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“A History of the Anglican Church—Part XLII: An Essay on the Role of Christian Lawyers and Judges within the Secular State”©

By

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The ideas expressed in this Apostolate Paper are wholly those of the author, and subject to modification as a result of on-going research into this subject matter. This paper is currently being revised and edited, but this version is submitted for the purpose of sharing Christian scholarship with clergy, the legal profession, and the general public.

PREFACE

The organized Christian church of the Twenty-First Century is in crisis and at a crossroad. Christianity as a whole is in flux. And I believe that Christian lawyers and judges are on the frontlines of the conflict and changes which are today challenging both the Christian church and the Christian religion. Christian lawyers and judges have the power to influence and shape the social, economic, political, and legal landscape in a way that will allow Christianity and other faith-based institutions to evangelize the world for the betterment of all human beings. I write this essay, and a series of future essays, in an effort to persuade the American legal profession to rethink and reconsider one of its most critical and important jurisprudential foundations: the Christian religion. To this end, I hereby present the fifty-ninth essay in this series: “A History of the Anglican Church—Part LVII (Part 2).”

INTRODUCTION¹

In 1701, King William III granted a charter to the “Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Part (SPG).” The SPG was co-founded by the Rev. Thomas Bray (1656 – 1730)², who, several years before, had been one of

¹ This paper is dedicated to the memory of Anglican clergyman **Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray** (1656- 1730). “Thomas Bray... was an English clergyman and abolitionist who helped formally establish the Church of England in Maryland, as well as the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts.... “Bray took a great interest in colonial missions, **especially among the slaves and Native Americans, writing and preaching vigorously against slavery and the oppression of Indians.**””

https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Bray. This paper is also dedicated to **Dr. Michael Joseph Brown**, President of Payne Theological Seminary (Wilberforce, Ohio) and to the future development of African Methodism. .

² Thomas Bray (1656 or 1658 – 15 February 1730) was an English clergyman and abolitionist who helped formally establish the Church of England in Maryland, as well as the Society for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. He was educated at Oswestry School and Oxford University, where he earned a B.A. degree with All Souls College in 1678 and a M.A. with Hart Hall in 1693. He

the principal organizers of the “Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge.” Both of these organizations were Rev. Bray’s and several other clergymen’s response to the collapse in morals and habits in England and North America. These clergymen were alarmed over the growing ignorance of the Christian religion among Englishmen both at home and in the colonies. In response to these conditions, Rev. Bray and others worked to build churches, libraries, and seminaries within Britain’s colonies, including North America.

But the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) was much more than a loosely-organized missionary organization that was established by a few concerned Anglican clergymen. Rather, the SPG was also an official arm of the Church of England, with the Archbishop of Canterbury becoming its first subscriber and its first President.³ Since the SPG’s founding, the Archbishop of Canterbury has continuously held the presidency position. The SPG thus became an official outreach mission of the Church of England to everywhere the British Empire was established throughout the world.

The Bishop of London Henry Compton (1632 – 1713) must also be given great credit for the founding of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Although the bishop of London had official responsibility for the spiritual and pastoral welfare of the American colonists, Bishop Compton was the first bishop to take that charge seriously. During his tenure as bishop, he had begun to pay closer attention to the religious and spiritual state of the American colonies. Bishop Compton had a genuine concern for the spiritual state of the American colonists. That spiritual state had been neglected for a number of reasons. The office of the bishop of London had been assigned the responsibility for overseeing the spiritual and pastoral care of the American colonists during the reign of Charles I (1625 - 1649). However, the events of the English Civil War (1642 – 1651) had disrupted the missionary work of the Church of England. Therefore, very little had been done to carry out that special missionary work in the American colonies, until the reign of William III (1688 – 1702), when Henry Compton was the bishop of London. And Bishop Compton became the leader of a new movement to spread the Gospel in North America.

But though the religious duty obtained some recognition everywhere performance fell so far short of promise that when in 1675 Bishop

also completed the work for B.D. and D.D. degrees at Oxford (Magdalen, 17 Dec. 1696) at the request of Maryland's governor, but was unable to pay the required fees. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Bray

³ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of S.P.G.: An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701- 1900* (London, England: Self-Published by SPG, 1901), p. 6.

Compton [Bishop of London] instituted an inquiry into an order of King and Council ‘said to have been made’ [in the time of Charles I] ‘to commit unto the Bishop of London for the time being the care and pastoral charge of sending over Ministers into our British Foreign Plantations, and having the jurisdiction over them,’ he ‘found this title so defective that little or no good had come of it,’ there being ‘scarce four Ministers of the Church of England in all the vast tract of America, and not above one or two of them, at most, regularly sent over.’... For the regulation and increase of religion in those regions the Bishop of London appointed the Rev. James Blair to Virginia [about 1690] and the Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray to Maryland [1696] as his commissaries.⁴

Up to this point, the spread of the Christian faith had been largely the work of isolated, individualized efforts.⁵ As a result, the moral condition of the American colonists was lowered due the lack of moral fiber that comes from a regularly hearing the Gospel and regular church attendance.

Laudable as may have been the exertions made for planting the Church, they were so insufficient that at the close of the 17th century ‘in many of our Plantacons, Colonies, and Factories beyond the Seas... the provision for Ministers’ was ‘very mean’; many others were ‘wholy destitute, and unprovided of a Mainteyance for and Mainteyance for such ‘many of our fellow-subjects seemed ‘to be abandoned to Atheism and Infidelity.’⁶

Thus arose up within England and America the “religious society movement.” This movement was a response in the collapse in the spiritual and moral life of the American colonies as well as in England. The first such society was a Puritan movement called “A Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England,” which was chartered in 1649.⁷ After the Restoration, in 1662, Charles II revived its charter, and it was then called the “Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England and the parts adjacent in America.”⁸ This company continued its missionary work in the North American colonies up to about the year 1775, because of disruption of the

⁴ Id., p 2.

⁵ Id.

⁶ Id.

⁷ Id.

⁸ Id., p. 3.

American Revolutionary War. The company afterwards moved to Canada and to other parts of the British Empire. Thus, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG), which was founded in 1701, must be viewed in light of this larger “religious society movement” that had emerged during the late 17th century.

By the year 1700, Bishop Compton and others believed that the Church of England had become ill-equipped to deal with many of the multifaceted challenges facing the new and emerging British Empire. From 1701 onward, the Church of England, through its Anglican missions such as the SPG, became an international and global church:

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) was a Church of England missionary organization active in the British Atlantic world in the 18th and 19th centuries. Founded in 1701 by Reverend Thomas Bray and a small group of lay and clerical associates, it sent Anglican clergymen and religious literature to Britain’s colonies, supported schoolmasters and the establishment of new churches, and lobbied for a more expansive place for the Church of England in Britain’s burgeoning empire. In total, the SPG supported more than four hundred overseas agents in the 18th century. Bray and his collaborators believed that the colonial Church of England was underdeveloped, that it had too few properly ordained ministers, and that dissenters, especially Quakers, exercised too much influence in the colonies. Many SPG supporters also looked on global Roman Catholic missionary activity with a mixture of awe and hostility, and envisioned the organization as a counterweight to the Jesuits and other Catholic orders. The society focused its attention on British colonies without strong Anglican legal establishments. As a result, while its role in the Chesapeake and most Caribbean colonies was minimal, the SPG was continuously active in the lower South, the mid-Atlantic, New England, Bermuda, and colonies that would become part of Canada. It also operated in Barbados, where a charitable bequest aimed at establishing a college made the society owners of a slave-worked sugar plantation, and it launched the first British missionary program in West Africa beginning in the 1750s. The SPG devoted the bulk of its resources to bringing Anglican worship to European settlers and was instrumental in the long-term institutional development of the Church of England and Episcopalianism in the United States, Canada, and elsewhere. It also

worked, albeit with mixed results, toward the Christianization of Native Americans and free and enslaved Africans and African Americans. The society's original charter confined its operations to Britain's colonies, so its activities in much of mainland North America ceased with the establishment of an independent United States in 1783. In the aftermath of the American Revolution, the society expanded its activities in the Caribbean and what remained of British North America, and then became an increasingly global missionary organization as the 19th century progressed. The society remains active worldwide, operating after 1965 as the United Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (USPG) and since a 2012 rebranding as the United Society or "Us."⁹

If Bishop Henry Compton, Rev. James Blair, Rev. George Keith, and Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray can be considered the "symbol" of the Church of England's attitude at the time, then we might justly conclude that the Anglican Church was quite concerned, and very alarmed over, the negative influences that materialism and empire were having upon the English-speaking world. This was especially true of Rev. Bray, whose special work within the SPG was noteworthy.

