37 (both quotations).
[138] Wilbur, *Narrative and Exposition*.
[139] Wilbur, *Letters to a Friend*, 13.
[140] Wilbur, *Narrative and Exposition*, 246-47.
[141] Wilbur, *Narrative and Exposition*, 247.
[142] For example; see Wilbur, *Letters to a Friend*, 11., Gurney, *Essays*, 543. and Gurney, *Hints*, 127.

6.4.2 Wilbur and Quaker tradition

Wilbur believed that the Christian Church had been adrift from God's purposes for much of its existence and in spite of various reforms this still remained the case.[143] Fox and the early Friends were seen by him as seeking to restore the Church to its original roots.[144] Although Wilbur therefore shared a similar vision to Gurney[145] in considering Quakerism as a return to an earlier form of Christianity, he differed from him in viewing the early Quaker writings as beyond reproach.

Wilbur's faith was underpinned by a belief that 'a written confession of faith … as exemplified in the writings of the first friends'[146] constituted the basis for Quaker beliefs. This is not to say that he placed these writings on the same level of authority as the Scriptures because he made clear that the latter were pre-eminent.[147] Nevertheless, he saw the distinctiveness about Quakerism as reflected within early Quaker works to be a permanent feature of Quaker identity. Consequently, Wilbur's *modus operandi* in any polemical discussion within the Society was to draw upon the work of early Friends. This can be seen in the *Two Letters* publication where he takes issue with the definition of Quakerism given by Gurney in his work, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*.[148] Wilbur comments:

> If Jos. J. Gurney's Quakerism is at variance from Barclay, Penn and Pennington it must be of a spurious kind and not entitled to the name; for there is no other legitimate Quakerism, but that adopted and defined by them and their coinciding

[143] Wilbur, *Letters to a Friend*, 17-19.
[144] Wilbur, *Letters to a Friend*, 20.
[145] For example; see Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 276.
[146] Wilbur, *Narrative and Exposition*, 20-21.
[147] Wilbur, *Letters to a Friend*, 37.
[148] See section 6.5 for further details.

> cotemporaries; and the name belongs only to a people of their peculiar principles[149]

Wilbur's comment highlights his stance that the nature of Quakerism is fixed and he does not countenance the possibility that belief and/or practice within a religious community might change over the course of time. Instead he places a heavy reliance upon Quaker tradition as the source of authority.[150] Implicit within this view is Wilbur's assumption that the early Friends' interpretation of the Scriptures should be upheld. For example, he comprehensively rejects the exegetical commentary within Gurney's *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, arguing that this runs counter to traditional Quaker insights.[151] He also claims that Gurney held several beliefs which were contrary to Quakerism.[152] Fundamental to Wilbur's perspective was that Gurney had placed too much emphasis on outward belief, form and practice and insufficient attention to the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit, the Light Within and the inward work of spiritual transformation.[153]

Differences are further highlighted in Wilbur's *Narrative*, where an appendix is included which presents under various theological headings, extracts from several of Gurney's works considered to be contentious;[154] although it should be noted that the

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[149] John Wilbur, *Two Letters, in Relation to the Doctrines and Condition, as Well as Order and Usages of the Society of Friends. To Which Is Appended a Contrast of Some of the Doctrines of J. J. Gurney, with Those of Robert Barclay, and Other Standard Writers of the Same Faith. By Another Hand* (n.p.: n.p., 1844), 13 (superscript notation which follows in the original quotation and its footnote are not included). http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hnnnna. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Two Letters*.

[150] In contrast, Gurney is prepared to challenge Quaker tradition if considered necessary, for example; see sub-section 1.3.6 and section 2.7.

[151] Wilbur, *Two Letters*, 9-10.

[152] Wilbur, *Two Letters*, 9. Wilbur also comments that Gurney 'believes in delivering public discourses [or lectures] on Christianity, distinct from preaching' and 'believes in a form for prayer'; see also Wilbur, *Two Letters*, 9.

[153] Wilbur, *Two Letters*, 9-10. Lloyd Lee Wilson sums up Wilbur's position well when he comments that it 'always boiled down to 'Gurney teaches A, while early Friends taught B. Therefore Gurney is wrong.''; see Wilson, "Conservative Friends, 1845-2010," 128.

[154] Wilbur, *Narrative and Exposition*, 277-325. A compilation of extracts also formed part of Wilbur's *Two Letters* publication; see Wilbur, *Two Letters*, 15-23.

compilation of extracts was not prepared by Wilbur himself.[155] The appendix not only includes those disputed aspects of belief which had been highlighted in Wilbur's *Two Letters* but other theological areas as well. Consequently, the *Narrative's* appendix is an important source to ascertain more precisely the nature of Wilbur's religious differences with Gurney and is discussed in more detail in the next sub-section.

6.4.3 Theological differences with Gurney: a closer examination

The *Narrative* appendix identifies eighteen aspects of belief where it is considered that Gurney is at variance with traditional Quakerism and seeks to demonstrate this using extracts from his writings which are contrasted with extracts principally from the works of early Friends. Appendix (B) presents these key points of difference and the Quaker author sources which were used to counter the alleged faulty narrative contained within the extracts of Gurney's works.[156] The wide range of theological issues identified as areas of dispute illustrate the perception which existed amongst Gurney's critics that he had significantly moved away from traditional, and by default, early Quakerism.

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[155] According to *Is it Calumny?*, an anonymous publication written in response to *Calumny Refuted* (a pro-Gurney work which disputed the use and interpretation of the extracts used in the *Narrative* appendix), the extracts had initially come about as a result of a request from two members of PYM. The compiler collated the extracts and used titles to categorise the different areas of theology. The work (uncompleted) had not been published but was shown to Quakers who were interested. However, the extracts were subsequently printed although not at the instigation of the compiler who was unware that this had happened. See *Is It Calumny? Or Is It Truth? An Examination of a Pamphlet, Entitled "Calumny Refuted, or a Glance at John Wilbur's Book."* (London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co., 1846), 8-9. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026088159.0x000001. The shortened title used in this thesis for this edition of the aforementioned work is *Is it Calumny?*

[156] Appendix (B) indicates that in terms of the Quaker author sources used in the *Narrative* appendix, those from Barclay, Fox, Penn and Penington predominate with the first two the most frequent. The majority of Barclay extracts used are from the *Apology*, indicating the high standing held for this work amongst many Friends.

In response to this critique of Gurney's views, other external parties became engaged in the debate; *Calumny Refuted*[157] was published in support of Gurney's beliefs, arguing that they *did* represent original Quakerism and that the extracts from Gurney's writings had either been taken out of context and/or misunderstood.[158] This in turn was countered by *Is it Calumny?*[159] which sought to challenge *Calumny Refuted*. Views were therefore highly polarised with the only exception being an admission in *Calumny Refuted* that Gurney's views about the Sabbath were not held by all Friends.[160]

The reluctance of either side to yield ground on these issues was reflective of the impasse that generally developed between the Wilburite and Gurneyite groups within Orthodox Quakerism. An example of just how far this impasse went can be seen in a property dispute between the two factions following the division that took place within NEYM in 1845.[161] Documentation from the Court proceedings highlights

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[157] *Calumny Refuted* was first published in 1845 and contained 'Comments on Mutilated Extracts from the Writings of Joseph John Gurney' prepared by Abigail Barker (deceased) and others. It was a response to some of the extracts from Gurney's works which had been presented in Wilbur's *Narrative* appendix. See Abigail Barker, *Calumny Refuted; or a Glance at John Wilbur's Book. (Comments on Mutilated Extracts from the Writings of Joseph John Gurney, Contrasted with Selections from the Writings of Fox, Barclay, Penn, and Others; by the Late Abigail Barker, and Other Friends in America) [1st Ed.]* (London: Printed by John Hasler, 1845), 7, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081814089. A second edition was published the following year with an additional preface and its shortened title in this thesis is *Calumny Refuted*.

[158] For example; see Barker, *Calumny Refuted*, 10-12.

[159] *Is it Calumny?* was an anonymous work published in response to *Calumny Refuted*. See; *Is It Calumny?*

[160] In *Calumny Refuted*, the comment is made that although the relevant extracts used in the *Narrative's* appendix do not give the full picture, it was nonetheless acknowledged that Gurney's views about the Sabbath differed to a degree from the views of some other Quakers. In spite of this however, it was also argued that whilst there may be differences of opinion between Quakers on this subject, there was no evidence to suggest that views about the Sabbath were 'an essential doctrine of our Society'. Consequently, as far as *Calumny Refuted* was concerned, Gurney's position on this subject did not separate him from traditional Quakerism; see Barker, *Calumny Refuted*, 54.

[161] This concerned which of the two parties had ownership of Fall River meeting house and the land, which were under the care of Swanzey Monthly Meeting; see Oliver Earle, Sidney C Bancroft, William Wood, and Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, *Report of Some of the Proceedings in the Case of Oliver Earle and Others, in Equity, against William Wood and Others; in the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; Including the Opinion of the Court, as Pronounced by Hon. Lemuel Shaw, C.J., Involving Questions Brought into Controversy, by a Separation in the Society of Friends in New England, in 1845. Prepared under the Advice of the Complainants' Counsel, by Sidney*

the key theological points which the Wilburites saw as being antithetical to Quakerism.[162] Gurney was asked to help counter these criticisms by giving a statement about his beliefs. The outcome was his *Declaration* written in 1846 and published posthumously a year later after his death.[163] In the *Declaration*, Gurney argues that his views were aligned to those of early Friends and cites various extracts from their works to substantiate this.[164] However, it received a mixed reception; *The Friend* (London) welcomed it and was approving of the document,[165] whereas in a work published some years later, Hodgson was highly dismissive of it and also disagreed with the outcome of the court case which had judged in favour of the NEYM Gurneyite group.[166]

More generally, the question remains as to how legitimate the Wilburite criticisms of Gurney's beliefs were. I suggest that differences between the two parties such as Gurney's greater use of Trinitarian based language are subjective in terms of whether these constitute a theological fault line within Orthodox Quakerism or are at different ends of a continuum.[167] Similarly, the interpretation of a few extracts from

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C. Bancroft, Counsellor at Law (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1855), 153-54, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89077003531.

[162] These were identified as placing sole authority on the Bible (and thereby not depending upon the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit), believing that justification comes before sanctification and adopting Trinitarian based language; see Earle, *Report of Some of the Proceedings in the Case of Oliver Earle and Others, in Equity, against William Wood and Others; in the Supreme Judicial Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts; Including the Opinion of the Court, as Pronounced by Hon. Lemuel Shaw, C.J., Involving Questions Brought into Controversy, by a Separation in the Society of Friends in New England, in 1845. Prepared under the Advice of the Complainants' Counsel, by Sidney C. Bancroft, Counsellor at Law*, 54-56.

[163] Gurney, *Declaration*.

[164] It should be noted that at the end of the document, Gurney affirms the truthfulness of his statement and 'has held the same sentiments for more than thirty years'; see Gurney, *Declaration*, 25. It therefore follows that the time span cited covers all of his publications.

[165] *The Friend*, "Declaration of Faith by the Late Joseph John Gurney," 1847, 94.

[166] William Hodgson, *The Society of Friends in the Nineteenth Century: A Historical View of the Successive Convulsions and Schisms Therein During That Period. Vol. 2.* (Philadelphia: For sale by Smith, English & Co., and by the author, 1876), 96 and 100-02 respectively, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044050792324.

[167] Extracts presented from Gurney's works are used to highlight what is perceived as the issue of him ascribing personhood to the Godhead and therefore implicitly embracing Trinitarian doctrine. In the

Gurney's works to support the Wilburite argument that Gurney believed the resurrected body had the same physical form as in this life, can be countered with evidence from other parts of Gurney's writings which provide a context to show that this was not the case.[168] A key difference which does emerge relates to justification and how this is defined. However, on the basis that Gurney saw *both* justification

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preface of *Calumny Refuted* although it is accepted that use of 'the term person, or personality,' is potentially open to being mis-understood, the argument is made that Gurney's focus had been to counter ideas about the Holy Spirit not being considered as part of the Godhead; see Barker, *Calumny Refuted*, xii (quotation)-xiii. In contrast, in *Is it calumny?* Gurney is seen as not only employing the concept of '"personality"' with respect to the Godhead but also linking each person to 'separate functions'; see *Is It Calumny?*, 46- both quotations.

[168] One of the extracts presented in the *Narrative*, taken from Gurney's *Hints*, particularly seems to highlight this issue [see Wilbur, *Narrative and Exposition*, 307.] The extract has been accurately cited; the wording (other than the use of italics) and page number match with the first edition of *Hints*. At first glance it might be interpreted that Gurney is suggesting his belief in the resurrection of the *unchanged* human body (on the day of judgement). However, the next paragraph of Gurney's work includes reference to how on this day 'Christ shall have changed "our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body;"' based on Philippians 3:21; see Joseph John Gurney, *Hints on the Portable Evidence of Christianity [1st Ed.]* (London: J. and A. Arch; J. G. and F. Rivington; Bristol: Davey and Muskett; Norwich: Wilkin and Fletcher, 1832), 151, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015063909793. This suggests that Gurney is not implying that the body remains the same at the point of resurrection. This is also in keeping with views expressed in his other works where he emphasises the body is resurrected but in a different form; for example, see Gurney, *Essays*, 186. As Gurney does not claim that the body, as it is in this life, is resurrected in the same form, it would therefore appear that he was not inconsistent with the teachings of early Friends [as for example referenced in the 1693 Declaration; see London Yearly Meeting (Society of Friends), *Book of Christian Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends in Great Britain; Consisting of Extracts on Doctrine, Practice and Church Government from the Epistles and Other Documents Issued under the Sanction of the Yearly Meeting Held in London from Its First Institution in 1672 to the Year 1883.*, 9.] Nonetheless, Gurney's views on this subject remained a contentious area of debate, for example; see Thomas D. Hamm et al., "Moral Choices: Two Indiana Quaker Communities and the Abolitionist Movement," *Indiana Magazine of History* 87, no. 2 (1991): 147-48. http://www.jstor.org/stable/27791469. and Cyrus W. Harvey, *The Resurrection as Taught by Early Friends* (Historical Quaker Books. 54, 1882), xi-xii, http://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/quakerbooks/54.

According to Pennington, doubts as to whether early Friends did believe in the resurrection of the body had some legitimacy; see Pennington, *Quakers, Christ, and the Enlightenment*, 91-92. Differing views about resurrection of the body were also considered to be one of the theological issues connected to the dispute within early Quakerism between George Keith (before he left the Society) and other Friends; see Madeleine Ward, *The Christian Quaker: George Keith and the Keithian Controversy* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 26 Feb. 2019), 72-74, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004365070, https://doi.org/10.1163/2542498X-12340009.

It is interesting to note, an article published in the *Christian Observer* in 1844 also queried whether or not Quakers held a belief in bodily resurrection; see R. P. L., "On the Opinion of the Society of Friends Respecting the Resurrection of the Body. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," *The Christian Observer* April 1844, 206-07. A response by Dr Ash (assumed to be the Quaker, Edward Ash) argued that Friends have always believed in resurrection of the body (in a changed form); see Edm. Ash, "Dr. Ash on the Opinions of Friends on the Resurrection. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," *The Christian Observer* June 1844, 349-50.

and sanctification being necessary for redemption, I argue that the Wilburite assertion that Gurney placed *too* much reliance on being justified by faith alone is unfounded. In the *Narrative's* appendix, the extracts used highlight Gurney's belief that justification takes place before sanctification.[169] However, in *Calumny Refuted*, the argument is made that whilst Gurney sees justification as 'indemnity' from past transgressions, and sanctification as 'deliverance from the power of sin for the future', Barclay had merged the two together so that justification has become 'indemnity and cure'.[170] Consequently, the differences are seen to be more about the *way* justification is defined. The preface added to the second edition of *Calumny Refuted*, re-iterates this point, noting that any apparent differences between Gurney and early Quakers on this issue 'is about mere terms, and not about doctrine'.[171]

In *Is it calumny?*, the argument is made that Gurney's supporters were unable to explain why he placed justification before sanctification and so the only recourse left to them was to claim that justification had been defined differently.[172] However, I contend that this misses the key point; namely, that irrespective of how Gurney defines justification he still considered sanctification to be a necessary and essential part of redemption.[173] Nonetheless, in spite of arguments presented in *Calumny Refuted* that Gurney's belief in the doctrine of the imputed righteousness of Christ was also consistent with the early Quaker view,[174] I maintain that this did constitute

[169] Wilbur, *Narrative and Exposition*, 295.
[170] Barker, *Calumny Refuted*, 44- all quotations.
[171] Barker, *Calumny Refuted*, xii.
[172] *Is It Calumny?*, 28.
[173] See chapter 4 for further details.
[174] *Calumny Refuted* includes an unreferenced quotation from Barclay citing support for the doctrine along with some supporting extracts from the works of other early Friends; Barker, *Calumny Refuted*, 49-50. However, no reference is made to Barclay's rejection of the doctrine in the *Apology* (see Barclay, *Apology*, 203-04.).

an area of theological difference between Gurney and early Quakerism.[175]

Whilst Gurney's theology is therefore overall in a general alignment with Orthodox Quakerism, differences between the two in terms of particular emphases, and to a degree substance, indicate there are limitations to categorising his beliefs in this way.

