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The Claphamite fathers and sons: A study of two generations

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THE CLAPHAMITE FATHERS AND SONS:  
A STUDY OF TWO GENERATIONS

A Thesis
Presented to
The Faculty of the Department of History
The College of William and Mary in Virginia

In Partial Fulfillment
Of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

by
Nancy Lee Wentzel
1981
This thesis is submitted in partial fulfillment of
the requirements for the degree of

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The purpose of this study is to analyze the different beliefs held by the Claphamites, a group of Evangelical politicians, and their sons. Although the Claphamites devoted much time and effort to passing their personal convictions on to their children, few of the youngsters adopted the creed of their fathers.

In order to determine the reasons for this divergence, the study examines key characteristics of Evangelicalism and summarizes the careers and beliefs of individual fathers and sons. One chapter also discusses the theory of generations and applies this to the Claphamite families.

The thesis concludes that weaknesses in Evangelicalism, personal differences, university experiences, and the theory of generations which suggests that a new generation with different beliefs appears every fifteen years, all account for the failure of Claphamite sons to continue the tradition of their fathers.
THE CLAPHAMITE FATHERS AND SONS:
A STUDY OF TWO GENERATIONS
Ridiculed for their advocacy of "vital Christianity" and condemned for their crusade to halt the slave trade which represented the inviolable estate of property, the Claphamites nevertheless succeeded in almost all of the causes they espoused and exerted a profound influence upon nineteenth-century British life. So named because many of their number resided near Clapham Common, the Claphamites included politicians, clergymen, philanthropists and educators most of whom were wealthy Evangelicals from similar social backgrounds. Together they devoted their substance, their talent, and their enthusiasm to outlawing the slave trade, suppressing vice, preventing cruelty to animals and children, prohibiting dueling, and promoting the Christian gospel throughout the Empire. Although they cared most for the winning of souls and the advancement of religion, they entered the political arena because they envisioned it as a means of achieving their goals. As politicians they mastered the technique of arousing public opinion and utilized Parliament as a forum for proclaiming their beliefs. The Claphamites also contributed to the proliferation of religious societies and assisted in the foundation of the Church Missionary Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society. Whenever they undertook a task they attacked it with energy, hard work, intensive research and ardent canvassing.
William Wilberforce provided leadership and direction for the Saints and acted as their principal spokesman. His charm and political and social standing greatly aided the Claphamites. The Evangelical families who gathered around him included those of Henry Thornton, Charles Grant, James Stephen, John Venn, Lord Teignmouth (John Shore), Zachary Macaulay, Thomas Babington, Thomas Gisborne, Josiah Pratt, and Charles Elliott. Other Evangelical names associated with the Saints were Charles Simeon and Isaac Milner of Cambridge, Hannah More and E. J. Eliot. Several of Wilberforce's supporters in the abolition cause, such as Thomas Clarkson, Granville Sharpe, and William Smith, held few religious convictions or belonged to different denominations.

The Claphamites formed a remarkably homogeneous group:

It was the custom of the circle...to consider every member of that coterie as forming part of a large united family, who should behave to each other with the same simplicity and absence of formality, which in the usual way, characterized intercourse only among the nearest relatives. They were in the habit of either assembling at the same watering places during what may ironically be called their holidays, or else spending them at one another's houses, taking with them as a matter of course their wives and children.1

Because they visited each other's households so frequently, the Claphamite children grew up together in a decidedly Evangelical environment. Their parents agreed upon the importance of raising youngsters to be cognizant of their duty to God and to society. Charles Grant articulated the concept well;

The rising generation is certainly the great subject to work upon, and our best hope, if we may venture to look forward to any distant day.2

The Claphamites hoped that their sons would one day carry on their work and trained the younger generation for that end. But, for once they failed. Few of the Claphamite descendants held to the Evangelicalism
of their fathers and several openly rejected it. This study intends to review the religious attitudes of the eleven Evangelical Claphamite families and determine why such a divergence occurred between father and son.
Loyalty to the established church led the Claphamites to affiliate with Anglican Evangelicalism, a religious system which has received comprehensive treatment elsewhere. Without an understanding of the distinctive characteristics of Evangelicalism, it is difficult to draw a complete picture of the Claphamites because their faith exerted such a tremendous influence upon their lives. Evangelical traits included an emphasis on family life, individualism, and a subordination of the intellect to faith. Like all systems, Evangelicalism possessed both strengths and weaknesses. Unfortunately, after several generations, the weaknesses predominated and Evangelicalism deteriorated into cant, factional strife, and obscurantism. This decline led many Claphamite descendants to turn away from Evangelicalism, but although they rejected its doctrines they retained much of its energy and earnestness.

Evangelicalism centered on the family and the home, and through its influence, set the tone for nineteenth-century British life. Together, families met daily for prayer, studied Scripture, and planned acts of charity. Sabbath day observance exemplified family religious life because both parents and children remained home to honor God and to devote themselves to spiritual reflection. Evangelical parents placed a high priority on the proper education of their children. Impressed by a deep sense of parental responsibility, Evangelicals closely watched
the spiritual development of their offspring and attempted to create the best possible climate for fostering religious belief. Consequently, parents restricted reading, friendships, attendance at social events, and anything else which they viewed as a threat to religion. Despite these prohibitions and the emphasis on discipline, Evangelical parents also expressed much love and affection. One historian has commented, "Perhaps the most valuable gift which those brought up in Evangelical homes obtained in their childhood was the love of their parents."^4

Unfortunately, the positive aspect of loving concern did not always outweigh the negative restrictions and repressions. Overly anxious parents committed two errors. Not only were they excessively conscientious in their efforts to eliminate all evil influences, but they attempted to convert their children at too early an age, before the youngsters could adequately comprehend the meaning and significance of religion.^5 Consequently, some children grew up uncertain of their own mind, outwardly adhering to a faith they did not really understand or believe. With adulthood came a reappraisal and often a dismissal of inherited beliefs and imposed restrictions. G. M. Young captured one response to an Evangelical upbringing:

On one of its sides, Victorian history is the story of the English mind employing the energy imparted by Evangelical conviction to rid itself of the restraints which Evangelicals had laid on the senses and the intellect; on amusement, enjoyment, art; on curiosity, on criticism, on science.^6

The weakness in the Evangelical's orientation toward family life consisted of the excessive religious pressures and restrictions placed upon young children. But the tradition of family ties and affection often compensated for the strict discipline and expectation of conformity.
Individualism was one of the most notable characteristics of Evangelicalism. During the Enlightenment, Deism, rationalism, and intellectualism distinguished religion. Believers were "much more anxious to show that Christianity was true than to apply it." In reaction, Evangelicalism focused on the individual's life of faith and emphasized practical demonstrations of belief such as personal piety, Sabbath observance and philanthropy. Evangelicals lived at a time when the individual was coming into his own. "Men were discovering they not only had feelings; they also possessed temperaments. They had instincts and dispositions peculiar to themselves." Also, Wesley's teaching had:

Insisted upon the supreme value of the individual soul, its unique quality in the sight of God and its immeasurable possibility, through the operation of grace, in the realm of human affairs.

These two ideas, the uniqueness and the worth of each human soul, contributed to individualistic tendencies in the Evangelical party and influenced such Claphamite activities as abolitionism and the propagation of the Christian gospel.

One of the most fundamental doctrines of Evangelicalism consisted of the individual's direct access and responsibility to God. Conversion required a change of heart and the beginning of a one to one relationship with God. No priest, no sacrament, no church need be involved in the process. "The devout Evangelical prayed to find God deep within himself. He felt it wrong - weak, really - to call for help from outside." God revealed His will to individuals through Scripture and prayer and bestowed grace to believers to enable them to obey His words. Evangelicals felt a deep sense of responsibility both to God and to society. For them, merely believing the gospel was not enough. They insisted upon a true commitment of the heart which resulted in the individual desiring to serve and please
God above all else. This demand for right attitudes and pure motivation laid the framework for the sincerity and intensity which characterized many Evangelicals. Individual Christians kept diaries, practiced self-examination, studied Scripture and prayed in order to monitor the attitudes of their hearts and conform them to the image of Christ. This private life of spiritual reflection represents the basis for Evangelicalism because all actions and good works were thought to proceed from the heart.

Evangelical individualism permitted the association and alliance of "vital" Christians from diverse religious backgrounds. For example, William Wilberforce occasionally attended dissenting chapels and willingly collaborated with pious Catholics, Quakers and Methodists. Believing in a kind of religious free enterprise, Evangelicals founded societies, schools, and various other institutions. At its best, Evangelical individualism implied tolerance because it focused on action and overlooked many theological disagreements. But, for the Evangelicals who succeeded Wilberforce's generation, individualism degenerated into excessive emotional displays and bitter condemnation of Christians who held differing views. Extreme emphasis on the individual led to pride and an unwillingness to see merit in another's position. Another weakness of Evangelical individualism was the party's failure to consider the needs of the community as a whole or to develop an awareness of the "Holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church." Had the focus on good works included the concept of the Church as one body working together for the Lord, the factionalism which developed in later years might have been minimized.

Individualism created another problem for the Evangelical party. Too much importance was placed upon individual Evangelical personalities,
Wilberforce wrote:

Another capital excellence of Christianity [is] that she values moral attainments at a far higher rate than intellectual acquisitions, and proposes to conduct her followers to the heights of virtue rather than of knowledge.\(^{12}\)

Wilberforce also denied that the intellectual understanding of morality improved conduct:

Though they know their duty, they will not practice it; no, not even when you have forced men to acknowledge that the path of virtue is also that of real interest, and of solid enjoyment.\(^{13}\)  
Men lead better lives not because of an enlightened mind, but because of an awakened heart which desires to please God. And, once the individual chooses to obey, God bestows His grace to insure success. For these reasons, few Evangelicals attempted to formulate a theology. Unfortunately, the lack of a theological groundwork seriously undermined Evangelicalism in later generations. The failure to expand and develop their beliefs discouraged many Evangelical sons who turned to other, more intellectually palatable religious systems.

To an extent, Evangelicalism isolated itself from the intellectual and scientific trends of its time because it disdained worldly learning.\(^{14}\) Also, Evangelicals expected so much from their pastors that the clergy simply lacked the time to follow intellectual developments.\(^{15}\) Finally, the nature of Evangelicalism precluded the kind of intellectual elite found in the Tractarian movement:

Evangelicals were rather shut off from the high educational standards that were possible only for the elite. They were shut off by their spiritual egalitarianism. More scope was afforded to sheer ignorance by Evangelicalism than by any other major parts of the Christian world. Rich and poor being really equal in the eyes of God were equally likely, in Evangelical theory, to receive special gifts of the Holy Spirit.\(^{16}\)

On one hand, Evangelicalism's emphasis on practical good works and
lack of interest in theological speculation contributed to its strength. "Vital" Christians were able to unite and achieve political and moral reforms despite their varying backgrounds. On the other hand, Evangelicalism's failure to systematize and develop its beliefs lost it the support of later generations who lived in a time when scholarship and theology held greater importance. In trying to revitalize and reform the dry, rational faith of the nineteenth century, Evangelicals went too far in the other direction:

The task of Christian apologetics is both intellectual and moral: it requires to be directed both to the brains and to the consciences of men. The weakness of the Evangelical Revival was intellectual: the weakness of the Hanoverian Church was moral.17

After 1820, the Evangelical party diverged into two separate streams of thought. One remained loyal to the principles of Wilberforce, Simeon and the Claphamites and centered around the Christian Observer. The other represented a new breed of Evangelicals whose emotional and polemical viewpoints appeared in the Evangelical Magazine and the Morning Watch. Unfortunately, the latter group gained the ascendancy and hastened the decline of Evangelicalism as a vital contributor to British life.

What happened to Evangelicalism? First of all, the party lost the talents of the generation carefully bred and educated to succeed to the leadership after the passing of Wilberforce and his contemporaries.18 Few Claphamite descendants took a prominent role in Evangelical affairs. Instead, men like Edward Irving and Henry Drummond became leading Evangelical spokesmen and their excessive emotionalism and sensationalist antics alienated many conscientious Christians, including many sons and daughters of Clapham. Marianne Thornton, who witnessed the spectacle created by Irving at a Bible Society meeting in 1825 commented that the
scene had been "very amusing to we good people who do not go to plays, but seriously speaking, it is sad to see such tricks played before high Heaven." In later years, Sir James Stephen lamented:

Where are the people who are at once really religious and really cultivated in heart and understanding? The people with whom we could associate as our fathers associated with each other... No Clapham Sect nowadays.

Simeon strongly disapproved of Irving and his associates:

They are led aside from a doctrine which humbles, elevates, refines the soul... to a doctrine which fills only the vain conceits, intoxicates the imagination, alienates the brethren from each other and by being unduly urged upon the minds of humble Christians, is doing the devil's work by wholesale.

The new Evangelicals lacked both the tolerance and the inner moral strength which had characterized their predecessors. "No Popery" became the new slogan and Evangelicals came to oppose all other religious groups and most social reform. What a far cry from the Claphamites and their fight against the slave trade which united believers of many diverse faiths. Once Evangelicalism turned its force away from causes like abolition and concentrated on issues such as the Apocrypha and Catholic emancipation, the possibility of collaboration with other religious groups disappeared. At the same time the new Evangelicals paid less attention to the development of personal piety and discipline. When Evangelicalism became fashionable, acquiescent preachers modified its tenets to be much less demanding. Religion became pleasant and easy, or as Newman observed, lukewarm. Fewer Christians struggled to purify their attitudes or motives and "as those private battles ceased, the life began to drain from Evangelicalism." The failure to promote the inner life of faith and self-examination bred hypocrisy, spiritual pride, and self-satisfaction. Evangelicalism "Declined from a position of true piety and charity until
it became a virulent and uncharitable accuser of the brethren."  

Irving and other Evangelicals emphasized the Apocalyptic strain of Christianity and by building expectations of the imminent return of Christ encouraged emotional displays of prophesy and fanaticism. Consequently, they became known as "noisy professors." Surpassing the anti-intellectualism of earlier Evangelicals, the new school preached obscurantism and narrowed their faith into a dry and shallow creed. They provided no assistance for thoughtful Evangelicals who were troubled by the intellectual climate of the day. Cant replaced piety, histroinics superseded sincerity, and fashion supplanted inner struggles. The delicate balance painstakingly achieved by earlier Evangelicals had been overset. Such is the weakness of an individualistic system: its quality depends upon the character of its individual followers.

Evangelicals intended to raise their children as a new class of pious, active Christians who would surpass even their parents' efforts to reform the world. Although this objective failed, the Evangelicals did create a new breed: an intellectual aristocracy. Their descendants redirected the vitality and strengths of the Evangelical system into other areas and found they had been equipped with very valuable and versatile tools:

Families who rise from similar millieux and whose children receive the same upbringing and education will naturally intermarry; and even when the original ideas which brought them together have faded, a tradition of behaviour replaces the original impetus...Men of natural but not outstanding ability can reach the front ranks of science and scholarship and the foremost positions in the cultural hierarchy of the country if they have been bred to a tradition of intellectual achievement and have been taught to turn their environment to account. Schools and universities can so train young men, but such a training has a far stronger command over the personality when it is transmitted through a family tradition.  

For the most part, the Claphamite descendants rejected the weaknesses of their fathers' religion, particularly those manifested by contemporary
CHAPTER III
THE CLAPHAMITE FATHERS

The Claphamites shared common religious experiences and views. Although a few of them came from Evangelical homes, many converted to Christianity as young men. Whatever their background, they all held distinctive Evangelical views, especially on the subject of raising children. By considering their individual viewpoints and actions as parents, the representative atmosphere of Claphamite homes emerges.

Taking up residence in Clapham was not a requirement for membership in the sect. One gentleman who supported Wilberforce's policies was Thomas Babington of Rothley Temple, Leicestershire who served as a member of Parliament from 1800 to 1818. Babington espoused strong Evangelical views. Wilberforce wrote that he had never met anyone who "exhibited the Christian character so completely." Determined "never to avoid present trouble at the risk of incurring more hereafter," Babington based his life on two Scriptural passages. The first, Phillippines 2:4, "Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others," encouraged his philanthropic activities and adherence to Claphamite causes. The second summarized his Evangelical Christian faith and focused his attention on heaven:

If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God. Set your affection on things above, not on things on the earth. For ye are dead, and your life is hid with Christ in God. (Colossians 3:1-3)
The juxtaposition of these two themes is significant. Philanthropists and humanitarians may adopt the first as their creed without accepting the second. On the other hand, Christian religious leaders may focus entirely on the second and so ignore the Biblical injunction to "do unto others." But the Claphamites were able to combine a heavenly-directed faith with a concern for their earthly brothers.

Babington published a volume entitled *A Practical View of Christian Education* and the Claphamites considered him an authority on the subject. Wilberforce often asked his advice on raising children. According to Babington, religion should be approached as any other subject, only "more earnestly from its superior importance." Just as parents teach their children good habits, so should they instill religious belief. Babington disliked formalism and fanaticism and insisted that Christians need not force faith upon their offspring because they could rely upon "divine aide." Children should be carefully watched and kept from harmful past-times, but not denied all amusements. "Manly sports, adventurous feats and active exercises [could be] encouraged within the limits of morality and prudence." In the schoolroom, children should learn to think and reason for themselves and their lessons should lead them to establish good habits for life. Finally, children should be surrounded by a large family, united by faith, and parents should choose godly and pious people as associates for themselves and for their children.

The name of Charles Elliott appears on the roster of the Clapham Sect. Unfortunately, he remains a dim figure for whom little biographical material survives. The fact that Elliott lived at Clapham and associated with the Saints indicates some sympathy with their religious and political views.
His second wife, Eling Venn, was the daughter of Henry Venn, an early Evangelical clergyman, and the sister of John Venn, pastor for the Claphamites. The Venns undoubtedly influenced the Elliott family and Elliott's connection with them suggests that he shared their Evangelical views.

One of Elliott's daughters, Charlotte, recalled; "In my earliest childhood I distinctly remember feeling the drawing of my heavenly Father to His beloved son, the Lord Jesus Christ." The biography of Elliott's son, Henry Venn, mentions "The hallowing influences of a family ordered in the fear of God." Kinship to the Venns and closeness to other Claphamite families must have exposed the Elliott children to Evangelicalism.

Yoxall Lodge in Staffordshire, the residence of Thomas Gisborne, became a second home for the Claphamites. Gisborne and Wilberforce had attended Cambridge together, but parted company after graduation until Gisborne heard of Wilberforce's abolitionist activities and wrote to offer his services. Once the friendship was rekindled, it never died out again and when Wilberforce could not be at Yoxall, Gisborne often joined him at Clapham.

A country clergyman who preferred not to enter politics, Gisborne nevertheless supported the Claphamite causes through his friendship with Wilberforce and through his numerous writings. Sir James Stephen characterized him as the "Expositor of the Evangelical system to those cultivated or fastidious readers who were intolerant of the ruder style of his less refined brethren." Gisborne published several volumes of sermons, two essays on the abolition of the slave trade, and a book entitled An Enquiry into the Duties of Men in the Higher Rank and Middle Classes of Society...
in Great Britain, resulting from their respective Stations, Professions, and Employment. Gisborne's most important work was *The Principles of Moral Philosophy* which argued against the expediency of Paley's theology. Wilberforce approved of Gisborne's conclusions and noted, "I think he has fully established his charge against Paley...while he goes on thus, I will allow him to live in a forest."35 Describing Gisborne as one of the outstanding orators of the church, Sir James Stephen remarked of Gisborne that:

> Among the sectaries of that village, he took his share in labour and in deliberation, whether the abolition of the slave trade, the diffusion of Christianity, the war against vice and ignorance, or the advancement of Evangelical theology, was the object of the day.36

Gisborne's religious sentiments dated from his childhood. A shy man with a retiring nature, he was "tender as a father and husband," and "ruled his household with a gentle hand."37 His religious views were synonymous with the Sect's Evangelicalism, and his frequent companionship with Wilberforce and others must have brought his children into the center of Claphamite family life.