As previously mentioned, Bishop of London Henry Compton led the way forward during the 1690s. The origins of the SPG began perhaps in 1696 when Bishop Compton appointed Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray to the colony of Maryland in order to evaluate its religious life. Rev. Bray not only investigated Maryland's spiritual life but he also made a number of reforms. For example, he divided the 10-county colony into 30 parishes and established 17 parish libraries—all in an effort to raise the cultural, educational, and moral standards of the colony. In Maryland, Rev. Bray attained much knowledge with regards to the weaknesses of the Anglican Church in North America and the West Indies. When he returned to England in 1701, he brought all of his ideas with him, and this led Rev. Bray to petition King William III for a charter for the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts." Rev. Bray's missionary project in Maryland thus became the blue-print for the Church of England's missionary work around the world, through the "Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts."¹⁰

⁹ <https://www.oxfordbibliographies.com/view/document/obo-9780199730414/obo-9780199730414-0067.xml>

¹⁰ "His scheme for establishing parish libraries in England and America, succeeded: with 80 established in England and Wales during his lifetime (as well as a 1709 royal act securing the preservation of English parish libraries) and another 39 in the Colonies. Bray envisioned a library for each parish in America:

What made Rev. Bray's ministry special was his lasting concerns about social justice. Rev. Bray was especially concerned about prison reform, the struggling English debtors, and the poor; and he advocated emigration to North America as a way to afford newer and better opportunities for such persons.¹¹ (In fact, the founding of the colony of Georgia to afford relief for such persons was inspired by Rev. Bray's ideas. "Dr. Bray's Associates" included men such as General James Oglethorpe, the founding governor of Georgia.).¹² Historian W.E.B. Du Bois thus describes both Governor Oglethorpe and the founding of Georgia as unquestionably Christian, as follows:

In Georgia we have an example of a community whose philanthropic founders sought to impose upon it a code of morals higher than the colonists wished. The settlers of Georgia were of even worse moral fibre than their slave-holding and whiskey-using neighbors in Carolina and Virginia; yet Oglethorpe and the London proprietors prohibited from the beginning both the rum and the slave traffic, refusing to '**suffer slavery (which is against the Gospel as well as the fundamental law of England)** to be authorized under our authority.'¹³

Georgia's founding in 1732 was thus an exemplification of the influence of "Rev. Bray's Associates" and what may arguably be considered to be the "official orthodox position" of the Church of England on slavery—a position that would later be restated forty years later in the famous *Somerset* case (1772), as follows:

To obtain books for these libraries, requests are to be made to the learned authors now living, to give copies of their books, and to others, especially merchants to the foreign plantations, to give money, of all of which there shall be a full account published.

— Steiner 1896, pp. 59-75

These libraries were meant to encourage the spread of the Anglican church in Britain's colonies, and as such mostly included theological works. It was a major endeavor, as at the time the only other public libraries in the American colonies were at a small number of universities.[13] Bray's efforts would eventually lead to the founding of almost 100 libraries in America and more than 200 libraries in England." https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Bray

¹¹ "Eminent English Clergymen," *Project Canterbury*. <http://anglicanhistory.org/essays/middleton/bray.pdf>

¹² Ibid; see, also, Edgar Legare Pennington, "Thomas Bray's Associates and Their Work Among The Negroes" (1938), p. 315 (General James Oglethorpe, who founded the colony of Georgia, had been an "associate" of "Bray's Associates." The colony of Georgia thus had Christian, Anglican, and anti-slavery roots).

¹³ W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade," *Writings* (New York, N.Y.: The Library of America, 1986), p. 15.

Somerset v Stewart (1772) 98 ER 499 (also known as Somerset's case, v. XX Sommersett v Steuart and the Mansfield Judgment) is a judgment of the English Court of King's Bench in 1772, relating to the right of an enslaved person on English soil not to be forcibly removed from the country and sent to Jamaica for sale. Lord Mansfield decided that:

The state of slavery is of such a nature that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons, moral or political, but only by positive law, which preserves its force long after the reasons, occasions, and time itself from whence it was created, is erased from memory. It is so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it, but positive law. Whatever inconveniences, therefore, may follow from the decision, I cannot say this case is allowed or approved by the law of England; and therefore the black must be discharged.

Slavery had never been authorized by statute within England and Wales, and Lord Mansfield found it also to be unsupported within England by the common law, although he made no comment on the position in the overseas territories of the British Empire.¹⁴

The colony of Georgia was thus founded in 1732 by Gov. Oglethorpe and other members of “Rev. Bray’s Associates” upon Christian foundations which were opposed to slavery. Indeed, Rev. Bray himself had wished to strengthen the Church of England overseas through the spread of Christian knowledge and the establishment of libraries.¹⁵ He supported the spiritual uplift of all persons, including Africans and Native Americans. And he preached against slavery. “[Rev. Bray] took a great interest in colonial missions, especially among the slaves and Native Americans, writing and preaching vigorously against slavery and the oppression of Indians.”¹⁶ “A conviction close to Bray’s heart was the need to include in the Church’s membership other races that would give it a rich and

¹⁴ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somerset_v_Stewart

¹⁵ “A country rector, Bray was chosen in 1696 by the bishop of London to provide ecclesiastical assistance in the Maryland colony, where he lived for several months in 1700, but he worked for the most part in England and corresponded with the colony. He recruited missionaries for Maryland and other colonies and established colonial libraries. Originally designed to be used by Anglican clergy, these libraries expanded in scope and patronage, and by 1699 there were 30 in the colonies. To support the libraries, Bray organized the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (1698/99); he also helped establish the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (1701), the Trustees of Parochial Libraries (1710), and the still-active Associates of Dr. Bray (1723, dedicated to converting blacks and Indians to the Christian faith).” <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Thomas-Bray>

¹⁶ Ibid.

diverse complexion. To this end he founded the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel and cared for these people all his life.”¹⁷ “For years, the needs of the negro had been in his mind; in fact, he had outlined a plan for a society which would carry on work ‘amongst y^o Poorer sort of people, as also among y Blacks & Native Indians.’* When D'AUone made his will in 1721, he bequeathed one-tenth of his English estate and the arrears of the pension due him from the Crown at the time of his death, as a fund, the income of which would be used by Doctor Bray and his Associates for erecting a school or schools for instructing the young children of negro slaves in the Christian religion ‘& such of their Parents as show themselves inclineable.’”¹⁸

During the Reign of Queen Anne (1702- 1714), the Church of England was further strengthened by “Queen Anne’s Bounty.” “The Queen Anne's Bounty Act 1703 (2 & 3 Anne c 20) was an Act of the Parliament of England, granting ‘in Perpetuity the Revenues of the First Fruits and Tenths’ for the support of the poor clergy of England.”¹⁹ Queen Anne, who supported the Tory party, detested the liberalism, loose-morals, secularism, and anti-church tendencies amongst the Whigs. And under her reign, several religious societies were established in order to preserve and protect traditional Christian values and culture in England.

About twelve years later [after the founding of the Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England] the existence in England of ‘infamous clubs of Atheists, Deists, and Socinians’ ‘labouring to propagate their pernicious principles,’ excited some members of the National Church, who had a true concern for the honour of God, to form themselves also into Societies, ‘that so by their united zeal and endeavors they might oppose the mischief of such dangerous principles, and fortifie both themselves and others against the attempts of those sons of darkness, who make it their business to root out (if possible) the very notions of Divine things and all differences of Good and Evil.’ Encouraged by several of the Bishops and Clergy, who, as well as Queen Anne, inquired into and approved of their methods and others, these Religious Societies soon spread throughout the kingdom—increasing to forty-two in London and Westminster alone—and became ‘very instrumental in promoting, in some

¹⁷ “Eminent English Clergymen,” *Project Canterbury*. <http://anglicanhistory.org/essays/middleton/bray.pdf>

¹⁸ Edgar Legare Pennington, “Thomas Bray’s Associates and Their Work Among The Negroes” (1938), p. 315.