6.5 Gurney's definition of Quakerism

6.5.1 Introduction

In 1845, *The Christian Observer* periodical published a contribution by Gurney in which he addressed the question 'What is Quakerism?'[176] The article[177] is significant for several reasons. First, it is a concise account representing what Gurney considers to be the salient features of Quakerism.[178] Secondly, it was published less than two years before his death and therefore provides a summative insight into his beliefs. Thirdly, to date, I have not been able to find reference to this work in any academic research concerning Gurney's beliefs. Consequently, its use in this study provides an opportunity to extend scholarship in this area. And fourthly, at the end of the article Gurney defines Quakerism as being 'the religion of the New Testament, without addition, without diminution, and without compromise'.[179] This would appear to be an abridged version of a definition that he had used several years

[175] See sub-section 4.6.2.
[176] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 273.
[177] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 273-76. Reference to his writing of this article can be found from his personal writings published in the *Memoirs*; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 456-57. The response of the *Christian Observer* was positive towards Gurney's views but they were considered to be out of step with traditional Quakerism; see *The Christian Observer*, "[Editorial Comment: J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes]," May 1845, 276-92.
[178] Gurney's main work in which he systematically presented Quaker beliefs was the *Observations.* See *Gurney, Observations.*
[179] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 276.

earlier as part of the privately circulated work, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*.[180] Some other works and addresses by Gurney also convey a similar message about his understanding of Quakerism.[181] Gurney's definition therefore provides an invaluable basis on which to examine his understanding of Quakerism. Nonetheless, the definition begs the question what is meant by 'the religion of the New Testament'?[182] In a different work, *Puseyism*, Gurney provides an answer when he comments:

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[180] In *Brief Remarks on Impartiality* (a work intended 'for private circulation only'), Gurney comments; 'Were I required to define Quakerism, I should not describe it as the system so elaborately wrought out by a Barclay, or as the doctrines and maxims of a Penn, or as the deep and refined views of a Pennington; for all these authors have their defects as well as their excellencies. I should call it the religion of the New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, without diminution, without addition, and *without compromise*.'; see Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 20. It should however be noted that an extract of a letter by Gurney (to person unknown) that was included in the *Introduction* to *Calumny Refuted* makes clear that it was not his intention '"to disparage the writings of Barclay, Pennington, and Penn"' and whilst '"in the heat of controversy they may sometimes have expressed themselves in an unguarded manner, they were sound and orthodox in their religious sentiments"'. Nonetheless, Gurney explains that he was attempting to make the point that it is the Bible which displays '"a *perfect* exhibition of divine truth"' and consequently 'Quakerism, as held by these very men … is nothing more or less than the religion of the New Testament, without addition, without diminution, and without compromise"'; see Barker, *Calumny Refuted*, 6- all quotations. *The Inquirer* periodical of Evangelical Friends, which reprinted *Brief Remarks on Impartiality* in 1836, saw the work as an 'attempt to throw the founders of Quakerism overboard' but disagreed with Gurney's definition of Quakerism; see "Misinterpretation of Holy Scripture," 193.

[181] Five examples are given:

(a) In a letter to the *Christian Observer* periodical in 1835, Gurney makes clear his view that Quakerism is based on the New Testament with nothing added nor removed; see Gurney, "Mr. J. J. Gurney on the Orthodoxy of Friends. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 792.

(b) In *Friendly Letters*, Gurney also uses some similar phrasing when he comments 'In pleading for quakerism, we plead for nothing but that which we hold to be the religion of Jesus, as it is unfolded in the New Testament, without addition, and without diminution.' See; Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 37.

(c) In an unauthorised report of LYM's annual yearly meeting in 1836, Gurney is quoted as saying 'The Society had *compromised* nothing which could be found in Holy Scripture, and the expression, *Christianity without compromise*, conveyed his notion of what Quakerism was.'; see *A Report of the Proceedings of the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends, Reprinted, with Corrections and Additions, from the "Christian Advocate" Newspaper, of May 23d & 30th; Together with Notes by Members of the Society; to Which, Is Added the Quakers' Yearly Epistle for 1836*, 15.

(d) Similarly, in a sermon delivered at Arch Street Meeting, Philadelphia in 1837, Gurney is reported as saying 'We have no new gospel to proclaim among the children of men, but pure, simple, unchanged, and unchangeable christianity.'; see Gurney, *Sermon and Prayer, by Joseph John Gurney. Delivered at Arch Street Meeting, on the Evening of First-Day, 8th Month 27th, 1837. Taken in Short-Hand*, 14.

(e) In a personal letter to his friend, the Quaker William Forster, written around 1831, Gurney comments on how 'The perfection of religion appears to me to be consistent Quakerism on an evangelical foundation, and I believe it will be well for us carefully to guard both the basis and the building.'; see William Forster, *Memoirs of William Forster. Edited by Bejamin Seebohm. In Two Volumes. Vol. 2* (1865), 80, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015020071984.

[182] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 276.

> by the religion of the New Testament, I mean the religion of Him of whom the book testifies- even Jesus Christ, the only Mediator between God and man; who has bought us with his blood, who is the sole High Priest of our profession, who rules the universal church by his Spirit, and who will come again in glory, to render unto every man according to his works[183]

We have therefore in Gurney's own words what Quakerism meant to him and how it is centred upon his Christology. Based on *his* view of Quakerism, I have coined Gurney as a *New Testament Quaker*,*[184]* to collectively highlight the features he considered characterised Quaker belief. In the sub-sections which follow this definition of Quakerism is examined more closely.

6.5.2 Gurney's approach to defining Quakerism

Gurney's *Christian Observer* article can be deconstructed to show that his definition of Quakerism is essentially made up of four key features. First, he makes clear to the reader that although Quakers do not use creeds, various 'declarations of their faith'[185] have been made in the past and he cites as an example part of the LYM's 1836 Epistle which highlights the authority of the Scriptures.[186] As Thomas Kennedy has noted, the Epistle had been a contentious document and one not supported by all Friends.[187] Nonetheless, Gurney's use of it highlights his preparedness on occasions, to draw upon contemporary Quaker material rather than

[183] Gurney, *Puseyism*, v.
[184] The phrase *New Testament Quakerism* appears to have hardly been used in Quaker studies. A reference to the term, as part of a quoted comment from the Quaker Isaac Sharp, can be found in the work by Frances Anne Budge, *Isaac Sharp, an Apostle of the Nineteenth Century* (London: Headley Brothers, 1898), 141, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hw26xu. Hamm also cites this quotation from Sharp; see Thomas D. Hamm, "'Chipping at the Landmarks of Our Fathers': The Decline of the Testimony against Hireling Ministry in the Nineteenth Century," *Quaker Studies* 13, no. 2 (2009): 154. https://doi.org/10.3828/quaker.13.2.136.
[185] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 273.
[186] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 273-74.
[187] Kennedy, *British Quakerism 1860-1920: The Transformation of a Religious Community*, 28.

the ‘tradition’ writings of early Friends. His choice of the Epistle extract emphasises that he considers the Scriptures to be foundational to Quaker beliefs but he also stresses that guidance by the Holy Spirit is necessary for their interpretation.[188]

It is from this basis of religious authority, the Scriptures in unison with the revelation of the Holy Spirit, that Gurney then highlights in the second part of his narrative, nine ‘grand and essential truths of our common Christianity’[189] which he believes Quakers uphold[190] and which I suggest presents Quakerism as a tradition within the wider Christian Church with a shared set of beliefs.[191] Thirdly, he then focuses on what he considers to be the distinctive feature of Quakerism, namely its emphasis on the agency of the Holy Spirit, and how this shapes Quaker beliefs and practice.[192] In the final part of his letter before ending with his definition of Quakerism, Gurney argues how the Quaker faith seeks to be based solely on the teachings and doctrines of the New Testament, eschews any kind of additions being made to this,

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[188] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 274.

[189] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 274. There is perhaps a little ambiguity whether ‘common’ in this context was referring to Quakers across the generations or between Quakers and Christians from other traditions, although the latter is assumed to be Gurney’s intent, given that *after* stating these core elements of belief of the Society he *then* goes on to explain to the reader how Quakers ‘differ from orthodox Christians’ of other Christian traditions; see Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 275.

[190] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 274-75.

[191] In *Observations*, Gurney describes how committed Christians ‘have found … as it is recorded in the Scriptures, a plain statement of all those truths which relate to man’s salvation’ which he then goes on to identify such as ‘the incarnate Son of God, who died for our sins, and rose again for our justification’, although he also stresses the importance of ‘spiritual illumination’; see Gurney, *Observations*, 44- all quotations. It is also of note that Gurney was a cosignatory (all the other signatories were *Reverends*) to a letter in 1832 which supported the work of *The Christian’s Penny Magazine* on the provision that it continued to uphold ‘Evangelical principles’ as represented by the ‘Protestant Reformation, without controversy on those minor points about which British Christians are divided’; see Rev. John Burnett et al., "Recommendation of the Christian's Penny Magazine," *The Christian's Penny Magazine* November 17, 1832, 192.

[192] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 275-76.

and is at its heart about Jesus Christ.[193] These four key features are discussed in greater detail in sections 6.6 to 6.9.

6.6 Gurney's definition of Quakerism: Divine authority

In chapter 1 of this thesis the nature of religious authority was discussed in relation to its importance in determining particular beliefs and practice.[194] In brief, it was argued that Gurney, like the early Friends, affirmed that the divinely inspired Scriptures can be traced to the work of the Holy Spirit as their original source.[195] However, the case was also made that their existence in *written* form was not seen by Gurney as a reason to preclude them from being considered a type of direct and immediate revelation.[196] Consequently for Gurney, authority remains with the Holy Spirit but as he considers that the Bible is the direct revelation of the same Spirit and the Holy Spirit cannot be self-contradictory, it follows that the Scriptures are not secondary in authority.[197] Gurney also argues that since the establishment of the biblical canon, the Scriptures represent the way Christian doctrinal matters have been communicated to humanity.[198]

Collectively these points indicate the importance that Gurney gave to the authority of the Scriptures and this is mirrored in the introductory part of his *Christian Observer* letter which makes direct reference to this.[199] Academic studies have also highlighted the importance which Gurney attached to biblical authority. This is seen

[193] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 276.
[194] See sections 1.2-1.4 for further details.
[195] Gurney, *Essays*, 101.
[196] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 32-33.
[197] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 6.
[198] Gurney, *Essays*, 82-83.
[199] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 273-74.

to reflect his evangelical leanings and a move away from the traditional Quaker belief that primary spiritual authority lies with the inward and immediate revelation of the Holy Spirit.[200] Nonetheless, whilst the authority of the Bible is a defining characteristic of Gurney's theology, the accompanied emphasis on the integral association of the scriptural narrative *with* the work of the Holy Spirit, places it in a distinctive theological position with regards to both evangelicalism and traditional Quakerism. As Gurney comments, 'The law written in the book, and the law written on the heart, have proceeded from the same Author: … and therefore they can never fail to correspond.'[201] Bright has similarly identified how Gurney sought to uphold the authority of both the Bible and the Holy Spirit and to keep these 'in tandem'.[202]

6.7 Gurney's definition of Quakerism: *faith fundamentals*

In the *Christian Observer* article, Gurney presents nine aspects of belief which he considers Quakers have affirmed.[203] These relate to subjects connected to the nature of Christ; the divinity of the Holy Spirit and the nature of the Godhead; the Atonement; the Resurrection; the Second Coming of Christ; the ubiquity of human sin; '"being justified by faith"'; the role of the Holy Spirit in the believer's spiritual renewal including developing 'inward holiness'[204] and the salvific necessity of this; and the eternal spiritual fate of each person on the day of judgement.[205] Each of the

[200] For example; see Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, 21.
[201] Gurney, *Observations*, 93.
[202] Bright, "'Friends Have No Cause to Be Ashamed of Being by Others Thought Non-Evangelical': Unity and Diversity of Belief among Early Nineteenth-Century British Quakers," 345.
[203] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 274.
[204] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 274- both quotations.
[205] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 274-75.

nine points is briefly elaborated upon by Gurney so that collectively this becomes a doctrinal statement of what might be termed *faith fundamentals* representing what Gurney sees as theological common ground between Christians. In this sense it has parallels with other statements of faith which the Society has produced in the past.[206]

I suggest that the logical way for Gurney to have established a declaration of *faith fundamentals* would have been to use the Nicene Creed,[207] a widely held statement of belief within the Christian Church.[208] However, the non-use of creedal statements by Friends[209] meant that this was not an option for him and whilst there is an overlap in content between his ideas and the Nicene Creed, there are also differences such as the omission from Gurney's list about the Virgin Birth of Christ[210] and the inclusion by him about justification and inward spiritual renewal as salvific pre-requisites which are not mentioned in the Nicene Creed.[211] This highlights the difficulty of the task in attempting to bring together different Christian traditions using specific aspects of doctrine.[212] Nevertheless, Gurney's efforts in seeking to do this demonstrates the importance which he attaches to doctrine, his belief that this is also

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[206] For example; see '*Extract from George Fox's epistle to the Governor of Barbadoes*, 1671' and '*Extracts from a statement of Christian doctrine, issued on behalf of the society, in the year 1693*' in London Yearly Meeting (Society of Friends), *Rules of Discipline of the Religious Society of Friends, with Advices: Being Extracts from the Minutes and Epistles of Their Yearly Meeting, Held in London, from Its First Institution*, viii-ix and ix-xii respectively.

[207] Schaff, *The Creeds of Christendom, with a History and Critical Notes. In Three Volumes. Volume 1. The History of Creeds*, 27-29.

[208] For example; see McFarland, "Nicene Creed," 343. Although it should also be acknowledged, as for example David Maxwell has noted, the Nicene Creed is not in itself a complete summary of all aspects of doctrine; see David Maxwell, "The Nicene Creed in the Church," *Concordia Journal* 41, no. 1, Article 3 (2015): 13. https://scholar.csl.edu/cj/vol41/iss1/3.

[209] Gurney comments how early Friends 'were led to testify of the utter vanity of the most orthodox creed, without the *possession* of the *life* which is in Christ'; see Gurney, *Observations*, 14.

[210] A belief which he nonetheless held, for example; see Gurney, *Essays*, 295.

[211] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 274.

[212] Gurney himself is not completely consistent on this subject in his own writings. For example, in the *Essays*, he also lists various elements of belief which he considers Christians would affirm on the basis of knowing the Scriptures, and this *does* include belief in 'the … miraculous incarnation, … of the Messiah'; see Gurney, *Essays*, 485.

a hallmark of Quakerism and that it represented a common bond with the wider Christian Church.

Whilst all of the nine doctrinal points detailed in Gurney's list are important, there are three I particularly wish to highlight. I suggest it is significant that the list begins by commenting 'That our Lord Jesus Christ, being the Word who was from the beginning, is truly and properly God' and who at the incarnation 'is also truly and properly man'.[213] This reinforces the observations made in chapter 3 of this thesis, in that Gurney attaches great importance to the eternal divinity of Christ and in the two natures of Jesus Christ.[214] It also supports my contention that Gurney's belief in the divinity of Christ can be seen as a theological thread which permeates all aspects of his Christology.[215] This is not just an abstract idea that he holds but one which is essential, non-negotiable and fundamental to his understanding of the Christian faith. As he comments in *Essays*, 'I must either give up the inspiration of Scripture, and with it, perhaps the truth of Christianity itself, or allow the absolute and eternal divinity of Jesus Christ'.[216]

In the second point of his doctrinal statement, Gurney also stresses the divinity of the Holy Spirit and the triune nature of the one God. Again, I argue this is significant because even though he does not use the term *Trinity*, Trinitarian principles nonetheless provide an important scaffold for his beliefs and as I have previously argued there is evidence to suggest a greater use of them by him in comparison to early Quakerism.[217]

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[213] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 274.
[214] For example; see section 3.4 for further details.
[215] See chapter 3 for further details.
[216] Gurney, *Essays*, 369.
[217] For example; see sub-section 3.3.3 for further details.

The third example covers aspects of two of Gurney's doctrinal points and is broadly related to redemption. Gurney's affirmation of '"being justified by faith,"'[218] sets out a clear indication that on this subject he aligns with the traditional Protestant view.[219] However, it is noticeable that no reference is made to the imputed righteousness of Christ which suggests that Gurney perceived that the doctrine, which he himself accepted,[220] might not be a point of unity amongst Quakers or Christians of other different traditions. Nevertheless, it still remains that his belief in justification by faith would appear to contrast with the early Quaker position on this subject. However, as previously argued, the issue is more complicated and in part concerns how justification is defined.[221] What is also evident from Gurney's list though, is the inclusion of a statement that a believer's salvation is dependent upon both justification *and* an inward spiritual change.[222] Consequently, Gurney is making clear his view that the Christian life is more than just an intellectual adherence to a particular set of beliefs.

6.8 Gurney's definition of Quakerism: *faith distinctives*

Gurney argues that one of the doctrinal areas he has highlighted as being common to all Christians, namely 'the influence and guidance of the Holy Spirit' is also a distinctive feature of Quakerism given the particular importance that Friends

[218] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 274.
[219] See sub-section 4.4.2 for further details.
[220] See sub-sections 4.6.1 and 4.6.2 for further details.
[221] See sub-section 4.8.2 for further details.
[222] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 274.

attach to this belief.[223] Three key aspects of this pneumatological emphasis are highlighted by Gurney.