One of the leading members of the Claphamite party and a close associate of Wilberforce, Charles Grant achieved recognition as a philanthropist and statesman. His career typified the Claphamite experience. Successful as a merchant in India, Grant embraced Evangelical Christianity after a family tragedy. When he returned to England, he joined forces with Wilberforce in opposition to the slave trade and in support of Christian missions to India.

The observation made by Grant's biographer that he "quietly referred all to the goodness of His Heavenly Father, whose hand he desired to recognize in all the matters of daily life" finds support in several passages from Grant's diary. When one of Grant's sons accidentally stepped
upon a cobra and remained unharmed, Grant described the incident and concluded, "May God bless and sanctify the life He has preserved." When Grant realized his first financial profits, he wrote, "What concerns me most here is to review my gains, to see that none of them are exceptionable, and to admire the goodness of God that has given me power to get wealth."38

Upon Grant's death, the Gentleman's Magazine recorded:

As a Philanthropist and more especially as a Christian, Mr. Grant is entitled to the praise of eminent consistency and zeal...Mr. Grant, to the last moment of his life, retained and illustrated in his conduct, the religious principles and philanthropical views which he had imbibed in India.39

Like all the Claphamites, Grant took special care in raising his children. While still in India, he worried about the effect of Indian climate and culture upon his offspring. In 1784 Grant wrote to a friend:

Our children are still a source of anxiety to us. The young mind assimilates to the climate and the people among which it has its early perceptions. This climate is debilitating, long ago did I wish to transport our tender plants to a more kindly soil.40

However, Grant and his wife worked hard to lessen the deficiencies of the environment and in the same letter Grant writes, "With great thankfulness for the blessing of God, I must acknowledge that the success has been beyond our hope."41

When Grant returned to England he sought the best educational experience for his sons. Opposed to public schools, he favored private tuition under a clergyman. Circumstances led him to place his sons with John Venn because:

They have already lost much time, are well advanced in years, and nothing is more indispensable than to make an immediate use of the portion of youth that remains. I consider principles as more essential than forms of places...and I have met with one who has the most general and unequivocal testimonies of great piety and great learning.42

Grant hoped that his children would share his beliefs concerning both
philanthropy and religion. A letter to his wife summarized well his expectations of his family. Referring to his son, Charles, Grant wrote, "I trust he will have but one grand object, the performance of his duty, and that in this he will be helped by a gracious God."43

As a youth, Zachary Macaulay journeyed to the West Indies where he served first as a bookkeeper and later as a manager of a Jamaican estate. Firsthand experience with the slave system led him to oppose the practice because of the brutal treatment and miserable living conditions forced upon the Negroes. Eventually he left the West Indies and returned to England. His sister had married Thomas Babington and through his brother-in-law's influence, Macaulay concerted to Christianity and became acquainted with the Claphamites. Macaulay's experience and hatred of slavery drew him into the activities of the Sect. His tireless energy and remarkable talents of organization greatly aided the group.

Macaulay's letters testify to his strong Christian beliefs. He continually praised the person and work of Jesus Christ and idealized the life of faith:

It is faith that overcomes the world, making tribulation joyful, and finding in those privations from which flesh and blood are most apt to shrink, matter of thankfulness and praise. Surely the life of faith is the only desirable life...It unites the soul to God...I would make it my daily prayer that you and I and all who are dear to us may live [so] till faith be lost in sight.44

Throughout his life, Macaulay singlemindedly devoted himself to developing a Christian character and witness and struggled to overcome the faults he so clearly saw in himself.

Even before the birth of his first child, Macaulay was concerned about the responsibility of being a parent. He wrote in 1800:
I have been thinking of late that we have not been sufficiently mindful of the new relation in which God, I trust, is about to place us. I am fully persuaded that no situation requires more of the divine aid than that of parents, and we ought to have been uniting our supplications for it.45

The family moved to Clapham in 1802, not only so Macaulay could be closer to the other Saints, but also so his children could be raised and educated with the other Claphamite offspring.46 Members of the Sect took an interest in all the Claphamite youngsters and did not restrict their involvement in child rearing to their own family.47 They believed that a united effort would be most effective.

From the time that Thomas Babington Macaulay first left home to attend school, he and his father maintained an uneasy correspondence distinguished by reproof on the part of the parent and defensiveness on the part of the son. These letters, seasoned with religious exhortations and criticisms, document Macaulay's attitudes towards raising children.

Macaulay fully exercised his authority as a parent, and expected obedience from his children. Believing that God had ordained parental authority, Macaulay responded to his son's desperate plea to be removed from school and returned home by writing, "It is the will of your parents, and therefore the will of God, that you should be placed where you are."48 In the same letter, Macaulay advised his son to be glad that he had parents "to watch over him." Along with authority came the responsibility to fulfill a God-given trust. When Tom's genius became apparent at an early age, Macaulay wrote to his wife, "We ought to be grateful that it has pleased God to give us such soil to work upon. May we be enabled to cultivate it in such a manner that it may bear fruit to God's glory."49

Macaulay continually impressed upon his son the importance of achiev-
ing his highest potential and of performing his duty. When Tom wrote that
he was studying industriously for exams, Macaulay replied:

I wish to remind you that this diligence should be the result of a
sense of duty rather than of a desire of distinction...our true
wisdom is to do our very best because God would have us do our best.50

Tom's mother echoed this call to duty and high performance when she wrote:

Do your best because it is the will of God you should improve every
faculty to the utmost now, and strengthen the powers of your mind by
exercise, and then in the future you will be better enabled to
glorify God with all your powers and talents.51

Macaulay often reminded his son that selfish preferences should never stand
in the way of duty.52

Most importantly, Macaulay raised his children to be Christians and
he considered Christian education to be an essential part of a youngster's
upbringing. Sundays in the Macaulay household were devoted to sermons,
both those preached in church and those read aloud at home in the afternoon
and evening.53 Macaulay refused to send Tom to a public school because
this kind of education threatened to undermine rather than uphold religious
teaching. Instead, Tom studied with an Evangelical tutor named Matthew
Preston who had taught other Claphamite sons and who would be sure to
include Evangelicalism along with classical subjects.54

Besides insuring that his children understood the doctrines of the
Christian religion, Macaulay hoped to encourage them to practice the faith
as well. To achieve this goal, Macaulay presented Jesus Christ as the
pattern by which his offspring should shape their lives. So, when Tom
complained of homesickness, Macaulay reminded him that Jesus had left
His Father for thirty years "without a murmur."55 Frequently, Macaulay
urged his children to pray about a particular fault or situation pointed
out in a letter. One aspect of the Christian character that he particu-
larly recommended to Tom was serenity or tranquility. Possibly Macaulay already sensed dissatisfaction in his eldest child and hoped to teach him to accept his duty with cheerful obedience. Macaulay wrote, "Pray to God, my dear Tom, that He would give you that calm fortitude and serenity of mind which it is our duty to cultivate under all circumstances." Similarly, Macaulay objected to the loud and boisterous speech affected by his son. On this subject he commented, "I do long and pray most earnestly that the ornament of a meek and quiet spirit may be substituted for vehemence and self-confidence."

The Claphamites understood that Christianity could not be forced upon their children. Each individual child must come to the point of belief and conversion through his own choice. What the Claphamites hoped to do was to provide the proper climate to cultivate this event. At no time did Macaulay force religion upon his son. When Tom showed no inclination to enter the ministry, Macaulay did not press him even though he was disappointed.

To other areas, Macaulay showed less restraint. Despite amusements such as blind-man's bluff and costume parties enjoyed by all the Claphamite children, the Macaulays experienced a strict upbringing which denied them participation in activities like attendance at the theatre. Although the Claphamite atmosphere was not as repressive as sometimes portrayed, Tom felt the restrictions keenly. Whereas Macaulay did not push his children into Christian belief, he did spend much time criticizing their faults and bad habits and exhorting them to improve. A lot of the friction between father and son resulted from Macaulay's criticisms of Tom's dress, speech, pastimes and general conduct. Tom's first letter home set the tone for later correspondence: "I am sorry that my writing did not please
Actually, Macaulay recognized the same faults in his son that he struggled with himself, and he expected Tom to overcome them as he himself had attempted to do. One list of these specified, "loud-speaking, affected pronunciation in reading, late lying in bed, and neglect of cleanliness." Macaulay could not have expected change if he himself had not been through the same trial:

In his relations with his children, Macaulay was strict but not tyrannous; he was too astute a man to think that he could mould his children exactly after his heart's desire. What he could and did do was to hold them to his own austere standard of hard work, seriousness and self-abnegation: they did not like it, but they never forgot the lesson.

Macaulay's harsh criticisms of his son were acknowledged by his daughter, Lady Trevelyan. Although she defended her father, she admitted that in his desire to repress conceit in Tom:

There was certainly in my father a great outward show of repression and depreciation. Then the faults of your uncle were peculiarly those that my father had no patience with. Himself precise in his arrangements, writing a beautiful hand, particular about neatness, very accurate and calm, detesting strong expressions, and remarkably self-controlled - while his eager, impetuous boy, careless of his dress, always forgetting to wash his hands and brush his hair, writing an execrable hand, and folding his letters with a great blotch for a seal, was a constant care and irritation...But the great sin was the idle reading, which was a thorn in my father's side which was never extracted.

Macaulay's harsh regimen did not appeal to his son. Tom may well have rejected his father's Evangelicalism at the same time that he repudiated his strict upbringing.

Although Josiah Pratt neither lived at Clapham nor sat in Parliament, he was a close friend and associate of the Saints and an active participant in and a leading spokesman for the Church Missionary Society and the British and Foreign Bible Society. Born into an Evangelical family, Pratt entered his father's manufacturing business as a youth but later left the firm when he felt a call to the ministry. His Evangelical views and
interest in missions brought him into contact with the Claphamites.

Like other members of the Sect, Pratt worked to spread the Christian gospel. In a letter to a friend, he described his life as follows:

\[\text{My time is taken up from morning to evening everyday in trying, as God enables me, to promote the kingdom of our Lord:...let me encourage you to walk with Jesus, as a friend walks with a friend. When I can do this, then I am happy and my work prospers.}\]

Although Pratt was a clergyman himself, he recognized the significant contribution made by Evangelical laymen. When advising a young man as to whether or not he should enter the ministry, Pratt wrote:

\[\text{When I think of the state of our country, and consider the exclusive power of the Gospel as the instrument of its civil stability and peace, and of the everlasting salvation of its people, I feel ready to say to every man whose character and circumstances promise usefulness, "Do the work of an Evangelist." But when I consider how important, pious, educated, and well-connected laymen are in giving countenance and efficiency to ministerial labours, and consider that not a few have gone into the ranks of the ministry, who in my judgment, might have done God more service out of those ranks, then I feel that your question must be discussed with thoughtfulness and with an enlarged view of all circumstances.}\]

This statement echoes the Claphamite view that adherence to Christian belief resolves social and political ills, and supports the kind of political activity pursued by Wilberforce and his associates.

Along with other Claphamites, Pratt hoped to raise godly children. In a letter to one of his daughters, Pratt wrote, "I have no greater comfort than the firm hope that my God is the God of my family, and my Saviour and Sanctifier theirs also." From the time that they were old enough to learn, Pratt encouraged his children to embrace Christianity. He considered them "as loans lent to us of the Lord, that we might fulfill towards them our stewardship, and train them for the church on earth, that they may pass to the general assembly and church of the first-born in heaven."
Pratt firmly believed in and exercised his authority as the head of the household. However, his son noted that this authority was tempered by "Unvarying kindness and tender consideration." When advising his daughter on raising children, Pratt told her to combine "firmness and tenderness," and to "subdue the wills of your children most tenderly if you can, but if not, your duty and your love require measures which shall enforce compliance." Strictness was a common element of an Evangelical upbringing. Pratt did not hesitate to correct the misbehavior of his children, and when he observed one of his sons talking at a missionary meeting he chastized the child. At the same time, Pratt realized that his own example should set the standard for conduct. Pratt did not believe in sheltering his children from the horrible fate awaiting unbelievers. To one of his daughters he cautioned:

Our Lord looks at children like you with pity and kindness. He pities you because you are fallen and sinful creatures, with proud and vain and heedless minds, and yet numberless sins on your head which will assuredly sink you in eternal destruction if they are not forgiven you and your heart made new.

Yet he also encouraged his children to believe that they belonged to the Lord.

According to his son, Pratt manifested a most anxious regard for the spiritual welfare of his children. Each day he led the family worship and prayed and he attempted to spend as much time as possible with his children. He encouraged them to memorize substantial portions of Scripture and to pay close attention to their religious studies. Both Pratt and his wife prayed daily for the family and continuously instructed the youngsters in Christian doctrine. Pratt's letters abound with spiritual advice to his children. Like other Claphamites, he hoped that his sons would follow his example of dedicating his life to the Lord's work.
"It is our constant prayer for you...that He would sanctify you all to His service." wrote Pratt to his son at Cambridge. All of his expectations are summarized in the following passage:

[I] tell my Heavenly Father...how anxious I am that you may be led by the grace of the Holy Spirit, to see your sinfulness, and your need of Christ; and that you may be brought more and more to love prayer, and the Bible, and the ways and people of God, and may follow all your dear and honored relatives to heaven, and may meet us there.

In 1768, John Shore entered the civil service of the East India Company and set out for India. His honesty and integrity brought him recognition and promotion. By 1775 he sat as a member of the Revenue Council at Calcutta. His successful career continued when he became a member of the Supreme Council of India and culminated in his appointment as Governor-General of India. Shore held this office from 1792 until 1798 and although his performance lacked brilliance, his integrity and his ability earned him respect. He returned to England as Baron Teignmouth and concentrated on promoting Evangelical causes. From 1802 to 1808 he lived at Clapham to be close to the other Saints and to participate in their activities, particularly their attempt to Christianize India.

Although Shore became acquainted with Christianity through his mother who was a strong believer, his own adherence to the faith dated from his years in India rather than from his childhood. One entry in his diary confirms the absence of religious convictions in his early life. When he lost two children to sickness, he held to his faith as his only comfort and wrote, "There was a time when these sentiments were languid and inert: and if such a shock had then attended me, I know not what the consequence might have been."

In a letter to his friend, Charles Grant, Shore describes his religious attitudes. He spent his leisure time reading the Bible or devotional
in God, and hope that my prayers to Him will be heard - that He will pro-
tect you by His Providence and guide you by His Grace." 

Guidance came from parents as well as from God, as Shore reminded a son headed for college:

You will now soon be separated from parents who have watched over your conduct with unceasing and affectionate solicitude for your welfare, guiding your inexperience by their admonitions, and pointing out the way in which you should go.

Shore believed that God had preserved him "to discharge the duty of giving...parental advice." Raising children who understood and accepted Christianity and who fulfilled their obligation to society was not an option or a choice with Shore, but a God-ordained responsibility. Consequently, he frequently advised his offspring on spiritual matters. Fearful lest they should allow his own Christian commitment to be the sun of their experience with God, Shore instructed his children:

You cannot expect the favour of God unless you yourself seek it by daily and devout supplication, and by a firm resolution and constant endeavour to shape your life according to His holy will.

In addition to a personal commitment to God, Shore insisted that his children practice their faith. "The end of all science is practice. To be satisfied with reading the Bible, without endeavoucing to bring its holy precepts into practice, is doing little." According to Shore, "The first foundation of all other duties is that which you owe to God."

In order to achieve the Christian lifestyle he described, Shore recommended that his children depend upon "God's grace, which must be sought for by daily and devout prayer. Cold, formal prayer, will obtain no blessing; the heart must join with the lips." 

Shore rarely hesitated to warn his children when he perceived a weakness in their spiritual state. After admonishing one son, Shore concluded,
"I could say much more, but should not have acted conscientiously if I had said less." Believing that no individual should "presume to risk his eternal salvation by delaying his repentance," he urged his children to be reconciled to God, quoting, "Seek the Lord while He may be found." When one of his sons received comfort and strength from religion during an illness, Shore wrote him "Religious impressions exacted by illness are often...dissipated by the return of convalescence" and warned him not to backslide when restored to health. A child who narrowly escaped death was reminded that many sinners were "cut off in the full career of iniquity without being allowed time for repentance." Even personal beliefs were not immune from criticism. Shore advised one son:

With respect to the Christian religion, your views, as far as they go, are substantially correct in my opinion; but they do not go as far as I think they ought," and then proceeded to enumerate his objections. Like other Claphamite fathers, Shore exercised a strict watch over his children.

Opposition to slavery introduced James Stephen to Wilberforce and to Evangelicalism. As a lawyer, Stephen practiced in St. Christopher where he observed the horrors of slavery first hand, and came to despise the institution. In 1794 he moved to London and gained prominence as a gifted lawyer in the Prize Appeal Court of the Privy Council. Elected to Parliament in 1808 with the assistance of Perceval, he joined Wilberforce's crusade to abolish slavery.

Stephen's association with the Claphamites influenced his religious views. According to his grandson, Sir Leslie Stephen, he did not enter the Evangelical fold until after his second marriage to Wilberforce's sister in 1800. Stephen himself acknowledged that his conversion followed his interest in abolitionism.
It is not true then that a zeal for Christianity, or what my opponents call enthusiasm for religion, made me an enemy of slavery. It would be much nearer the truth, for certain reasons, to say that this enmity made me a Christian.  

Stephen's contemporaries considered him to be a man of piety and deep religious convictions. Lord Brougham described him as a "distinguished member of the Evangelical party...whose pious sentiments and devotional habits occupied a very marked placed in his whole scheme of life."  

The Gentleman's Magazine eulogized him as:

A person of eminent piety; and the devout sincerity of his religious feelings gave a grave and fervid earnestness to his demeanour whenever a sense of duty led him to take a share in public discussions.

Stephen wrote a memoir in 1819 which gave expression to his religious views. His belief in a "God who governs the world" became the cornerstone of his theology and he referred frequently to the guiding hand of Providence. Throughout the work Stephen emphasized his certainty that God existed and that He:

Intimately directs all the concerns of his rational and immortal creatures, that He wills my happiness and that the course of His Providence towards me has all along been chiefly directed to the improvement of my moral state.

Not only does God provide direction, but He is good and only seeks what benefits His people. These two themes, God's guidance and His goodness appear often in the memoir.

Given this foundation, Stephen's belief in the efficacy of prayer, in the assurance of forgiveness, and in the existence of a future state followed naturally. A good God hears and responds to the prayers of His children. In describing his conversion experience, Stephen gives thanks to God for leading him into true repentance and for granting him assurance of his forgiveness. God's dealings with each individual serve as a preparation for the blessings of heaven of which our best desires and
greatest joys are but a shadow and a taste. Stephen states his confidence that God will bestow upon him, "after this life, those joys which eye has not seen nor ear heard, neither has it entered into the heart of men to conceive." Stephen articulates a positive theology, confident of receiving the guidance and blessing of God.

A notable characteristic of Stephen's faith was his appeal to reason as an important element of religious conviction. Men come to knowledge of God through the use of their reasoning faculties:

God might answer our prayers if He thought fit in an audible voice, but the course chosen by his infinite wisdom is different. In this, as in all other cases, it seems to be His plan to discover Himself and His operations to His rational creatures by means only of their reasoning powers. Truly says the Scripture, "Thou art a God who hidest thyself." But it is nevertheless His holy will that the creatures whom He has endued with reason should search for and discover Him in His works of creation and providence.