¹⁹ “The whole Act, so far as not otherwise repealed, was repealed by section 48(2) of, and Part II of Schedule 7 to, the Charities Act 1960.” https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Queen_Anne%27s_Bounty_Act_1703

churches, Daily Prayers, Preparatory Sermons to the Holy Communion, the administration of the Sacrament every Lord's Day and Holy Day, and many other excellent designs conformable to the Doctrine and Constitution of the Church of England, which have not a little contributed to promote religion.' [See 'A Letter from a Residing Member of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge in London to a Corresponding Member in the Country' (Downing, London, 1714); also Dr. Josiah Woodward's 'Account of the Rise and Progress of the Religious Societies in the City of London' (1701).²⁰

Hence, from 1701 to 1782, "the majority of the Church of England missionaries in the American colonies were chosen, sent over, and to a large extent supported by the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). Three hundred and nine men were employed during that period in the Society's service in America."²¹ (Included within that number of SPG missionaries was Rev. John Wesley (1703- 1791), who served a pastor of first Anglican Church in Savannah, Georgia during the year 1736-37, and who would later help to found the Methodist movement in England.) But the great issues of the 18th century—mercantilism, colonial expansion, slavery, the transatlantic slave trade, and war—greatly impacted the Church of England in several ways. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) was only one of the Church of England's responses to the challenges of the 18th century. The rise of 18th-century Methodism was yet another response. In the next few papers within this series, we shall look more closely at the SPG and the Methodist movements. But within this paper, we shall first outline the broader economic and political environment in which the Church of England had to operate during the 18th Century.

SUMMARY

During the late 17th- and early 18th centuries, English merchants took control of Parliament and eventually overshadowed the privileged position of the Church of England within secular affairs. When the last Stuart monarch died in 1714, the English crown's most important high ministers were, at least arguably, no longer the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Lord Chancellor, and the other senior bishops within the Church of England, but rather the most important high ministers were the secular ministers of Prime Minister, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the

²⁰ C. F. Pascoe, *Two Hundred Years of S.P.G.: An Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, 1701- 1900* (London, England: Self-Published by SPG, 1901), p. 8.

²¹ Edgar Legare Pennington, "Thomas Bray's Associates and Their Work Among The Negroes" (1938), p. 314.

Privy Council. These secular ministers typically belonged to one of the two major political parties-- the Whigs and the Tories-- in Parliament. And the primary objective or occupation of Parliament was commercial empire-building that was based upon a foundation of colonialism, mercantilism, and the transatlantic slave trade. Long periods of commercial wars, such as the War of the League of Augsburg (1689- 1697) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701- 1713) were the awful and tragic costs. Under these conditions, the Church of England suffered. The Church of England's senior leaders, many of them, fell into temptation. On the other hand, the Church of England also responded both heroically and with an authentic Christian spirit to the emerging challenges of the 18th century. For example, the Church of England's official response to the challenges of the Age of Reason was reflected in the founding of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) (founded in 1701), an organization in which the Archbishop of Canterbury held the presidency position. The other major response came from Queen Anne herself. Queen Anne tried briefly to restore the dignity of the Church of England. Her "Queen Anne's Bounty" established a "church tax" in order to provide for salaries of poorer clergymen. But as the eighteenth-century rolled on, the Church of England became somewhat callous, corrupt, and unspiritual, thus leading to the great evangelical movements of the eighteenth century, including the First Great Awakening and the rise of the Methodist movement in England and North America.

Part XLII. Anglican Church: "The Last of the Stuarts (1689-1714)—Part 2"

C. The Birth of the British Empire (1688-1714)

In 1707, through special acts of Parliament, England officially became the empire of Great Britain. There were many forces in play, including the ongoing revolutionary role of that the Protestant Reformation had upon England's institutions. The rise of mercantilism and colonial expansion accelerated the pace of change, and led the widening chasm between England's two emerging political parties: the Whigs and the Tories. And between these secular forces stood the privileged position of the Church of England.

Theories of commercial morality and economic justice were instilled into sixteenth-century England, through the ancient Christian teachings of its Medieval Roman Catholic Church. Indeed, the Roman Church of England had nourished the British Isles with the "Law of Christ" for more than a thousand years before the Protestant Reformation. "The first fact which strikes the modern student... is [the

Church of England's] continuity with the past. In its insistence that buying and selling, letting and hiring, lending and borrowing, are to be controlled by a moral law, of which the Church is the guardian, religious opinion after the Reformation did not differ from religious opinion before it.”²²

The Roman Catholic Church had tamed and civilized the Celtic and Anglo-Saxon tribes and elevated their cultural and moral standards. For more than a thousand years the “Law of Christ” was the supreme and unchallenged law of the land. Then, suddenly, during the sixteenth-century, came the global and commercial expansion of Portugal and Spain, together with the continental Protestant Reformation. The Church of England was then forced to come to terms with a new commercial age. “In England, as on the continent, the new economic realities came into sharp collision with the social theory [of Christian economic morals and ethics] inherited from the Middle Ages. The result was a re-assertion of the traditional doctrines with an almost tragic intensity.”²³ “The assumption of all is that the traditional teaching of the Church as to social ethics is as binding on men’s consciences after the Reformation as it had been before it.”²⁴ “The Bible, the Fathers and the Schoolmen, the decretals, church councils, and commentaries on the canon law—all these, and not only the first, continued to be quoted as decisive on questions of economic ethics by men to whom the theology and government of the medieval Church were an abomination.”²⁵

The fundamental law of England (i.e., the Common Law of the Realm) was also deeply-rooted in the “Law of Christ” and the canon law of the Roman Catholic Church. Therefore, no financial, commercial, or economic activity fell outside of the auspices of the Church; and any modifications or changes within those activities could contravene the “Law of Christ.” England’s ecclesiastical courts continued to exert its influence over commercial activities.²⁶ “The jurisdiction of the Church in these matters was expressly reserved by legislation, and ecclesiastical lawyers, while lamenting the encroachments of the common law courts, continued to claim certain economic misdemeanors as their province.... Even in 1619 two instances occur in which money-lenders are cited before the Court of the Commissary of the Bishop of London, on the charge of ‘lending upon pawnes for an excessive gain commonly reported and cried out of.’”²⁷ Closely

²² R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York, N.Y.: Mentor Books, 1954), p. 134.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 116.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

²⁶ R.H. Tawney, pp. 137-138.

²⁷ R.H. Tawney, p. 138.

aligned with the Church were “the peasantry and the humble bourgeoisie... who regarded the growth of the new power with something of the same jealous hostility as they opposed to the economic radicalism of the enclosing landlord.”²⁸ The big merchants and financiers were aligned against the Church, because the Church curtailed their desires and sought to protect the interests of the peasants, the artisans, the shopkeepers, and the disenfranchised working classes. Considerations of secular public policy and Christian social morality converged in sixteenth- and seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England, as it was not uncommon for a bishop within the Church of England to also hold a post as judge or justice of the peace.²⁹ The Church’s system of natural law required balance and order, and its “enemies were disorder and the restless appetites which, since they led to the encroachment of class on class, were thought to provoke it. Distrusting economic individualism for reasons of state as heartily as did churchmen for reasons of religion, their aim was to crystallize existing class relationships by submitting them to the pressure, at once restrictive and protective, of a paternal Government, vigilant to detect all movements which menaced the established order....”³⁰ The sixteenth-century Anglican divine Richard Hooker’s theology was carried forward into the seventeenth century by Archbishop William Laud, and in the eighteenth-century by John Locke and the Tory Party. Their belief was that “Church and State are one Jerusalem: ‘Both Commonwealth and Church are collective bodies, made up of many into one; and both so near allied that the one, the Church, can never subsist but in the other, the Commonwealth; nay, so near, that the same men, which in a temporal respect make the Commonwealth, do in a spiritual make the Church.’”³¹

Commencing during the reign of Queen Elizabeth I (1558-1603), the poor-relief efforts in England were important matters of both public policy and religion. See, e.g., Table 1, “Delivery of Poor Relief and Charity in England, 1066-1800.” The Church of England insisted that its proper role was to regulate business and commerce through application of “The Law of Christ.”

‘Whatever the world thinks,’ wrote Bishop Berkely, ‘he who hath not much meditated upon God, the human mind and the *summum bonum* may possibly make a thriving earthworm, but will most indubitably make a sorry patriot and a sorry statesman.’

²⁸ R.H. Tawney, p. 140.

²⁹ R.H. Tawney, pp. 140-141.