First, he argues that all people have 'a measure of the influence of this Spirit' and that this has come about 'through the mediation of Christ'. He goes on to describe how those who are unaware about Christ but nonetheless 'believe in this divine light, and follow it faithfully' are able to be 'partakers of the benefits of his propitiatory death'.[224] The wording Gurney uses is significant in that there is a clear connection made between the Holy Spirit being the equivalent to the traditional Quaker understanding of the universal Light Within.[225] Gurney is therefore attempting to unite orthodox Christian and Quaker beliefs concerning the Holy Spirit and the Light Within, and to show that they are the same. This fluidity in the language that he uses when commenting about the Holy Spirit can be seen in the *Observations*, when in his narrative about John 1:9 he comments 'that a measure of *the light of the Spirit of the Son of God* "*lighteth every man that cometh into the world.*"'[226] The significance of expressing the Quaker concept of 'light'[227] in this way is that it re-positions the theology which underpins it towards a more orthodox Christian and Trinitarian based formulation.[228] It is also evident from Gurney's wording in the

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[223] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 275.
[224] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 275.
[225] For example; see Barclay, *Apology*, 104-05. See also sub-section 5.4.4.
[226] Gurney, *Observations*, 39. A similar phrase can also be found in Barclay's *Apology*, see Barclay, *Apology*, 126.
[227] Gurney, *Observations*, 39.
[228] Albeit the *Christian Observer* had raised a concern that Gurney had a tendency in his phrasing to marginalise the Holy Spirit as the third person of the Trinity and instead conflate this 'as "the Spirit of Christ," in a way that may mean only an emanation, or influence, or grace, from the Second Person, and not what Trinitarians mean by the Third'; see *The Christian Observer*, "[Editorial Comment]," September 1835, 549. However, in the following month, the periodical ameliorated its concern on the basis of Gurney's *Hints* publication; see *Christian Observer*, "The Society of Friends," 637. Gurney also followed up the initial query with a later letter to the *Christian Observer*; see Gurney, "Mr. J. J. Gurney Upon the Divine Nature, and the Doctrines of Friends. To the Editor of the Christian

Christian Observer that he considers it is *only because of* Christ's 'mediation' that redemption is possible for those who 'know him not'.[229] Gurney does not elaborate on what he means by this but I suggest in this context it most likely reflects his assumption that *knowing* is to do with knowledge drawn from the biblical narrative about Christ rather than being experiential. It is also important to note an element of self-contradiction in Gurney's views on this subject, given that in the *Christian Observer* article he has included belief in a universal Light Within as a *distinctive* feature of Quakerism. This is because in the seventh edition of *Observations*, whilst he fully acknowledges that much is owed to Fox and the early Friends in highlighting the idea of the divine light being within each person, he also states that others such as the Wesleyan Methodists held a similar position. Consequently, Gurney no longer saw the Quaker position on this subject as being unique.[230]

Observer," 668-75. Nonetheless, Roberts has argued that early Quakers held a 'Christocentric doctrine of the Holy Spirit' (see Arthur O. Roberts, "A Quaker Understanding of Jesus Christ," *Quaker Religious Thought* 93, Article 4 (1999): 15. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol93/iss1/4.) and I would suggest that this is sometimes echoed in the way Gurney describes the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of Christ; see also sub-section 5.4.4. David Coffey has contended that early Christian groups particularly those associated with Paul saw 'the Holy Spirit of old precisely as the Spirit of Christ, in that He caused Christ to become present among them'; see David Coffey, "The "Incarnation" of the Holy Spirit in Christ," *Theological Studies* 45, no. 3 (1984): 466. https://www.proquest.com/scholarly-journals/incarnation-holy-spirit-christ/docview/1297052454/se-2.

[229] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 275- both quotations.

[230] Gurney, *Observations*, 62. Re; the aforementioned, in the first edition of *Observations* no reference is made to this. It is interesting to note, for example, that Leo Cox has argued that the Arminian tradition within Methodism has consistently upheld a belief 'that God has supernaturally restored to all men a measure of His Spirit through the grace that flows from Calvary', see; Leo G. Cox, "Prevenient Grace- a Wesleyan View," *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 12, no. 3 (1969): 145. https://etsjets.org/wp-content/uploads/2010/09/files_JETS-PDFs_12_12-3_12-3-pp143-149_JETS.pdf. In an extract of a letter by Gurney, dated '12th mo., 28th, 1833' (the recipient's name is not given) which was published in the *Memoirs*, Gurney also comments 'The doctrine of "universal and saving light," I apprehend to be identical with that which the Wesleyans call the doctrine of "universal grace."' See Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 507.

The second aspect of Gurney's pneumatological emphasis concerns his belief that 'true Christians' receive a greater measure of the Holy Spirit.[231] This is an important element of his theology. For example, in private correspondence with the Quaker, Thomas Hancock, he differentiates between the Light Within and immediate revelation in that whilst he considers both relate to a measure of the presence of the Holy Spirit, Gurney sees immediate revelation as only applying within the context of the work of the Holy Spirit within the Christian believer.[232] In making this distinction I argue that Gurney is seeking to emphasise the Christocentric connection between the agency of the Holy Spirit and Christ because as he comments in *Essays*, 'it is *through faith in Christ crucified*' that the Holy Spirit can be received by believers and begin the work of regeneration and sanctification within the individual.[233]

The third element of Gurney's focus on the distinctiveness of Quakerism relates to the *rejection* of the following: outward rites and sacraments, ordained priesthood, prepared liturgy and intercessions, salaried clergy, the swearing of oaths, participation in warfare, and engagement in 'worldly amusements'.[234] Whilst Gurney therefore fully affirms these distinctive Quaker practices, he also makes clear his belief that they are rooted in the Society's understanding of the Scriptures and that Quakers have been guided by the Holy Spirit to uphold them.[235]

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[231] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 275. The phrase 'true Christians' is one used by Robert Barclay as well. For example; see Barclay, *Apology*, 525.
[232] Remarks on Dr. Hancock's "Defence.", 17.
[233] Gurney, *Essays*, 490.
[234] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 276.
[235] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 275.

6.9 Gurney's definition of Quakerism: rooted in the New Testament

6.9.1 Introduction

Gurney's final part of his discourse about Quakerism stresses that in his view the beliefs and practices of Friends should be based on 'the religion of the New Testament' and kept *free* from human interventions which might otherwise undermine this.[236] At its heart, I argue he is articulating a vision of Quakerism which seeks to express itself in a similar way to the early Church and therefore is a *form* of Primitive Christianity which reflects this New Testament polity. In this sub-section I set this argument within the broader context of Quaker academic research before developing it further in sub-sections 6.9.2 to 6.9.3 by drawing upon a variety of Gurney's works.

Paul Anderson has contended that the aim of early Quakers 'was the recovery and restoration of Apostolic Christianity'.[237] In making this case, Anderson proposes that early Friends were *not* trying to start a new religious tradition but instead were looking 'to recover "Basic Christianity" or "Primitive Christianity Revived," [and] seeking to be '"Friends of Jesus"' as reflected in the scriptural text of John 15:14-15.[238] Drawing upon the work of Penn's *Primitive Christianity Revived*, Anderson argues that Penn saw Quakerism 'as the eschatological recovery of Apostolic Christianity' and that his association with the Quaker movement when it was in its relative infancy adds significant credibility to Penn's viewpoint about the nature of Quakerism.[239]

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[236] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 276.
[237] Paul N. Anderson, "Primitive Christianity Revived—the Original Quaker Vision," *Quaker Religious Thought* 131, Article 2 (2018): 5. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol131/iss1/2.
[238] Anderson, "Primitive Christianity Revived—the Original Quaker Vision," 5.
[239] Anderson, "Primitive Christianity Revived—the Original Quaker Vision," 11. This assessment of Quakerism by Penn was also described by Edward Grubb as being 'apt enough'; see Grubb, *Quaker Thought and History. A Volume of Essays*, 5.

I suggest that Anderson's idea also fits well with Gurney's belief that Quakerism is rooted in the New Testament. In this sense, Gurney was therefore aligned with the views of early Friends like Penn, in believing Quakerism should seek to mirror Primitive Christianity[240] albeit that their views concerning the nature of Primitive Christianity were not identical in all respects.[241] Nonetheless, the key point I wish to make, is that Gurney's vision of Quakerism goes *beyond* the Evangelical and Orthodox Quaker traditions, and instead he aspires to *re-connect* with the vision of the early Friends but in the *context* of his day.[242]

6.9.2 Quakerism, Primitive Christianity and Church Polity

In his *Hints* work, Gurney ends with an exhortation in which he looks forward to the day 'when pure and primitive Christianity shall abound in the world, and reign triumphant in the hearts of all men!'[243] This sentiment can also be seen in some of

[240] Stuart Masters has argued that 'Primitivist' constituted one of the features which formed part 'of the spiritual DNA of Quakerism'; see Stuart Masters, "The Religious Roots of the Quaker Way," in *The Quaker World*, ed. C. Wess Daniels and Rhiannon Grant (Abingdon, Oxon and New York: Routledge, 2023), 134-35.
[241] For example, Gurney's definition of 'the religion of the New Testament' indicates the particular emphasis placed by him on the person of Jesus Christ; see Gurney, *Puseyism*, v. In contrast, the opening chapter of Penn's *Primitive Christianity Revived* [Penn, *Primitive Christianity Revived*, 1-10.] focuses on the concept of '*the Light of Christ within Man*, or *Light within*'; see Penn, *Primitive Christianity Revived*, 3. It should also be borne in mind that Gurney and early Friends were from different eras and therefore historical context also played an important part in shaping their understanding as to what form Primitive Christianity should take. The early Quaker movement was forged during a time of great civil and religious unrest (see Barbour, *The Quakers in Puritan England*, 16-32.). In his study of Baptist and Quaker beliefs during the seventeenth century, Ted Underwood argues that whilst Baptists sought to imitate 'the New Testament model', Quakers 'believed they *were* the New Testament church'; see T. L. Underwood, *Primitivism, Radicalism, and the Lamb's War. The Baptist-Quaker Conflict in Seventeenth-Century England* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), 4. In contrast, for Gurney his emphasis on *faith fundamentals* (see section 6.7 for further details) sought to establish common ground between Quakerism and other Christian traditions.
[242] This argument is developed further in sub-section 6.10.2. In a modern reprinted version of the *Observations*, Donald Green explains that he had changed the title of the work to reflect Gurney's vision of Quakerism, see; Gurney, *A Peculiar People. The Rediscovery of Primitive Christianity*, v.
[243] Gurney, *Hints*, 171.

his reported addresses both in Britain[244] and America.[245] Alongside his references to Quakerism being 'the religion of the New Testament'[246] and 'the religion of Jesus as it is unfolded in the New Testament',[247] it is clear that Gurney sees the Quaker faith as one which should be inextricably linked to the early Church as recorded in the New Testament.[248]

The link between Gurney's beliefs and the New Testament, are not however solely restricted to doctrinal matters, as he also sees the writings of the New Testament as providing a template for church polity. In the seventh edition of his *Observations*, Gurney candidly admits that he had not made the connection before but had since come to realise that in his view the Society's organisational structure and governance bore a close resemblance to New Testament practice.[249] This later edition[250] of his work included an essay on the subject which highlights the importance which Gurney attached in seeking to demonstrate the similarity in this regard between Quakerism and the early Church.[251]

In the essay, Gurney argues that the Society's organisational structure which had been planned by Fox and other early Friends, had come about through the leadings of God's Spirit and was likely to have been modelled on New Testament

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[244] Gurney, *Sermons and Prayers, Delivered by Joseph John Gurney, in the Friends' Meeting House, Liverpool, 1832. Second Edition, with Additions*, 52. and "J. J. Gurney, Esq," 78-79.
[245] Joseph John Gurney, *A Sermon, Preached by Joseph John Gurney, in Chatham Street Chapel, December 16, 1838* (New York: n.p., 1838), 13. Courtesy of Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania, USA.
[246] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 20. and Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 276.
[247] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 37.
[248] It is important to acknowledge that Gurney's position should also be seen in the context of nineteenth century Quakerism emerging from Quietism. Trueblood has argued that Gurney considered 'that quietist Quakerism was a perversion of original Quakerism as well as a departure from primitive Christianity', see; Trueblood, "Robert Barclay and Joseph John Gurney," 141.
[249] Gurney, *Observations*, 2.
[250] Including editions beyond the seventh edition.
[251] Gurney, *Observations*, 463-503.

principles excepting that there were also some additional levels of organisation within the Society.[252] Points of similarity are seen by him in Church governance with 'Christ as the only Head and Priest of his people' and there being 'the direct dependence upon him as the present Ruler of the church'.[253] Gurney also sees the practice of Christian communities during New Testament times, such as their care of vulnerable individuals, the role of 'elders and overseers' and how internal conflict was resolved, as being mirrored by Quakers in their own organisational practice.[254] The agency of the Holy Spirit is particularly highlighted by him as the way in which early Christians were directed and guided under Christ's governance, and that all the members of the community were open to the work of the Holy Spirit in this way. Gurney comments how as a result 'democracy was safe, because it was also a theocracy'[255] and parallels are drawn later in the essay to the similar way that all members of a Quaker community are seen as 'brethren, possessed of equal rights'[256] and open to the work of the Holy Spirit.[257]

Gurney's commentary also implicitly highlights a further point of note. His emphasis on the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit in the life of the early Church represents the primary source of authority under Christ's governance. However, whilst he sees this as continuing to be vital for the future Christian Church,[258] I argue that the establishment of the New Testament canon[259] becomes a fundamental part

[252] Gurney, *Observations*, 498.
[253] Gurney, *Observations*, 498- both quotations.
[254] Gurney, *Observations*, 498.
[255] Gurney, *Observations*, 473.
[256] Gurney, *Observations*, 499.
[257] Gurney, *Observations*, 500.
[258] Gurney, *Essays*, 461-62.
[259] Gurney, *Essays*, 520.

of Gurney's belief system *for the very reason that he sees these Scriptures as a revelation from the same Spirit*.[260]

Gurney's *Observations* essay therefore sets out part of his wider vision about Quakerism and its relation to Primitive Christianity but a few years later he develops this theme much further in a polemic work which challenges the church polity of other Christian traditions.

6.9.3 Gurney's opposition to church hierarchical systems

In Wilbur's *Narrative*, a statement is included from the Quaker, Thomas Shillitoe. This had been made shortly before Shillitoe's death and was highly critical of Gurney's views (but not the person) commenting that he 'is an Episcopalian, not a Quaker',[261] a view which has since been repeated in narratives about Gurney.[262] What is not mentioned however is that Shillitoe died in 1836 and therefore his comment only applies to about the first half of the publishing time span of Gurney's writings. This is an unfortunate omission, particularly with regards to a later work published by Gurney, *Puseyism*,[263] which evidences strong opposition to *elements* of both Roman Catholic and Protestant ecclesiology and practice.[264]

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[260] Gurney, *Essays*, 463-64 and 526.
[261] Wilbur, *Narrative and Exposition*, 345. T. Edmund Harvey provides a fuller account of the background to Shillitoe's statement; see T. Edmund Harvey, "Thomas Shillitoe (1754-1836). Some Hitherto Unpublished Particulars," *The Journal of the Friends Historical Society* 42, no. 1 (1950): 10-13. https://journals.sas.ac.uk/fhs/article/view/4379.
[262] For example; see (a) Grubb, "The Work and Influence of Joseph John Gurney," 302. and (b) Hamm, "Hicksite, Orthodox, and Evangelical Quakerism, 1805-1887," 70-71.
[263] This work was first published anonymously in 1843, see; Joseph John Gurney, *The Papal and Hierarchical System Compared with the Religion of the New Testament* (London: Charles Gilpin, 1843), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026044111.0x000001. In 1845, the third edition was published with Gurney's name as the author but with a change of title, see; Gurney, *Puseyism*. The *Christian Observer* commented that this was a publication Gurney had not forwarded to the periodical for their perusal and described it as a work where 'his Quakerism is rampant'; see *The Christian Observer*, "Obituary. Joseph John Gurney Esq.," February 1847, 122.
[264] For example, Gurney rejected the idea of paid ministry; see Gurney, *Puseyism*, 65.

In *Puseyism*, Gurney emphasises on several occasions that he is not seeking to criticise or undermine the faith of individual Christians whether they be Roman Catholic or Protestant.[265] Instead he makes clear that his criticisms concern all churches of whatever Christian tradition which have human initiated structures and practices which he considers undermine the spiritual purity of the Christian faith;[266] although in his view the Roman Catholic Church 'present[s] the extreme case of the dependence of man on man, in the things of God'.[267] Gurney also uses the concept of 'antichrist' to describe anything which turns people away from Christ, introduces erroneous beliefs or leads to a distortion of moral standards.[268] He sees this not as a specific person but rather 'some system of government' which undermines the Christian faith.[269] In this sense he argues 'that the antichrist of the New Testament and Rome spiritual (including all that is found of the like nature under other names) are ONE and the same'.[270] The issue therefore for Gurney is one of desiring that Primitive Christianity is upheld and that the wider Christian Church moves towards this position rather than further distancing itself from it which he believes is taking place in his day.[271]

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[265] Gurney, *Puseyism*, vi, 25, 57-58.
[266] Gurney, *Puseyism*, v-vi. It is interesting to note that in 1840, LYM had published a statement emphasising the spirituality of Christianity and rejection of 'false appendages to the religion of Jesus'; see London Yearly Meeting (Society of Friends), *A Testimony to the Authority of Christ in His Church, and to the Spirituality of the Gospel Dispensation; Also against Some of the Corruptions of Professing Christendom* ([London]: Harvey and Darton, printers, 1840), 11, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081855900.
[267] Gurney, *Puseyism*, vi. An outworking of this position can be seen in Braithwaite's comment concerning Gurney's opposition to a parliamentary act which proposed the funding of Maynooth College, a Roman Catholic institution for the training of priests; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 457. One of the reasons given by Gurney for his opposition to the proposal, seen in an extract of his personal writings published in the *Memoirs*, was the use of 'tradition' within the Roman Catholic Church; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 458. The act was subsequently passed; see Chadwick, *The Victorian Church. Part 1: 1829-1859*, 223.
[268] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 16.
[269] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 17.
[270] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 22.
[271] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 113.