Stephen believed in two rational evidences of God's working in an individual's life. The first of these consisted of "events of providential character," or incidences of God's guidance. The other appeared in answers to prayer. Stephen stressed the role of reason more than most Evangelicals. Whereas they might agree in principle that God's dealings with men could be known and that reason did have a place in religion, Evangelicals would want to place greater emphasis upon the importance of Scripture, revelation, faith and grace.

Although Stephen's memoir survives, few of his letters do. Consequently, little evidence exists for reconstructing his child-rearing philosophy. That he was interested in sharing his religious convictions with his children is obvious from his memoir which he wrote primarily for their sake. In explaining his purpose for recording his autobiography he stated:
I wish to inform them faithfully of the events of my own life, because I think it may be useful to them in the conduct of theirs... The great truth to be learnt from the following narrative, and in almost every event recorded in it is the superintendence of a wise and just, though merciful and gracious Providence, in all the concerns of human life. The truth, the most precious to me of all sublunary things, I most anxiously wish to hand down to my children, and to our posterity, as a matter not of my belief merely, but knowledge, as a truth deeply impressed upon me not only by reason, and revelation, but by the clearest and fullest experience.\textsuperscript{105}

But after Stephen dedicated his Memoir to his children he made no other reference to them beyond expressing the hope that they were all "walking the paths of piety and virtue as well as prudence."\textsuperscript{106}

The anxious prayers, warnings, and spiritual advice which characterize most of the Claphamites' communications with their children are absent from Stephen's memoir. Several reasons may account for this omission. First of all, Stephen became an Evangelical after all of his children had been born and when most of them were approaching their adulthood. He may not have had the same opportunity to develop an intense interest in his children's religious education and upbringing. Secondly, his theological views, as expressed in his memoir, emphasized a good and loving God who answers prayer and leads people into repentance and blessings. His autobiography radiates with confidence in the providence of God and his conviction that God would lead and guide his children. Finally, Stephen may never have fully embraced Evangelical doctrines. Not once did he mention the person of Jesus Christ or make reference to the Saviour. Stephen's discussions of repentance and forgiveness omit the doctrine of Christ's atoning death. Wilberforce recognized the deficiency and wrote:

About your last letter I have one word to say. I wish the idea of our Saviour had occurred to you. We are expressly told, "giving thanks always, et., through Jesus Christ." I like to associate Christ with all my religious ideas, as the object of gratitude and love, and God, the Supreme God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, also.\textsuperscript{107}
Stephen also neglects to identify Scripture as the word of God and the foundation of belief. Most Claphamites instructed their children to study the Scriptures, but Stephen did not do so in his memoir. One passage from a letter he wrote to Wilberforce suggests that Stephen was most preoccupied with his own mortality and conduct:

I will endeavour with God's help, to struggle against sin, inward and outward, in this bad world, more than I have ever yet done, with patience and perseverance; and for this, among other reasons, lest I should find myself hereafter in a different nebula from my dear S. and you.108

Stephen may have paid little attention to a number of Evangelical doctrines finding that his belief in a good and guiding God who had assured him of his forgiveness adequately met his spiritual needs. Instead, he concentrated on leading a moral life and performing his duty to God.

Henry Thornton grew up in an Evangelical home and experienced no sudden conversion or awakening of faith. His father, John Thornton, acted a leading role in the early Evangelical movement, and began a tradition of piety and philanthropy which continued with his descendants. As a young man, Thornton recognized that Christianity demanded personal conviction and commitment and "in the tranquil way in which he thought through everything, he examined his Bible and his heart and then accepted for himself the religion he had inherited."109 His kinship to Wilberforce and his Evangelicalism made him a natural ally of the Saints. In fact, Wilberforce and Thornton became close friends and together developed the idea of establishing their residences at Clapham in order to be near each other.

Thornton bowed to the sovereignty of God. "Into Thine Hand, O Lord, we leave the issue of all our undertakings: for Thou knowest better than ourselves, what is for our good."110 Although he had experienced conver-
sion, Thornton believed that the temptations of sin required continual watchfulness and that his salvation depended upon putting his faith into practice. Religion "must appear in the life; it should not altogether be hid in the heart. Faith and good works together make one acceptable in God's sight."\(^{111}\) Doctrinal differences seemed unimportant to Thornton:

> Let every zealot for doctrine, then, remember that there is something new to be done in consequence of every new truth which he receives and that every doctrine...has its practical tendency and its proper practical use.\(^{112}\)

Thornton espoused an activist faith which found expression in philanthropy and the promotion of religious causes. But when he evaluated his own spiritual state, he reached an interesting conclusion. "Works" included not only public actions, but the individual's devotional life as well. This latter aspect presented the greatest challenge to Thornton:

> I think that I have discovered that my religion consists too much in active duties and in efforts to deify and convert others, and too little in serious self-examination, attentive reading of the Scriptures, prayer and secret self-denial.\(^{113}\)

Thornton recognized that good deeds required proper motivation which he defined as "faith in God and a willingness and a desire to please Him."\(^{114}\) Because his social and political activities could represent a desire for fame and approval rather than an evidence of Christian commitment, Thornton observed that "secret prayer is the great test of a Christian...in secret prayer when no eye is upon us, but that of God, we have a far better proof of the internal piety of the heart."\(^{115}\)

> Family held an important place in Thornton's busy schedule. He considered parenthood as much a mission as abolition:

> It is thru the institution of families that children are brought up in an orderly manner; and that the knowledge of God and of his laws is handed down from generation to generation.\(^{116}\)

As a result, discipline and education began early and although Thornton
exercised strictness, he was never harsh or cruel. Children merited an investment of time and effort because their education as Christians constituted the world's greatest hope. Thornton intended to utilize every opportunity to teach a moral lesson, instill faith, or issue a warning as to the consequences of wrong thoughts or actions. One of Thornton's letters to his young daughter reveals his approach:

Can you guess what is the first thing I do when I get up? I often go into Nurse's little closet and there I pray to God to bless my children and to make them good and to take care of them. Now, I cannot think that if they knew this that they would yield to little temptations to be unkind or idle or insincere or to do anything else that will displease God or grieve their parents.

Marianne, Thornton's eldest daughter, recalled her father's belief that children needed constant activity:

My father had a strong idea that half the naughtiness of little children arose from a want of employment and that they have a very early perception of the difference between amusing themselves and doing something that saved trouble to others.

Consequently, the Thornton children performed miscellaneous tasks around the house. For example, Marianne became her father's secretary when she learned to write and also read the Morning Chronicle to him. In this way Thornton involved her in his political and religious activities and exposed her to his views.

Family worship occurred daily in the Thornton household as it did in most Evangelical homes. Thornton authored a book entitled Family Prayers which went through many printings and which was widely utilized by Evangelicals. Its contents reveal his deep concern for the religious life of the home. For his own children Thornton created an atmosphere of affection, piety, integrity and public activity. Unfortunately, both he and his wife died in 1815 and left nine young children in the hands of Sir Robert Inglis. Had he lived longer, Thornton might have left a more extensive record of
his role as a parent.

John Venn succeeded naturally to the position of the vicar of Clapham. His father, Henry Venn, figured as one of the leading clergymen of the early Evangelical movement and influenced a number of Claphamites. Like Henry Thornton, Venn grew up in an Evangelical household and faced the challenge of defining his own spiritual experience and beliefs within the context of his father's teachings and views. At the age of five, he announced his decision to become a preacher like his father and convince people of their sins. As a youth he experienced divine guidance when he narrowly escaped a potentially fatal coach accident. At the same time he read and digested books like Janeway's *Life*, Whitefield's *Life* and Beveridge's *Private Thoughts*. Finally, he became conscious of his own sinfulness. All of these events combined to produce confidence in his own religious experience and faith. Venn persisted in his desire to enter the priesthood and at Cambridge he associated primarily with other Evangelicals. In 1792 he took up his duties at the church in Clapham and became pastor to the Saints and a participant in their causes.

Venn brought Evangelical preaching and a greater emphasis on the sacraments to the Clapham congregation. He approved of the observance of Lent and the Christian year and utilized the psalter in worship. In addition to his own teaching, he exposed the parish to the views of the leading Evangelicals of the day by inviting them to appear in his pulpit. Venn belonged to the school of Evangelicals who were committed firmly to the established church. In his words:

The ordinances of the church are not placed on the same footing as divine appointments, yet it is evident, that there is, due to them, when not in themselves unreasonable, a degree of reverence and obedience which no good man will refuse to pay.
Venn's public and pastoral duties left him with little time to spend with his family. However, he shared the Claphamite concern with the rising generation and his letters reveal the anxiety and advice common to Evangelical parents.

Family life in the Venn household followed traditional Evangelical patterns. Meeting together for family prayers was an important part of the day. Also, Venn encouraged the keeping of diaries to aid in spiritual self-examination. When choosing a governess, Venn looked for a God-fearing woman who would exert a positive spiritual influence on his children. Venn admitted his children to death bed scenes so they could witness the passing of a Christian and grasp the need to repent and be ready for their own passing. Be developing a spelling book for them, by advising them on their style of writing, by teaching his daughters shorthand and by tutoring his own sons for college, Venn took an active role in the education of his children. Not only did he teach them Christian doctrine and classical subjects, but he instructed them on how to conduct their lives:

Do not do anything because you see other children do it, but ask yourselves is it right to be done. What would God who made me have me to do? If you reason in this manner you will find an inward monitor always present with you who will direct you what to do. It will tell you, for instance, to be diligent, to improve your time, to resist an idle and trifling spirit, to be obedient to all your superiors, to be kind to everyone and to study the welfare and advantage of others rather than your own.

Venn attempted to present the positive side of Christianity to his children. Shortly before he died he wrote:

You can all bear me witness that I have never represented religion to you as a gloomy thing. I have never said you must do this or you will go to Hell, but I have set it before you as a scene of joy and happiness unspeakable.

Venn struggled over the question of whether his children should be taught to dance. He himself had learned the art and a number of his friends and
relatives allowed their families to dance. Although Venn did not condemn those who permitted dancing, he preferred to stay on the safe side and he kept his children away from parties featuring either dancing or cards:

I have seen so many instances of children of professors by indulgence in this respect, enter the vanities of the world, that I am afraid of giving them any liberty beyond the bounds of strictest prudence. With respect to the children themselves I made them my friends in the case and frankly tell them these my views and my desires, to arm their minds beforehand and I hope I shall teach them to bear the reproach and singularity and imputation of folly.  

This attitude reflects Venn's concern for the well being of his children. He always realized that they should be treated as youngsters and not expected to grow up too soon. As a result, when Venn learned of Wilberforce's intent to remove his young son from the care of servants and place him with a governor, he advised him to enlist a governess instead because women were better able to cope with and appeal to children. Venn also disapproved of the individual being considered because "his temper is closed and reserved, his manners grave and thoughtful, and he is often silent. These qualities do not suit children." Apparently Venn knew what pleased children because his own adored him. They were heartbroken when he died at a relatively young age in 1813.

William Wilberforce astonished London society when he announced his conversion to "vital" Christianity and turned his back on the frivolous life of his fashionable contemporaries. Free to enter public life because of his large fortune, Wilberforce won a seat in Parliament in 1779 at the age of twenty. His wealth, position and great personal charm brought him recognition. Why should this wealthy young man who possessed social and political standing suddenly withdraw from society and embark upon a Christian crusade?
Actually, Wilberforce was no stranger to Christianity. He first became interested in religion through the influence of a Methodistical aunt. But his mother detested Methodism and attempted to counteract the impression it had made upon her son by urging him to enjoy the pleasures of life. Her strategy succeeded only for a few years.

The final conversion began in 1785 when Wilberforce accompanied Isaac Milner, a devout Evangelical on a continental tour. The two discussed religion and read devotional books, and Wilberforce came to realize his own ignorance of Christian doctrines. Determined to overcome his unfamiliarity with religion, Wilberforce studied the Bible and embarked upon another journey with Milner. He later recorded his progress:

By degrees I imbibed his sentiments, though I must confess with shame, that they long remained merely as opinions assented to by my understanding but not influencing my heart. My interest in them increased and at length I began to be impressed with a sense of their importance.129

By 1786 he emerged as a changed man, and the following year he began his lifelong work by recording in his diary, "God almighty has set before me two great objects; the suppression of the slave trade and the reformation of manners."130 The extent of his influence reached unbelievable proportions. Ford K. Brown attributed much of the Evangelicals' success, which "left a lasting impression on all English speaking countries" to "Wilberforce's incomparable leadership."131

Wilberforce distinguished between real and nominal Christians and addressed his book A Practical View of the Religious Systems of Professed Christians as Contrasted to Real Christianity to the latter. This work expresses the outlook of activist Evangelicals. It outlines orthodox Biblical tenets such as the atoning death, resurrection, and divine nature of Christ, and also encourages all Christians to put their faith into
action by carefully watching their conduct and discharging their duty to God by accomplishing good works. In a letter to his son, Wilberforce summarized his conception of vital Christianity:

It is this which constitutes the character of a real Christian; that considering himself as bought with a price — viz., that of the blood of Jesus Christ — he regards it as his duty to try and please his Saviour in everything.\textsuperscript{132}

Despite his avowal of vital religion, Wilberforce "knew little of polemical divinity;"

Except in his immutable attachment to the great fundamental doctrines of the Gospel, he was very much a latitudinarian... His Catholic spirit, sustained by a ready and capacious faith, was seldom harassed by controversy or overclouded by scepticism... instead of consuming life in a protracted and still recurring scrutiny into the basis of his belief, he busied himself in erecting on it a superstructure of piety and active benevolence.\textsuperscript{133}

For Wilberforce, as for other Claphamites, practice was the key to religion.

For many years Wilberforce considered himself too involved in politics to be able to marry and raise a family. But in 1797 he fell in love with Barbara Spooner, a woman who possessed both good looks and strong Evangelical opinions. "I believe her to be a true Christian" wrote Wilberforce the night before his wedding.\textsuperscript{134} Together they raised six children.

Wilberforce's priorities changed once he became a father. In 1812 he wrote:

As to my plan in life, I conceive that my chief objects should be — First; My children. Secondly; Parliament. Thirdly; when I can spare time, my pen to be employed in religious writing.\textsuperscript{135}

That same year he decided to resign his seat in Parliament in order to devote himself fully to the education of his sons. Torn between his responsibility to his family and his duty to the country, Wilberforce's scruples prevented him from dividing his time between the two and thereby lessening his effectiveness as either a parent or a politician:
Now though I should commit the learning of my boys to others, yet the moral part of education should be greatly carried on by myself. They claim a father's heart, eye and voice or friendly intercourse. Now, as long as I am M.P. for Yorkshire, it will, I fear, be impossible for me to give my heart and time to the work as I ought, unless I become a negligent M.P. such as does not become our great country.136

Quitting Parliament to spend time with his children attests to the importance he placed upon his role as a parent.

Despite his many successes, Wilberforce questioned his capabilities as a father. "I am conscious of my own extremely inadequate powers in all that concerns the work of education." He hoped to succeed with the guidance of God and the advice of his friends. Perhaps his feelings of inadequacy account for some of the anxiety expressed in letters to his children:

O my dearest boy, could you look into my heart and witness all the anxious thoughts and anxieties that are therein, of which you are the beloved subject; could you hear the earnest prayers that I put up for you, - you would then form a better idea than you now can, of the liveliness, and depth, and force of a father's affectionate solicitude for his much loved child.137

Wilberforce could not rely upon his own faith that his sons and daughters would become Christians because he knew each child had to make that decision for himself. Nevertheless, he felt a deep responsibility to present the Christian faith in such a positive and persuasive manner that his children would unquestionably choose to accept it. This contradiction of individual choice and perceived parental duty created anxieties in many Claphamite parents.

Typically, Wilberforce filled his letters with spiritual advice. In his opinion "the best preparation for being a good politician, as well as a superior man in every other line, is to be a truly religious man."138 Wilberforce identified the essential elements of a religious life. First of all, Christians should walk by faith and not by sight: religion should
be the criterion for judging everything else. In order to promote the right attitudes and motivation, believers should cultivate personal habits such as spiritual devotion and reflection, self-examination and prayer. Although a man's first duty was to God, Wilberforce also encouraged his children to be "an honour to your family and a blessing to your fellow creatures." Personal preferences should be set aside, even in the choice of friends, who should be selected for the spiritual benefits to be gained from their company. Wilberforce called for self-denial and preached against "gratifying the flesh." Sabbath observance provided both an occasion for spiritual study and worship and an opportunity to demonstrate religious devotion to unbelievers.

Besides outlining the characteristics of a Christian life, Wilberforce also looked for the "great change" in his children. He desired some sign that his sons and daughters had experienced conversion:

How ardently do I long to see clear and indubitable proofs of your having received that divine grace which we must all possess before we can be admitted into the heavenly world. In you and in my other children I am always looking to discover any budding of that fruit of the Spirit...I trust I do discern, now and then, a bud in my beloved child's heart.

In another letter to his son, Samuel, he confided, "I am anxious to see decisive marks of your having begun to undergo the great change." Wilberforce once warned his daughter that he intended to honestly reveal her faults to her. Consequently, his advice was often expressed in very personal terms. Despite all the pressure to conform, Wilberforce's sons claimed that he was always on guard against forcing his children's religious convictions. Referring to a man who was "over-dosed with religion, and that of an offensive kind, while young," Wilberforce remarked, "It is an awful instance and well deserves the study of all parents; they
should labor to render religion as congenial as possible." Also, Wilberforce hoped his children would regard him as a friend and would freely confide in him. His desire to present Christianity in an attractive light agrees with the determination of other Claphamites to stress the positive elements of their faith.

One example of Wilberforce's positive approach to Christianity appeared in his views on amusements. When asked what amusements were appropriate for Christians, he hesitated to draw any lines. He believed that each individual had to resolve that question through prayer and study of the Scriptures. Rather than condemn indulgences, Wilberforce suggested that Christians "supplant the fondness for them by the love of better things" and observed that "Scripture...directs us to pleasures of a more exalted kind."

Wilberforce refused to send his sons to public school because of the kind of worldly influence secular institutions would exert upon his children. Instead, he entrusted them to a succession of Evangelical tutors. When his three youngest sons reached college age, he sent them to Oxford rather than to Cambridge, the university generally acknowledged to be more favorable to Evangelicals.

Why Oxford? Most Evangelicals sent their sons to Cambridge to study under leading Evangelicals like Simeon, Milner and Farrish. Why did Wilberforce deviate from the practice of most Claphamite fathers?

One answer posed to this question claims that Wilberforce became a High Churchman late in his life. But the evidence indicates that he remained an Evangelical until his death. Wilberforce may well have disliked the new generation of "bleak dour, humourless,...bigoted, unimaginative, stupid, colourless, and vulgar" Evangelicals. One of his
close friends, Hannah More, attributed to these "phraseologists" "the unjust association which persons of refinement made between religion and bad taste." But if Wilberforce disapproved of this branch of Evangelicalism, he did not necessarily have to denounce all of the party. He probably chose Oxford for other reasons than his agreement with its High Church orientation.

One motivation for Wilberforce's selection may have been his memory of his own wasted and frivolous years at Cambridge, which he always regretted. He had attempted to send his eldest son to Oriel but was unable to secure a position for him and next tried Trinity College, Cambridge. Unfortunately, his son's experiences paralleled his own, and he was forced to remove the boy because of his drunken and dissipated habits. This circumstance probably confirmed him in his preference for Oxford. In 1830, he wrote to a friend:

It is curious to observe the effects of the Oxford system in producing on the minds of young men a strong propensity to what may be termed Tory principles. From myself and the general tenour of our family and social circle, it might have been supposed that my children, though adverse to party, would be inclined to adopt Liberal, or so far as would be consistent with party, Whig principles, but all my three Oxonians are strong friends to High Church and King doctrines. The effects I myself have witnessed would certainly induce me, had I to decide on the University to which any young protege of mine should go, were he by natural temper of any other causes too prone to excess on the Tory side, I should send him to Cambridge, Trinity; were the opposite the case, he should be fixed at Oriel, Oxford.