³⁰ R.H. Tawney, p. 142.

³¹ R.H. Tawney, p. 145-146.

The philosopher of today, who bids us base our hopes of progress on knowledge inspired by love, does not differ from the Bishop so much, perhaps, as he would wish.

The most obvious facts are the most easily forgotten. Both the existing economic order, and too many of the projects advanced for reconstructing it, break down through their neglect of the truism that, since even quite common men have souls, no increase in material wealth will compensate them for arrangements which insult their self-respect and impair their freedom.

A reasonable estimate of economic organization must allow for the fact that, unless industry is to be paralyzed by recurrent revolts on the part of outraged human nature, it must satisfy criteria which are not purely economic.

A reasonable view of its possible modifications must recognize that natural appetites may be purified or restrained, as, in fact, in some considerable measure they already have been, by being submitted to the control of some larger body of interests.

The distinction made by the philosophers of classical antiquity between liberal and servile occupations, the medieval insistence that riches exist for man, not man for riches, Ruskin's famous outburst, 'there is not wealth but life,' the arguments of the Socialist who urges that production should be organized for service, not for profit, are but different attempts to emphasize the instrumental character of economic activities by reference to an ideal which is held to express the true nature of man.

Of that nature and its possibilities the Christian Church was thought... to hold by definition a conception distinctively its own. It was therefore committed to the formulation of a social theory, not as a philanthropic gloss upon the main body of its teaching, but as a vital element in a creed concerned with the destiny of men whose character is formed, and whose spiritual potentialities are fostered or starved, by the commerce of the market-place and the institutions of society.³²

³² R.H. Tawney, pp. 233-234.

But the globalization which emerged from the Age of Discovery effectively challenged and loosed the Church of England's powerful grip over finance and commerce— for there simply was no real way to regulate, monitor, and enforce “commercial ethics” and “economic morality” upon overseas middlemen and overseas financiers during the sixteenth-, seventeenth- and eighteenth centuries. English merchants soon began to discredit the Church's role in commerce; and early during the seventeenth century, they coalesced their interests into a clamor for “freedom,” that is to say, “economic freedom” and “individualism.” Traditional Christian ideals about usury and business ethics soon gave way to unrestrained individualism:

With the expansion of finance and international trade in the sixteenth century, it was this problem which faced the Church. Granted that I should love my neighbor as myself, the questions which, under modern conditions of large-scale organization, remain for solution are, **Who precisely is my neighbor?** And, **How exactly am I to make my love for him effective in practice?** To these questions the conventional religious teaching supplied no answer, for it had not even realized that they could be put. It had tried to moralize economic relations by treating every transaction as a case of personal conduct, involving personal responsibility. In an age of impersonal finance, world-markets and a capitalist organization of industry, its traditional social doctrines had no specific to offer, and were merely repeated, when, in order to be effective, they should have been thought out again from the beginning and formulated in new and living terms. It had endeavored to protect the peasant and the craftsman against the oppression of the money-lender and the monopolist. Faced with the problems of a wage-earning proletariat, it could do no more than repeat, with meaningless iteration, its traditional lore as to the duties of master to servant and servant to master. **It had insisted that all men were brethren. But it did not occur to it to point out that, as a result of the new economic imperialism which was beginning to develop in the seventeenth century, the brethren of the English merchants were the Africans whom he kidnaped for slavery in America, or the American Indians whom he stripped of their lands, or the Indian craftsmen from whom he bought muslins and silks at starvation prices....** [T]he social doctrines advanced from the

pulpit offered, in their traditional form, little guidance. Their practical ineffectiveness prepared the way for their theoretical abandonment.... [T]he Church of England turned its face from the practical world, to pore over doctrines which, had their original authors been as impervious to realities as their later exponents, would never have been formulated. Naturally it was shouldered aside. It was neglected because it had become negligible.³³

The England of the late-sixteenth, seventeenth- and eighteenth-centuries, which took part in the transatlantic slave trade and slavery in the New World, was the same England that had challenged and repudiated the teachings of the Church of England.³⁴ Overseas in the colonies, Anglo-American merchants appointed and controlled their own clergy, and these merchants were practically free from the Church of England's ecclesiastical discipline. And even though the Puritan movement had no intention of lowering any of its moral standards, its deprecation of rule of archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, and ecclesiastical authority unwittingly hastened the decline of commercial morality in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century England. So that, by the time of beginnings of the Methodist movement, which emerged during the early 1700s, more and more Englishmen were beginning to recognize the fact that “[c]ompromise is as impossible between the Church of Christ and the idolatry of wealth... as it was between the Church and the State idolatry of the Roman Empire.”³⁵

1. Calvinism, Presbyterianism, and the Rise of the Whig Party³⁶

The commercial power of the British Empire became unleashed—if not altogether unhinged-- during the reign of the Calvinists William III and Mary II (1688 – 1702). The Whig Party had brought William and Mary to the English throne, and the Whig Party—with its tendency toward liberal commercial freedom, a limited constitutional monarchy, and religious liberty—defined the terms of the new settlement that was to accompany the Glorious Revolution of 1688.³⁷ Their ideals were reflected in a revolutionary document called the Bill of Rights of 1689, and this document changed the English constitution forever, placing permanent

³³ R.H. Tawney, pp. 156-157.

³⁴ R.H. Tawney, pp. 157-163.

³⁵ R.H. Tawney, p. 235.

³⁶ See, also, this series: *A History of the Anglican Church: Part XXIV. Anglican Church: “Puritanism and the Rise of Capitalism (1550-1750)”*

³⁷ “William III was a Calvinist and therefore shared the objections of the Whigs to the persecution of Dissenters.” Gordon Smith, *A History of England* (New York, N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons Pub., 1957), p. 396.

power into the hands of Parliament and guaranteeing a limited monarchy in England:

This long and exact Declaration of Rights also provided for freedom of speech in Parliament; for fair jury trial; for the ending of excessive bail and unduly heavy fines; and so on. No standing army was to be maintained in time of peace without the consent of Parliament. The crown was to be settled on William and Mary and their heirs; if there were no heirs, the succession rights were to pass to Anne, Mary's sister by William and Mary on February 13, 1689. They were then proclaimed king and queen. On December 16, the Declaration was incorporated into a statute entitled the Bill of Rights. This famous Bill of Rights added a number of clauses to the original Declaration, notably one providing that no Roman Catholic, or anyone married to a Roman Catholic, should ever succeed to the throne of England. "It hath been found by experience that it is inconsistent with the safety and welfare of this Protestant kingdom to be governed by a popish prince." By these events the power of Parliament and the liberty of the subject were at last secured.³⁸

The English Bill of Rights of 1689 helped to lay the foundation for Anglo-American constitutional law that would emerge during the 18th century, particularly the American *Declaration of Independence* (1776) and *Constitution of the United States* (1787). For instance, the English Bill of Rights:

- Made jury trials mandatory for certain cases;
- Outlawed "excessive bail";
- Made free all elections for members of parliament;
- Outlawed the raising and keeping of standing armies, without Parliament's consent, illegal;
- Made the "right of petition" constitutional;
- Outlawed the king's power to arbitrarily suspend or repeal laws, without consent of Parliament;
- Condemned King James II's actions regarding the subversion of the Protestant faith

Furthermore, the Bill of Rights of 1689 would have a ripple effect throughout the British Empire, particularly in the American colonies. As one "introduction" to the Bill of Rights states:

³⁸ Ibid.

This bill was a precursor to the American Bill of Rights, and set out strict limits on the Royal Family's legal prerogatives such as a prohibition against arbitrary suspension of Parliament's laws. More importantly, it limited the right to raise money through taxation to Parliament.

The English elite had just succeeded in ousting the Catholic King James, who had offended the protestant Church of England by aggressively promoting the Roman Catholic religion, in spite of laws that Parliament had passed. William of Orange and his wife Mary were crowned King and Queen of England (Mary was actually the daughter of the deposed King James II) in Westminster Abbey on April 11, 1689. As part of their oaths, the new King William III and Queen Mary were required to swear that they would obey the laws of Parliament. At this time, the Bill of Rights was read to both William and Mary. "We thankfully accept what you have offered us," William replied, agreeing to be subject to law and to be guided in his actions by the decisions of Parliament.