Gurney's advocacy of a form of Primitive Christianity is therefore considered by him to be diametrically opposed to several practices and beliefs of mainstream Christian traditions because he sees these as being additions to the Christian faith which in turn marginalise its core truths and spirituality. These include his rejection of the canonical status of the Apocrypha and the role of Tradition,[272] the engagement of the Church in secular affairs such as wars,[273] and the role and influence of the priesthood.[274] He also argues *against* aspects of Marian theology, disputes that ordinances such as Baptism and the Eucharist are sacramental, and describes it as a 'web of error' to undermine 'the Scripture doctrine of justification by faith' with practices that he sees are contrary to this[275] and which also do not support the necessity of inward sanctification.[276] Grubb has argued that Gurney's view 'that Quakerism with its peculiar practices is nothing but pure New Testament Christianity' would be rejected by evangelicals outside of the Society who also saw themselves as being 'equally devoted to the New Testament' but not persuaded that this equated to Quakerism.[277] However, Grubb fails to appreciate that Gurney's desire that faith should be void of the influence of human institutions and their ecclesiastical structures sets him apart from Christian traditions which have these.[278]

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[272] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 5-6.
[273] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 28.
[274] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 31-43.
[275] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 111- both quotations.
[276] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 113.
[277] Grubb, *The Evangelical Movement and Its Impact on the Society of Friends. Presidential Address to the Friends' Historical Society, 1923*, 34.
[278] For example; see Gurney's arguments against joining the Anglican Church; Gurney, *Two Letters Addressed by J. J. Gurney to Two Young Friends on the Occasion of Their Leaving the Society*, 5-16. I suggest that Creasey's view that Quakerism should be seen 'as an expression of *radical Christianity*' which in part is characterised by its challenge to ecclesiastical systems [see Maurice Creasey, "The Quaker as Radical Christian," in *Collected Essays of Maurice Creasey, 1912-2004: The Social Thought of a Quaker Thinker. Edited, with an Introduction by David L. Johns. With a Forewood by John Punshon*, ed. David L. Johns, Quaker Studies Volume 8 (Lewiston; Queenston; Lampeter: The Edwin Mellen Press, 2011), 2-3, 43.] aligns well with my argument that in *Puseyism*, Gurney sets out his vision of Quakerism being an expression of Primitive Christianity.

Drawing together the four key features which have been identified from Gurney's *Christian Observer* article, I argue that he sets out a clear vision of his understanding of Quakerism. This is a faith rooted in the authority of the Scriptures with the agency of the Holy Spirit needed for their interpretation, which has core beliefs in common with other Christian traditions but also its own distinctive beliefs and practices which are linked to the work of the Holy Spirit, and that as an expression of Primitive Christianity it aims to be based on the teachings and practice of the New Testament early Church, which rejects tradition and seeks 'to accept "the truth as it is in Jesus,"' as witnessed in the New Testament.[279]

6.10 A re-alignment of 'the theology of the hedge'

6.10.1 Introduction

Gurney's faith led to an extensive engagement with several areas of social activism including the abolition of enslavement,[280] campaigning against capital

[279] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 276. In an extract of a letter by Gurney, dated '6th mo.,15th,1839' and addressed to 'J. and H. C. Backhouse' he sums this up well when he comments about 'the excellence, beauty, and perfection, of pure primitive Christianity as held by Friends' and how there is an 'evangelical foundation' with a 'spiritual superstructure'; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 167.

[280] For example; see his address to Henry Clay, an American statesperson; Gurney, *A Winter in the West Indies, Described in Familiar Letters to Henry Clay, of Kentucky*, 253-82. A review of Gurney's involvement with the cause of abolition can be found in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* (Under the Sanction of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society), "Joseph John Gurney, Esq," February 1, 1847, 17-20, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044079443750?urlappend=%3Bseq=235%3Bownerid=114661836-253. Steven Mitton has also presented an account of Gurney's abolitionist work with regards to his engagement with enslavers in the United States; see Steven Heath Mitton, "The Free World Confronted: The Problem of Slavery and Progress in American Foreign Relations, 1833–1844" (Order No. 3167114, Louisiana State University and Agricultural & Mechanical College, 2005), 1-21, https://www.proquest.com/dissertations-theses/free-world-confronted-problem-slavery-progress/docview/304988160/se-2. Swift comments that Gurney's particular approach to campaigning against enslavement during his time in North America met with criticisms from some parts of the abolitionist movement; see Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 210-12. An example of such tensions can be seen in a letter addressed to Gurney by James Cannings Fuller; see James Cannings Fuller, *A Letter from James Cannings Fuller, of Skaneatales, State of New York, to Joseph John Gurney; Being Some Animadversions Upon J. .J. Gurney's Insinuations against the American Abolitionists, Contained in a Work Entitled "Familiar Letters to Amelia Opie," Recently Printed for Private Circulation in England* (Dublin: Printed by Webb and Chapman, 1843).

punishment,[281] advocacy for prison reform,[282] and also later on in his life promoting the cause of teetotalism.[283] Additionally, he held a long standing commitment to the work of the BFBS[284] and as Braithwaite notes, Gurney was also desirous for the Bible to be actively used within Quaker schools.[285]

In *Terms of Union*,[286] he describes the engagement of a 'serious Christian' with the wider world as being 'like the successive stories of a *pyramid*'.[287] In examples given to explain this, he notes how the number of connections with different people declines as the context changes from a secular to an increasingly religious and then specifically denominational perspective.[288] As Healey has highlighted, unlike many Quietist Quakers where a distancing from the world was seen as an expression of a distinctive faith,[289] Gurney was prepared to engage with others from different Christian traditions in matters of both theology and the pursuit of benevolent goals.[290] But it is critical to appreciate that once Gurney was acting within

[281] For example; see Gurney, *Substance of a Speech on Capital Punishments, Delivered at a Public Meeting of the Inhabitants of Norwich, Held 4th Month, 17th, 1846*.
[282] For example; see Gurney, *Notes on a Visit Made to Some of the Prisons in Scotland and the North of England, in Company with Elizabeth Fry; with Some General Observations on the Subject of Prison Discipline*. In response to criticisms of this publication, Gurney also published a reply; see Joseph John Gurney, *A Letter to the Magistrates for the Three Ridings of the County of York. In Reply to the Report of the Visiting Magistrates of York Castle, Relative to That Prison* (York: Printed by Thomas Wilson and Sons, 1819).
[283] According to Braithwaite, Gurney 'signed the total abstinence pledge' on the 4th April 1843; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 383. In a speech about temperance, Gurney comments 'that *next* to Christianity, the best way of benefiting mankind is to promote the cause of Total Abstinence'; see Gurney, "Substance of a Speech of Joseph John Gurney, Esq., at the Temperance Hall, Jersey, on the 15th of June, 1844. From Notes Taken by a Friend," 5. Gurney's earlier support for the temperance movement is evident in his contribution to a meeting on this subject in 1833; see *The Patriot*, "British and Foreign Temperance Society," 22 May 1833, 186.
[284] For example; see Martin, "Quakers, the Bible, and the British and Foreign Bible Society," 19.
[285] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 166-67.
[286] Gurney, *Terms of Union*.
[287] Gurney, *Terms of Union*, 9 (both quotations).
[288] Gurney, *Terms of Union*, 9-10.
[289] Healey, "Quietist Quakerism, 1692-*C*.1805," 54.
[290] For example; see Gurney, *Reminiscences of Chalmers, Simeon, Wilberforce, &c.* and Joseph John Gurney, *Familiar Sketch of the Late William Wilberforce* (Norwich: Josiah Fletcher; London: W. Ball, 1838), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026510490.0x000001.

the sphere of a worshipping community then beliefs and practice become paramount. This is a fine and nuanced line used by him which had a direct impact upon his praxis.[291] Gurney's understanding of Quakerism therefore having both common *and* distinctive ground within mainstream Christianity leads to what I have termed a re-alignment in the 'theology of the hedge'.

6.10.2 The 'theology of the hedge'

Dandelion has described how the concept of 'the hedge' can help religious communities maintain their identity by distancing themselves in some way from the wider world and thereby remain free from outside influences.[292] For example, in the eighteenth century, Friends used a variety of ways to help keep the Society as a distinct and separate religious group including endogamic practice, adopting simple attire and the use of egalitarian language.[293] However, in this sub-section, the emphasis is placed on what I have termed a '*theology* of the hedge'. By this I mean how differences in religious belief can act as a potential barrier and in the context of this study this therefore might be between different groups *within* Quakerism,

[291] For example, during his visit to America although he had amicably met with Hicksite Quakers on a private basis he was not willing to worship with Hicksite Friends in Baltimore; see Gurney, *A Journey in North America, Described in Familiar Letters to Amelia Opie*, 249-50. In contrast, Gurney as an active member of the BFBS was prepared to work alongside other members of the organisation even if they held Socinian views (antithetical to his own) because he did not view the BFSB as a church. Instead he considered it to be an organisation with a religious aim of providing and distributing copies of the Bible in Britain and further afield, but done in a way which was impartial without any additional commentary or interpretation of the biblical text; see Gurney, *Terms of Union*, 15. The Quaker Luke Howard, also took a similar stance; see L. H. Doncaster, "Friends' Relationship to the British and Foreign Bible Society in Its Early Years," *The Friends' Quarterly* 7, no. 4 (1953): 213. In a related way, Dandelion has argued that Quietist Quakers like the anti-enslavement advocate Anthony Benezet, who were willing to work alongside others outside of the Society on a common social cause, were nonetheless also committed to upholding the distinctive spirituality within the Quaker tradition; see Pink Dandelion, "Guarded Domesticity and Engagement with "the World": The Separate Spheres of Quaker Quietism," *Common Knowledge* 16, no. 1 (2010): 104-06. https://doi.org/10.1215/0961754X-2009-063.

[292] Dandelion, *The Cultivation of Conformity. Towards a General Theory of Internal Secularisation*, 56-58.

[293] Dandelion, *The Cultivation of Conformity. Towards a General Theory of Internal Secularisation*, 65.

between Quakerism and other Christian traditions or indeed between Quakerism and the wider world.

The argument is made that Gurney, in his writings and addresses, articulated his beliefs in two main ways. First, with *faith fundamentals*, he uses key elements of Christology to establish what he considers as essential features of the Christian faith; this for example, is evident in his *Christian Observer* article where he identifies nine areas of core belief.[294] Implicit within this approach is his advocacy of there being vital theological common ground between Quakerism and other Christian traditions. This is an important facet of Gurney's theology and in *Chalmeriana* he comments that whilst he is 'deeply convinced that on no other foundation can any man stand with safety but Jesus Christ,' he also sees that such a 'foundation has a breadth proportioned to its stability'.[295] The idea of exclusivity amongst different Christian traditions is therefore an anathema to him.[296] Secondly, there are however, what can be termed *faith distinctives*. Gurney uses these to highlight differences and claims that Quakerism is closer than other denominations in modelling both the teachings and organisation of the apostolic church.[297]

Both *fundamentals* and *distinctives* were important to Gurney but I contend he saw the former as a necessary pre-requisite to the latter, and therefore the

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[294] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 274-75.
[295] Gurney, *Chalmeriana; or, Colloquies with Dr. Chalmers, Author of "Evidences of Christianity," and "Astronomical Sermons."*, 32.
[296] Gurney, *Chalmeriana; or, Colloquies with Dr. Chalmers, Author of "Evidences of Christianity," and "Astronomical Sermons."*, 31-32.
[297] Gurney, *Observations*, 480. See also sections 6.8 and 6.9 for further details in relation to 'faith distinctives'. Anderson has argued that there is a difference between '"Quaker Testimonies and Distinctives,"' in that the former are seen as 'timeless convictions' whilst the latter reflect how the testimonies are expressed; see Paul N. Anderson, "Quakers as Radical Christians -- Maurice Creasey's Theological Assessment of Essential Quakerism," *Quaker Religious Thought* 120, Article 2 (2013): 12 (endnote 1). https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol120/iss1/2. This idea fits well with the point made in this chapter that Gurney's vision of Quakerism being an expression of Primitive Christianity has to be seen within the context of the nineteenth century.

cornerstone of what it meant to be Christian. In other words, Gurney positioned Quakerism within mainstream Christianity first and then within this domain characterised what made it distinctive. This represents a re-alignment in the nature of the Quaker 'hedge' from earlier times. To understand the significance of this it is important to acknowledge how the early Quaker movement stood apart from mainstream Christianity. Fox's profound religious experience recorded in the early part of his *Journal*[298] highlights how the *inward* spiritual experience was paramount to early Friends and as Dandelion has argued represented 'a radical and revolutionary experience' which challenged the idea of Christian faith being primarily defined by an *outward* profession.[299] Gywn has argued that early Quakers carried a sense of "realizing eschatology", a belief that the arrival of God's Kingdom had started to unfold and that Friends were also an integral part of this.[300] However, as Dandelion notes the idea of being 'co-agents with God' changed during the course of the next century as Quietism developed as the primary expression of Quaker faith and the movement became more introspective with a need to preserve the Society as a "gathered remnant".[301] Consequently, Gurney's belief that Quakers should be seen as *part* of the true church of Christ was a significant re-alignment of the hedge which had previously set Quakerism apart from mainstream Christianity.

For Gurney, although the Society of Friends still very much had its distinctive identify it was nonetheless rooted with others in a shared belief and faith in Christ. However, although I have termed this a re-alignment in the sense that Gurney sought to position Quakerism more overtly within the wider Church this does not mean that

[298] Fox, *The Journal of George Fox*, 11.
[299] Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 21.
[300] Gwyn, "Quakers, Eschatology, and Time," 205.
[301] Dandelion, *An Introduction to Quakerism*, 60.

Gurney's *vision of Quakerism* is necessarily at odds with those of the early Friends. In fact, I would argue that both visions were very similar in that they saw Quakerism as a form of Primitive Christianity which seeks to re-connect with the New Testament. As Trueblood has commented 'The starting point of the Quaker theologian in the nineteenth century was identical with that of the Quaker theologian of the seventeenth century.'[302] *The difference therefore is how best to articulate this vision in terms of belief, doctrine and practice within the historical context which it operated in*- for early Friends this was outside of mainstream Christianity, and for nineteenth century Quakerism, Gurney saw it as acting within mainstream Christianity.[303]

I am therefore arguing that Gurney's re-alignment of the Quaker hedge towards greater Christian orthodoxy was not primarily driven by the influence of the evangelicalism operative during his lifetime but rather that the motive underlying his vision was *to re-establish as he saw it, the original Quaker vision* of the faith as an expression of Primitive Christianity.[304]

Whilst Gurney does not assume that Christians from different traditions will necessarily be led by the Holy Spirit to witness the Quaker testimonies he nonetheless suggests the latter have a positive influence on 'the spiritual welfare of

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[302] Trueblood, "Robert Barclay and Joseph John Gurney," 139.

[303] Trueblood makes a related point when he argues that 'Barclay's fight was against the fierce opposition of outsiders, while Gurney's was against the dull apathy and formalism of insiders.' [see; Trueblood, "Robert Barclay and Joseph John Gurney," 137.] Anderson has also highlighted the historical context to Barclay's *Apology*; see Paul Anderson, "An Apology for Authentic Spirituality," *Quaker Religious Thought* 114, Article 3 (2010): 21. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol114/iss1/3.

[304] Hamm has suggested that Gurney's definition of Quakerism can also be seen as a statement of his intent to challenge particular aspects of early Quakerism; see Hamm, ""New Light on Old Ways": Gurneyites, Wilburites, and the Early Friends," 55. I would contend this forms *part* of Gurney's re-alignment of the Quaker hedge within the context of seeking to re-connect Quakerism with the faith and practice of the early Church. A parallel can be seen with those Friends towards the end of the nineteenth century who *also* sought to connect *their* beliefs with early Quakerism; for example, see Thomas C. Kennedy, "Early Friends and the Renewal of British Quakerism, 1890-1920," *Quaker History* 93, no. 1 (2004): 80-81. http://www.jstor.org/stable/41947531.

the church at large'.[305] Consequently, I argue that Gurney considers the Quaker distinctives as a theological hedge in terms of providing Friends with a particular religious identity but at the same time he sees this as operating as a spiritual standard *within* the wider Church which all Christians should be striving towards. For Gurney, it therefore follows that he would welcome the breakdown of this hedge if it meant that other Christians took up the Quaker testimonies because these are Christian testimonies too. To this end, he goes so far as to comment that if this happened and it meant as a result 'the name of quakerism may be disregarded, and ultimately perhaps forgotten'[306] this would be worth it if the cause of the Church of Christ was consequently further advanced.[307]

6.11 Gurney as a 'New Testament Quaker'

In sections 6.5 to 6.10, Gurney's definition of Quakerism has been introduced and its main features presented and evaluated. His focus on Quakerism being rooted in the teachings and practice of the New Testament is irenic in the sense, as he comments in the *Essays*, 'that a real devotion of heart to the Lord Jesus Christ is a main distinguishing characteristic of all true Christians'.[308] This reflects his fundamental belief that there are Christians from many traditions who are members of 'the true church of Jesus Christ on earth'.[309] But he also affirms the Quaker emphasis on the universal presence, agency and leadings of the Holy Spirit including

[305] Gurney, *Observations*, 97.
[306] Gurney, *Observations*, 451.
[307] Gurney, *Observations*, 451-52. Paul Buckley has argued that Hicks saw 'true Christianity and Quakerism' to be synonymous; see Paul Buckley, "A Brief Introduction to Elias Hicks," *Quaker Religious Thought* 119, Article 2 (2012): 5. https://digitalcommons.georgefox.edu/qrt/vol119/iss1/2. In a *generic* sense, Gurney's view overlaps with this albeit he differed *theologically* from Hicks.
[308] Gurney, *Essays*, 337.
[309] Gurney, *Essays*, 449.

the practice of the distinctive Quaker testimonies as a witness to the wider Church and world.