But seven years earlier, when he had two sons at Oriel, he wrote:

The great reason why I should prefer Cambridge is that I think there is more true religion there. At Oxford there is more respect to appearances, more decorum among the irreligious part, but there is less true piety than at Cambridge. Besides, I think there is less distinction made between those who are really religious and those who are not so.

Given the characteristics of the rising generation of Evangelicals, those two seemingly conflicting statements may well explain Wilberforce's
choice to send his son to Oxford. Although he recognized that Cambridge offered men of stronger Evangelical faith, Wilberforce knew that his children had been thoroughly exposed to vital religion and true piety at home. To avoid the excesses of the new class of Evangelicals, Wilberforce could have looked to Oxford to provide a balance for his sons in the direction of refinement and propriety. Surely the greater "respect to appearances" and "decorum among the irreligious part" would help to protect his three younger sons from being drawn into the dissipated career pursued by the eldest boy.

What Wilberforce really wanted for his children was for them to be truly pious and responsible people. "I had far rather that you should be a true Christian than a learned man, but I wish you to become the latter through the former." His greatest ambition was to see his sons as priests. To Samuel he wrote, "You might I believe, have shone in political life; but you have chosen the better part." Wilberforce's hopes were realized even though his sons turned away from Evangelicalism because they all held fast to a vibrant personal faith.

For the Claphamites, raising children represented as much of a responsibility as the stewardship of their wealth or the promotion of the Christian gospel. Believing that God had ordained their authority as parents, they took their task very seriously and carefully considered how to best fulfill their charge. They viewed the home as the center of religious life and attempted to create an atmosphere there which would foment Christian belief. To that end they gathered their families for prayer, worship and religious instruction. In conversations and in letters they offered endless advice on the life of faith and looked anxiously for signs of commitment. Since faith joined hands with good
works, they encouraged their children to practice what they believed. As arbiter's of their children's conduct they pointed out faults and recommended proper behaviour. The Claphamites imposed restrictions upon their families in order to protect them from worldly influences which were destructive to religion. At the same time they preached self-denial and reminded their children that their greatest duty was to God and that pleasing Him should be their one concern and desire. But the Claphamites never forced religious beliefs upon their children nor forgot that youngsters required some amusements and a light approach. They stressed the benefits and joys of the Christian life. And, most importantly, they spoke out of love and affection and sincerely wanted what was best for the child. As a result they gained the lifelong respect and devotion of their sons and daughters.
CHAPTER IV

THE CLAPHAMITE SONS

The eleven Claphamite families produced thirty-eight sons, but only a handful achieved lasting prominence. For a great number of them, little historical record survives. Twenty-nine attended a university (twenty-five at Cambridge and four at Oxford) and fifteen became priests. Other favorite professions included law (five), the Civil Service (five) and politics (four). Unlike their fathers they preferred the Church to Parliament. Although the majority held Christian beliefs, few took a leading role in the Evangelical movement of their day. In fact, some of the most notable sons expressed the strongest opposition to the religion of their parents. On the whole, they failed to realize the expectations of their fathers, but they lived in a different and more complex time. By reviewing some of their careers, the trends and events which shaped them come into force.

Insufficient evidence exists to clearly determine the religious views of the descendants of at least four families: the Babingtons, the Gisbornes, the Pratts, and the Shores. In many instances, the children appear to have maintained some amount of religious faith, but none of the vitality and commitment which characterized the fathers emerges in the scanty records of the sons.

None of Babington's children achieved prominence and at least one became an embarrassment to the family. The eldest son, Thomas Gisborne,
joined in a partnership with his uncle, Zachary Macaulay, and when most of the business responsibilities fell on Babington's shoulders, his ambitiousness and incompetence ruined the firm and created serious financial problems for Macaulay. John, the second son, took holy orders and became an Anglican priest. Little evidence exists of his life or views. His second wife was Eleanor Elliott, the daughter of one of the Claphamites. Another son, George chose surgery as a profession and maintained a close friendship with his cousin, Thomas Babington Macaulay, until he acted as Macaulay's agent. Unfortunately, another Babington mishandled his relative's affairs, and the friendship between the two cousins died. George's niece, Eliza Rose Conybeare, characterized him as "the truest Christian, spending hours daily in unpaid service in the lowest courts in London." Of the two remaining Babington sons, one died young (Charles Boos, 1806-1826) and the other entered the Civil Service (William Henry, 1803-1867). The oldest Babington daughter, Lydia, married Rev. Joseph Rose who made a favourable impression upon William Wilberforce. Mary Babington married James Parker, a proponent of slavery, over the objections of her family.

Gisborne's numerous progeny remain shadowy figures for whom historical records provide little substance. The eldest son, Thomas, gained prominence as a politician who supported various reforms and who earned the reputation of being an excellent speaker. Unlike his father's associates, he championed mostly non-religious causes such as the ballot, extension of suffrage and free trade. James succeeded his father as perpetual curate of Barton, William entered the Ceylon Civil Service, and Matthew and Walter became country gentlemen.

Josiah Pratt's two sons both followed their father's choice of pro-
fession. The eldest, Josiah, attended Trinity College, Cambridge and succeeded his father as the vicar of St. Stephens in London. To what extent he shared his father's Evangelical views remains unknown. The second son, John Henry, also took holy orders and traveled to India where he served as chaplain to the East India Company and later as archdeacon of Calcutta. Like his father, John Henry maintained an active interest in missionary work, which suggests that he held Evangelical beliefs.

Pratt's children may well have adhered to the religious principles taught to them in their youth. A year before his death, Pratt wrote:

Our calmest thoughts and feelings lead us to value most of all that interest which we trust and believe that we possess in the prayers of all our children...we desire our dear children to remember, that we count it an evidence of their enlightened and special love when they pray for us.158

In their biography of his life, Pratt's sons praised his piety and sincerity, and their respect for him may have helped to keep them within the Evangelical fold.

John Shore had three sons. The eldest, who succeeded him as Lord Teignmouth, greatly admired the Claphamites and his father, and traveled on behalf of the Bible society, but his Reminiscences lack the personal avowal of faith so common among Evangelicals. He may have held Evangelical convictions, but did not express them in his memoir. Of the other two sons, little is known beyond the fact that one of them was an army officer. Charles, who wrote the biography of his father portrayed the Claphamite's religious views with sympathy, but gave little clue as to his own convictions.

Charles and Robert Grant, the two sons of Charles Grant, occupy a unique place among Claphamite descendants. As the oldest Claphamite children, they received university degrees and entered Parliament in time
to participate in the political causes of the Saints. Each achieved success and recognition. Charles served as Colonial Secretary, and later became Lord Glenelg. After serving several terms in Parliament, Robert was appointed Governor of Bombay and was later knighted. More than any other Claphamite sons they represented the ideal of Evangelical political activism. However, few references to their religious views survive, and it is difficult to classify them as Evangelicals on the basis of the existing evidence.

A relative of the family recounted her impressions of the Grant children and described the family as "sensible, affectionate, and natural:"

I wish you knew Mr. Grant's family, whom the world brands as Methodists - a good convenient appellation for every one who does not swim with its current. I speak of the younger branches of that pious and amiable family, in whom one sees a soft reflection of their parents, heightened by the graces of youth, the polish of education and the embellishments that a peculiar relish for literature, for music, and for all that is pleasing and elegant in science, adds to a degree of native genius.159

This passage suggests that the piety of the younger generation had been moderated by education and refinement. The lack of references to the religious views of Charles and Robert may be due to their failure to maintain the strong opinions of their father.

Marianne Thornton also recorded her impressions of the Grants who were her parents' closest friends. "There was a refinement about them almost amounting to fastidiousness which was not so common among the higher ranks as it is now."160 The Grants limited their acquaintances "to a small circle of friends who they thought appreciated them" and did not want to be popular. Devoted to their family and their associates, they shut themselves up in a home circle. Marianne criticized them for this, but admitted that "with all their faults there was an indescribable charm about the Grants."161
In the case of the Grants, all the talent may have fallen to one of the daughters, Charamille. Marianne Thornton speaks very highly of her wit and intelligence and refers to her as the family's favorite. Admitting that Charamille "exercised a sort of witchery" over her, Marianne observed:

Perhaps she made me rather too impatient of dullness, and led me to be too much disgusted by vulgarity and to fancy too much that all the world was wrong and we were right, still there were few people so gifted.162

A younger son fell far short of this standard. Lord Teignmouth described William Grant as indolent and incapable.163 Thomas Babington Macaulay agreed with this assessment and added the adjective "clownish."164

Charles Grant's biographer depicted a close relationship between him and his two oldest sons and indicated that the father approved of the careers and characters of Charles and Robert. "The brothers were very much attached to each other; and during his later years, their father relied a good deal on their counsel and judgment."165

Thomas Babington Macaulay sincerely admired Charles, and his sister, Margaret Macaulay, agreed. She characterized him as:

The perfect model of a gentleman. Highminded, and most highly principled, intellectual, cultivated, with a retiring manner and a countenance expressive of all these qualities and of something more interesting still.166

But Charles suffered from "deficiencies in decision and dispatch" and his incompetence necessitated his withdrawal as Colonial Secretary.

Robert left some testimony to his religious beliefs in the form of his poems and hymns. One in particular has become a favorite. It suggests that Robert did hold some Evangelical beliefs. The poem emphasizes the grace, mercy and provision of the Lord, yet also recognizes the power and wrath of God. Evangelicals never lost sight of this dichotomy, and
warned their children of the horrible fate of sinners in the same breath that they assured them of God's love and protection. Grant sees God's hand in all creation and conveys his belief in God's concern and interest for each individual:

O worship the Kind, all glorious above,
O gratefully sing His power and His love;
Our Shield and Defender, the Ancient of Days,
Pavilioned in splendor, and girded with Praise.
O tell of His might, O sing of His grace,
Whose robe is the light, whose canopy space.
His chariots of wrath the deep thunder-clouds form,
And dark is His path of the wings of the storm.
Thy bountiful care, what tongue can recite?
It breathes in the air, it shines in the lights,
It streams from the hills, it descends to the plain,
And sweetly distills in the dew and the rain.
Frail children of dust, and feeble as frail,
In Thee do we trust, nor find Thee to fail;
Thy mercies how tender! how firm to the end!
Our Maker, Defender, Redeemer and Friend.

Descendants of four Claphamite families held to Evangelicalism, although only a few actively supported the movement. Elliotts, Stephens, Thorntons, and Venns followed their fathers into the ranks of Evangelicals. Most of these sons became clergymen who devoted themselves to preaching and the life of their parish. But one, Sir James Stephen, became a civil servant and an author and one of the few members of his generation to attempt to redefine his faith in accordance with the changing currents of his time.

Three Elliot children became recognized Evangelicals, although none of them attained to the stature of the earlier generations. For two of them, maintaining Evangelical beliefs cost them a difficult personal struggle.

Daughters Eliza and Eleanor married clergymen. Eleanor's husband was John Babington, the son of one of the Claphamites. In a memoir of
her sister Charlotte, Eleanor reflected sincere Evangelical views. Another
daughter, Mary Sophia, served as Wilberforce's amanuensis and a strong
bond of friendship and affection existed between the two.

Charlotte became the most famous daughter, achieving prominence as
a religious poet and the author of "Just As I Am," a popular hymn.
Despite her strict Evangelical upbringing, as a young adult she experi­
enced an irresistible fascination for society and pursued a taste for
modern literature and novels. For a time she enjoyed the kind of worldly
pursuits and friendships forbidden by Claphamite parents, until poor
health forced her to retire from an active social life. Distressed by her
illness, confused by the gaiety and impiety of society, and demoralized
by contemporary religious controversies, Charlotte experienced a crisis
of faith. She suffered severe mental distress and doubted her salvation.
But, with the counseling of Dr. Caesar Malan, she returned to the Evangel­
ical beliefs of her early years. Malan encouraged her to abandon all
secular pursuits and to believe in the promise of the Bible. Charlotte
wrote:

In my earliest childhood I distinctly remember feeling the drawing
of my Heavenly Father to His beloved Son, the Lord Jesus Christ;
and in my often wayward youth His spirit never ceased to strive
with me, convincing me of sin, and making me miserable under the
sense of it.167

True to her Evangelical heritage, Charlotte's personal faith was
highly individualistic. Her poor health and isolation from society
probably emphasized this tendency. Speaking of her religious life, she
said, "My Bible is my church. It is always open and there is my High
Priest waiting to receive me...all I can want I there find."168 Her
struggle to overcome her own guilt and accept the grace of God is clearly
evident in the beautiful lyrics of "Just As I Am;"
Just as I am, without one plea,
But that Thy blood was shed for me,
And that Thou bidd'st me come to Thee,
O Lamb of God, I come! I come!
Just as I am, and waiting not,
To rid my soul of one dark blot,
To Thee whose blood can cleanse each spot,
O Lamb of God, I come! I come!
Just as I am, tho' tossed about
With many a conflict, many a doubt,
Fightings and fears within, without,
O Lamb of God, I come! I come!
Just as I am, poor, wretched, blind;
Sight, riches, healing of the mind,
Yea, all I need in Thee to find,
O Lamb of God, I come! I come!
Just as I am, Thou wilt receive,
Wilt welcome, pardon, cleanse, relieve;
Because Thy promise I believe,
O Lamb of God, I come! I come!

Others of her generation could echo her cry of "Fightings and fears within, without," and like her, many clung to belief despite the doubts.

Edward Bishop took holy orders and became an energetic Evangelical clergyman who devoted himself to pastoral duties. Like other Evangelicals of his time, he supported missionary work and studied Biblical prophecy. His interest in the end times led him to author a commentary on the Book of Revelation. Henry Venn, his older brother, spoke affectionately of him and testified to his:

earnest desire that every one of his flock might indeed know Christ and the power of His resurrection - know Him as their Friend, their Advocate, their Prophet, their High Priest, their Kind and the Beloved of their soul.169

The most prominent of Elliott's children and one of the few Claphamite sons to earn recognition and praise as an Evangelical was Henry Venn. Raised at Clapham, and privately educated by an Evangelical tutor in company with other Clapham children, Henry exhibited all the characteristics of a devout Evangelical as a young man.

In accordance with Claphamite tradition, Henry entered Trinity College,
Cambridge. He associated primarily with other Evangelicals, including the sons of Gisborne and Babington, Professor Farish, and Charles Simeon. Along with other Evangelical students, Henry participated in the establishment of the Auxiliary Bible Society at the university. During his Cambridge years, he devoted Sundays to religious education for children.

One of his contemporaries recalled:

- I believe that throughout Elliott's whole time in college he never allowed anything to break in upon the sacredness of the Sunday, as a day devoted to religious study, when not occupied in religious worship or teaching.170

Another of his college friends described his pure conversation and life as a student, which provided a Christian testimony to his peers.171

The account of Henry's college life in his biography portrays a young man who clearly and enthusiastically identified with the Evangelical party. However, in 1816, after he had earned his B.A. and had been elected a fellow of the college, he postponed his original plan to enter the ministry and embarked on a series of foreign journeys. His biographer explained the pressures he had endured while a student:

- College life, entwined with University honours, is an ordeal through which few pass unhurt. Both soul and body feel the strain. Character may be maintained, but religion suffers. The fruit may still be good, but the bloom is gone. Henry Elliott felt and mourned over this and it led him to pause long before he took the next step in life.172

Henry himself chronicled his feelings:

- I am afraid that my steps in religion have been retrograding since I began to read severely. Indeed, severe study is a very unfavourable soil for religion, though at the time it appeared to be my duty. I grieve to find myself so little consulting the glory of my Redeemer.

After much painful examination of the state of my own heart last winter, I found that I could not with a safe conscience take Orders. My evidences were trembling and doubtful, and I thought that, in a Minister's case, his hopes should be bright and his evidences unclouded.173
The Claphamites grew up mostly without the influence of religion and converted as adults. Their sons received Evangelical teachings as youngsters and were expected to behave accordingly.

Henry finally took holy orders and spent most of his life at St. Mary's in Brighton. Although he opposed the Tractarian movement on the basis that "Dr. Pusey would get his religion from the Church, and I mine from the Bible," Henry refused to participate in the factional strife and emotionalism which characterized many of his Evangelical peers: 175

He was never a party man. He desired to avoid the bitterness and strife of theological differences, whilst insisting in a spirit of kindness on the fundamental points of the Gospel of Christ. He never framed his system of doctrine or practice according to any party or set of persons. He sought truth and loved it whenever he found it. While deprecating neutrality, he recommended charity. 176

After hearing a message preached by an evangelist, Henry criticized his attempt to arouse too much excitement as well as the "extreme stress laid on a single word or short phrase clearly not intended to bear that meaning." 177 When the speaker urged his audience to "believe and repent," Henry pointed out that the Bible read "repent and believe:"

Omit the "repentance" and come instantly to "salvation," and there, if I am not mistaken, is this new style of appeal, earnest, forcible, deeply interesting to many, but, as I should say, wanting the proportion of faith. 178

Henry disliked the excesses of certain Evangelicals and deplored their attempt to make salvation appear simple and easy. Like his father's generation, he believed in the importance of a truly pious life which sprang from a heart fully committed to the Lord.

Of all the Claphamite descendants, Sir James Stephen most closely approximates the careers and beliefs of the Saints. In addition to his success in the government he received recognition as a sincere Evangelical.
John Stuart Mill respected him and observed:

Stephen is reputed a saint: I do not know in what sense he is one, though I know that he carried the observance of the Sabbath to the extent of Puritanism. But if all the English Evangelicals were like him, I think I should attend their Exeter Hall meetings myself and subscribe to their societies.\textsuperscript{179}

James' children, although they rejected his religious views, testified to his true piety:

No one could live with him without being aware of the depth and tenderness of his personal devotion to the Divine Son of Man and Son of God, to whom he was bound by those "links stronger than death."\textsuperscript{180}

But even James adopted the religion of his father with some modification. His son, Leslie Stephen, recorded in the \textit{Dictionary of National Biography}:

He began life as a strong Evangelical and never avowedly changed; but his experience of the world, his sympathy with other forms of belief, and his interest in the great churchmen of the Middle Ages led to his holding the inherited doctrine in a latitudinarian sense.\textsuperscript{181}

Like others of his generation, James wrestled with doubts and with the changing intellectual climate which so many perceived as dangerous to religion. He, more than any other Claphamite descendant, sought to weave the essential characteristics of his inherited faith into the fabric of contemporary thought.

As a student at Cambridge, James came under the influence of Milner, Farrish, and Jowett, three of the leading Evangelicals at the university. Like his father and grandfather, Stephen chose law as a career and achieved a prominent place in government service. Appointed colonial undersecretary in 1836 after twenty-three years with the department, James "literally ruled the colonial office."\textsuperscript{182} He also actively promoted abolitionism and assisted in the development of the bill which outlawed slavery. In 1847 he became privy councillor and was knighted. Named Regius professor of modern history at Cambridge, James devoted his remaining years to teaching and held a professorship at East India College in Haileybury from 1835-
Throughout his life he published numerous articles and essays and participated in religious societies. Well-educated, active in political and religious causes, James' professional life resembled the careers of the Claphamites. But in his personal life of faith he faced difficulties unimagined by his parents.