The Bill was formally passed through Parliament after the coronation. On December 16, 1689, the King and Queen gave it Royal Assent which represented the end of the concept of divine right of kings. The Bill of Rights was designed to control the power of kings and queens and to make them subject to laws passed by Parliament. This concession by the royal family has been called the "bloodless revolution" or the "glorious revolution." It was certainly an era for a more tolerant royal prerogative. William, for example, did not seek to oppress the supporters of the deposed and Catholic King James II, even as James tried as best he could to rally the Catholic forces within England, Scotland and Ireland against King William III.

The Bill of Rights was one of three very important laws made at this time. The other two were the 1689 Toleration Act (which promoted religious toleration) and the 1694 Triennial Act, which prevented the King from dissolving Parliament at his will and held that general elections had to be held every three years.³⁹

³⁹ https://www.concourt.am/armenian/legal_resources/world_constitutions/constit/uk/0bill-petit.htm

It has been said that these “revolutionary” measures—the Bill of Rights of 1689, the Toleration Act of 1689, and the Triennial Act of 1684—were the fruits of Calvinism and Whig republicanism. As previously explained in prior essays within this series, Calvinism ruled in colonial New England in America during this period; and Calvinism had its greatest influence in England during the reigns of William and Mary (1688 – 1702). According to sociologist Max Weber, Calvinism created the preconditions for 17th-century mercantilism and modern-day capitalism, since it winked at “usury” and opened up the doors of the monastery to the common man.⁴⁰ Hard work and asceticism became the Protestant work ethic; lending money with interest was no longer considered sinful in Holland, England, and Central Europe.⁴¹ In sum, Northern Europe’s bourgeoisie merchants found a powerful ally in Calvinism.⁴² Whereas the Roman Catholic Church, and to some extent the High-Church Anglicans and Tories in England, still viewed Calvinism (i.e., Puritanism) as the real enemy.⁴³

But Presbyterianism and Calvinism also produced “republicanism” in both England and throughout Central Europe. Republicanism had the tendency to limit—if not altogether eliminate-- the power of both kings and bishops within the secular realm; and Calvinism tended to replace the monarchy and the episcopal ecclesiastical system with representative democracy or republicanism and Presbyterian church structures. Calvinist forces were both influencing and galvanizing political and religious thinking in late 17th-century England. The British monarchy was still considered to be a divine institution, but the monarch was no longer considered to be deserving of absolute right or divine right—even the high-church Anglicans had conceded that the British monarchy should be a limited constitutional monarchy. But the Calvinist influence slowly shifted 17th- and early 18th political thought towards republican democracy, and produced slogans such as “we the people,” and led to the idea of the “social contract” (i.e., written constitutions); and, eventually, to agnosticism, deism, and cynicism towards the orthodox Christian faith, particularly Roman Catholicism and high-church Anglicanism. Prime Minister Disraeli correctly described the situation as follows:

The Protestant Reformation, which, in a political point of view, had only succeeded in dividing England into two parties, and establishing

⁴⁰ Max Weber, *The Protestant Work Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (New York, N.Y.: Vigeo Press Reprint, 2017).

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

arbitrary power, had produced far different effects on the continent of Europe. There it had created a Republican religion: for such was the ecclesiastical polity of Calvin. The English Protestants, who, flying from the Marian persecution, sought refuge at Geneva, in the agony of their outraged loyalty, renounced their old allegiance, applied to civil polity the religious discipline of their great apostle, and returned to their native country political republicans.

Kings were the enemies of Protestantism, and Protestants naturally became the enemies of monarchy. The Hebrew history which they studied, as intently as the Christian gospels, furnished them with a precedent and a model for a religious republic.

Judges ruled in Israel before the royal dynasties of Saul or David. The anti-monarchical spirit of Protestant Europe was notorious and incontestable as early as the middle of the sixteenth century.

The regicides of Holy Writ are the heroes of the turbulent tractates of the early missionaries of spiritual democracy: the slayer of Sisera, or he who stabbed the fat king of Moab in his chamber. Samuel, the prophet of the Lord, deposed kings: Calvin and Knox were the successors of Samuel....

Now was heard, for the first time, of the paramount authority of "THE PEOPLE." This is the era of the introduction into European politics of that insidious phrase, by virtue of which an active and unprincipled minority have ever since sought to rule and hoodwink a nation....

The Republican Religion, which revolutionised Holland, triumphed in Scotland under Knox, and in France long balanced the united influence of the crown and the tiara.⁴⁴

And, similarly, Loraine Boettner, writes:

Calvinism was revolutionary. It taught the natural equality of men, and its essential tendency was to destroy all distinctions of rank and all claims to superiority which rested upon wealth or vested privilege. The liberty-loving soul of the Calvinist had made him a crusader

⁴⁴ https://www.concourt.am/armenian/legal_resources/world_constitutions/constit/uk/0bill-petit.htm

against those artificial distinctions which raise some men above others.

Politically, Calvinism had been the chief source of modern republican government. Calvinism and republicanism are related to each other as cause and effect; and where a people are possessed of the former, the latter will soon be developed. Calvin himself held that the Church, under God was a spiritual republic; and certainly he was a republican in theory.⁴⁵

What the religious ideals of Calvinism achieved in late-17th century England was the empowerment the liberal political ideals of the Whig Party, which stood against the ideals of high-church Anglicanism espoused by the Tory Party. The Whig Party supported the growth of capitalism and mercantilism, a limited monarchy, and Parliamentary control of government, with the real balance of power resting in the Prime Minister. Against this Whig political philosophy stood English traditionalism and the Tory Party, which was supported by the monarchy, royalists, the landed gentry and aristocrats, Anglican bishops, clergymen, and the Church of England. William and Mary, who reigned from 1688 to 1702, were supported by the Whigs; but Queen Anne, who reigned from 1702 to 1714, was supported by the Tory Party. In sum, “England stood on the threshold of the eighteenth century: the age of reason, toleration, moderation, common sense, the growth of capital and industry, and the dignified rule of the aristocracy.”⁴⁶

By the year 1688, England was engulfed in world trade, mercantilism, and the building of a commercial empire. The political maneuvers of its commercial rivalries such as France and Holland, and the downfall of the Spanish Empire characterized the major issues of the age. Under these conditions, the economic interests of English merchants—mercantilism—dominated Parliament, and the Prime Minister, rather than the Archbishop of Canterbury, became the “spiritual” leader of the British Empire. “In England, mercantilism reached its peak during the Long Parliament government (1640–60). Mercantilist policies were also embraced throughout much of the Tudor and Stuart periods, with **Robert Walpole** [(1676- 1745), a Whig and England’s first prime minister] being another major

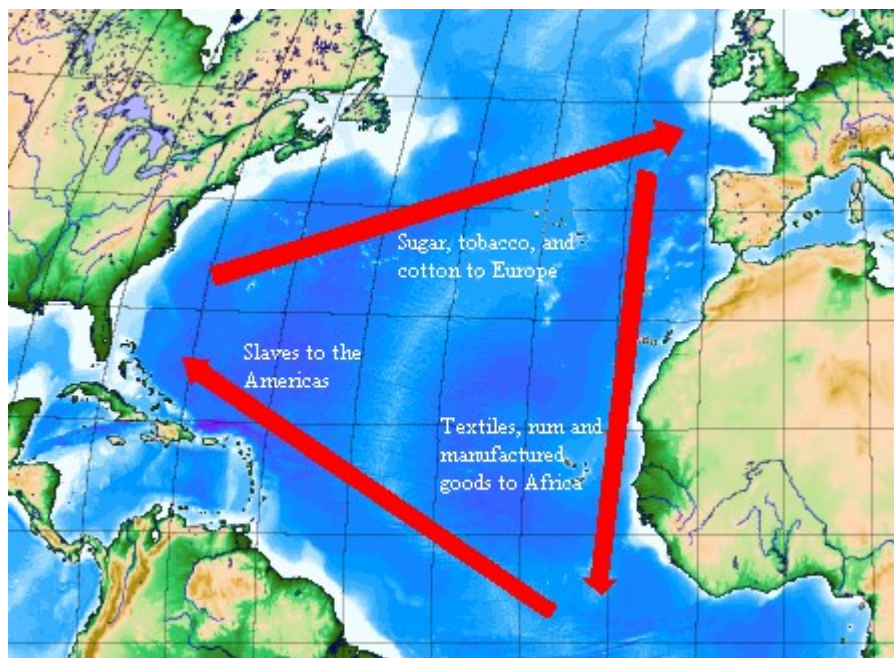
⁴⁵ Kenneth Talbot and Gary Crampton, Calvinism, *Hyper-Calvinism and Arminianism* (Lakeland, FL.: Whitefield Theological Seminary, 1990), pp. 136- 137.