The importance which Gurney's concept of Quakerism ascribes to the nature of religious authority, core Christian beliefs, the agency of the Holy Spirit underpinning the Quaker distinctives, and New Testament polity, can be clearly seen in his published works.[310] It is therefore argued that Gurney, based on his *own* definition and beliefs about Quakerism, presents a more accurate description of his theology than terms such as an 'Evangelical or Orthodox Quaker' and it is in this context that the term *New Testament Quaker* has been proposed. This also encapsulates the driving force behind Gurney's desire for young Quakers *themselves*, and under the direction of the Holy Spirit, to explore and engage with the New Testament and by following 'the light of the Spirit of Christ in their own hearts' to know and understand the spiritual roots of the Society of Friends.[311]

In describing Gurney as a 'New Testament Quaker' my intention is to highlight the connection that he made in considering Quakerism to be an expression of New Testament belief, practice and Church polity.[312] An acceptance of the authority of the pneumatically inspired Scriptures placed Jesus Christ at the cornerstone of Gurney's faith and ministry. It also pointed to Christ being the head of His Church, a divine spiritual institution void of human construct.[313] Thus for Gurney, Quakerism was seen to be synonymous with the early Church and its foundation in Christ.[314]

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[310] For example; see Gurney, *Hints*., Gurney, *Essays*., Gurney, *Observations*. and Gurney, *Puseyism*.
[311] Gurney, *Four Lectures*, 210. This is based on a reported account.
[312] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 273-276.
[313] For example; see Gurney, *Puseyism*, v.
[314] Gurney, *Friendly Letters*, 37.

Gurney therefore shares common ground with Christians from other traditions in his commitment to Christ and the Scriptures.[315] However, as a New Testament *Quaker*, the distinctiveness of his beliefs sets him apart from other evangelicals in his desire for a Primitive Christianity whereby the Church is pared back from ecclesiastical structures and outward rites.[316] And whilst early Friends, like Penn, also saw Quakerism as a form of Primitive Christianity,[317] Gurney's particular emphasis on the *person* of Jesus Christ as revealed in the Scriptures[318] means that the descriptor *New Testament* Quaker enables his niche theology within Quakerism to be more accurately reflected.

6.12 Chapter summary

In this chapter, three different frameworks have been used to evaluate the defining features of Gurney's beliefs; Evangelicalism, Orthodox Quakerism and his own definition of Quakerism. The overarching argument made is that neither *Evangelical* nor *Orthodox* are sufficiently accurate to describe his theology, and that instead, Gurney's own definition of Quakerism[319] best represents his beliefs. The main findings and conclusions are summarised below.

1. An evaluation of Gurney's theology shows a clear alignment to the criteria for evangelicalism as proposed by Bebbington and Larsen. However, in some instances the overlap between Gurney's beliefs and evangelicalism is less secure, and indicates differences in degree around issues such as the nature of conversion,

[315] For example, see section 6.7 for further details.
[316] See sub-section 6.9.3 for further details.
[317] For example; see Penn, *Primitive Christianity Revived*.
[318] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 14-15.
[319] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 276.

baptism and the Trinity. The argument is also made that *evangelical* is too broad a term to accurately identify the full nature of Gurney's beliefs and that some elements of being evangelical could be ascribed to early Friends as well.[320]

2. Gurney's beliefs were also evaluated in the context of the emergence of Orthodox Quakerism during the first part of the nineteenth century in the United States. Two approaches have been used. The first, reviewed Gurney's engagement with two different Quaker communities (Hicksite and Orthodox) which evidenced how he upheld Orthodox beliefs, particularly with regards to affirming the divinity of Christ, and how he also sought to link these to orthodox Christian theology.[321]

The second approach involved a detailed analysis of the Wilburite criticisms of Gurney's theology. Whilst there is agreement between Wilbur and Gurney concerning the central Orthodox Quaker belief in the divinity of Christ, differences between them included the degree of authority that should be given to the writings of early Friends, how justification is defined and whether this involves the imputed righteousness of Christ. Wilbur's assertion that Gurney neglected the inward spiritual life in favour of justification by faith is rejected. However, the view that Gurney's acceptance of the doctrine of imputed righteousness is at variance with the beliefs of early Friends is considered to have validity. Whilst Gurney therefore aligns with Orthodox Quakerism in many respects, this nonetheless does not present a full picture of his beliefs.[322]

[320] See section 6.2 for further details.
[321] See section 6.3 for further details.
[322] See section 6.4 for further details.

3. An evaluation of an article by Gurney, published in the *Christian Observer*,[323] identified four key features connected to his own understanding and definition of Quakerism. These concerned the nature of religious authority, a set of core Christian beliefs or what I have also termed *faith fundamentals*, Quaker *faith distinctives* and an emphasis on Quakerism being grounded in the teachings and practice of the New Testament as a form of Primitive Christianity.[324] It is proposed that an outcome of these beliefs can be seen as a re-alignment in the *theology of the hedge* between different groups within Quakerism and between Quakerism and the wider Christian Church.[325]

It is argued that Gurney's own definition of Quakerism provides a more bespoke, comprehensive and inclusive metanarrative in which to present his beliefs. It is from this basis that the term *New Testament Quaker* has been formulated to characterise Gurney's theology and the argument made that this conveys more meaning than the current description of him being an Evangelical or Orthodox Friend.[326]

[323] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 273-76.
[324] See sections 6.5 to 6.9 for further details.
[325] See section 6.10 for further details.
[326] See section 6.11 for further details.

CONCLUDING CHAPTER

Chapter introduction

Drawing upon the methodology outlined in the introductory chapter, this thesis has presented a detailed examination, analysis and evaluation of Joseph John Gurney's Christology based on his published writings and addresses. Findings from the study have been placed, as appropriate, within the context of beliefs held by early Quakers, contemporaries of Gurney (Quaker and non-Quaker) and the theology of the wider Christian Church.

After this introduction, the chapter is divided into four sections. First, the main conclusions of the research are given. These are linked with the key arguments which have been presented and evidenced in the individual chapters of the thesis. The original contribution and impact of the research including suggestions for future studies are discussed in the second and third sections respectively. The final section concludes with a chapter summary.

Main conclusions

In chapter 1, the argument is made that the nature of the authority which underpins Gurney's Christology is the Spirit inspired biblical narrative which he uses to establish that the person of Jesus Christ, God's final revelation to humanity, is the foundation of the whole 'superstructure'[1] which constitutes his Christian faith. In arriving at this position Gurney has challenged Quaker tradition that the Bible is secondary in authority to the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit. However, in

[1] Gurney, *Observations*, 461.

making this claim he is not comparing the Scriptures to the Holy Spirit but is arguing that the *revelation* contained within the written record does not carry a lesser authority than revelation which is immediate and inward. This is because Gurney considers the Scriptures to be the work of the Holy Spirit and equivalent to a form of direct revelation. As a result he argues that because the Holy Spirit cannot self-contradict, the Bible cannot be a secondary authority if it is of *divine* authority itself. Furthermore as the Scriptures represent a significant outpouring of the Holy Spirit in the apostolic era, Gurney argues that they constitute a benchmark which can be used to test immediate revelation. This contrasts with Barclay who did not see the necessity of subjecting immediate revelation to the test of biblical authority.

Gurney also queries whether Barclay meant that the Holy Spirit was primary in authority to the Scriptures rather than meaning this was in relation to being the ultimate source of all forms of divine revelation. He maintains the Quaker emphasis on the immediate operation of the Holy Spirit but does not see the Bible as being separate to this because it is both the written record of divine revelation and by the work of the same Spirit can continue to be a source of divine insight to the reader. Whilst inward and immediate revelation continues to be important this is not seen as revelation of any new doctrine but rather the means by which a believer's faith and practice is informed and guided; the interpretation and understanding of the Scriptures made possible; the spiritual basis of the Quaker testimonies established and acted upon; and for people's gifts of ministry and service in the wider church community to be discerned and realised. Immediate revelation therefore works within the context of a biblical framework.[2]

[2] See chapter 1 for further details.

Whilst the Bible constitutes a major part of Gurney's belief system he does not call the Scriptures the 'Word of God' because it is the revelation that they convey, namely Jesus Christ, who is the 'Word of God'.[3] Thus for Gurney, the fundamental purpose of the Bible is 'to testify of Christ'.[4] Consequently, Gurney's Christology is rooted in his understanding of the Scriptures. Seeking to understand the Scriptures is therefore key and in chapter 2 it has been argued that the variety of approaches and dispositions advocated by Gurney in support of ways to undertake biblical exegesis brought to Quakerism a new dimension in the interplay between faith and biblical engagement.

Gurney's exegesis of particular biblical texts is also significant in several ways. First, they are used by him to affirm his belief in the deity of Christ and counter Unitarian interpretations. Secondly, there is a strong focus on Old Testament prophecies being seen to be fulfilled in the New Testament by the coming of Jesus Christ, the Messiah. This is a theme which Gurney further develops as part of a work intended for the education of young Friends,[5] and reflects the importance that he attaches to prophecies and the evidence which he considers they also provide as illustrating the divine character of the Scriptures. Thirdly, I have argued that Gurney's rejection of the rites of Baptism and the Eucharist as being sacramental or needing to be outwardly practised is based on a spiritual rather than more literal interpretation of the biblical text, and that this is somewhat inconsistent given his emphasis in other biblical exegeses of accepting the plain sense of Scripture. Fourthly, it is contended that Gurney was also prepared to challenge Quaker tradition with regards to the

[3] Gurney, *Observations*, 11.
[4] Gurney, *Puseyism*, 14.
[5] Gurney, "Guide to the Instruction of Young Persons in the Holy Scriptures; Including the Lock and Key," 103-16.

interpretation of particular scriptural passages and that his belief in the continuation of the Sabbath as a divine command was at variance with the views of early Friends.[6]

Based on his understanding of the Scriptures, Gurney considers there is overwhelming evidence to affirm belief in the deity of Christ. This constitutes an integral part of his Christology and provides the focus for chapter 3. The pre-existence of Christ is seen by Gurney as being reflected in the eternal Son of God who is part of the one triune Godhead. The person of Jesus Christ is also considered to have a divine nature alongside His human nature and that both these natures are similarly reflected in the exalted Christ. Belief in the divinity of Christ therefore acts as a theological thread which permeates Gurney's writings and constitutes an indissoluble connection between the pre-existence of Christ, the incarnate Son and the exalted Christ.

Whilst not employing Trinitarian or Chalcedonian terminology in a formal sense, Gurney nonetheless articulates his beliefs using more orthodox Christian language than is evident in early Quakerism. Ontologically, he adopts a Trinitarian framework in which to describe his understanding of salvation through God the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. And in affirming the two natures of Jesus Christ and the exalted Christ, Gurney is able to describe how he considers redemption is possible and for Christ in His exalted state to be both mediator and advocate. Additionally, Gurney does not see the narrative concerning Jesus Christ as being restricted solely to His time on the Earth because it has an eternal dimension which includes the coming and full realisation of His Kingdom. In contrast, Barclay's emphasis on the '*vehiculum Dei*'[7] indicates a theology less connected with orthodox Christian doctrine

[6] See chapter 2 for further details.
[7] Barclay, *Apology*, 131.

and more distant from the centrality which Gurney places upon Jesus Christ as both the incarnate and exalted Son of God.[8]

In chapter 4, Gurney's redemption theology is examined. His understanding that justification takes place before sanctification is seemingly at odds with the early Quaker view that the two cannot be separated and that a person can be said to be justified only after they have been sanctified. The argument is made that whilst differences do exist between Gurney and the early Friends on this subject, scholarship has tended to over-simplify some of its aspects and as a result a more nuanced theological position held by Gurney has not been fully recognised. Central to this issue is that Gurney defines justification differently to Barclay and is prepared to query Barclay's interpretation of what the term means.

Alongside this, I argue that Gurney's contention that some early Friends such as Claridge were more aligned to his way of understanding justification has some validity albeit that differences in how they defined justification still existed. Nonetheless, Gurney's belief that Christ's righteousness is imputed to the believer at the point of justification (according to his understanding of the term) is a difference with early Friends. However, the vital argument is also made that Gurney's insistence that both justification *and* sanctification are necessary for redemption, a point which seems to have only been acknowledged in some cases of previous scholarship, means that whether they operate one after the other or in unison, the salvific outcome is potentially the same. Consequently, it is argued that differences in viewpoint between Gurney and early Quakerism regarding justification may be more qualitative than substantive.[9]

[8] See chapter 3 for further details.
[9] See chapter 4 for further details.

The focus on doctrinal matters in many of Gurney's writings should not be equated to him marginalising practical spirituality. It is argued in chapter 5 that a rich vein within his theology seeks to apply belief to practice and that this is an aspect of Gurney's writings which has not received much attention within academic studies. Particular examples of this, which have been linked to the theme of Christian Quaker discipleship, include recognising how the life of Jesus as recorded in the New Testament can be seen as a perfect standard of moral attributes and behaviour which people can seek with God's help to imitate. Gurney's 'acts of the soul'[10] (*ACTS*) have also been identified as being important reflections of his understanding of the nature of holiness and how these in turn can help the believer become prepared in their spiritual journey towards heaven. The practice of the Quaker testimonies, with an especial study made of the rejection of oaths and opposition to warfare, is also presented as a form of discipleship and an act of witness to other Christian traditions concerning the work of the Holy Spirit.[11]

Bringing together Gurney's Christological beliefs, the question is asked in chapter 6 how they can be best described. The established view that Gurney was an Evangelical Quaker has been examined with particular reference to the model of evangelicalism proposed by Bebbington[12] and further supplemented by Larsen.[13] Whilst there is undoubtedly significant alignment between Gurney's theology and an evangelical construct it is also argued that this is not a complete overlap.[14] A comparison of Gurney's theology in relation to Orthodox Quakerism also highlights

[10] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 186.
[11] See chapter 5 for further details.
[12] Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain. A History from the 1730s to the 1980s*, 3.
[13] Larsen, "Defining and Locating Evangelicalism," 1.
[14] See section 6.2 for further details.

areas of commonality.[15] However, some differences in belief (whether perceived or real) identified by John Wilbur and others makes it difficult to ascertain the extent to which Gurney's theology can be described as a form of Orthodox Quakerism other than in a more general sense.[16] Whilst therefore descriptors such as *Evangelical or Orthodox Quaker* have their merits they also have their limitations. However, Gurney also produced his own definition of what he considered Quakerism to be and on the basis of his belief that 'Quakerism … is the religion of the New Testament',[17] the term *New Testament Quaker*[18] has been coined to convey the nature of his theology.

It is argued that Gurney's beliefs are characterised by four key features. First, that the authority used to underpin his theology is the Bible but read, understood and applied within the context of this being the Holy Spirit's written record of revelation and requiring the guidance of the Holy Spirit in its interpretation. Divine authority is therefore Holy Spirit led and principally expressed in the Scriptures. Secondly, that Quakers affirm a core set of beliefs and doctrine, *faith fundamentals*, which are shared by all Christian traditions. Thirdly, that the *faith distinctives* of Quakerism, are founded with a particular emphasis on the agency of the Holy Spirit. And fourthly, that Quakerism aims to be grounded in the teachings and practice of the early Christian Church of the New Testament and can therefore be seen as an expression of Primitive Christianity.[19] It is also argued that than an outcome of Gurney's view concerning faith fundamentals and distinctives, is a re-alignment in the *theology of the hedge* whereby the hedge or boundary line between Quakerism and the wider

[15] See section 6.3 for further details.
[16] See section 6.4 for further details.
[17] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 276.
[18] See section 6.11 for further details.
[19] See sections 6.5 to 6.9 for further details.

Christian Church becomes less evident as a result of Gurney's more orthodox Christian theology. In contrast, *between* different Quaker traditions, the hedge becomes more marked reflecting disputes over specific theological matters.[20]

Whilst the research findings of this study are several and diverse, collectively they reflect a Christocentric belief system which Gurney is able to articulate in his writings and addresses.