Leslie Stephen summed up his father's religious beliefs as follows:

My father's liberality of sentiment and the sceptical tendencies which lay, in spite of himself, in his intellectual tendencies, had indeed removed a good deal of the true Evangelical dogmatism. 183

James' daughter also commented upon his scepticism:

To a man of so deeply devotional a temperament and such wide and tender sympathies as his, the possession of much speculative keenness of thought and a constitutional tendency to scepticism necessarily provided a severe inward discipline. 184

Overcoming his natural scepticism presented a major challenge for James and his struggle to believe in the face of intellectual difficulties permeates his writings. James did not enjoy the luxury of strong religious convictions based upon an easy subordination of reason to faith. Always painfully aware of the contradiction between the rational and the spiritual, he willed himself to believe in the spiritual. His daughter accounted for his choice as follows:

The springs of prayer are deeper than the springs of thought; and utterances arising from a living experience of Divine discipline have a truth beyond that of mere exactitude. 185

James himself admitted that his beliefs had been formulated in the midst of doubt, but he affirmed that Christianity represented the best explanation of reality and the only effective basis for morality and right attitudes:

My own [opinions] not lightly taken up, nor adopted at all without an incessant conflict with constitutional scepticism, are that the religion of Jesus Christ affords the only plausible solution of the
great mystery of human life and the only solid foundation for any lofty or consolatory thoughts.\textsuperscript{186}

In a letter to Thomas Carlyle, James refused to address the former's doubts. He wrote, "I dare not censure another for avowing difficulties which I myself have so often felt, though so seldom avowed."\textsuperscript{187}

James perceived a basic contradiction between faith and reason and stated that most Evangelicals unconsciously held beliefs which conflicted directly with the "natural and unaided reason of mankind."\textsuperscript{188} In defending this observation against charges of impiety, James argued that the concept of the gospel as "Foolishness to the wisdom of the world" was well established in Scripture.\textsuperscript{189} Man could never hope to comprehend Christianity:

> Divine philosophy divorced from human science, celestial things stripped of the mitigating veils woven by man's wit and fancy to relieve them - form an abyss as impassable at Oxford now, as it was at Athens eighteen centuries ago.\textsuperscript{190}

Essentially, Stephen chose to believe in the tenets of the Christian faith despite his inability to explain or defend them logically. When speaking of his personal convictions he used words like "perfectly inexplicable," "wholly incomprehensible" and "persuasion."\textsuperscript{191} Like the Claphamites, James based his faith upon a heart-conviction rather than upon intellectual understanding and assent. Unlike the Claphamites, he lived in a time when the test of intellectual soundness was being applied more frequently and more exactingly upon religious belief. And, in harmony with the spirit of the age, his own natural inclination was toward scepticism. He resolved the dilemma between faith and reason by regarding the doctrine of Christianity as impossible of logical explication.

Both Caroline and Leslie characterized their father as a Latitudinarian. However, when a critic attached the same application to him
after the publication of *Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography*, James denied its truth. Not only did he express his personal acceptance of the Thirty-Nine Articles, but he avowed his willingness to uphold the Anglican tenets to his students. At the same time James professed his opposition to factionalism and admitted that his religious toleration might be viewed by some as Latitudinarianism. James envisioned a degree of freedom within the discipline of Christianity which he articulated as an ability to understand and accept the arguments of religious opponents:

> Positiveness, dogmatism, and an ignorant contempt of difficulties, may accompany the firmest convictions, but not the convictions of the firmest minds. The freedom with which the vessel swings at anchor, ascertains the soundness of her anchorage. To be conscious of the force of prejudice in ourselves and others, to feel the strength of the argument we resist, to know how to change places internally with our antagonists, to understand why it is that we provoke their scorn...and...still adhere to the standard we have chosen - this is a triumph.

So, despite his adherence to Evangelicalism and the Anglican Church, James did possess latitudinarian tendencies which sprang from his dislike of party spirit, his tolerance, his scepticism, and his feelings of inadequacy as a theologian.

James detested the "spirit of coterie" or religious exclusiveness. He followed his own advice and often went further than the attempt to understand an opponent's viewpoint:

> I plead guilty to the habit of acquiescing silently in many intimations of opinion from which I entirely dissent; for controversial discourse is my abhorrence and seems to me as profitless as it is unpleasant.

James realized that all men possess the potential of holding "some true and sound doctrine which may be made the basis of an advance in wisdom." As a result, he refused to "wage war against all the errors which I perceive, or suspect, in my associates." Although James believed that specific tenets were either right or wrong, he hesitated to openly proclaim
There is therefore, a catholic Belief and a catholic Morality, broad and comprehensive enough to form the eternal basis of a catholic Church and of a true Christian Unity. That Belief is, that "God is light," and that "God is love." That Morality is, that we love Him supremely, and each other as ourselves. That Church is composed of all who, in the strength of this belief, are habitually striving to practice this morality. That Unity is effected not by any external conformities, but by the same interior spirit and hidden life manifesting itself, in the members of all Christian communities, by acts of devotion, of humility, of self-sacrifice, of temperance, of justice, of truth, and of peace.

His attempt to establish a broad base for Christianity caused him to approach certain doctrines differently than the Claphamites, including the accuracy of the Bible, the role of the church, and the concept of eternal punishment.

James held a less simplistic view of the Scriptures. Citing the imperfectness of human language and the fact that Christ probably did not speak Greek, James asserted that Christians could only conjecture as to the exact words spoken by the Saviour. Knowing the very words of the Lord is not necessary because He has spoken to all men through the language of parables and metaphors. Indeed, James believed that if the Bible recorded the actual words of Christ, they would have been degraded:

into themes of philological debate, for learned trifling, for arrogant criticism, and for the dogmatical interpretations of those who, at all times, aspire to a scholastic lordship over the heritage of Christ.

James admitted that "there are also large opportunities for honest differences of interpretation of Holy Scripture, arising from the admitted variations between the different books of the Bible." In his opinion, those could only be overcome by an interpreter with a "scriptural mind" living a "scriptural life" who refused to base too much upon a single verse or book. The statements of the Bible "should be intelligible only to the few who carefully collate, diligently balance, and devoutly meditate
them.\textsuperscript{203} Despite these cautions, Stephen held no convictions he could not support with Scripture, and believed the Bible to be the one basis of truth and revelation:

But from the Bible, and from the Bible alone, we may derive, though with no scientific accuracy, and by no logical process, the one great, prolific, and all-embracing idea - even the idea of Him in whom we live, and move, and have our being...There, in no recondite learning, no abstruse speculation, nor in any abstract creed, but in the very person of Christ himself, is exhibited to us the Way, the Truth, and the Life.\textsuperscript{204}

James praised the Evangelicals for making the Bible the once source of religious truth, but his own scepticism and awareness of objections led him to question the inerrancy and easy explication of Scriptural statements.

Because he had less faith in his ability to discover Biblical truths, James attached greater importance to the guidance of the Church. He submitted himself to the teaching of the Church:

as the only method by which it is possible to attain to that repose and firmness of judgment without which no advancement, intellectual, moral, or religious, can be securely made.\textsuperscript{205}

His household worship centered around the Anglican liturgy and he avowed, "I have no interest in this life which are not intimately connected with her stability, and I have no hopes in the future life which do not rest upon her doctrines." At no time was he blind to faults in the Church, but he expressed confidence in the consent of such a large proportion of the Christian world and "in the midst of darkness" was grateful for the direction provided by the "Church Universal."\textsuperscript{206}

James clearly departed from Evangelical teaching when he suggested that a good and loving God would not allow eternal punishment. Sensitivity to the objections raised to Christianity as well as his own reading of Scripture prompted his conclusion:
The real, though often unavowed, ground of the doubts which are thus overclouding the spirits of so many of the nominal disciples of Christ, is the hopeless dejection with which they contemplate that part of the Christian scheme which is supposed to consign the vast majority of our race to a future state, in which woe inconceivable in amount, is also eternal in duration. From this doctrine the hearts of most men turn aside, not only with an instinctive horror, but with an invincible incredulity; and of those who believe that it really proceeded from the lips of Christ himself, many are sorely tempted by it either to doubt the Divine authority of any of His words, or to destroy their meaning by conjectural evasions of their force.  

Arguing that insufficient evidence existed to support the assertion that Christ and the disciples taught eternal damnation, James attributed its origin to ecclesiastical tradition.  

Several explanations may account for James' unorthodox view. First of all, his father raised him to believe in an all good and loving God and rarely introduced the darker sides of Christian theology. Secondly, James found it difficult to reconcile the contradictions inherent in Christianity. Unlike Charles Simeon who taught that the truth lay not in the middle, but in both extremes, James attempted to logically resolve the conflict. Consequently, he could not allow a good and loving God to commit people to eternal punishment. Finally, James' wish to present his faith in a form acceptable of the modern world induced him to question a doctrine he believed created difficulties for non-Christians.  

James' conduct conformed rigidly to the Evangelical lifestyle. He avoided worldly pleasures, strictly observed the Sabbath, and held to a stern morality. His daughter characterized the Stephen household as puritanical. James recognized the importance of a "profound, habitual sense of the necessity of purity of heart and life to any true spiritual vision" and admired "holy living and single minded devotion." James did not freely confide his innermost feelings and discouraged religious
excitement. He believed that revealing personal feelings constituted a "spiritual indelicacy." His greatest fear was that his children would parrot conventional phrases and become "patent Christians - formalists, praters, cheats, without meaning or even knowing it." Never did James attempt to force religion upon his family.

Sir James Stephen was not the only Evangelical in the family. His brother William became an Evangelical clergyman with a living in the country. Another brother, Henry John, succeeded as a barrister and wrote a number of legal books, including an excellent volume entitled Treatise on Pleading which became the standard work on the subject. Henry must have held some religious views because his nephew, Leslie Stephen recalled that he "speculated on the prophecies." The fourth brother George, was knighted for his work opposing slavery and held firmly to Evangelical opinions. He published several books including the Jesuit at Cambridge, an expose of the "diabolical machinations of the Catholic Church" and a Life of Jesus Christ to teach native Australians about Christianity. Anne Mary married T. E. Dicey, the owner of a respected provincial newspaper, and an ally in the abolitionist movement. The other Stephen daughter, Sibella, wed W. A. Garrat who was active in the Church Missionary Society and who published an apology for Evangelicalism.

When Henry Thornton and his wife passed away in 1815 they left nine children between the ages of five and eighteen. Because Battersea Rise, the Thornton residence, served as the unofficial Claphamite headquarters, the Thornton youngsters grew up in the midst of the Saints' activity. They also studied and played almost exclusively with other Claphamite children. As a result, Henry Thornton surprised and upset his Claphamite associates when he appointed an unknown young couple, Sir Robert Inglis
and his wife as guardians for his children. Both a Tory and a staunch defender of the Anglican Church, Inglis lacked the convictions, the vitality and the personal piety which characterized the Claphamites and he had never been accepted as a part of their circle. As a dedicated churchman he did hold strong religious views. E. M. Forster surmised that Thornton chose Inglis because of the latter's "gravity and benevolence beyond his years." The young Thorntons maintained close ties with their father's associates and friends after his death and Wilberforce and Hannah More in particular acted as spiritual counselors for the children. But, the Inglis' differing attitudes and interests in art, science and travel did tend to lead the Thorntons away from certain traditional Claphamite opinions and activities. Consequently, the Thornton household altered significantly after the death of the head of the family. The eldest daughter, Marianne, particularly sensed the change:

The past had been stormy and golden. The future was to be quieter and a little mediocre. The Inglises, though duly high-minded, had a stubborn inclination towards conformity and she once said rather wryly, that she was the last representative of the Clapham Sect; all her brothers and sister had followed Sir Robert elsewhere. Although it is difficult to gauge his impact, the presence of Inglis as the Thornton's guardian may well have minimized Claphamite influence upon the children, especially the youngest.

Most of the Thornton youngsters were intelligent and well-educated, yet on the whole they lacked the brilliance of their father. Not only had the elder Thornton contributed significantly to the success of the abolition movement and the development of the various religious societies, but he published a well-written work on paper credit and gained a reputa-
tion as a financier. Although his eldest son showed early promise, it was never fully realized. Of Thornton's children:

All remained content to accept what their parents had passed to them without much searching of the soul. None possessed the intellect to refashion the heritage in accordance with his own conscience or in harmony with the quickly changing intellectual temper of the century.223

Like other Claphamite families, the Thorntons included a number of clerical sons and son-in-laws. Two of Thornton's three sons became priests and two of his daughters married clergymen. Of all the children, Marianne and Henry, the two eldest, emerge from history with the most substance and distinction.

As Thornton's first son, Henry was expected to go far. He was fifteen when his parents died and he looked forward to exercising his role as head of the family. Hannah More cautioned him about the evils of college life and wrote, "He must never forget he is the eldest son of Henry Thornton. Much will be expected from him, his example must give the tone to the young men who have not had the advantage of such parents."224 Henry did well at Trinity and applied himself to the study of banking. He does not seem to have been active in Evangelical college associations.225 After graduation he became an active partner in the family banking firm.

During his first year with the bank, the mismanagement of one of the partners nearly destroyed the business. Only the timely and able intervention of the young Thornton prevented the bank's closure.226 It was a great personal triumph and Henry fully realized his success. Unfortunately, the accomplishment may have gone to his head. His future behaviour never equalled this level of integrity and success. As head of the family, he created divisions and resentments. After this time, some of the harsher aspects of his character gained ascendancy:
Perhaps from this moment his nose - the prominent rather predatory nose that turns portraits of him into caricatures - began to assert itself at the expense of his softer features.227

Two phases of Henry's life reveal his failure to live up to the Claphamite ideal. As his sisters reached marriageable age, he attempted to prevent their departure from the family home. He snubbed one suitor whom he thought financially ineligible, and yet he also opposed a match with one who had expectation of an earldom and a handsome fortune. He alienated his sisters and one even refused to name him as guardian for her children, remarking of her daughter, "Think of this poor little thing in a love affair, how he will use her!!" 228 Marianne concurred in his unsuitability as a guardian, noting that:

Nobody minds him any more than if he were a child, he has no influence with any human being, just because he is so uncertain and inconsistent, and you would not want to put a child under the care of one who behaves like a child himself.229

In trying to keep his family circle intact, he succeeded only in alienating several of his sisters. His attempt to realize a Claphamite ideal of a tight knit home circle ended in the scattering of his family.

Inconsistency characterized another event in Thornton's life. After the death of his wife, he allowed his sister-in-law to visit so frequently that her presence in the house created gossip and Henry had to offer her marriage. At that time, Parliamentary law placed civil and canonical disabilities upon a man who married his deceased wife's sister. Henry spent a fortune attempting to alter the law and after his second marriage moved abroad.

The scandal permanently divided the family and Henry's sisters cut their connection with him. They could not countenance a marriage prohibited by law. Henry's action departed significantly from the scrupulous
behaviour of his father's associates and the care with which they main-
tained a personal witness to the secular world. Had Henry been more
consistent and more sensitive to the impact of his personal conduct, the
whole unhappy situation might never have occurred.

Marianne Thornton did not share the weaknesses of her brother. E. M.
Forster has presented an in-depth portrait of her as a clever, compassio-
nate woman whose deep religious convictions led her to continue the kind
of philanthropy advocated by her father.

As a young girl, Marianne thrived on the political and religious
activity associated with her father's enterprises. She became Thornton's
secretary, read the Morning Chronicle aloud to him and received lessons
in politics and finance. But it all ended with the death of her father
in 1815. From that time she lent her support to her brother Henry, and
drew close to him until the break in later life.

Marianne maintained close contact with both Hannah More and Wilber-
force and profitted from their advice. Their influence, added to the
heritage of her parents, gave her a solid, Evangelical foundation. She
viewed the excesses of the Irvingites with distaste and some amusement.
When she visited one of the Irving's services after he split from the
Anglican Church she commented upon the phenomenon of tongues:

It was such a relief after these unconnected exclamations to hear
Irving read a few verses out of the Bible, the contrast never struck
me so strongly before between real inspiration and these violent and
unmeaning cries. After the calm and "reasonable service" of our
church it is amazing how people can find much comfort in such prayers
as Irvings which were wholly for averting the coming judgment, upon
the blinded National Church [which sounded so like pique for turning
him out] of for the immediate and visible descent of the spirit,
which was to be manifested both by the fruits of the spirit, love,
joy, and peace, but by the cries and shrieks which reminded one only
of agony and despair.
She disapproved of religious controversy and once observed that "all ladies should side with the gentlemen among whom they live: this would reduce public controversy, which is seldom vital and avoid domestic controversy." Actually, Marianne paid little attention to ceremonies or creeds and puzzled over the Tractarian movement. Throughout her life she maintained her religious tolerance. She believed in "the Christian life, rooted in the family and flowering in action." Although she recognized Christ as her model she patterned her life after her parents whose piety she respected and knew first hand. She abandoned some of their practices, especially their introspective and judgmental examinations, but she retained much.

The strength of Marianne's character and religious convictions appeared in her relationship with her relatives. For her sister, Laura, who had married a poor clergyman and who gave birth to ten children, she gave as much assistance and support as she could. When another sister died, Marianne assumed the guardianship of the orphaned children. And, most importantly, when her brother's second marriage disrupted her life and forced her to leave Battersea Rise, her life-long home, she responded not with bitterness or resentment, but with compassion and love. A letter she wrote shortly before the wedding refers to the marriage as "not a sin - but a shame," and notes that her companionship with her brother ended "unembittered by any reproaches on my side - or irritation on his." She concluded by saying that Henry "had been a victim of a power under which the wisest and best have fallen."

Marianne's religion found other outlets, including the kind of charity or philanthropy practiced by her parents. From the time of her childhood, she had participated in educational outreaches to the young and the poor.
She continued her interest and support of education all her life, due in part to the influence of Hannah More. Although her biographer could not discover which schools she founded or financed, he does record her interest in baby schools, and in the training of governesses. She shared the Claphamite hope that education would inspire children to live a moral and religious life so that they and society would benefit.

Both of John Venn's sons became clergymen and remained strong Evangelicals. The younger son, John, continued the Claphamite tradition of philanthropy by assisting the poor in his parish. He had been associated with Simeon and the Evangelical party while at Cambridge and his nephew described him as a "decided and consistent Evangelical of the old type" who never exhibited the "slightest lapse in practice from the doctrines which he publicly professed." Marianne Thorton described him as popular in his parish.

Like his brother, Henry Venn became one of Simeon's followers at Cambridge. According to his son, Henry's strong religious nature isolated him from most of his peers. As a clergyman, Venn's ponderous delivery in the pulpit limited his popularity and recognition. However, he served as the secretary for the Church Missionary Society for thirty-two years (1841-1873) and his organizational talents and association with the society eventually qualified him as a leading Evangelical spokesman late in his life.

His son testified to his strong Evangelical faith. "He was penetrated through and through with the truth of the doctrines he had inherited." Like the Claphamites he avoided certain pastimes:

He shared to the full the old fashioned distrust and aversion towards worldly amusements. Theatres, novel reading, dancing, cards, etc.
were never...named or denounced, but the understanding was nevertheless clear that such things were not for him or his.241

Henry seldom spoke of his personal religious convictions to his children, and preferred to witness to them through his attitude and actions.242

"Oh when I think of our name - what is expected from us and what religious advantages we have had - I tremble." With these words, Wilberforce's daughter, Elizabeth, expressed her sense of responsibility to maintain the family heritage of Evangelical piety and activity. She and her brothers and sister had reason to feel accountable to their name, for Wilberforce had taught them:

Through the grand motives on which I wish you to act are those of Christianity, yet I may fairly superadd another - that of your not discrediting your family and friends.243

But the Wilberforces became some of the most prominent Claphamite descendants to openly repudiate Evangelicalism. They, along with the Macaulays, form the leading example of the Claphamite failure to create their children in their own image.