⁴⁶ Goldwin Smith, *A History of England*, p. 397.

proponent.”⁴⁷ Capitalism (Mercantilism) began to emerge as the predominant social and political philosophy in England, while the catholic and Christian philosophy on human dignity, usury, charity, and social uplift receded into the background. The Church of England no longer recruited or received England’s “best and brightest” minds for service in the pulpit. Careers in law, commerce, and government proved more and more alluring than a career in the church. And in England those careers were focused upon building and preserving the British commercial empire through mercantilism:

Church of England ←-→ State (Parliament) ←-→ Capitalism (Mercantilism)

“Mercantilism helped create trade patterns such as the triangular trade in the North Atlantic, in which raw materials were imported to the metropolis and then processed and redistributed to other colonies.”⁴⁸



2. The Church of England Faces the Challenge of Empire

For it was under these conditions that the Church of England and its leadership faced definite challenges to the orthodox Christian faith. On the one

⁴⁷ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mercantilism>.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

hand, its senior leadership faced the temptations of ungodly material and spiritual forces from both within and without the Church of England's sacred walls. There was the challenge of relations with the indigenous peoples of the West Indies, North America, and the Indian subcontinent. There was the challenge of international competition with France, African slavery, and the African slave trade.

During the 18th century, capitalism and mercantilism stood ready to overthrow both Christianity and the Church of England, and to take over the reigns of England's empire. But there were also Christian stalwarts within the Church of England, such as Rev. Dr. Thomas Bray (1658 - 1730), who insisted upon the conversion of Native Americans and Africans, and the manumission from slavery. Rev. Bray had been the catalyst of many positive developments from within the Church of England, such as the founding of the Society of the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts in 1701. His legacy of prison reform and social justice was carried on by a distinguished group of person called "Dr. Bray's Associates," which included amongst their group Governor James Oglethorpe, the founder of the colony of Georgia. Dr. Bray's Associates put forth a sincere effort to spread the Christian faith throughout the British Empire. For example, historian W.E.B. Du Bois described both Governor Oglethorpe and the founding of Georgia as follows:

In Georgia we have an example of a community whose philanthropic founders sought to impose upon it a code of morals higher than the colonists wished. The settlers of Georgia were of even worse moral fibre than their slave-holding and whiskey-using neighbors in Carolina and Virginia; yet Oglethorpe and the London proprietors prohibited from the beginning both the rum and the slave traffic, refusing to '**suffer slavery (which is against the Gospel as well as the fundamental law of England)** to be authorized under our authority.'

⁴⁹

Georgia's founding was an exemplification of the influence of "Rev. Bray's Associates" as well as the authentic, orthodox Christian values which was clearly anti-slavery and truly reflected the foundation of the Christian faith and the Church of England. As previously mentioned, the Church of England's anti-slavery position was clearly reflected in the famous *Somerset* case (1772), as follows:

⁴⁹ W.E.B. Du Bois, "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade," *Writings* (New York, N.Y.: The Library of America, 1986), p. 15.

Somerset v Stewart (1772) 98 ER 499 (also known as Somerset's case, v. XX Sommersett v Steuart and the Mansfield Judgment) is a judgment of the English Court of King's Bench in 1772, relating to the right of an enslaved person on English soil not to be forcibly removed from the country and sent to Jamaica for sale. Lord Mansfield decided that:

The **state of slavery is of such a nature that it is incapable of being introduced on any reasons, moral or political**, but only by positive law, which preserves its force long after the reasons, occasions, and time itself from whence it was created, is erased from memory. **It is so odious, that nothing can be suffered to support it**, but positive law. Whatever inconveniences, therefore, may follow from the decision, **I cannot say this case is allowed or approved by the law of England**; and therefore the black must be discharged.

Slavery had never been authorized by statute within England and Wales, and Lord Mansfield found it also to be unsupported within England by the common law, although he made no comment on the position in the overseas territories of the British Empire.⁵⁰

That orthodox position of anti-slavery was deeply-rooted in the “catholic” theology and philosophy of St. Augustine of Hippo, St. Thomas Aquinas, Rev. Dr. Richard Hooker, and countless Anglican divines. This is what the Church of England, at its very best, symbolized within the British Empire. But the major question in 1700 was whether the British Empire would heed to the teachings of its cultural and spiritual mother, the Church of England.

The Church of England’s most fundamental teaching, of course, was the Golden Rule and the “law of Christ,”⁵¹ and, as British historian R.H. Tawney has observed in *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926),⁵² its guiding influence against avarice and materialism.⁵³ That message went as far back as St.

⁵⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Somerset_v_Stewart

⁵¹ The fundamental “Law of Christ,” to wit, is to “love ye one another” (John 15:12); to do justice and judgment (Genesis 18:18-19; Proverbs 21: 1-3); to judge not according to appearance but to judge righteous judgments (John 7:24); and to do justice, judgment, and equity (Proverbs 1:2-3).

⁵² R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (New York, N.Y.: Mentor Books, 1954).

⁵³ In the *Book of Isaiah*, there is the forewarning against “unjust gains from oppression,” “bribery,” and “oppression of the poor, the needy, and the innocent.” In the *Book of Jeremiah*, the prophet observed many Jews becoming rich through craftily exploiting the needy, the fatherless, and the innocent. “For among my people,” Jeremiah observed,

Augustine's *The City of God*; and, indeed, to the fundamental teachings of the Hebrew prophets, the Four Gospels and the Book of Revelation. For instance, Augustine of Hippo's fourth book of *The City of God* defended Christianity against various charges from pagan Romans who claimed that the Christian faith was the cause of the demise and fall of the Roman Empire. But the Roman Empire, Augustine charged, had been built upon unjust war; and, once that empire established, that it eventually fell under the weight of its own injustice. Augustine's view was that Rome's vices accumulated and hardened, while its virtues were stripped and withered away.

Justice being taken away, then, what are kingdoms but great robberies? For what are robberies themselves, but little kingdoms? The band itself is made up of men; it is ruled by the authority of a prince, it is knit together by the pact of the confederacy; the booty is divided by the law agreed on. If, by the admittance of abandoned men, this evil increases to such a degree that it holds places, fixes abodes, takes possession of cities, and subdues peoples, it assumes the more plainly the name of a kingdom, because the reality is now manifestly conferred on it, not by the removal of covetousness, but by the addition of impunity. Indeed, that was an apt and true reply which was given to Alexander the Great by a pirate who had been seized. For when that king had asked the man what he meant by keeping hostile possession of the sea, he answered with bold pride, **'What thou meanest by seizing the whole earth; but because I do it with a**

"are found wicked men: they lay wait, as he that setteth snares; they set a trap, they catch men. As a cage is full of birds, so are their houses full of deceit: therefore they are become great, and waxen rich." In the *Book of Ezekiel*, the prophet charges that many in Jerusalem committed "dishonest gain"; "[h]ath oppressed the poor and needy, hath spoiled by violence...."; have "dealt by oppression with the stranger: in thee have they vexed the fatherless and the widow"; and "have they taken gifts to shed blood; thou has taken usury and increase, and thou has greedily gained of thy neighbours by extortion, and hast forgotten me, saith the Lord GOD." In the *Book of Hosea*, the prophet described Israel as "a merchant, the balances of deceit are in his hand: he loveth to oppress.... [saying] I am become rich...." In the *Book of Amos*, "[b]usiness is booming and boundaries are bulging. But below the surface, greed and injustice are festering. Hypocritical religious motions have replaced true worship, creating a false sense of security and a growing callousness to God's disciplining hand." Amos does not consider Israel's material success to be honest or honorable, considering the fact that there is much affliction of the poor and needy. He charges Israel with having oppressed the poor and the needy. He forewarns the wealthy in Israel that there shall be consequences for their economic transgressions. In the *Book of Micah*, the prophet charges his fellow Judeans as being economically oppressive and evil. "For the rich men thereof," says Micah, "are full of violence, and the inhabitants thereof have spoken lies, and their tongue is deceitful in their mouth." The result was, as Micah noted, widespread injustice, economic oppression, religious hypocrisy, and the social disintegration within Judean society. In the *Book of Habakkuk*, the prophet notices economic injustices in the southern kingdom of Judah. He described the poor, who were victims of all sorts of crafty economic injustices in the southern kingdom of Judea, and he proclaims "[w]oe to him that increaseth that which is not his!" And finally, in the New Testament, there is Jesus' **Parable of the Rich Man and Lazarus (Luke 6:46-49)**, the Beatitudes, and the "Law of Christ" which further set the theme that true religion means, among other things, alleviating the manacles of economic injustice.