Original Contribution

It is argued that this study represents an important contribution to scholarship in several ways. First, it provides a *systematic review* of Gurney's Christology. Whereas previous academic studies have included various aspects of his religious beliefs, none I suggest have sought to systematically analyse and evaluate these in the specific context of a theological framework which has also enabled detailed comparisons to be made with beliefs held within early Quakerism and mainstream Christianity. *Secondly*, as Swift's book about Gurney was published more than sixty years ago[21] and research since then about Gurney has been sporadic,[22] I suggest that this doctoral research brings a fresh insight into Gurney's theology. *Thirdly*, the comprehensive corpus of Gurney's published writings and addresses used in this research has also meant that certain works such as *Biblical Notes*[23] and *Habitual Exercise*[24] which have only been very briefly mentioned in the academic literature have received more attention. Additionally, a letter by Gurney that was published in

[20] See section 6.10 for further details.
[21] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*.
[22] For details about other studies, see 'Literature review' of introductory chapter.
[23] Gurney, *Biblical Notes*.
[24] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*.

the *Christian Observer* and which sets out his views about the nature of Quakerism,[25] has been an important source in this study and is one which does not appear to be have been used in any previous published research. *Fourthly*, it is also argued that this thesis has made an original contribution concerning several *specific* aspects of Gurney's Christology as follows:

(a) the provision of a more detailed explanation of Gurney's dependency upon the authority of the Scriptures with regard to his understanding of the relationship between divine inspiration, the biblical record and direct revelation of the Holy Spirit.[26]

(b) an analysis of Gurney's engagement with the Scriptures with particular regards to the holistic way in which he seeks to interpret the Bible;[27] his use of biblical exegesis to affirm belief in the deity of Christ;[28] his interpretation that the fulfilment of prophecies recorded in the Scriptures reveal Jesus Christ as the Messiah and provide evidence of the divine origin of the Bible;[29] and his use of biblical exegesis to challenge pre-existing Quaker interpretations of particular scriptural texts.[30]

(c) an evaluation of Gurney's beliefs concerning the Sabbath and in particular his contention that it remains a divine decree (but without the customs associated with it) which continues to exist for Christians to observe.[31]

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[25] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 273-76.
[26] See sections 1.3 for further details.
[27] See section 2.3 for further details.
[28] See section 2.4 for further details.
[29] See section 2.5 for further details.
[30] See sub-sections 2.7.1-2.7.2 for further details.
[31] See sub-section 2.7.3 for further details.

(d) evidencing Gurney's emphasis on Christ's divine nature within a Trinitarian based framework with reference to the doctrine of eternal Sonship, the narrative of 'the *history* of the Son of God',[32] and in his understanding of redemption theology.[33]

(e) a re-appraisal of Gurney's understanding of justification with regards to how he defines the term, his belief in the imputation of Christ's righteousness, his perceived alignment on the subject of justification with the beliefs of early Friends like Richard Claridge[34] and the relationship between justification, sanctification and the atonement.[35]

(f) the application of Gurney's Christological beliefs within the context of Christian discipleship and with particular reference to imitating Christ and *ACTS*.[36]

(g) that a definition of Quakerism which Gurney himself gave,[37] and which I have used to describe him as a *New Testament Quaker*, conveys a more apt and comprehensive representation of his faith and practice rather than more general terms such as an Evangelical or Orthodox Friend'.[38]

The impact of this research

Several findings of this research confirm earlier work in terms of Gurney's general beliefs such as the importance he attaches to the authority of the Bible, the significance given to Christ's atoning sacrifice, and justification being distinctive to sanctification.[39] However, in some of these instances I propose that the evidence

[32] Gurney, *Essays*, 214. See also sub-section 3.3.3 and section 3.4 for further details.
[33] See section 4.3 for further details.
[34] See sub-section 4.8.2 for further details.
[35] See sections 4.4-4.8 for further details.
[36] Gurney, *Habitual Exercise*, 186. See sections 5.2 and 5.4 for further details.
[37] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 276.
[38] See sections 6.5 to 6.11 for further details.
[39] For example; see Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907*, 21. and Isichei, *Victorian Quakers*, 3-8.

presented in this thesis has been more detailed, based on a broader range of Gurney's works and on occasions theological parameters have been more clearly defined. As an example, whilst I would agree with the general premise that Gurney saw justification as separate to and preceding sanctification, nonetheless, a detailed analysis of his views drawing upon several of his works would indicate a more complex picture not least of all that justification as a term was being defined differently by him.[40]

Whilst there are aspects of this research which help to consolidate an existing picture regarding some of Gurney's beliefs, I argue that other findings, as outlined for example in the previous chapter section, further inform and in some cases challenge existing scholarship. By *further inform*, I refer to aspects of the research which have highlighted areas of belief and practice which have received little, if any, attention in other academic studies. For example, these include specific ways in which Gurney has engaged with the Scriptures and used biblical exegesis to support his views concerning the divinity of Christ and the nature of prophecy, his beliefs regarding the Sabbath and his understanding of the nature of holiness as preparation for heaven. By *challenge*, I suggest that Gurney's own definition and understanding of Quakerism which has been highlighted in this thesis,[41] is one which current scholarship has not fully addressed. Similarly, challenge can also be seen in the argument which has been made that Gurney's views about justification and sanctification are more nuanced than have been previously presented in several academic studies.[42]

[40] See section 4.4 to 4.6 for further details.
[41] See section 6.5 for further details.
[42] See section 4.8 for further details.

Turning to future research, four main areas of study are suggested. The first concerns a continuing examination of aspects of Gurney's Christology as represented in his published writings. Potential subjects include a review of his understanding of the work of Christ in creation, the nature of sin, the impeccability of Christ, the Kingdom of God in relation to present and future times, an analysis of the Christological themes contained within reports of Gurney's public addresses and an examination of his beliefs concerning appearances of Christ in the Old Testament. Other studies could also research how Gurney communicated his beliefs; for example, a linguistic analysis of text could seek to identify how specific words and phrases are linked by him to theological themes such as Trinitarian doctrine, creedal formulations, the agency of the Holy Spirit, ontological relationships within the Godhead, and the offices and titles of Christ. Evaluating Gurney's hermeneutical methodology, such as a detailed focus on his use of philology in the interpretation of biblical text, would also have potential to provide further insights into the factors which shaped aspects of his theology. In suggesting these studies, a plea however must be made, and one which Isaac May has more generally argued, that it should be the *theology* rather than a particular perspective on Quaker history which frames the research.[43]

It would be hoped that over the course of time, the collective weight of these areas of proposed research would lead not only to a greater understanding of Gurney's Christology within the field of Quaker Studies but also link to the wider field of Christian theology. For example, areas of belief contentious in Gurney's day such as the nature of justification still remain a subject of ongoing discussion in the wider

[43] May, "When History Substitutes for Theology: The Impact of Quaker Scholars' Religious Affiliations on the Study of Nineteenth Century American Quakerism," 11.

Church today.[44] Similarly, as Gavin D'Costa has highlighted, there are contemporary debates about salvation in relation to whether having knowledge about Christ's atonement is a necessity or not,[45] which I would argue directly connects to ideas held by Gurney and the early Friends concerning '*a measure* of that divine influence' held by all.[46]

A second area of possible research relates to a deeper examination of Gurney's understanding of spirituality with reference to the nature of holiness and discipleship. His use of language and poetry, and the practical suggestions he advocates to help support the spiritual life warrant further exploration and would also aid in addressing any misconception that his works only focus on doctrinal matters.[47]

The third suggested area of research relates to Gurney's understanding that 'Quakerism, … is the religion of the New Testament,'[48] and whether others like Gurney also thought this. Anderson's contention that the early Friends can be seen as a movement which sought to return to 'New Testament Christianity',[49] raises the question whether any of Gurney's contemporaries shared a similar viewpoint. Research in this area would therefore be a valuable way of ascertaining the degree to which Gurney's definition of Quakerism was affirmed by others.

Fourthly, I suggest that research would be beneficial in exploring possible links in ideas between Gurney's understanding of Quakerism as a form of Primitive Christianity and other Christian movements of the early nineteenth century which

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[44] For example, see McGrath, *Iustitia Dei: A History of the Christian Doctrine of Justification*, 397-413.
[45] Gavin D'Costa, "Christology and World Religions: A Systematic Perspective," in *The Oxford Handbook of Christology*, ed. Francesca Aran Murphy (2015; paperback, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2018), 605-07.
[46] Gurney, *Observations*, 35.
[47] For example, see Jones, *The Later Periods of Quakerism. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1*, 500.
[48] Gurney, "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer," 276.
[49] Anderson, "Primitive Christianity Revived—the Original Quaker Vision," 15.

held Christian restorationist principles. A particular case in point would be the Stone-Campbell Movement which Mark Powell has argued included as one of its aims 'the *restoration* of the teachings, practices, and terminology of the New Testament church'.[50] Broader research of this nature would also be helpful in determining the uniqueness of Gurney's views.

Chapter summary

The main findings of this thesis have been summarised and presented. Collectively they represent the complex, nuanced Christological beliefs which Gurney held and which in turn re-affirmed, re-aligned and in some instances directly challenged aspects of early Quaker belief and practice. The implications of this study have been explored in relation to both past scholarship and suggestions for future research.

[50] Mark E. Powell, "The Stone-Campbell Movement," in *The Cambridge Companion to American Protestantism*, ed. Jason E. Vickers and Jennifer Woodruff Tait, Cambridge Companions to Religion (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2022), 419. https://doi.org/10.1017/9781108756297.023.

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APPENDIX (A): Gurney's published writings and reported addresses

Introduction

This appendix provides some additional details concerning Gurney's published writings and addresses as defined and used in this thesis.[1] Each source has been categorised into one of the following tables:

- **Table (A.1)** which lists *written* works by Gurney and which are considered to have theology as their main theme
- **Table (A.2)** which lists Gurney's *addresses (such as sermons, prayers, speeches and lectures) which have been reported upon by others* and which are considered to have theology as their main theme
- **Table (A.3)** which lists Gurney's written works and reported addresses and which are *not* considered to have theology as their main theme

The purpose of organising the sources in this way is to help highlight Gurney's works which are particularly associated with theological matters and also to be able to distinguish between works written by him and reports of his addresses [Tables (A.1) and (A.2) respectively]. Categorisation of works by theological content is to some degree a subjective one. Consequently it does not mean that the sources listed in Table (A.3) have no theological content and therefore where appropriate these have also been drawn upon in the thesis. Each table has been organised[2] as follows:

- **1st column**: highlights the date when the work was first published or issued (in cases of restricted circulation and/or not being available to the wider public at the time of being written). The works within each table have been listed in chronological order by year.

[1] The introductory chapter of the thesis provides further details about how published materials have been defined and used in the context of this thesis; see 'sources' within the Methodology section for further details.

[2] With the exception of the works listed in the 2nd column of each table, any work which has already been referenced elsewhere in the thesis will appear in its shortened reference format.

- **2nd column**: shows the edition of each work which has been primarily used in this thesis; this may or may not be the first or last edition of the work.

- **3rd column**: provides additional information for some of the works listed including details of alternative publication titles. The shortened title for the edition of work primarily used in the thesis is also included, as appropriate.

It is important to note that the tables do not necessarily include all of the editions, versions or collations of particular works produced during and/or after Gurney's lifetime. The online 'Library of the Society of Friends catalogue',[3] Joseph Smith's catalogue[4] and David Swift's work about Gurney[5] provide further details about the dates of different editions and reprints of works by Gurney (although not all the writings listed in the tables necessarily appear in all of the aforementioned reference sources). Different editions of a work (under the same or a different title) may have some minor differences in format, wording and/or content. In cases where significant changes have been made with an edition(s) this has been highlighted within the thesis, where appropriate.[6]

In addition to the sources listed in the tables, Joseph Bevan Braithwaite's published two volume set of *Memoirs* about Gurney have been used.[7] The *Memoirs*

[3] Library of the Society of Friends, "Library of the Society of Friends Catalogue."
[4] Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 881-95. and Joseph Smith, *Supplement to a Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books, or Books Written by Members of the Society of Friends, Commonly Called Quakers, from Their First Rise to the Present Time; Interspersed with Critical Remarks, and Occasional Biographical Notices, and Including All Writings by Authors before Joining and by Those Having Left the Society, Whether Adverse or Not, as Far as Known* (London: Edward Hicks, 1893), 171-73, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.b3418457.
[5] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 286-91.
[6] The introductory chapter of the thesis provides further details about this; see 'sources' within the Methodology section for further details.
[7] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*. and Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*. A second edition of both volumes was published in 1855; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney; with Selections from His Journal and Correspondence. Edited by Joseph Bevan Braithwaite. In Two Volumes. Vol. 1 [2nd Ed.]*. and Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, ed., *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney; with Selections from His Journal and Correspondence. Edited by Joseph Bevan Braithwaite. In Two Volumes. Vol. 2 [2nd Ed.]*, 2nd ed. (Norwich: Fletcher and Alexander; London: W. & F. G. Cash; Edinburgh: J. Menzies; Dublin: J. M'Glashan 1855), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/wu.89097319594. For these editions, Braithwaite comments that additional material had been added; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney; with Selections from His Journal and Correspondence. Edited by Joseph Bevan Braithwaite. In Two*

include an extensive amount of extracts from Gurney's unpublished writings. Whilst the focus of this thesis is on Gurney's published works (as defined in the thesis' introductory chapter), material in the *Memoirs* (1st edition) has also been used to help provide some additional information including use of the following extracts from letters written by Gurney and which have relevant theological content:

- in 1835, to Isaac Crewdson[8] in connection with Crewdson's publication of the *Beacon*.[9]
- in 1835, to the writer of 'the Defence of Immediate Revelation'.[10] The latter publication was a rejection of Crewdson's *Beacon*, and although not named in the *Memoirs*, its author was Thomas Hancock.[11]
- in 1838, to his aunt's grandchildren[12]
- in 1844, to an unnamed Quaker minister in which Gurney outlines his views on several aspects of theology.[13]

The second volume of a two volume collation of some of Gurney's works

Volumes. Vol. 1 [2nd Ed.], vi. Later editions have followed including a single volume 'abridged' version; see Joseph Bevan Braithwaite, ed., *Memoirs of Joseph John Gurney; with Selections from His Journal and Correspondence, Edited by Joseph Bevan Braithwaite. Third Edition. Abridged, with Index and Illustrations* (London: Headley Brothers; New York: Friends' Book & Tract Committee, 1902).

[8] Extract of a letter from Gurney to Crewdson; Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 18-26. According to Braithwaite the letter was dated the 27th April 1835; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 17.

[9] Crewdson, *A Beacon to the Society of Friends*.

[10] Extract of a letter from Gurney to Hancock; Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 28-37. The letter is dated '6th mo., 8th, 1835'; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 29.

[11] As evidenced by the *Memoirs*' extract of Gurney's letter, in which the wording from a quotation used in the letter and referenced to '*Defence, 2nd Edition, p. 23.*' [see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 30.] matches (with only a minor variation) the equivalent text found in Hancock's work; see Thomas Hancock, *A Defence of the Doctrines of Immediate Revelation and Universal and Saving Light, in Reply to Some Remarks Contained in a Work, Entitled "a Beacon to the Society of Friends."*, 2nd ed. (Liverpool: Thomas Hodgson; London: Darton and Harvey, 1835), 22-23, https://books.google.co.uk/books?id=QqfnVvEUtNYC.

[12] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 150-53. The letter is dated '12th mo., 25th, 1838'; see Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 150.

[13] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 436-42. This letter was also published as "The "Word of God,"- "Christ's Finished Work"- "the Fountain." From a Letter by J. J. Gurney," *Friends' Review. A Religious, Literary and Miscellaneous Journal* First month 20, 1872, 337-39, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.ah6gjp.

published as *The Minor Works* in 1839 has also been used[14] for some of Gurney's writings and these details are highlighted in the tables as appropriate.

Table (A.1) Gurney's writings with theology as the main theme

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1824[15]	Gurney, Joseph John. *A Letter to a Friend on the Authority, Purpose, and Effects, of Christianity, and Especially on the Doctrine of Redemption.* 2nd ed. London: J. & A. Arch; York: W. Alexander and Son; Norwich: S. Wilkin; Edinburgh: A. Constable & Co, 1824. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100050063350.0x000001.	Multiple editions of the work exist.[16] The work was based on a series of letters originally written by Gurney to Dr Alderson[17] although this individual is not named in the publication itself. Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Letter to a Friend*.
1824[18]	Gurney, Joseph John. *Observations on the Distinguishing Views and Practices of the Society of Friends. Seventh Edition, with Several Additions.* 7th ed. London: John and Arthur Arch; Darton and Harvey; Norwich: Wilkin & Fletcher, 1834. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100025528565.0x000001.	The 7th edition published in 1834 included several additions[19] and a change of title. A revised 'new and stereotyped edition'[20] was published in 1842.[21] Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Observations*.

[14] Joseph John Gurney, *The Minor Works of Joseph John Gurney. In Two Volumes. Volume the Second* (London: Harvey and Darton, Norwich: J. Fletcher, 1839).
[15] Joseph John Gurney, *A Letter to a Friend on the Authority, Purpose, and Effects, of Christianity, and Especially on the Doctrine of Redemption [1st Ed.]* (London: John and Arthur Arch; York: William Alexander and Son; Norwich: Simon Wilkin; Edinburgh: Archibald Constable & Co, 1824), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.$b689936.
[16] See Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 883-84.
[17] Allinson, *Letters to Dr. Alderson: The Original and History of the Celebrated Tract on Redemption, Now First Printed from the Autograph Letters. Compiled by Wm. J. Allinson*.
[18] Gurney, *Observations on the Religious Peculiarities of the Society of Friends [1st Ed.]*.
[19] The contents page of the publication indicates that the 7th edition had an introduction before the first chapter, several chapter addenda and an 'Essay' added to the end of the work; see Gurney, *Observations*, Contents. In 1835, these additions were published in their own right; see Joseph John Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the Doctrine and Discipline of the Society of Friends, with Some Practical Hints* (London: Darton and Harvey; John and Arthur Arch, 1835), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100025530271.0x000001#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=4&xywh=-412%2C0%2C3531%2C2262. A version of chapter 11 of the 7th edition (without the addendum) was also issued; see Gurney, *Tract No. Xii. Of the Society for the Promotion of Permament and Universal Peace. An Essay on War, and on Its Lawfulness under the Christian Dispensation*.
[20] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 307.
[21] Gurney, *Observations on the Distinguishing Views & Practices of the Society of Friends. A New Edition*.