All of Wilberforce's four sons defected from the Evangelical movement so often associated with his name. Three of them converted to Catholicism and the fourth held High Church opinions. Wilberforce's eldest son passed a brief but dissolute career at Cambridge, ruined his father's fortune and frequently embarassed his brothers in later life. Much had been expected of these boys and many were surprised and disappointed with the outcome. Marianne Thornton lamented that "their father's sons should have run such a race," and wondered, "What could be the fault in their education which has occasioned them to miss the positions that children of such a father ought to have held."244

The fault lay not so much with their upbringing as with the nature
force and brilliancy in his wit which I have never heard equalled; but I suppose he lacked the power of work."

Henry's brothers noticed the same characteristics in him. Robert described his letters as "untidy, but affectionate and thoughtful" and both he and Samuel worried about Henry's immaturity and tended to treat him as a "charming, slightly incorrigible boy." Consequently, Henry never enjoyed the close filial relationship maintained between Robert and Samuel.

While at Oriel, Henry and J. H. Newman conceived an instant affection for each other and the relationship that developed between the two men profoundly affected Henry's life. During four long vacations, Newman acted as Henry's tutor and the close contact and sharing of confidences which resulted cemented their friendship. Henry also formed attachments for George Ryder and Henry Manning, both of whom became his brothers-in-law and who later joined him in his secession to Rome.

Through Newman's influence, Henry decided to take holy orders and obtained an appointment as a curate in 1834. During the decade of the 1830's, he stoutly defended the writings of the Oxford Movement. From Newman, he learned to value Catholic worship and doctrines and when he visited a Catholic Church in 1833 he greatly admired the beauty of the Mass. He wrote, "If I were a dissenter I should, I think, certainly become a Papist." As a pastor he slowly revived those Catholic practices allowed under the Anglican canon. But he grew unsettled when Newman confessed to him in 1839 that he feared catholicity might be more important than apostolicity. Alarmed by this disclosure, Henry responded that he would rather see Newman dead than as a Papist.

Six years later, in 1845, Newman entered the Catholic Church. Although dismayed by his conversion, Henry was less critical than others.
He broke the news to Robert as follows:

My dear brother, I grieve to say that our beloved Newman writes me word he is going immediately...I cannot say how bewildered I feel by this awful event, though I have contemplated it [more or less] for six years.251

Newman hoped that Henry would soon follow his example. But brother Robert exerted his influence to prevent such an occurrence. Samuel also grew worried about his brother's convictions and advised him that his "extreme opinions" and sympathies with the Tractarian movement were "very dangerous."252

During the next five years, Henry struggled with his conscience. In 1849 the Gorham judgment led many High Church Anglicans to consider conversion to Catholicism because the ruling of a secular court had not only overturned the decision of a Bishop, but had favored a Protestant interpretation of the Thirty-Nine Articles. The same year, a cholera epidemic broke out among Irish laborers in Henry's parish and he felt deep frustration at his inability to administer last rites to the dying workers. He called in the assistance of a priest and two nuns and his contact with them as well as his fear of death nearly precipitated his conversion. But the crisis passed until the approaching confinement of his wife in 1850. Her fear of death convinced her to seek refuge in the Catholic Church and she was quietly received in June. Henry wrote to his brother shortly before:

Here is my difficulty. I see my beloved Mary's mind uneasy - that she feels if she dies without taking a step she would be neglecting a Divine Call...besides which I feel that were I in her situation I should feel the same. This so presses on me that I think I must have her received before the time of her confinement.253

For several months he agonized, and then finally decided to join his wife. He wrote to Robert, "I cannot doubt that I am doing right, but I
do it with fear and trembling." Samuel did doubt it, and advised Robert:

I love dearest Henry just as much as ever but I feel that our lives are parted in their purpose, aim and association. I heartily wish he might settle abroad: but having him here after this dreadful fall seems to me beyond measure miserable: and his broken vows and violated faith weigh heavily upon my soul. May God forgive him.

Henry and his wife had long been attracted to Catholicism and were deeply influenced by Newman's conversion. They had delayed their own in the hope that the Anglican Church might admit a more Catholic interpretation. The Gorham Judgment dispelled this expectation. But, Henry was most drawn to Rome by his love for the sacramental system and his belief in the necessity of confession. Gorham, the cholera epidemic, and Mary's confinement acted merely as catalysts.

During their early careers when Henry leaned towards Rome and Samuel defended Anglicanism, Robert often found himself somewhere in the middle. Cautious where Henry was impetuous, uninterested in self-advancement where Samuel was ambitious, Robert was shy, slow and reserved. A true intellectual and a gifted scholar, Robert preferred to bury himself in his books. Marianne Thornton named him "Dull Robert" and wished he would have no part in writing his father's memoir. Although he lacked Wilberforce's charm, Robert shared his deep commitment to Christianity.

When Robert matriculated at Oriel College, Oxford in 1820, he found himself in a different world and one much better suited to his taste and talents. During his first few terms he concentrated on his studies in order to overcome his lack of a public school education. But in 1823 he came under the influence of John Keble, a representative of the Tory High Church school. Keble emphasized doctrines often overlooked by Evangelicals, including apostolic heritage, episcopal authority, and sacramentalism.
Robert digested it all and through Keble came to appreciate the early fathers and church tradition.

Withdrawn by nature, Keble maintained a reticence about his personal faith which typified the Tractarian reserve, and which contrasted sharply with Evangelicalism. At first it bewildered Robert. But he must have related to this characteristic in Keble's personality as he too preferred to keep his religious convictions to himself. Always uncomfortable as a preacher, Robert took to the pulpit only out of a sense of duty. Robert's sister deplored this restraint and wrote, "I think Oxford has had this bad habit upon you, that it has caused you too much to bury religion in your bosom."258

Many of the High Churchmen at Oxford, including Keble, exhibited the kind of personal piety emphasized by Evangelicalism. Since Wilberforce had taught his sons to value individual religious devotion above all else, they found it possible to respect men whose opinions differed greatly from Evangelicalism. Keble preached the importance of purity and sanctity and argued that "profane and unworthy men" should not be entrusted with spiritual knowledge.259 As a believer developed a truly Christian character he would receive more and more revelation. This concept disagrees with the Evangelical emphasis on justification by faith alone. Robert recognized this and struggled with his own idea of justification:

What could be the meaning of exhortations to a change of heart and of character as needful to salvation, if all that be required is only that you should believe that it came to save a certain body of persons, of whom you are one.260

Quoting, "And hereby we do know that we know him, if we keep his commandments," [I John 2:3] Robert argued that works must be necessary for salvation. The High Church philosophy had begun to influence his thinking.
interest with the Tractarians: a respect for pure and ancient Catholic principles unfortunately rejected by the Reformers along with Roman abuses. His regard for the early church fathers and the Caroline divines, led him to value Church tradition.266

In 1841 Robert heard of Newman's inclination towards Rome and in response to Newman's letter confirming the rumor wrote, "I don't think that I ever was so shocked by any communication."267 He could not understand why Newman could leave one flawed church only to enter "a communion which is stained by image-worship, saint-worship, the denial of the cup [and] the Pope's supremacy de jure divine."268 Knowing Newman, he presented few arguments against Rome. But he could not agree with Newman's sentiments. Robert had not yet overcome his dislike of Popery.

Nevertheless, he continued to develop High Church doctrines. In 1843 Robert published a book entitled Church Courts and Church Discipline in which he argued for ecclesiastical authority to enforce spiritual discipline such as excommunication or withholding the sacrament. Robert proposed two means of accomplishing this end: restore the legislative power of the church and allow it the right to require members to adhere to its rules.269 Throughout the 1840's Robert concentrated on the question of church discipline and combatting the spiritual lethargy which he encountered in his own parish.

After Newman's conversion, Robert drew closer to Henry Manning and the two shared their doubts and questions. Both desired to formulate a clear and concise Anglican theological system. Manning thought Robert could make a significant contribution to this effort.270 But Robert could not agree with all of Manning's views. In 1848 he wrote to Manning of his opposition to instituting the practice of confession on a regular basis.271
Like other High Churchmen, Robert awaited the Gorham decision with anxiety. He hoped that ruling would uphold the Bishop, but admitted the possibility that it might not. When the secular court overturned the Bishop's findings, High Churchmen faced only two alternatives; immediate reform or secession. Many chose the latter, including Henry Wilberforce and Henry Manning, both of whom urged Robert to join them. But he delayed.

Robert had personal reasons for his failure to follow the others to Rome. His wife detested Popery and he hesitated to upset her as her health was poor. He still loved and respected Samuel and hoped that through his influence as Bishop he might bring about reform. Robert also dreaded breaking the close ties which bound him and his brother. Unlike other High Churchmen, Robert had no love for the Catholic Mass and remained unconvinced of the superiority of Rome's position. And, during the Gorham crisis he was completing his three volume theological study.

Robert published three related works: The Doctrine of the Incarnation (1848), The Doctrine of Holy Baptism (1849) and The Doctrine of the Holy Eucharist (1853). He integrated the sacraments of baptism and communion with the Incarnation. As Jesus Christ had come in the flesh to be a mediator between God and man, so He had established the sacraments as the means by which God's grace and the fruits of the incarnation were extended to humanity. Robert intended to demonstrate the Catholicity of the Anglican articles referring to the sacraments. In his third book, he argued for the doctrine of the Real Presence.

After 1859 Robert corresponded with Newman and Henry Manning and expressed doubts concerning Roman Catholicism. They wrote back, arguing
for the Catholic position and applying pressure on Robert to convert. At the same time, his brother and other Anglicans attempted to hold him in the English Church. In the end, the doctrine of Royal Supremacy and the issue of church authority decided him to secede. He published his reasonings in *An Inquiry into the Principles of Church Authority*. He quoted St. Augustine's assertion that the see of Peter was "the rock against which the proud gates of Hell do not prevail."\(^272\) Samuel grieved at the decision, and tried to the end to prevent it. Robert wrote to him:

> My beloved Brother, - I am overpowered by your letter just received; what a miserable creature am I to cause so much grief to those who are dear to me as myself...it is a bitter thing to be rending the heart of those who are so affectionate as you...my book on Church Authority leads to the necessity of submission to the successor of St. Peter...I have daily prayed for the last four years that I might be taken away rather than come to this.\(^273\)

Wilberforce thought his son Samuel should avoid "circumstances in which he would be almost necessarily be almost incessantly arguing for Protestant principles - in short, would be occupied in the religion of the head rather than of the heart."\(^274\) By this comment, Wilberforce proved his knowledge of his son's character, for Samuel succeeded primarily because of his efficiency as an administrator and his aptitude for communicating with people. "He listened well, sympathized readily and had the rare ability to convince whose who came to him that he understood their problems and further, that he could help solve them."\(^275\) Samuel had no real talent as a debater or polemicist and lacked his brother Robert's scholastic excellence. Close to his father from whom he had inherited his social graces and power of speech, Samuel thrived on public life as had Wilberforce. Energetic and ambitious, Samuel set out to become a Bishop and to cultivate the friendship of influential people. He succeeded because his skills and qualifications matched the job. Samuel never
wavered in his love and admiration for Wilberforce. Of all the sons he remained the most loyal to his father's memory, remembering Wilberforce's words, "You as my son will be tried by a different standard from that which is commonly referred to...you have my credit in your keeping as well as your own." Although he could not hold to his father's Evangelicalism, he maintained sincere personal beliefs and avoided associating with a particular church party.

At Oxford, Samuel did not seek out his brothers' friends and never became intimate with the future Tractarians. He described Newman as "Kind and courteous and distant." Throughout his university career he remained a strong Evangelical, although he did correspond with Froude in an attempt to understand apostolical and Catholic views. When Samuel matriculated at Oxford he had one goal in mind: to graduate and take holy orders so he could marry Emily Sargent, with whom he had been in love for years. Simeon performed the wedding ceremony in 1828.

Samuel supported the early tracts of the Oxford movement because he hoped they could counteract the low church views and emotionalism of Evangelicalism. In particular, he supported the Tractarian emphasis on Episcopal authority and holy living. By 1831 he had become more aware of the weaknesses of Evangelical opinions, although he still preferred them to High Church doctrines. He and Robert cut their ties with the Bible society that year because they disapproved of the antics of Irving and others. But Samuel became active in the Church Missionary Society and concentrated his reading on the lifes of great Evangelicals. He also edited the journal and letters of Henry Martyn. Actually, Samuel expressed sympathy for both groups, and as the controversy created by the Tracts heightened, both appealed to Samuel for support. But he sided with neither
and attempted to steer a course unimpeded by party ties.

Although he respected his father's Evangelicalism, he could not stomach contemporary representatives of the movement whom he characterized as "Self-centered religionists of small attainments." Samuel disliked their party spirit:

It leads them to love singularity, to trample on rules, to have little respect for those above them, to assure a tone of superior age, wisdom, and spirituality in their intercourse with others; it injures above all things the holiness and true peace of their own spirits. From such evils, my dear brother, may God in His great mercy keep us forever free. More importantly, he disapproved of their low churchmanship. Attendance at Oriel and the writings of the Tractarians had contributed to his growing belief in the importance of apostolic succession and episcopal authority. Lord Carlise recorded a conversation with Samuel in his diary in later years:

The Bishop conversed theologically: he thinks the extreme Evangelical doctrine tends - after being originally held by excellent and pious men - to the same results as Pantheism and Rationalism; it only looks to the individual soul and entirely omits the influences of the mediatorial kingdom which God has established in His Church. After 1834 Samuel grew more uneasy about Newman's theology. He perceived three errors in Tractarian thought: the concept of reserve, the emphasis on sanctification at the expense of justification, and the belief in the seriousness of sins committed after baptism. His respect for his father and his admiration for the Reformers prevented his full acceptance of Oxford theology. Also, his nature precluded intimacy with the Tractarians. An energetic, compulsive worker, he lacked the reserve and bookishness of the Oxford movement:

The energy that drove Samuel to do the work of the Church so single-mindedly made him distrust "details" and "strong perceptions." It left him without much inclination to appreciate to their depth the
intellectual satisfactions and spiritual comforts the Tractarians' more sensitively tuned mentalities had tutored them to find.  

And, Samuel never ceased in his opposition to Roman Catholic doctrine which he feared was the final resting place of Tractarian theology.

By 1845 when he became Bishop of Oxford, Samuel had publicized his disagreement with the Tractarians and his own High Church inclinations. He had attempted to remain friends with the Oxonians at the same time he preached against their views in the pulpit. After his appointment as Bishop he carried on a diplomatic correspondence with Pusey whom he charged with leading men to Rome. Needless to say, Pusey did not relish his ascension to the Bishopric, and defended himself against Samuel's accusations. In the end, Samuel won his confidence. As Bishop, Samuel was committed to Anglicanism. When Marianne Thornton expressed her surprise at Henry Wilberforce's secession to Rome and her conviction that Samuel was more likely to fall for the "winking Madonna," Tom Macaulay replied, "If Bishop Sam had given up his Bishopric there would have been no miracle in the matter, the Madonna would really have winked, I am sure."  

Others echoed the feeling that Samuel placed his ambition above all else and charged him with inconsistency motivated by expediency. J. R. Woodford, Bishop of Ely explained that Samuel held some Evangelical views, and some High Church opinions and:

it followed as a necessary consequence that he should be exposed to the charge of inconsistency from all sides: the fact being that when to one school he appeared to be compromising a truth, he really so spoke and taught respecting it, because upon that special point he was in accord with the opposing school.

Samuel tried, above all else, to disassociate himself from party ties and to remain friendly with the proponents of the various factions. In a letter written in 1850, Samuel denied that he had ever been connected
with the Tractarians and said that he had always been a "Church of England man of the school of Hooker, Beveridge and Andrews," and had always held the doctrines of apostolical succession and baptismal regeneration. Expressing his disapproval of any attempt to place church tradition above the Bible, he stated "I always opposed real Tractarianism:"

But because I have had dear friends who were Tractarians, because between angry parties, I, God helping me, have held and will hold what I esteem the truth of both and the party violence of neither, I am reviled as uncertain.289

Samuel hoped to fashion a doctrine in between Romanism and strict Evangelicalism, and affirmed "I am for the party of the Church of England and nothing narrower."290 In dealings with his diocese he remained impartial and assured his priests, "I give my clergy a large circle to work in, and if they do not step beyond that, I do not interfere."291 In this respect, he continued the spirit of religious toleration which characterized his father.

As Bishop, Samuel worked hard for church reform and became a national figure through his speeches in Parliament. He attended court frequently and was a close friend of Gladstone. But he also devoted himself to his parish, establishing personal contacts with his priests and effecting a transformation in the Oxford diocese—inspired by his piety and hard work. The conduct of his personal life and his role as a leading churchman certainly upheld the Wilberforce name.

Thomas Babington Macaulay overshadowed his brothers who failed to achieve his fame. John, after a short stint in his father's counting house, decided he disliked business and entered Cambridge and took holy orders. His nature was quiet and retiring.292 Henry, the "liveliest" Macaulay became a civil servant. At one point his career was threatened
by his participation in a series of duels. Although "not notable for
good sense,...his spirited and affectionate nature made him well liked."293

The youngest son, Charles, also entered the civil service, after practicing surgery and serving as Tom's secretary. He published a treatise entitled "Authority and Conscience: A Free Debate on the Tendency of Dogmatic Theology on the Characteristics of Faith." (1871) A reaction against the rigidity of Zachary Macaulay? Of his five sisters, Tom was closest to two: Margaret who married Edward Cropper, and Hannah who wed Charles Trevelyan. Hannah wrote a memoir of her brother and the two had much in common. In fact, Tom was emotionally dependent on Margaret and Hannah and his affection for his sister may explain why he never married.

Thomas Babington Macaulay stands as the most talented and most reknown Claphamite descendant. And, despite his father's hopes, he may also have been the son who was least interested in religion. A powerful speaker and a gifted writer, Tom revealed his genius at an early age. By the time he was thirty-two, he had achieved fame and acceptance into the highest social circles of London. Looking back on his youth he once said, "After the straitest sect of our religion, I was bred a Pharisee."294 But, his love for the world, his impatience of the restrictions imposed upon him as a child, and his unspeculative nature all contributed to his drift away from Evangelicalism.

As a child, Tom reflected his parents' interest in religious and missionary work. His mother proudly described a paper he wrote:

to persuade the people of Tavanvore to embrace the Christian religion. On reading it, I found it to contain a very clear idea of the leading facts and doctrines of that religion with some strong arguments for its adoption.295
While away at school, Tom dutifully detailed his Sunday activity to his father. "It is quite a day of rest here, and I really look to it with pleasure through the whole of the week." The day included two church services, writing out the sermon, learning a chapter of the Greek New Testament, and a time of reading. Tom disapproved of the tutor's practice of allowing each boy a glass of wine because Sunday was the "very day we want to have all of our faculties awake." 

Tom entered Cambridge fortified with warnings against the potential dangers of university life. Shortly after he arrived he wrote:

The evils of Cambridge, from all that I have been able to learn, are evils which must be sought, and from such a depth of moral degredation I trust that the goodness of God, my own education, and the connections which I have formed will preserve me.

In another early letter he wrote "God grant that my conduct here may shew a heart not ungrateful for His signal mercy at the opening of my academic course." Several months later he reassured his uncle Babington that Cambridge life was not as bad as supposed:

I am happy to be able to assure you that all that I heard at a distance from Cambridge; and that you, I doubt not, have likewise heard rumored, of the immense amount of gross and palpable moral evil diffused through the body, and of the necessity of complying with, or at least the difficulty of evading invitations of the kind which you disapprove, are chimeras.

But, from this time on, Tom became more and more independent from Clapham, and the differences between him and his father more substantial.