petty ship, I am called a robber, whilst thou who dost it with a great fleet art styled emperor'⁵⁴

But to make war on your neighbors, and thence to proceed to others, and through mere lust of dominion to crush and subdue people who do you no harm, what else is this to be called than great robbery?"⁵⁵

For Augustine was not alone in rendering this assessment of worldly empires, and of their fundamental economic, social, and political injustices. Indeed, one of the major problems—the *religious paradox*—of the 18th century was that materialism, imperialism, usury, and transatlantic slave trade were permitted to co-exist along side of the Christian faith, which, as the Revelation of St. John reveals to us in chapter eighteen, so harshly condemned those activities:

And after these things I saw another angel come down from heaven, having great power; and the earth was lightened with his glory.

2 And he cried mightily with a strong voice, saying, Babylon the great is fallen, is fallen, and is become the habitation of devils, and the hold of every foul spirit, and a cage of every unclean and hateful bird.

3 For **all nations have drunk of the wine of the wrath of her fornication**, and the **kings of the earth have committed fornication with her**, and the **merchants of the earth are waxed rich through the abundance of her delicacies**.

4 And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, **Come out of her, my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins**, and that ye receive not of her plagues.

5 For **her sins have reached unto heaven**, and **God hath remembered her iniquities**.

6 Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works: in the cup which she hath filled fill to her double.

7 How **much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously**, so much torment and sorrow give her: for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow.

⁵⁴ St. Augustine, *The City of God* (New York, N.Y.: The Modern Library, 1950), pp. 112-113.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 114.

8 Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine; and she shall be utterly burned with fire: for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her.

9 **And the kings of the earth, who have committed fornication and lived deliciously with her, shall bewail her, and lament for her, when they shall see the smoke of her burning,**

10 Standing afar off for the fear of her torment, saying, **Alas, alas that great city Babylon, that mighty city!** for in one hour is thy judgment come.

11 **And the merchants of the earth shall weep and mourn over her; for no man buyeth their merchandise any more:**

12 **The merchandise of gold, and silver, and precious stones, and of pearls, and fine linen, and purple, and silk, and scarlet, and all thyine wood, and all manner vessels of ivory, and all manner vessels of most precious wood, and of brass, and iron, and marble,**

13 **And cinnamon, and odours, and ointments, and frankincense, and wine, and oil, and fine flour, and wheat, and beasts, and sheep, and horses, and chariots, and slaves, and souls of men.**

14 And the fruits that thy soul lusted after are departed from thee, and all things which were dainty and goodly are departed from thee, and thou shalt find them no more at all.

15 **The merchants of these things, which were made rich by her, shall stand afar off for the fear of her torment, weeping and wailing,**

16 And saying, Alas, alas that great city, that was clothed in fine linen, and purple, and scarlet, and decked with gold, and precious stones, and pearls!

17 **For in one hour so great riches is come to nought. And every shipmaster, and all the company in ships, and sailors, and as many as trade by sea, stood afar off,**

18 **And cried when they saw the smoke of her burning, saying, What city is like unto this great city!**

19 And they cast dust on their heads, and cried, weeping and wailing, saying, **Alas, alas that great city, wherein were made rich all that had ships in the sea by reason of her costliness!** for in one hour is she made desolate.

20 **Rejoice over her, thou heaven, and ye holy apostles and prophets; for God hath avenged you on her.**

21 And a mighty angel took up a stone like a great millstone, and cast it into the sea, saying, **Thus with violence shall that great city Babylon be thrown down,** and shall be found no more at all.

22 And the voice of harpers, and musicians, and of pipers, and trumpeters, shall be heard no more at all in thee; and no craftsman, of whatsoever craft he be, shall be found any more in thee; and the sound of a millstone shall be heard no more at all in thee;

23 And the light of a candle shall shine no more at all in thee; and the voice of the bridegroom and of the bride shall be heard no more at all in thee: **for thy merchants were the great men of the earth; for by thy sorceries were all nations deceived.**

24 **And in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth.**

These orthodox Christian teachings, as British historian R.H. Tawney thoroughly discussed in *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism* (1926), were symbolized in the Church of England, even though they were not strictly enforced through Britain's legal system and enforced upon the merchants. Dr. Tawney, for instance, held up the Rev. Richard Baxter (1615- 1691) as the ideal British clergymen who espoused wholesome Christian ethics whereby nearly every facet of England's economic, social, and political life could be guided. By 1700, that idea of promoting Christian ethics was not lost upon the Church of England. Bishop Henry Compton (1632 – 1713), as the bishop of London, positioned the Church of England to become a multinational church of the British Empire and therefore its moral voice within that empire. The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG) was a major missionary effort that was designed to achieve that Christian mission.

3. The Rise of Mercantilism and Britain's Commercial Expansion

Today, the role of the Church of England in investing in slavery and the slave-trade is well known. But it was the plain duty and function of the Church of England to teach those Christian principles to England's faithful. However, once the venomous snake of mercantilism and commercialism became the most important goal of Great Britain, it infected the Church of England's clergymen as well. This was inevitable and not surprising. After the transatlantic slave trade engulfed Great Britain's commercial expansion and international policy after 1713, it would take another 180 years before England could finally abate the sin of

slavery and the slave trade. The ideals which nourished England’s constitution and legal system—the “law of Christ”⁵⁶— became obscured, as W.E.B. Du Bois reminds us:

There was the *religious paradox*: the contradiction between the *Golden Rule* and the use of force to keep human beings in their appointed places....⁵⁷

By the late 17th- and early 18th- centuries, mercantilism and empire building dominated England and Europe—stripping the essential parameters of justice away from both. It divided humanity along cultural, national, and racial lines—in a word, it established the economic foundations of modern-day racism through mercantilism:

Mercantilism is an economic policy that is designed to maximize the exports and minimize the imports for an economy. It promotes imperialism and tariffs and subsidies on traded goods to achieve that goal. The policy aims to reduce a possible current account deficit or reach a current account surplus, and it includes measures aimed at accumulating monetary reserves by a positive balance of trade, especially of finished goods. Historically, such policies frequently led to war and motivated colonial expansion....⁵⁸

Mercantilism was dominant in modernized parts of Europe, and some areas in Africa from the 16th to the 19th centuries, a period of proto-industrialization, before it fell into decline, but some commentators argue that it is still practiced in the economies of industrializing countries, in the form of economic interventionism. It promotes government regulation of a nation's economy for the purpose of augmenting state power at the expense of rival national powers. High tariffs, especially on manufactured goods, were almost universally a feature of mercantilist policy.⁵⁹

Mercantilist ideas were the dominant economic ideology of all of Europe in the early modern period, and most states embraced it to a

⁵⁶ The fundamental “Law of Christ,” to wit, is to “love ye one another” (John 15:12); to do justice and judgment (Genesis 18:18-19; Proverbs 21: 1-3); to judge not according to appearance but to judge righteous judgments (John 7:24); and to do justice, judgment, and equity (Proverbs 1:2-3).

⁵⁷ W.E.B. Du Bois, *The World and Africa*, p. 17.

⁵⁸ <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mercantilism>

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*

certain degree. Mercantilism was centred on England and France, and it was in these states that mercantilist policies were most often enacted.