Table (A.1) *continued* Gurney's writings with theology as the main theme

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1825[22]	Gurney, Joseph John. *Essays on the Evidences, Doctrines, and Practical Operation, of Christianity.* 5th ed. London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, and L. B. Seeley and Sons; John and Arthur Arch; Norwich: Wilkin and Fletcher, 1833. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100024336849.0x000001.	The last known publication date for this work is the 5th edition.[23] Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Essays*.
1826[24]	Gurney, Joseph John. "Guide to the Instruction of Young Persons in the Holy Scriptures; Including the Lock and Key, or Passages of the Old Testament, Which Testify of Jesus Christ, Explained by Others in the New Testament." In *The Minor Works of Joseph John Gurney. In Two Volumes. Volume the Second*, 103-16. London: Harvey and Darton; Norwich: J. Fletcher, 1839.	Versions of this work first appeared with an anonymous authorship and with different titles both in 1826 (see first column) and 1827.[25]
1827[26]	*The Contribution of a Member of the Society of Friends, to a Lady's Album*. 2nd ed. Norwich: Printed by S. Wilkin, 1827. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081820284.	Both editions were anonymous. Reference is made by Braithwaite to the work in the *Memoirs*.[27] Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Lady's Album*.

[22] Gurney, *Essays on the Evidences, Doctrines, and Practical Operation of Christianity [1st Ed.]*.
[23] Based on records from Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 884-85.
[24] *Lock and Key. Passages of the Old Testament Which Testify of Jesus Christ, Explained by Others in the New Testament*, (Bristol: Albion Press: printed by John Wansbrough, 1826).
[25] *Guide to the Instruction of Young Persons in the Holy Scriptures*, (London: Harvey and Darton; Edmund Fry; Norwich: S. Wilkin, 1827).
[26] *The Contribution of a Member of the Society of Friends, to a Lady's Album [1st Ed.]*, (Norwich: Printed by S. Wilkin, 1827), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100025535618.0x000001.
[27] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 309-10.

Table (A.1) *continued* Gurney's writings with theology as the main theme

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1830 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Biblical Notes and Dissertations, Chiefly Intended to Confirm and Illustrate the Doctrine of the Deity of Christ; with Some Remarks on the Practical Importance of That Doctrine.* London: C. J. G. & F. Rivington and J. and A. Arch, 1830. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100025835913.0x000001.	It should be noted that the first edition page numbering is incorrect for part of the book.[28] The 2nd edition published in 1833 contains 'Some Corrections and Additions'.[29] Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Biblical Notes*.
1830[30]	Gurney, Joseph John. "Triumph of Christianity over Infidelity." In *The Amethyst: Or Christian's Annual for M.DCCC.XXXII*, edited by Richard Huie and Robert Kaye Greville, 210-16: Edinburgh: William Oliphant; Glasgow: William Collins; London: Simpkin & Marshall, and Hamilton, Adams & Co; Dublin: William Curry, Jun. & Co, 1832.	

[28] After page 88 the next page is 97. This would appear to be solely incorrect pagination with no loss of text content; see Gurney, *Biblical Notes*, 88.

[29] Joseph John Gurney, *Biblical Notes and Dissertations, Chiefly Intended to Confirm and Illustrate the Doctrine of the Deity of Christ; with Some Remarks on the Practical Importance of That Doctrine. Second Edition. With Some Corrections and Additions*, 2nd ed. (London: C. and J. Rivington and J. and A. Arch, 1833).

[30] First published anonymously in 1830 in the *Friends' Monthly Magazine* (FMM) under the author name 'Z'; see Z, "Triumph of Christianity over Infidelity," *The Friends' Monthly Magazine*, Fourth month, 1830, 253-56, http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hnga56. That the publication is essentially the same work published in *The Amethyst* in 1832 with Gurney as the author (see above table) is noted in a review of *The Amethyst* by FMM; see *The Friends' Monthly Magazine*, "Reviews," Eleventh month, 1831, 504, https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hnga56. Gurney's article (accredited to *The Amethyst*) also appeared in the *Wesleyan-Methodist* magazine, December 1831; see Joseph John Gurney, "Triumph of Christianity over Infidelity," *The Wesleyan-Methodist magazine* 10 (1831): 833-36. https://www.proquest.com/historical-periodicals/triumph-christianity-over-infidelity/docview/3000150/se-2.

Table (A.1) *continued* Gurney's writings with theology as the main theme

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1831[31]	Gurney, Joseph John. *Brief Remarks on the History, Authority, and Use, of the Sabbath* 2nd ed. London: J. and A. Arch and C. J. G and F. Rivington, 1831. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100091648758.0x000001.	An American edition of the 2nd edition includes a preface and appendix written by Moses Stuart.[32] Other editions were also produced.[33] Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Brief Remarks on the Sabbath*.
1832[34]	Gurney, Joseph John. "On the Moral Character of Our Lord Jesus Christ." In *The Minor Works of Joseph John Gurney. In Two Volumes. Volume the Second*, 117-34. London: Harvey and Darton; Norwich: J. Fletcher, 1839.	A large part of the work can also be found, with some changes, in Gurney's *Hints on the Portable Evidence of Christianity*.[35] Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Moral Character*.
1832[36]	Gurney, Joseph John. *Hints on the Portable Evidence of Christianity.* 3rd ed. London: John & Arthur Arch; J. G. and F. Rivington; Bristol: George Davey; Norwich: Wilkin and Fletcher, 1833. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100050063353.0x000001.	Later editions followed up to the 6th edition of the work.[37] Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Hints*.
1832 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Terms of Union. Remarks Addressed to the Members of the British and Foreign Bible Society.* Norwich: Printed by Wilkin and Fletcher, 1832. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100037351190.0x000001.	Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Terms of Union*.

[31] Joseph John Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the History, Authority, and Use, of the Sabbath [1st Ed.]* (London: J. and A. Arch and C. J. G and F. Rivington, 1831).
[32] Gurney, *Brief Remarks on the History, Authority, and Use, of the Sabbath. With Notes by M. Stuart*.
[33] See Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 887.
[34] Joseph John Gurney, "On the Moral Character of Our Lord Jesus Christ," in *The Amethyst: Or Christian's Annual for M.DCCC.XXXII*, ed. Richard Huie and Robert Kaye Greville (Edinburgh: William Oliphant; Glasgow: William Collins; London: Simpkin & Marshall, and Hamilton, Adams & Co; Dublin: William Curry, Jun.& Co: 1832).
[35] Gurney, *Hints*, 39-47.
[36] Gurney, *Hints on the Portable Evidence of Christianity [1st Ed.]*.
[37] See Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 887.

Table (A.1) *continued* Gurney's writings with theology as the main theme

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1833[38]	Gurney, Joseph John. "Christianity, a Religion of Motives." In *The Minor Works of Joseph John Gurney. In Two Volumes. Volume the Second*, 135-44. London: Harvey and Darton; Norwich: J. Fletcher, 1839.	
1834[39]	Gurney, Joseph John. *Essay on the Habitual Exercise of Love to God, Considered as a Preparation for Heaven. Third Edition, with Several Additions.* 3rd ed. London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, and L. and J. Seeley; J. and A. Arch; Edmund Fry and Son; Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1835. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026300021.0x000001.	Multiple editions of the publication exist beyond the 3rd edition.[40] Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Habitual Exercise*.
1835 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. "Mr. J. J. Gurney on 1 Tim. III.16. To the Editor of the Christian Observer." *The Christian Observer*, November 1835.	
1835 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. "Mr. J. J. Gurney Upon the Divine Nature, and the Doctrines of Friends. To the Editor of the Christian Observer." *The Christian Observer*, November 1835.	
1835 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. "Mr. J. J. Gurney on the Orthodoxy of Friends. To the Editor of the Christian Observer." *The Christian Observer [Appendix section]*, 1835.	

[38] Joseph John Gurney, "Christianity, a Religion of Motives [1st Issue]," ed. Richard Huie and Robert Kaye Greville, *The Amethyst: or, Christian's Annual for M.DCCC.XXXIII* (Edinburgh: William Oliphant; Glasgow: William Collins; London: Simpkin & Marshall, and Hamilton Adams and Co; Dublin: William Curry, Jun & Co1833), http://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.31175029267484.
[39] Joseph John Gurney, *Essay on the Habitual Exercise of Love to God, Considered as a Preparation for Heaven* (London: R. B. Seeley and W. Burnside, and L. B. Seeley & Sons; John and Arthur Arch; Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1834).
[40] See Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 889-90.

Table (A.1) *continued* Gurney's writings with theology as the main theme

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1836 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Brief Remarks on Impartiality in the Interpretation of Scripture.* Norwich: Printed for private circulation only. Printed by Josiah Fletcher, 1836. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100054435927.0x000001.	Swift lists the work as being 'unpublished'.[41] In 1838, *The Inquirer* reported on the work and included a copy of its full text (with some minor differences).[42] In 1840, the American Isaac T. Hopper printed the work[43] although not without a significant transcription error.[44] Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*.
1836 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Friendly Letters to Dr. Wardlaw.* Norwich: Printed by Josiah Fletcher, 1836. Courtesy of HathiTrust; https://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.090320953.	This is listed by Smith as being 'For Private Circulation'[45] although there is no reference to this in the work itself. In the *Memoirs*, Braithwaite states that Gurney's letters originally sent to Wardlaw (in connection with Wardlaw's publication)[46] were published in 1836.[47] Swift also lists Gurney's work as published.[48] Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Friendly Letters*.
1836 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Letter to a Clerical Friend on the Accordance of Geological Discovery with Natural and Revealed Religion*. Norwich: Printed by Josiah Fletcher, 1836. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100050069552.0x000001.	

[41] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 290-91.
[42] "Misinterpretation of Holy Scripture," 193-208.
[43] Gurney and Hopper, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality in the Interpretation of Scripture. Printed for Private Circulation Only*.
[44] In Gurney's original work with regards to the body and blood of Christ, he comments that 'we learn not merely that **no** [emphasis added] literal eating or drinking is here intended' whereas in Hopper's transcription this reads 'we learn, not merely that **our** [emphasis added] literal eating and drinking is here intended'; see respectively Gurney, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality*, 17. and Gurney and Hopper, *Brief Remarks on Impartiality in the Interpretation of Scripture. Printed for Private Circulation Only*, 14.
[45] Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 891.
[46] Wardlaw, *Friendly Letters to the Society of Friends, on Some of Their Distinguishing Principles*.
[47] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 65.
[48] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 287.

Table (A.1) *continued* Gurney's writings with theology as the main theme

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
[1835?][49] [1836] (see second column for further details)	*Remarks on Dr. Hancock's "Defence.".* Norwich: Printed by Josiah Fletcher, [1836].	The author name is not printed in the work and there is no reference to it being privately printed. The work is listed by Smith as being '*Privately printed*'[50] and by Swift as an 'unpublished' and 'Privately printed' work.[51] It would appear that it was not Gurney's intention to publish the work.[52]
1836 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Strictures on Certain Parts of an Anonymous Pamphlet Entitled "the Truth Vindicated;" with Evidences of the Sound and Christian Views of the Society of Friends on the Subject of the Holy Scriptures.* London: John & Arthur Arch; Darton and Harvey; Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1836. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100025501851.0x000001.	Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Strictures*.
1837 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Sabbatical Verses*. London: J. and A. Arch, 1837. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100096555640.0x000001.	
1839 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *A Letter to the Followers of Elias Hicks, in the City of Baltimore, and Its Vicinity.* Baltimore: Woods and Crane, printers, 1839. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/chi.15960379.	The work was reprinted in 1840.[53] Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Letter to the Followers of Elias Hicks*.

[49] "Remarks on Dr. Hancock's "Defence"." http://quaker.adlibhosting.com/Details/fullCatalogue/49077.
[50] Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 890.
[51] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 290-91.
[52] As evidenced in an article containing some extracts from Gurney's unpublished writings, published in an 1870 edition of *The Friend*; see *Friend*, "The Beacon Controversy. [from the Unpublished Diary of J. J. Gurney.]," 258.
[53] Joseph John Gurney, *A Letter to the Followers of Elias Hicks, in the City of Baltimore, and Its Vicinity [Reprint]* (Baltimore: Woods and Crane, printers, 1840), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100025526708.0x000001.

Table (A.1) *continued* Gurney's writings with theology as the main theme

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1839 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Letter to Friends of the Monthly Meeting of Adrian, Michigan*. New York: Mahlon Day and Co., 1839. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100054449787.0x000001.	The publication *Calumny Refuted* also included this work.[54]
1840? (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *An Address to Ministers of the Gospel, and to All Professors of Christianity, on the Subject of War and Peace; Written at the Request of the Society for the Promotion of Permanent & Universal Peace.* London: Harvey & Darton; Norwich: Josiah Fletcher [1840?]. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100106561204.0x000001.	Smith does not provide a publication date[55] and none is indicated on the publication itself. However, from Braithwaite's comments in the *Memoirs*, it would appear that the work was published in 1840.[56] Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *An Address to Ministers of the Gospel*.
1842? (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *On the Marriage of First Cousins.* s.n.: Printed by S. Jones Jun., [1842?].	Smith provides no date for when this was first printed. The British Library source used for this work suggests that it might be 1842.[57]

[54] Barker, *Calumny Refuted; or a Glance at John Wilbur's Book. (Comments on Mutilated Extracts from the Writings of Joseph John Gurney, Contrasted with Selections from the Writings of Fox, Barclay, Penn, and Others; by the Late Abigail Barker, and Other Friends in America) [1st Ed.]*, 93-105.
[55] Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 888.
[56] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 240.
[57] British Library, "On the Marriage of First Cousins." https://bll01.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/discovery/fulldisplay?docid=alma990015459750100000&context=L&vid=44BL_INST:BLL01&lang=en&search_scope=Not_BL_Suppress&adaptor=Local%20Search%20Engine&tab=LibraryCatalog&query=any,contains,on%20the%20marriage%20of%20first%20cousins,%20gurney&offset=0.

Table (A.1) *continued* Gurney's writings with theology as the main theme

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1843[58]	Gurney, Joseph John. *Puseyism Traced to Its Root, in a View of the Papal and Hierarchical System, as Compared with the Religion of the New Testament.* 3rd ed. London: Charles Gilpin, 1845. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100024286568.0x000001#?c=0&m=0&s=0&cv=0&xywh=515%2C13%2C2233%2C1436.	This work was first published in 1843, anonymously and under a different title (see reference in first column). The title remained in the 2nd edition of 1843[59] before the work in Gurney's name was published in 1845 as the 3rd edition and with its new title.[60] A 4th edition followed in 1848.[61] Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Puseyism*.
1844[62]	Gurney, Joseph John. *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline*. 4th ed. London: Hamilton, Adams and Co.; Charles Gilpin; Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1847. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100043213176.0x000001.	An early version of one of the chapters from the publication had been published in *The Amethyst* in 1834.[63] The first two editions of the full work were anonymous.[64] Some extracts from the publication were subsequently published separately.[65] The work was also published in 1848 (without any edition number given) and the 6th edition in 1852.[66]
1845 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, J. J. "J. J. Gurney on the Doctrine of Friends; with Notes. To the Editor of the Christian Observer." *The Christian Observer*, May 1845.	Not referenced in Smith's *Catalogue* or *Supplement*, nor the online catalogue of the Library of the Society of Friends or by Swift.[67]

[58] Gurney, *The Papal and Hierarchical System Compared with the Religion of the New Testament*.
[59] See Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 893.
[60] Gurney, *Puseyism*.
[61] See Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 893.
[62] *Thoughts on Habit and Discipline [1st Ed.]*, (London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co, 1844).
[63] Joseph John Gurney, "Thoughts on Bad Habit." In *The Amethyst: Or Christian's Annual for M.DCCC.XXXIV*, edited by Richard Huie and Robert Kaye Greville, 241-62: Edinburgh: W. Oliphant & Son; Glasgow: William Collins; London: Simpkin & Marshall, and Hamilton Adams & Co; Dublin: William Curry, Jun. & Co, 1834.
[64] See Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 893.
[65] For example; see Joseph John Gurney, *On the Reading of the Holy Scriptures. Extracted from a Work Entitled "Thoughts on Habit and Discipline," by J. J. Gurney* (London: Printed for the Tract Association of the Society of Friends, 1856), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100055753236.0x000001.
[66] See Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 894.
[67] See Appendix (A) 'Introduction' for further details about these reference sources.

Table (A.1) *continued* Gurney's writings with theology as the main theme

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1846 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. "Letter from Joseph John Gurney (to the Editors of the Friend.)." *The Friend*, 1st month, 1846.	
1847 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *A Declaration, by the Late Joseph John Gurney, of His Faith Respecting Several Points of Christian Doctrine.* Boston: Printed by S. N. Dickinson & Co, 1847. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100055731869.0x000001.	The *Declaration* is also included in the appendix of the *Memoirs*.[68] Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Declaration*.
1859 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Two Letters Addressed by J. J. Gurney to Two Young Friends on the Occasion of Their Leaving the Society*. Philadelphia: Henry B. Ashmead, 1859. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081820409.	Swift notes that an alternative title exists for the work; '*Letters Addressed by J. J. Gurney to Two Young Friends on the Occasion of Their Leaving the Society*'. Both the letters, dated 1843, had been for 'Gurney's niece, Priscilla Leatham, and her husband William'.[69]

[68] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 535-51.
[69] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 289.