The growing conflict between father and son focused on several major issues, and Tom's love for all types of literature was one of them. As a youth he had embarassed Macaulay when he wrote an anonymous letter defending fictional works and praising Fielding and Smollett. Although Macaulay did not forbid Tom to read novels, he strongly disliked the practice and never ceased to express his disapproval. Frequently Tom had to
defend his position to his father. Convinced that Christians could make no objection to fiction because "books of amusement tend to polish the mind, to improve the style, to give variety to conversation, and to lend a grace to more important accomplishments, Tom argued that literature did not need to express a moral in order to be acceptable or worthwhile." When he contributed several articles to Knight's Quarterly Magazine in 1824, Macaulay was horrified, not only at Tom's association with the journal, but with the "coarse and licentious" tone of the essays. His father's protest persuaded Tom to sever his connection with the magazine. But he did so only out of respect for his father's wishes for by this time he had shed all the Evangelical restrictions imposed by Macaulay. He wrote to Knight:

You are probably aware that there are among my family connections several persons of rigidly religious sentiments. My father, in part, is, I believe, generally known to entertain, in their utmost extent, what are denominated Evangelical opinions. Several articles in our first number, one or two of my own in part, appear to give him great uneasiness. Nor have I at all dissembled the complete discrepancy which exists between his opinions and mine. At the same time, gratitude, duty and prudence alike compel me to respect prejudices which I do not in the slightest degree share. And, for the present, I must desist from taking any part in the Quarterly Magazine.

This passage also illustrates Tom's wish to defer as much as possible to the prejudices of his parents, an attitude which prevented an open split with his father. But the relationship was severely strained. Deep down, Tom resented the lack of support received from Macaulay, but he never expressed his feelings. His sister observed:

There mingled a shade of bitterness that he had not met quite the encouragement and appreciation from him which he received from others. But such a son he was! Never a disrespectful word or look, always anxious to please and amuse and at last he was the entire stay and support of his father's declining years.
Tam always loved and valued the closeness of his family and avoided disrupting it.

During his years at Cambridge when he first experienced the freedom to do and read as he pleased, Tam ceased to hold Evangelical opinions. "He had made his own friends, he had triumphed in debate, he had been able to give full expression to his poetic temperament, to the 'Tristam' part of his nature." Throughout the rest of his life he failed to express any interest in religious subjects or causes. He experienced no struggle of remorse in his loss of faith and appeared insensible to religious passion. None of his writing clearly reveals his personality and he had no talent for the kind of speculative thinking often associated with religious belief. He never felt a need, an interest or a challenge in developing his own personal theology:

It is not misleading to say that Macaulay has no meditative, speculative tendency whatever, so that the pleasures of a shifting point of view, of the sudden opening out of an unexpected perspective, with the consequent effect of ironic self doubt or of touching the region of the mysterious and hidden are nowhere to be found in his writing.

Tam disliked certain aspects of Evangelicalism, including its phraseology and its impassioned canters and confessors like Baptist Noel. Appalled by the doctrine of original sin and the black depravity associated with Calvinism, Tam thought men were liable only to certain temptations. Although he held to a strong morality, he saw no harm in the pursuit of the pleasures of the world. He loved literature and thrived in the society of Holland House.

The few references he made to religion were objective in nature and he never took a personal interest in spiritual matters. While campaigning he refused to answer questions in relation to his beliefs, replying only,
"Gentlemen, I am a Christian." He turned down an opportunity to review Gladstone's "theological treatise" because he had "No disposition to split hairs about the spiritual reception of the body and blood of Christ in the eucharist, or about baptismal regeneration." The Bible he viewed as an invaluable aid in the study of language. And, when he lived in India or visited Scotland he commented upon the Christian churches in those countries as an objective outsider.

But Evangelicalism made its impact upon him nevertheless. "Clapham, subdued and secularized" persisted in his thinking. In particular, he maintained Evangelical morality which he channeled into his political career and his slightly self-righteous judgments on authors and politicians. Prepared during his youth to assume a leading role in public life, he devoted himself to the Whig party and to reform just as his father had been committed to Claphamite causes. His championship of the abolition movement undoubtedly stemmed from his association with the Claphamites. Tom "was fired with the ideal of working for the good of humanity, of changing the world. He lost the religious impulse which originally lay behind this desire. But the wish itself he retained." Familiar with the incredible changes wrought by the Clapham Sect, Tom held an optimistic view of the possibility of reform and progress. Indeed, the theme of progress runs throughout his famous History of England. And, the sternness of his father gave him a distaste for that which was frivolous. Tom escaped the restrictions of Evangelicalism but could not avoid being influenced and shaped by the religion of his father. Although he abandoned it as a personal creed he utilized its lessons in his successful literary and political careers.
Biologically, the Claphamite fathers and sons can be viewed as two separate and successive generations. However, during the last two centuries, a number of European historians have attempted to formulate a theory of generations which supersedes this biological approach. Two in particular, Jose Ortega y Gasset and his student, Julian Marias, have contributed significantly to the development of a new concept of generations.

For Ortega y Gasset, generations explain human variations:

The variations of vital sensitivity that are decisive in history appear in the form of generations. A generation is not a handful of outstanding men, nor simply a mass of men; it resembles a new integration of the social body, with its select minority and its gross multitude, launched upon the orbit of existence with a pre-established vital tranjectory. The generation is a dynamic compromise between men and individuals, and is the most important conception in history. It is, so to speak, the pivot responsible for the movements of human evolution.\textsuperscript{315}

Because births occur daily and one generation seems to overlap another, Ortega y Gasset differentiated between "contemporaries" and those who are "coetaneous." All individuals living at the same time are contemporaries, but only those who are of the same age are coetaneous. Generations comprise:

The sum total of those who are coetaneous in a circle of current existence...the concept of generation implies primarily only two requisites: to be the same age and to have some vital contact.\textsuperscript{316}
In order to define coetaneity, Ortega y Gasset referred to a "zone of dates" and suggested that those born within each zone "are the same age vitally and historically." Coetaneous individuals experience the five ages of man together: childhood (age 1 to 15); youth (age 15 to 30); initiation (age 30 to 45); dominance (age 45 to 60); and old age (age 60 to 75). He focused on the two stages which represented the greatest activity and historical effectiveness: initiation and dominance. Man's participation in historical events lasts thirty years and these two age groups live as contemporaries and reflect conflicting outlooks and tasks. The younger men struggle to impose their views and gain power while the older men attempt to maintain their ascendancy and promote the established ideas. Ortega y Gasset identified them as two separate generations and defined the length of a generation as the "zone of fifteen years during which a certain form of life was predominant."

The most difficult aspect of Ortega y Gasset's theory consists of identifying specific, successive generations. He began by isolating a "decisive generation" or that generation which "for the first time thinks the new thought with full clarity and with complete possession of their meaning, a generation that is neither still a precursor nor any longer bound by the past." For his purpose, he determined that the decisive generation which ushered in the modern age lived between 1600 and 1650. Within this span of time, he pinpointed Descartes as the most influential and outstanding individual of his age and named him the "eponym of the decisive generation." Consequently, Ortega y Gasset took Descartes thirtieth birthday as the starting point for identifying successive generations.

Marias recognized the difficulty of naming specific generations. He
suggested formulating lists of individuals who were born fifteen years apart in order to identify representatives of different generations. By evaluating these representatives, Marias compiled a profile of the differences between generations. The historian will eventually define the boundaries of each generation after he has studied these representatives.

Marias also identified periods of sixty years as epochs because innovations generally require several generations for implementation. The first generation creates and initiates without clear understanding of their accomplishment. Next, the second generation takes its identify from the innovations of the first which become the dominant lifestyle. In the third generation, men begin to evaluate the established tradition and see its limitations at the same time that they become aware of new attitudes. By the fourth generation, the tradition has crumbled and a new one is appearing.

Another leading generational theorist, Karl Manheim, defined the social phenomenon of generation as "nothing more than a particular kind of identity of location, embracing related 'age groups' embedded in a historical-social process." Contemporaries do not necessarily belong to the same generation. They must "participate as an integrated group in certain common experiences" in order to constitute a distinct generation.

Unlike Ortega y Gasset and Marias, Manheim does not assign a specific length of time to a generation:

Whether a new generation style emerges every year, every thirty, every hundred years, or whether it emerges rhythmically at all, depends entirely on the trigger action of the social and cultural process.
In his discussion of Manheim's definition of generational length, Marvin Rintala warns that "any arbitrary choice of time span is likely to do injustice to historical reality." Rintala suggests that the length of a generation will relate to the rapidity of social change. In twentieth century western society, a new generation probably appears every ten to fifteen years. However, he gives little guidance for determining the length of historic generations.

Manheim does identify the formative years of life when individuals develop lasting attitudes and beliefs:

The possibility of really questioning and reflecting on things only emerges at the point where personal experimentation with life begins - round about the age of 17, sometimes a little earlier and sometimes a little later.

Youth continually come into "fresh contact" with the "accumulated heritage" and their differing reactions to this stimuli contribute to the development of new generations. This raises a basic problem with education. An older generation cannot maintain the status quo by transmitting inherited cultural experience:

The teacher-pupil relationship is not as between one representative of "consciousness in general" and another, but as between one possible subjective center of vital orientation and another subsequent one.

Once a student reaches his formative years, he will bring his own interpretation of life to the classroom. This thinking has been molded by a different set of historical and social circumstances than that of his teachers, and their attitudes may differ widely.

The generational theorists intended their view of generations to be a part of their overall philosophy. As such, they approached the subject in its broadest context: the history of western civilization. In applying the concept of generations to the Claphamites, it will be necessary
to approach the subject with caution because it will be limited to British religious history. Despite Rintala's warning of the arbitrariness of assigning specific time spans, the theory of generations and Marias' idea of sixty year epochs can serve as useful tools in understanding the Calphamite fathers and sons.

According to Marias, an historical epoch represents:

a principle or form of life that differentiates it from the previous one and affects the totality of society. It is a process by which an innovation that begins by being individual goes on to permeate a minority and finally becomes dominant throughout the entire society, so that it is the form that individuals encounter as the prevailing life. Such a process requires the intervention of at least four successive generations or about sixty years.330

One generation initiates a point of view which eventually becomes accepted as the societal norm. Claphamite Evangelicalism exerted this kind of influence on Britain. If the Claphamites serve as the initiating generation, it is possible to develop an historical epoch centered around them. William Wilberforce, the most outstanding and influential Evangelical of his time was born in 1759. Four other leading Evangelicals were born in the same year and four more were born in the preceding year. All of the Claphamites were born within fifteen years of Wilberforce, although not within fifteen years of each other. Sixty years before the birth of Wilberforce, John Wesley entered the world, and sixty years after 1759, came men like Darwin, Gladstone, Matthew Arnold, and Charles Kingsley, and women like Queen Victoria and George Eliot. Here are representatives of three different epochs, all related, but still different.

The Claphamites initiated and created a new life style and worked to extend it to their fellow citizens. They began as a minority determined to convert the world to their point of view. Evangelical members of this generation include: Isaac Milner (1750), Charles Elliott (1751), John
Shore (1751), Samuel Thornton (1755), Thomas Babington (1758), Thomas Gisborne (1758), James Stephen (1758), E. J. Eliot (1758), Charles Simeon (1759), William Wilberforce (1759), Robert Thornton (1759), John Venn (1759), William Farish (1759), Henry Thornton (1760), Spencer Perceval (1762) and Dudley Ryder (1762). Others who assisted Wilberforce in Parliament also fall into this generation; Granville Sharp (1753), William Smith (1756) and Thomas Clarkson (1760).

The second generation members base their lives on the attitudes formulated by the first and discover their own identity through their expression and understanding of the inherited viewpoint. They develop a distinct lifestyle and acquire group-consciousness. Those born between 1764 and 1778 and who became the generation following the Claphamites include: Cladius Buchanan (1766), Zachary Macaulay (1768), Josiah Pratt (1768), Richmon Legh (1772), William Marsh (1775) and Daniel Wilson (1778).

The third generation, those born between 1779 and 1793, incorporated many Claphamite sons. Marias identifies this generation as the one which first begins to theorize about the inherited attitudes and to see the weaknesses. Also, they become aware of new and different viewpoints. Nevertheless he says that sometimes the most representative individuals belong to this group, adding, "we must remember that what is representative is seldom what is most authentic." With this generation, the basic beliefs initiated by the first begin to crumble. A number of representative Evangelicals fall into this generation: J. B. Sumner (1780), John Bowdler (1783), T. F. Buxton (1786) and Henry Martyn (1781). The strongest Evangelicals among the Claphamite descendants are in this generation: Robert Grant (1779); William (1781), Henry John (1787) and James (1789) Stephen; Charlotte (1789), Henry Venn (1792) and Edward Bishop (1793)
Elliott. James Stephen certainly theorized about his inherited faith, and new attitudes were explored by John Keble (1792), Edward Irving (1792) and Henry Drummond (1786).

Those born in the fourth generation no longer belong to the world of the first three. "These men still live more or less within the system, to be sure, but in the recesses of their being they are unable to reconcile their calling to its style." Despite their past, they head in a different direction than the other three. Marias characterizes them as either developing new ideas or holding superficially to the past. Both of these types are represented by men born between 1794 and 1808. Baptist Noel (1798) and a number of Claphamite sons fall into the latter category. The four Wilberforce sons (William, 1798; Robert, 1802; Samuel, 1805; and Henry, 1807) fall in this generation and represent men who developed new ideas. Thomas Babington Macaulay (1800) is another example of an individual looking ahead and not behind. Most of the Tractarians who participated in the Oxford movement were born into this fourth generation, an indication that they were a continuation of the Evangelical revival, but that they also introduced new concepts: E. B. Pusey (1800), J. H. Newman (1801), Hurrel Froude (1803) and Henry Manning (1808).

What the Claphamites had initiated lost most of its vitality and relevance by the time of the fourth generation. Although most of their sons belong to the same historical epoch, their birth in the last two generations caused them to question their heritage and to seek out new beliefs. At the same time, they still held to many of the forms originated by their fathers.

Manheim's concept of an individual's formative years and his recognition of the difficulty of transmitting cultural heritage can also be
applied to the Claphamites. During the years of their childhood, when they experienced the greatest exposure to Claphamite teaching and family traditions, the sons were not yet in a position to develop life-long attitudes. The germination of their own philosophies began (for the most part) after they had left home and entered a university and after the peak of Claphamite political activity had passed. Although Evangelical influences were present at both Cambridge and Oxford, the Claphamite sons were thrown into a much more varied environment than that of their sheltered childhood. The Saints mistakenly thought that through vigorous education they could mold their children's thinking. They did not realize that their sons would encounter a different historical and social setting than they had during their formative years and that their children would consequently develop different beliefs.
CHAPTER VI
THE CLAPHAMITE SONS AND EVANGELICALISM

What led the Claphamite sons and daughters to either accept or reject Evangelicalism? Can this group be viewed as a whole or do personal differences account entirely for their choices? Whereas personalities did affect the beliefs adopted by particular individuals, the Claphamite descendants also shared common experiences and influences which shaped their lives.

Personalities cannot be overlooked. James Stephen's scepticism, Henry Wilberforce's personal attachment to Newman, Samuel Wilberforce's ambition, and Tom Macaulay's love for fiction all contributed to the choices they made. Family characteristics also played a part. The elder Stephen depicted a good and loving God to his children, and the Rev. John Venn presented religion as "a scene of joy and happiness unspeakable." Most of their children remained Evangelicals. On the other hand, Zachary Macaulay's stern and inflexible expectations and beliefs alienated his son, Tom. And Wilberforce's exemplary life and insistence on personal piety inspired his sons to hold deep religious convictions.

In many cases the sons were less gifted than their fathers. Since Evangelicalism was an individualistic religion, its continued success and dominance depended upon the quality of its confessors. James Stephen, Robert and Samuel Wilberforce, and Tom Macaulay all possessed considerable talent, but they were the exceptions, and only James Stephen devoted his ability to upholding Evangelicalism. The Thornton children failed to
achieve the brilliance of their father, and Charles Grant lost his position as Colonial Secretary through incompetence. His brother, William Grant, was "indolent and incapable." Thomas G. Babington and William Wilberforce, Jr., made poor investments and succeeded in ruining the fortunes of Zachary Macaulay and William Wilberforce. Many of those sons who became clergymen committed their lives to the work of their parish and never sought a greater audience. On the whole, the sons lacked the gifts and leadership abilities of their fathers.

Most of the Claphamite sons attended a university and all but four entered Cambridge. Although recognized as the "evangelical" university, Cambridge still offered students an opportunity to experience the pleasures of secular living. Many young men "drank heavily, lived extravagantly, and readily made use of the services of the ladies of the town." Evangelicalism did not influence all those who attended Cambridge. Still, many students first confronted religion and began to consider it seriously through the preaching of Charles Simeon. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, Evangelicalism had firmly established itself at Cambridge through men like Simeon, Isaac Milner, Parish and Jewett.

When the Claphamite sons attended Cambridge they had the opportunity to affiliate with the university's Evangelical party. Those who remained Evangelicals, including James Stephen, Henry Venn Elliott and the Venns, generally followed this course. However, some, like Tom Macaulay enjoyed their freedom of choice and decided to avoid Evangelical circles. Although their fathers had hoped to protect them from secular influences by sending them to Cambridge, the Evangelicals lacked complete control over college life, and a variety of life styles existed. The sons were free to choose and what they decided set the course for the rest of their lives.
But Cambridge did at least offer an Evangelical party, headed by such leading spokesmen as Simeon and Milner. Wilberforce's decision to send his sons to Oxford where there were fewer Evangelicals, profoundly influenced their lives. Oriel High Church doctrines shaped the Wilberforces' thinking and led them away from their father's faith.

Because they grew up amidst the best of the Evangelical party, the Claphamite sons disliked the weaknesses which developed in the movement during their lifetime. They deplored the cant, emotionalism, superficiality and factionalism of contemporary Evangelicals. In reaction, many of the sons maintained a tolerance towards other religious groups and refused to participate in the heated controversies of the day. Men like James Stephen and Henry Venn hesitated to express their personal convictions, partially in response to the "noisy professors" who filled the ranks of Evangelicals, and partially because they were overdosed with religious sentiments as children. Both the Wilberforce sons and James Stephen placed greater importance upon the role of the church because they recognized that Evangelicalism stressed the life of the individual and ignored the body of believers as a whole. Disgusted with the low tone of Evangelical circles, Tom Macaulay and the Wilberforces disassociated themselves from the movement. None of the sons could hold completely to the views of their fathers and affiliated with the Evangelicals of their day because of the deteriorating quality of the Evangelical party.

The greatest Evangelical weakness perceived by the Claphamite sons was the lack of an adequate theology or intellectual basis for faith. Whereas their fathers were orientated towards good works, their highly educated children placed more importance on a clear and well integrated religious system. The flaws which appeared in Evangelicalism and the
challenges emanating from their own countrymen and from Germany necessi-
tated an acceptable basis for belief. James Stephen, in his essay on the
Clapham Sect, observed:

Their sons adopted the same creed with equal sincerity and undimin-
ished earnestness, but with a far keener sense of the hindrances
opposed to the indiscriminate and rude exhibition of it. Absolute
as was the faith of Mr. Wilberforce and his associates, it was not
possible that the system called "Evangelical" should be asserted by
them in the blunt and uncompromising tone of their immediate pre-
decessors. A more elaborate education, greater familiarity with the
world and with human affairs, a deeper insight into science and
history, with a far nicer discernment of mere conventional proprie-
ties, had opened to them a range of thought, and had brought them into
relations with society, of which their fathers were comparatively
destitute.335

Henry Venn Elliott struggled with his doubts after his years at Cambridge,
but finally overcame them and laid his educational achievements at the
feet of the Lord. James Stephen too experienced doubts and attempted to
define a new broad base for belief that would appeal to all Christians.
Both Robert and Samuel Wilberforce hoped to fashion a via media between
Catholicism and Evangelicalism.