Table (A.2) Gurney's reported addresses with theology as the main theme

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1832[70]	Gurney, Joseph John. *Sermons and Prayers, Delivered by Joseph John Gurney, in the Friends' Meeting House, Liverpool, 1832. Second Edition, with Additions*. 2nd ed. Liverpool: Thomas Hodgson; London: Whittaker, Treacher, and Co, 1832. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100032290149.0x000001.	'Three Sermons, delivered by Joseph John Gurney, at the Friends' Meeting House, Liverpool' is also the title given to a very similar publication[71] but with some differences.[72]
1832[73]	Gurney, Joseph John. "Substance of an Address, on the Right Use and Application of Knowledge, Delivered to the Mechanics of Manchester." In *The Minor Works of Joseph John Gurney. In Two Volumes. Volume the Second*, 167-200. London: Harvey and Darton; Norwich: J. Fletcher, 1839.	Swift notes that Gurney's address 'was later issued as a "Penny Magazine" and was reprinted in 1833 in Providence, Rhode Island, for the Trustees of the Obadiah Brown's Fund'.[74] Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Mechanics of Manchester*.
1834 (see second column for further details)	"J. J. Gurney, Esq." In *Addresses delivered by Messrs. Allen, Bates, Gurney, Tuke, Wheeler; Mrs. Braithwaite, Grubb, Jones, and other ministers, of the Society of Friends.* London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co.; E. Fry; Bristol: J. Wright, 1834. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hn24rg.	The work includes two addresses by Gurney[75] both given in 1833.[76]

[70] Listed by Smith as 'Sermons and Prayers, delivered by Joseph John Gurney, in the Friends' Meeting-House, Liverpool, 1832.' See Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 887.
[71] Joseph John Gurney, *Three Sermons, Delivered by Joseph John Gurney, at the Friends' Meeting House, Liverpool. Printed from Short Hand Notes, Taken Down at the Time* (London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co, 1832).
[72] A different title page, preface and inclusion of only some of the prayers.
[73] Joseph John Gurney, *Substance of an Address, on the Right Use and Application of Knowledge, Lately Delivered to the Mechanics of Manchester, at Their Institution in That Town* (London: Darton and Harvey; John and Arthur Arch; Manchester: James and Joseph Thompson; Norwich: Wilkin and Fletcher, 1832).
[74] Swift, *Joseph John Gurney: Banker, Reformer, and Quaker*, 148. The 1833 re-print can be found in Joseph John Gurney, *Substance of an Address, on the Right Use and Application of Knowledge, Lately Delivered to the Mechanics of Manchester, at Their Institution in That Town. Re-Printed for the Trustees of Obadiah Brown's Fund* (Providence: H. H. Brown, 1833), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/mdp.39015021781722.
[75] "J. J. Gurney, Esq," 71-95 and 151-70.
[76] The addresses were given in March and December 1833; see "J. J. Gurney, Esq," 69 and 149 respectively.

Table (A.2) *continued* Gurney's reported addresses with theology as main theme

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1835 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Four Lectures on the Evidences of Christianity, Delivered in Southwark, 1834, to the Junior Members of the Society of Friends.* London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co. and Edmund Fry and Son, 1835. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026275667.0x000001.	Shortened title for edition of work primarily used in thesis: *Four Lectures*.
1836 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John, and Elizabeth Fry. *Sermons & Prayers, by Joseph John Gurney, Esq. And Mrs Elizabeth Fry. Printed from Notes Taken in Short Hand.* London: Hamilton, Adams, & Co., 1836.	The work has several addresses given by Gurney[77] in 1834.[78]
1837 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Sermon and Prayer, by Joseph John Gurney. Delivered at Arch Street Meeting, on the Evening of First-Day, 8th Month 27th, 1837. Taken in Short-Hand.* Philadelphia: Kay & Brother, 1837. Courtesy of Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania, USA.	

[77] Gurney and Fry, *Sermons & Prayers, by Joseph John Gurney, Esq. And Mrs Elizabeth Fry. Printed from Notes Taken in Short Hand*, 5-11, 12-23, 24-39, 40-41, 42-57, 60-61 and 63-76.
[78] The addresses were given in March to December 1834; see Gurney and Fry, *Sermons & Prayers, by Joseph John Gurney, Esq. And Mrs Elizabeth Fry. Printed from Notes Taken in Short Hand*, 5, 12, 24, 40 and 62 respectively.

Table (A.2) *continued* Gurney's reported addresses with theology as main theme

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1838 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Sermons and Prayers, Delivered in the City of Philadelphia, by Joseph John Gurney. Taken in Short-Hand*. Philadelphia: Kay & Brother, 1838. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100024202134.0x000001.	The work has six addresses given by Gurney in February and March, 1838.[79]
1838 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *A Sermon, Preached by Joseph John Gurney, in Chatham Street Chapel, December 16, 1838.* New York: n.p., 1838. Courtesy of Haverford College, Haverford, Pennsylvania, USA.	
1840? (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Sermon and Prayer, by Joseph John Gurney, Delivered at Arch Street Meeting, Philadelphia, on the Evening of First-Day, Seventh Month 19th, 1840*. n.p, [1840?]. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044081820367.	In a publication which includes this sermon (but under a different title) along with some introductory text, the comment is made that it was thought this was Gurney's final sermon in the USA.[80]
1843 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Address of J. J. Gurney, Esq. At the Thirty-Second Anniversary of the Norfolk and Norwich Auxiliary Bible Society, Held on the 27th of September, 1843.* [London]: Printed by Richard Watts, [1843?].	
1886 (see second column for further details)	Batt, Richard. "Sermon by J. J. Gurney." *The Friends' Quarterly Examiner* 20, no. 77 (1886): 19-34.	The record of the sermon which took place in 1826 is provided by Richard Batt who also gives its context.[81]

[79] Gurney, *Sermons and Prayers, Delivered in the City of Philadelphia, by Joseph John Gurney. Taken in Short-Hand*, 5-19, 20-34, 35-48, 49-65, 66-80 and 81-96.
[80] Joseph John Gurney, *Sermon Preached by the Late Joseph John Gurney, at Friends' Meeting House, Arch Street, Philadelphia. Seventh Month, 1840* (Philadelphia: Merrihew & Son, Printers, 1867), 3.
[81] Batt, "Sermon by J. J. Gurney," 19-24. The report of the sermon is on pages 24-33.

Table (A.3) Gurney's writings & reported addresses on other themes

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1810 (see second column for further details)	J.J.G. "Critical Notice of Sir W. Drummond's Dissertations in the "Herculanensia."." In *The Classical Journal; for September and December, 1810* London: Printed by A. J. Valpy; sold by Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown; Lunn; Richardson; Dulau; Law; and Sharpe and Hailes, 1810. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwt5bf.	The author of the article appears as 'J.J.G.'[82] Confirmation by Braithwaite that this is a work by Gurney can be found in the *Memoirs*.[83]
1819[84]	Gurney, Joseph John. *Notes on a Visit Made to Some of the Prisons in Scotland and the North of England, in Company with Elizabeth Fry; with Some General Observations on the Subject of Prison Discipline.* 2nd ed. London: Printed for Archibald Constable and Co., Edinburgh; Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, John and Arthur Arch, and Hurst, Robinson, and Company, London, 1819. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433075972558.	There is also a 3rd edition of the work.[85]
1819 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *A Letter to the Magistrates for the Three Ridings of the County of York. In Reply to the Report of the Visiting Magistrates of York Castle, Relative to That Prison.* York: Printed by Thomas Wilson and Sons, 1819.	This work can also be found appended to an 1847 edition of *Notes on a Visit Made to Some of the Prisons in Scotland and the North of England, in Company with Elizabeth Fry*.[86]

[82] J.J.G., "Critical Notice of Sir W. Drummond's Dissertations in the "Herculanensia."."
[83] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 1*, 59-60.
[84] Joseph John Gurney, *Notes on a Visit Made to Some of the Prisons in Scotland and the North of England, in Company with Elizabeth Fry; with Some General Observations on the Subject of Prison Discipline [1st Ed.]* (London: Printed for Archibald Constable and Co., Edinburgh; Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, and Hurst, Robinson, and Company, London, 1819), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hxjnis.
[85] See Smith, *Descriptive Catalogue (Volume 1)*, 881.
[86] Joseph John Gurney, *Notes on a Visit Made to Some of the Prisons in Scotland and the North of England, in Company with Elizabeth Fry; with Some General Observations on the Subject of Prison Discipline. Second Edition; to Which Is Appended a Letter to the Magistrates of the County of York* (Norwich: Josiah Fletcher; London: Charles Gilpin, 1847).

Table (A.3) *continued* Gurney's writings & reported addresses on other themes

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1824 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Substance of a Speech Delivered by John Joseph [Sic] Gurney, Esq. At a Public Meeting of the Inhabitants of Norwich, on the 28th January, 1824, on the Subject of British Colonial Slavery*. London: Printed by Ellerton and Henderson, [1824]. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100054725233.0x000001.	The work also appears under different titles.[87]
1829 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Some Account of John Stratford, Who Was Executed after the Last Assizes for the City of Norwich, for the Crime of Murder. By One of His Fellow-Citizens*. Norwich: Printed by S. Wilkin, 1829. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hwjnwv.	The work also appears under different titles.[88]
1833 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. "Conversation on Geology. Extracted from a Manuscript Entitled "Colloquia Edinensia."." In *The Aurora Borealis, A Literary Annual.* Newcastle Upon Tyne: Charles Empson; London: Charles Tilt, 1833. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/uc1.aa0002977296.	
1834? (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Reminiscences of Chalmers, Simeon, Wilberforce, &c.* n.p., n.d. https://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.32044020485041.	Although the work is not dated, Smith suggests '[1834?]'.[89]

[87] For example; see Joseph John Gurney, *Substance of a Speech, Delivered at a Public Meeting of the Inhabitants of the City and County of Norwich, on the Subject of British Colonial Slavery. John Harvey, Esq. In the Chair* (Norwich: Printed by Burks and Kinnebrook, [1824]), Gale, The Making of the Modern World, https://link.gale.com/apps/doc/U0104575777/MOME?u=bham_uk&sid=bookmark-MOME&xid=950899e2&pg=1.

[88] For example; see Joseph John Gurney, *The Effects of Infidel Principles Illustrated, in Some Account of John Stratford, Who Was Executed at Norwich, for the Crime of Murder* (London: Printed by Edward Couchman for the Tract Association of the Society of Friends. Sold by Edmund Fry; also by Harvey and Darton, 1832).

[89] Smith, *Supplement to a Descriptive Catalogue of Friends' Books, or Books Written by Members of the Society of Friends, Commonly Called Quakers, from Their First Rise to the Present Time; Interspersed with Critical Remarks, and Occasional Biographical Notices, and Including All Writings by Authors before Joining and by Those Having Left the Society, Whether Adverse or Not, as Far as Known* 172.

Table (A.3) *continued* Gurney's writings & reported addresses on other themes

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1838 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Familiar Sketch of the Late William Wilberforce*. Norwich: Josiah Fletcher; London: W. Ball, 1838. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100026510490.0x000001.	The publication explains that the work had been written in 1833 but with a restricted circulation pending the publication by Wilberforce's family of their own work about Wilberforce.[90]
1839 (see second column for further details)	*Free and Friendly Remarks, on a Speech Lately Delivered to the Senate of the United States, by Henry Clay, of Kentucky, on the Subject of the Abolition of North American Slavery*. New-York: Mahlon Day & Co, 1839. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100055119690.0x000001.	Braithwaite comments in the *Memoirs* that although the work was published anonymously, Henry Clay had realised that Gurney was the author.[91] Gurney also mentions the work in another of his writings.[92] *Free and Friendly Remarks* also appears as 'Appendix D' in *A Winter in the West Indies, Described in Familiar Letters to Henry Clay, of Kentucky*.[93] The latter is used in this thesis as the source for *Free and Friendly Remarks*.
1840 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *A Winter in the West Indies, Described in Familiar Letters to Henry Clay, of Kentucky*. 2nd ed. London: John Murray; Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1840. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_000000034788.	A version of this work appears under an alternative title.[94]

[90] Gurney, *Familiar Sketch of the Late William Wilberforce*, Preamble.
[91] Braithwaite, *Memoirs, Vol. 2*, 160.
[92] Gurney, *A Journey in North America, Described in Familiar Letters to Amelia Opie*, 261.
[93] Gurney, *A Winter in the West Indies, Described in Familiar Letters to Henry Clay, of Kentucky*, 253-82.
[94] Joseph John Gurney, *Familiar Letters to Henry Clay of Kentucky, Describing a Winter in the West Indies* (New York: Mahlon Day & Co, 1840), https://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433081701140. This work does not contain the 'Appendix D' which can be found in Gurney, *A Winter in the West Indies, Described in Familiar Letters to Henry Clay, of Kentucky*, 253-82.

Table (A.3) *continued* Gurney's writings & reported addresses on other themes

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1840 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Reconciliation, Respectfully Recommended to All Parties in the Colony of Jamaica. A Letter Addressed to the Planters*. London: George Wightman, 1840. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100024006180.0x000001.	The work also appears in 'Appendix C' of '*A Winter in the West Indies, Described in Familiar Letters to Henry Clay, of Kentucky*'.[95]
1841 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. "A Tribute to the Memory of Jonathan Hutchinson. By J. J. Gurney." In *Extracts from the Letters of Jonathan Hutchinson, with Some Brief Notices of His Life and Character*, edited by Josiah Forster, xvii-xxiv. London: Harvey & Darton, 1841.	Gurney's work within this publication is dated 1837.[96]
1841 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *A Journey in North America, Described in Familiar Letters to Amelia Opie*. Norwich: Printed for private circulation by Josiah Fletcher, 1841. http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_000000004ED8.	
1844 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. "Substance of a Speech of Joseph John Gurney, Esq., at the Temperance Hall, Jersey, on the 15th of June, 1844. From Notes Taken by a Friend." (Pamphlets. s.n., 1844). https://www.jstor.org/stable/60204935.	The work also appears under a different title[97] which also includes extracts from two other speeches by Gurney on the subject of temperance.[98]
1845 (see second column for further details)	*Brief Memoirs of Thomas Fowell Buxton and Elizabeth Fry. With Some Corrections and Additions.* London: Charles Gilpin; Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1845.	A later version of the work includes Gurney's name as the author.[99]

[95] Gurney, *A Winter in the West Indies, Described in Familiar Letters to Henry Clay, of Kentucky*, 237-52.
[96] Gurney, "A Tribute to the Memory of Jonathan Hutchinson. By J. J. Gurney," xxiv.
[97] Joseph John Gurney, *"Water Is Best." by the Late Joseph John Gurney* (W. & F. G. Cash, (Successors to C. Gilpin.), 1853), http://access.bl.uk/item/viewer/ark:/81055/vdc_100106535053.0x000001.
[98] Gurney, *"Water Is Best." by the Late Joseph John Gurney*, 13-15.
[99] Joseph John Gurney, *Brief Memoirs of Thomas Fowell Buxton and Elizabeth Fry. With Some Corrections and Additions* (Norwich: Josiah Fletcher, 1848).

Table (A.3) *continued* Gurney's writings & reported addresses on other themes

Date first published/ issued	Edition of work primarily used in thesis (as referenced in the bibliography)	Notes
1846 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Substance of a Speech on Capital Punishments, Delivered at a Public Meeting of the Inhabitants of Norwich, Held 4th Month, 17th, 1846.* Norwich: Printed by Josiah Fletcher and sold in London by Charles Gilpin, 1846.	
1853 (see second column for further details)	Gurney, Joseph John. *Chalmeriana; or, Colloquies with Dr. Chalmers, Author of "Evidences of Christianity," and "Astronomical Sermons."*. London: Richard Bentley; Edinburgh: Oliver & Boyd; Dublin: Hodges & Smith, 1853. http://hdl.handle.net/2027/hvd.hn3hhb.	The work is also included as part of *Reminiscences*.[100]

[100] Gurney, *Reminiscences of Chalmers, Simeon, Wilberforce, &c.*, 3-108.

APPENDIX (B): Analysis of Wilbur's *Narrative* appendix

Table (B.1) Analysis of Wilbur's *Narrative* appendix

Listed below are the areas of concern raised in connection with Gurney's beliefs, as detailed in the appendix of Wilbur's *Narrative*.[1]	Quaker author sources used in the appendix to contrast with Gurney.[2] 'X' denotes extract(s) used (one or more extracts from the same work and/or from different works by the same author)									
	Robert Barclay	William Chandler *et al*	Richard Claridge	Thomas Evans	George Fox	Francis Howgill	NEYM	Isaac Penington	William Penn	Joseph Phipps
'Of the true source of all divine knowledge.'	X				X				X	
'Faith.'	X				X			X	X	X
'Universal and Saving Light.'	X				X					
'The "Gospel."'	X				X					
'Of the Scriptures and the Holy Spirit.'	X				X			X		
'Justification.'	X		X					X	X	
'Imputative Righteousness.'	X							X		
'The Sabbath.'	X				X					
'Prayer.'	X							X		
'On Worship.'	X							X	X	
'Resurrection.'					X				X	
'The Atonement.' No Quaker author sources used. Editorial reference made to part of text from John 3:16 (biblical reference not cited)[3]										
'On the Father, Son and Holy Spirit.'	X	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	
'Moral Sense, etc.'	X									X
'The Anointing- Christ in Man.'	X									
'The Seed.'					X					
'Of the Body and Blood of Christ.'	X									
'Gurney-isms, etc.'	X				X		X	X		

[1] Note: the above quotations do not use full capitalisation as in the original source. The quoted texts can be found on various pages within the *Narrative* appendix; see Wilbur, *Narrative and Exposition*, 277-325.

[2] Note: in some cases first names of authors have been added and/or expanded upon from names given in the *Narrative* appendix. In the case of William Chandler *et al*, the list of names is '*William Chandler, Alexander Pyott, Jos. Hodges, and others*'; see Wilbur, *Narrative and Exposition*, 311.

[3] Wilbur, *Narrative and Exposition*, 308.