Finally, the theory of generations also accounts for the failure of
many Claphamite descendants to continue in the religion of their fathers.
The sons belonged to a different generation, or a new variation of the
human theme. And, as a group, the Claphamite sons fall into two distinct
generations. The earlier generation includes many of the descendants who
held to their fathers' faith with some modification. As the third genera-
tion of an epoch initiated by the Claphamites, they served as representa-
tives of the lifestyle, but also as its first critics. Unlike the first
two generations, they can see the limitations of the inherited attitudes
and they decide to explore new alternatives. The Elliotts and James
Stephen clearly fall within this category; the former represented Evange-
licalism and the latter tested new attitudes. They were closer to their fathers' generation and received the inherited beliefs before they seriously crumbled.

The fourth generation embraces the four Wilberforce sons and Tom Macaulay, those Claphamite descendants who strayed furthest from the teaching of their parents. As a group, they no longer belonged to the established lifestyle, but had begun to depart. Nevertheless, this generation also includes those who persisted in the inherited beliefs and the Venns serve as examples of this category.

Consequently, in addition to personalities, family characteristics, experiences at universities, and reactions against contemporary Evangelicalism, where the Claphamite sons fell in the generational sequence influenced their decision to reject or accept the faith of their fathers. Because they belonged to the same historical epoch as the Claphamites they did continue many of their parents' attitudes and traits. But, because they came at the end of the era, they also looked beyond to new horizons and introduced new elements in their inherited faith.
APPENDIX

CLAPHAMITE GENERATIONS

1749 - 1763

Charles Elliott, 1751 - 1832
John Shore, Lord Teignmouth, 1751 - 1834
Thomas Babington, 1758 - 1837
Thomas Gisborne, 1758 - 1846
James Stephen 1758 - 1832
John Venn, 1759 - 1813
William Wilberforce, 1759 - 1833
Henry Thornton, 1760 - 1815

1764 - 1778

Zachary Macaulay, 1768 - 1830
Josiah Pratt, 1768 - 1844
Charles Grant, Baron Glenelg, 1778 - 1866

1779 - 1793

Robert Grant, 1779 - 1830
William Stephen, 1781 - 1867
Henry John Stephen, 1787 - 1864
Thomas G. Babington, 1788 - 1871
Thomas Gisborne, 1788 - 1852
Sir James Stephen, 1789 - 1859
Thomas J. Gisborne, 1790 - 1869
John Babington, 1791 - 1885
William Gisborne, 1791 - ?
Henry Venn Elliott, 1792 - 1865
Edward B. Elliott, 1792 - 1875
James Gisborne, 1793 - 1875
William T. Grant, 1793 - 1848

1794 - 1808

George Babington, 1794 - 1856
Matthew Gisborne, 1794 - 1852
George Stephen, 1794 - 1879
Charles J. Shore, 1796 - 1885
Henry Venn, 1796 - 1873
William Wilberforce, 1798 - 1879
Walter Gisborne, 1799 - 1887
Frederick J. Shore, 1799 - 1837
Lord Thomas B. Macaulay, 1800 - 1859
Henry D. Shore, 1800 - 1826
Henry S. Thornton, 1800 - 1881
Josiah Pratt, Jr., 1802 - 1883
Watson J. Thornton, 1802 - 1855
John Venn, 1802 - 1890
Robert Wilberforce, 1802 - 1857
William H. Babington, 1803 - 1867
John Macaulay, 1805 - 1874
Samuel Wilberforce, 1805 - 1873
Charles R. Babington, 1806 - 1826
Henry Macaulay, 1806 - 1846
Henry Wilberforce, 1807 - 1873
FOOTNOTES


7 Elliott-Binns, Evangelicals, p. 95.


9 Ibid., p. 39.


13 Ibid., p. 20.


40 Morris, Grant, p. 81.

41 Ibid.

42 Ibid., p. 195.

43 Ibid., p. 376.

44 Knutsford, Macaulay, p. 245.

45 Ibid.

46 Ibid., p. 274.

47 Ibid., p. 275.

48 Ibid., p. 307.

49 Ibid., p. 279.

50 Ibid., p. 298.


52 Knutsford, Macaulay, p. 308.

53 Trevelyan, T. B. Macaulay, 2:126.


56 Ibid., p. 308.

57 Trevelyan, T. B. Macaulay, 1:57.

58 Clive, Macaulay, p. 45.

59 Ibid., p. 23.

60 Knutsford, Macaulay, p. 279.

61 Clive, Macaulay, p. 33.

63 Trevelyan, T. B. Macaulay, 1:72-73.


65 Ibid., p. 328.

66 Ibid., p. 247.

67 Ibid., p. 384.

68 Ibid., p. 241.

69 Ibid., p. 384

70 Ibid., p. 242.

71 Ibid., p. 250.

72 Ibid., p. 242.

73 Ibid., p. 245.

74 Ibid., pp. 251-252.

75 Ibid., p. 246.


77 Ibid., 1:251.

78 Ibid., 1:248.

79 Ibid., 1:272, 346.

80 Ibid., 1:195.

81 Ibid., 2:297.

82 Ibid., 2:296.

83 Ibid., 2:297.

84 Ibid.

85 Ibid., 2:301.

86 Ibid., 2:299.

87 Ibid.
88 Ibid., 2:511.
89 Ibid., 2:299.
90 Ibid., 2:443.
91 Ibid., 2:477.
92 Ibid., 2:510.
95 Stephen, Essays, p. 551.
97 Bevington, Memoir, p. 205.
98 Ibid., p. 61, 154, 363.
99 Ibid., p. 363.
100 Ibid., pp. 313-314.
101 Ibid., p. 60.
102 Ibid., p. 205.
103 Ibid., p. 33.
104 Ibid., p. 27.
106 Ibid., p. 204.
107 Wilberforce and Wilberforce, Correspondence, 2:253.
108 Ibid., 2:34.
110 Ibid., p. 15.
111 Ibid., p. 18.
112 Ibid., p. 25.
137 Wilberforce and Wilberforce, Correspondence, 2:164-165.
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187 Ibid., p. 178.
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192 Ibid., p. 138.
193 Stephen, Essays, p. 537.
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201 Ibid., p. 641.
202 Ibid.
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207 Ibid., p. 133.
208 Ibid.
209 Smyth, Simeon, p. 185
211. Ibid., p. 80.
214. Bevington, Memoir, p. 11.
216. Ibid., pp. 28-29.
218. Bevington, Memoir, p. 11.
219. Forster, Thornton, p. 75.
220. Ibid., p. 73.
221. Ibid., p. 76.
222. Ibid., p. 77.
223. Meacham, Thornton, p. 146.
224. Forster, Thornton, pp. 77-78.
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228. Ibid., p. 258.
229. Ibid., p. 159.
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233. Ibid., p. 130.
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239 Ibid., p. 156.

240 Ibid., p. 168.

241 Ibid., p. 169.

242 Ibid., p. 174.


244 Forster, *Thornton*, pp. 256, 146.

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246 Ibid.

247 Meacham, *Wilberforce*, p. 76.

248 Ibid.


250 Ibid., p. 197.

251 Ibid., p. 309.

252 Ibid., p. 300.

253 Ibid., p. 357.

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255 Ibid., p. 360.

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257 Forster, *Thornton*, p. 147.

258 Newsome, *Friends*, p. 72.

259 Ibid., pp. 75-76.

260 Ibid., p. 80.
261 Ibid., p. 79.
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264 Ibid., p. 198.
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267 Ibid., p. 291
268 Ibid., p. 290.
269 Ibid., pp. 271-272.
270 Ibid., p. 302.
271 Ibid., p. 277.
272 Ibid., p. 399.
274 Wilberforce, Papers, p. 247.
276 Ibid., p. 19.
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278 Ibid., p. 101.
279 Ibid., p. 173.
280 Ibid., p. 170.
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283 Ashwell and Wilberforce, Life, 2:16.
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292 Pinney, Macaulay, 1:xxvi.
293 Ibid.
294 Trevelyan, T. B. Macaulay, 2:186.
295 Ibid., 1:42.
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306 Ibid., 1:vii.
307 Ibid., 2:247.
309 Trevelyan, T. B. Macaulay, 1:253.
310 Ibid., 2:74.
311 Pinney, Macaulay, 1:xviii.
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313 Clive, Macaulay, p. 137.
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316 Ibid., p. 97.
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320 Ibid., pp. 175-176.
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325 Marvin Rintala, "A Generation in Politics: A Definition." in Review of Politics 25 (October 1963) :516
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Born in Pasadena, California, January 27, 1952. Graduated from Santa Barbara High School, Santa Barbara, California in June 1970. Received a B.A. in History from Westmont College, Santa Barbara, California in May 1974. Entered the College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia as a graduate student in History in September 1974.

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Evangelicals such as Edward Irving. Many of the sons paid greater respect to the intellect and the importance of developing a theology. Also, they possessed a deeper reverence for the church as an upholder of the faith in contrast to the individualism of the Claphamites. Finally, they made less of an intensive effort to protect and convert their own descendants.

If the children discarded what was bad in their fathers' religion, they also preserved what was good. They profitted from the discipline and the energy of Evangelicalism. Taught to regard their inner motives and to lead a responsible life, the sons held to moral earnestness even when they rejected religious belief. They also dedicated themselves seriously to the accomplishment of their duty to society. The one quality shared by both father and son which was most conspicuously absent from later Evangelicals was the spirit of toleration. By continuing this willingness to overlook party differences, the sons evidenced the strength of their heritage and avoided the destructive factionalism of their contemporaries.
especially with regard to preachers. A charismatic and appealing preacher could draw large audiences, but if he was transferred to another parish and his successor lacked his talents or Evangelical views, the crowds would diminish. To some extent, the success of the Evangelical revival in an area depended upon the character of its representatives there. When Wilberforce and his generation passed away, the quality of individual Evangelicals declined and the movement as a whole deteriorated correspondingly. Evangelicalism's eventual loss of influence in both the church and the government was related to the character of its adherents. "Not the choice of Governments, but their own inferiority in personal quality, was the key to their weakness in the hierarchy." 11

Inasmuch as Evangelicals devoted themselves to practical piety and good works, they neglected intellectual pursuits. In their view, the intellect played a subservient role in the process of salvation. God imparted spiritual truths through revelation and grace rather than through the mind and a truly repentant and responsive individual opened his heart and not his mind to God. Revelation and reason did not necessarily contradict each other, but should a conflict arise, intellect must always give way to faith. To characterize Evangelicals as mindless would be inaccurate for they placed great emphasis upon education and acquiring the proper learning skills to better master and defend their beliefs. Evangelical anti-intellectualism consisted in subordinating reason to faith and the intellect to the heart.

Because Evangelicals concentrated all their efforts upon building character and upon social and philanthropic activities, they had little time or interest for developing a theology. In fact, they considered theological speculation to be unnecessary and unprofitable. In his book,
Actually, while he studied at Oxford, Robert's religious beliefs were in a state of flux, torn between Evangelicalism and High Church doctrines. His exposure to High Church theology increased when he obtained a position as tutor along with J. H. Newman and Hurrell Froude. He maintained close contact with these two, especially since brother Henry had formed an attachment with Newman. In all, Robert spent eleven years at Oxford, struggling to define his own theology as the seeds of the Tractarian movement began to take root.

Despite his friendship with the Tractarians, Robert hesitated to take sides in the controversy created by their writings. When the Record identified him as a Puseyite in 1837, he reassured his mother as to the falsity of the charge, adding, "I have read little that he has written and in that little seen much which I disapproved." In particular, he disliked Pusey's tract on baptism. Froude's Remains also displeased him. Robert could not approve of the Tractarian attack on the Reformers, and as a protest subscribed a guinea to the Martyrs Memorial Fund.

However, he read and appreciated Newman's Lectures on Justification. He wrote to Samuel, "Much of it is capital. The subject is one, which I feel I have never understood and have been very uneasy at." Since his days at Oxford he had struggled with the question:

I confess I have found it hard to steer between one of these alternatives - either pure solidianism, of which one feels all the falsehood and evil at once - or else the assertion that faith is moral, not intellectual - of the heart, not the head, and then is not our salvation the result of works not of faith? Newman's book has not as yet enabled me to see my way, but I trust by the aid of what he suggests I may get towards it.

Robert welcomed Newman's attempt to systematize and to establish a mean between Romanism and popular Protestantism. Robert shared one other


20 Bradley, Seriousness, p. 195.

21 Newsome, Friends, p. 11.


23 Meacham, Thornton, p. 152.

24 Bowen, Victorian Church, p. 147.


27 Ibid.

28 Ibid., p. 224.

29 Ibid., p 223.

30 Ibid., pp. 222-227.


33 Ernest Howse, Saints in Politics (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1952), p. 18.


36 Stephen, Essays, p. 535.

of their childhood faith and the tenor of the times. Evangelicalism was oriented towards action and not apologetics and the Wilberforces were unprepared to defend it when they confronted High Church doctrines at Oriel College, Oxford. After exposure to men like Kebel, Newman and Froude, they found their inherited views to be an insufficient basis for faith. Also, they disliked the character of contemporary Evangelicalism which ignored the Church at a time when the institution faced increasing governmental interference and calls for reform. As a result, they looked to the High Church party as the defender of the Church and as the preserver of the doctrine of holy living so strongly held by their father. Although they rejected his Evangelicalism, the Wilberforces held to their father's standard of personal piety.

Henry, the youngest son, became the first Wilberforce to enter the Catholic Church. Guided by his heart, his love for Catholic worship, and his deep friendship with Newman, Henry had gradually incorporated many Catholic beliefs and practices into his personal religion by the time of his conversion in 1850. He had discovered that his father's Evangelicalism could not withstand the charm of the leading Tractarians and the Catholic mass.

Characterized by a volatile, impetuous, and undisciplined nature, Henry frequently heard lectures on his conduct from his father. Failure to pay attention, especially in church, ranked as one of his greatest offenses. Wilberforce urged his son "to get the better of the habit...of appearing engaged in any given occupation of the mind while your thoughts are in reality wandering to other objects." Wilberforce also criticized his "disposition not to practice self-denial habitually." J. B. Mozley commented upon Henry's lack of discipline, "There was a thorough natural
Until November last, it appears, I think, to have been my duty to pursue my college studies, in obedience to the particular wishes of my dear parents. I am now released from this mode of life...outwardly, my dear sir, all may appear correct and decent (and I am sure I would thank God that I am preserved from bringing any manifest reproach upon my profession); while inwardly the contest may be very dubious, and even worse than dubious...I must owe that I think greater and clearer evidences necessary that I am really a child of God, than any I can now discern in my own heart. 174

Henry decided to retreat to a quiet village in order to resolve his mental and spiritual confusion. But, instead he turned to foreign travel and new scenes. His biographer applauded his decision to abandon seclusion because too much introspection would have been unhealthy. Perhaps Henry would have reached a different conclusion had he attempted to think through his difficulties. As it was, his removal from Cambridge, and his interest in his journeys allowed the difficulties created by his rigorous studies to retreat to the background. Slowly, the inner restlessness gave way to faith and assurance.

The inscription of his tomb begins, "His varied intellectual gifts, his high University distinctions, were laid at the feet of Him whom he loved and preached." To a certain extent, he chose to believe in spite of his learnings. As demonstrated by the excerpts above, he struggled to reconcile his college training with his Evangelical upbringing. He also determined not to endanger his personal witness by allowing his inner doubts to rise to the surface and affect his behaviour. Like his sister Charlotte, he suffered deep feelings of inadequacy and wrestled with the concept of grace. And, his studies offered no answers, only more questions. In the end he chose to conform his inner convictions to the standard of outward Evangelical conduct he had achieved in keeping with the religion taught to him as a child. In contrast, the Claphamites struggled to conform to their inner beliefs. The difference lay in the upbringing.
books and devoted Sunday to that pastime. Each day he prayed and attended closely to his behavior. Although he refused to "argue upon religion" he did consider it his duty to express his personal beliefs when the subject arose. Shore conceived of affliction as "necessary to recall our wandering thoughts, to soften the hardness of our hearts, or to alarm one's feelings." He considered it his duty to express his personal beliefs when the subject arose. Shore conceived of affliction as "necessary to recall our wandering thoughts, to soften the hardness of our hearts, or to alarm one's feelings." This attitude offers an interesting insight into the emphasis Evangelicals placed upon the heart:

The justice of the Almighty is inseparable from His benevolence; and He chastizes us to amendment. I know no other source of consolation under misfortune than this. We may indeed, upon stoical principles, reason away our feelings; but we shall not be better or wiser for it. Sensibility is the cradle of our Religion, which will never thoroughly influence our conduct unless it be a sentiment of the heart.

Like other Evangelicals, Shore worried about his attachment to the world. He feared that his worldly occupation would return him to his past irreligious life. Consequently, he prayed that he would not be too involved with "earthly concerns and the affairs of time" to consider his spiritual health, and that nothing would precede his duty to his Creator. In his struggle, Shore articulated an alternative to worldly pursuits:

Few, very few indeed, if candid, will deny their attachment to the gratifications of this world, in preference to the duties of Religion - and what is this, but in reality loving and earthly treasure more than a heavenly one? Yet it is possible, in my opinion, to have enjoyments in this life sufficient for all reasonable men, without infringing the laws which our primary duty teaches us we ought to obey. To a heart not corrupted, benevolence and charity afford a gratification superior to all human delights. Temperance, mercy and humility are virtues, the exercise of which are as essential to our health of body as of mind, and which bestows its own reward.

Shore stressed the development of Christian character as a better pursuit than seeking worldly pleasures.

Shore prayed continually that God would guide and direct his children and inspire them to lead holy lives. From the anxiety of parenthood, Shore found only one relief, as he explained to one of his children. "I trust
his conception of the truth. He preferred to minimize disagreements, while privately holding to those doctrines he viewed as correct.

In addition to his wish to avoid controversy, James' opinion of his talents contributed to his religious toleration or latitudinarianism. Essentially, he did not consider himself to be enough of a theologian to vindicate his beliefs:

To draw out this creed of mine into any series of dogmatical propositions - to vindicate the several parts of it argumentatively - to repel the objections by which argument might assail some parts of it - or to diffuse and propagate it to other minds by anything I could say or do, - all this is quite beyond my power.198

James thought he lacked the historical and philosophical knowledge necessary to remove objections to Christianity. When accused of heresy he admitted the insufficiency of his religious education and allowed the possibility that he had committed errors in his treatment of theological problems. "I have very long since come to the conclusion of my own total incompetency to grapple with those arduous questions."199

Not only did he consider himself incapable of presenting a sufficiently integrated theology, but he believed faith and reason to be irreconcilable. And, he wished to avoid the ill-considered espousal of a particular, narrow point of view. In this sense he was a latitudinarian.

However, James held to all the fundamental doctrines, with one exception. His personal creed, which he appended to Essays in Ecclesiastical Biography, affirms beliefs in original sin, and the redemptive death, resurrection, and divine nature of Jesus Christ. Indeed, James acknowledged Christ as the cornerstone of Christianity. He wished to define those elements in Christianity which could be accepted by all sects and denominations:
113 Ibid., p. 19.
114 Ibid., p. 25.
115 Ibid., p. 20.
116 Ibid., p. 52.
117 Ibid., p. 52.
118 Ibid., p. 53.
119 Forster, Thornton, p. 32.
121 Ibid., pp. 122, 130.
122 Ibid., p. 127.
123 Ibid., p. 160.
124 Ibid., p. 159.
125 Ibid., p. 162.
126 Ibid., p. 159.
127 Ibid., p. 158.
128 Wilberforce and Wilberforce, Correspondence, 1:183.
130 Ibid., 1:77.
133 Stephen, Essays, p. 488.
135 Wilberforce and Wilberforce, Life, 4:83.
136 Ibid., 3:535.