The policies have included:

- High tariffs, especially on manufactured goods.
- Forbidding colonies to trade with other nations.
- Monopolizing markets with staple ports.
- Banning the export of gold and silver, even for payments.
- Forbidding trade to be carried in foreign ships, as per, for example, the Navigation Acts.
- Subsidies on exports.
- Promoting manufacturing and industry through research or direct subsidies.
- Limiting wages.
- Maximizing the use of domestic resources.
- Restricting domestic consumption through non-tariff barriers to trade.⁶⁰

England began the first large-scale and integrative approach to mercantilism during the Elizabethan Era (1558–1603). An early statement on national balance of trade appeared in *Discourse of the Common Weal of this Realm of England*, 1549: "We must always take heed that we buy no more from strangers than we sell them, for so should we impoverish ourselves and enrich them." The period featured various but often disjointed efforts by the court of Queen Elizabeth (reigned 1558–1603) to develop a naval and merchant fleet capable of challenging the Spanish stranglehold on trade and of expanding the growth of bullion at home. Queen Elizabeth promoted the Trade and Navigation Acts in Parliament and issued orders to her navy for the protection and promotion of English shipping.⁶¹

Elizabeth's efforts organized national resources sufficiently in the defense of England against the far larger and more powerful Spanish Empire, and in turn, paved the foundation for establishing a global empire in the 19th century.[citation needed] Authors noted most for establishing the English mercantilist system include Gerard de

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid.

Malynes (fl. 1585–1641) and Thomas Mun (1571–1641), who first articulated the Elizabethan system (England's Treasure by Foreign Trade or the Balance of Foreign Trade is the Rule of Our Treasure), which Josiah Child (c. 1630/31 – 1699) then developed further.⁶²

The reigns of William and Mary (1688 – 1702) and Queen Anne (1702- 1714) were dominated by wars—imperial and mercantilist wars⁶³—that were designed, fundamentally, to carry out mercantilist policies. These were the War of the League of Augsburg (1689- 1697) and the War of the Spanish Succession (1701- 1713), which ended with the Treaty of Utrecht and the famous “Assiento,” which gave to England a monopoly of Spain’s transatlantic slave-trade for thirty years. This was the final legacy of England’s Stuart monarchy, which began in 1603 with the coronation of King James I and died in 1714 with the death of Queen Anne.

D. King William III (1688- 1702) and Queen Mary II (1688- 1697)

Queen Mary II was the sister of Kings Charles II and James II. Unlike her brothers, who were Roman Catholic, Mary was a Protestant and married to a

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ See, e.g., “**Mercantilism**,” <https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mercantilism>, stating:

“ Wars and imperialism

“Mercantilism was the economic version of warfare using economics as a tool for warfare by other means backed up by the state apparatus and was well suited to an era of military warfare.[36] Since the level of world trade was viewed as fixed, it followed that the only way to increase a nation's trade was to take it from another. A number of wars, most notably the Anglo-Dutch Wars and the Franco-Dutch Wars, can be linked directly to mercantilist theories. Most wars had other causes but they reinforced mercantilism by clearly defining the enemy, and justified damage to the enemy's economy.

“Mercantilism fueled the imperialism of this era, as many nations expended significant effort to conquer new colonies that would be sources of gold (as in Mexico) or sugar (as in the West Indies), as well as becoming exclusive markets. European power spread around the globe, often under the aegis of companies with government-guaranteed monopolies in certain defined geographical regions, such as the Dutch East India Company or the Hudson's Bay Company (operating in present-day Canada).

“With the establishment of overseas colonies by European powers early in the 17th century, mercantile theory gained a new and wider significance, in which its aim and ideal became both national and imperialistic.

“The connection between imperialism and mercantilism has been explored by economist and sociologist Giovanni Arrighi, who analyzed mercantilism as having three components: "settler colonialism, capitalist slavery, and economic nationalism," and further noted that slavery was "partly a condition and partly a result of the success of settler colonialism."

“In France, the triangular trade method was integral in the continuation of mercantilism throughout the 17th and 18th centuries. In order to maximize exports and minimize imports, France worked on a strict Atlantic route: France, to Africa, to the Americas and then back to France.[38] By bringing African slaves to labor in the New World, their labor value increased, and France capitalized upon the market resources produced by slave labor.

“Mercantilism as a weapon has continued to be used by nations through the 21st century by way of modern tariffs as it puts smaller economies in a position to conform to the larger economies goals or risk economic ruin due to an imbalance in trade. Trade wars are often dependent on such tariffs and restrictions hurting the opposing economy.”

Calvinist, William of Orange (Holland). After James II descended the throne and absconded off to France, the Whigs invited William of Orange to bring an army to England and offered him the crown, allowing him to rule alongside his wife as William III and Mary II. This occurred during the year 1688. And in `1689, both William and Mary accepted the terms of the restoration settlement. The Whigs had invited them to serve as “limited monarchs.” The balance of power would rest in Parliament. Meanwhile, William III was considered to be a foreigner amongst islanders—perhaps the only thing that he had in common with his new fellow countrymen was a disdain toward Louis XIV and France. As a Calvinist, William III bore no strong allegiances to the Church of England; and he had, in fact, supported Sotland’s Calvinistic Presbyterian Church. But William III wanted unity at home in order that he might oppose Louis XIV abroad. Most of his reign, from 1689 to 1697, was spent on the battlefield at war with France.

Shortly after William and Mary ascended the throne in England, the Louis XIV invaded the Rhenish Palatine (modern-day Germany) in 1689. This upset the balance of power in Europe. By the late 1600s, the age of European imperialism was in full swing, and Louis XIV and France reigned predominant. As a result, in order to contain French aggression, Holy Roman Emperor Leopold I of Croatia, Hungary, and Bohemia organized the League of Augsburg, which included Spain, Sweden, the Netherlands, various German states, Savoy, and the Pope. Since England’s new king, William III, was an arch-enemy of Louis XIV, England also allied itself with the League of Augsburg.

The War of the League of Augsburg was in fact the first of the modern wars in which England fought simultaneously as a member of a European land coalition; as a great sea power fighting a naval war and maintaining an economic blockage; and as a colonial nation adding to her economic and imperial holdings abroad at the expense of hostile rivals.

The theories of mercantilism made it inevitable that all nations should attempt to advance what they believed were their economic interests by increasing their national wealth faster than it increased in other countries.... In his *England’s Treasure by Forraign Trade* Thomas Mun asserted an essential principle of mercantilist theory: England’s exports to foreign lands must exceed her imports.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Goldwin Smith, *A History of England*, p. 399.

Under these economic conditions, England's public policy emphasized creating a favorable balance of trade, protecting its own home markets through tariffs, making commercial treaties with nations that produced raw materials not produced in England, and establishing colonies for the same reasons. "Meanwhile, as the business economy rose steadily in England the desire to be independent of other nations stimulated the growth of colonies; the Empire was considered as a unit in which the colonies would produce stocks of raw materials. Britain would manufacture them. Manufacturing in the colonies was discouraged by statutes and regulations."⁶⁵

In North America, England found a rival in France; and in India, England also found a rival in France. "In both America and India, then, the stage for a world struggle for empire was set."⁶⁶ England's "trading and commercial class" were represented in "the Whig Parliament":⁶⁷

[The English commercial, merchant and trading classes] were alarmed at the obviously aggressive challenges of France in building up her colonial power, in pushing French trade activities, in strengthening the French navy. Protective measures of the French mercantilist Colbert had hit the English as well as the Dutch. French commercial progress was a particular dread of the merchant classes in the English Parliament. Earlier English feeling against the Dutch commercial power now began to shift towards France.... British economic jealousy of France and the pervasive power of the mercantilist theory made the attitude of vested commercial interests of particular importance in 1689. Thus England went into the war of the League of Augsburg for many reasons, including not only the preservation of Protestant Europe and the balance of power, but also the protection of English commercial, maritime, and colonial interests.⁶⁸

The war ended in a stalemate, with much blood and treasure having been expended. All colonial conquests were restored to their original owners, and Louis XIV recognized William III as the king of England. The Peace of Ryswick was signed by all combatants in 1697.

⁶⁵ Ibid., p. 400.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 400-401.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 401.

Meanwhile, Charles II of Spain was childless. When he died, who was to be king? He had two sisters. The elder sister was married to Louis XIV of France. The younger sister was married to Emperor Leopold of Austria. Here was the problem: "If either the French Bourbons or the Austrian Hapsburgs succeeded to the Spanish throne, the whole European balance of power would be badly upset. The union of France and Spain, or of Austria and Spain, would be particularly dangerous to the interests of England."⁶⁹ Leopold claimed the whole of the Spanish Empire for his son. Louis XIV claimed the Spanish Empire for his grandson Philip. Before Charles II died, he agreed and made a will leaving the Spanish Empire to Philip, the grandson of Louis XIV. When Charles died, Leopold rejected Charles' will and sent an army into Italy and seized Spain's Milan. Leopold also solicited the help of England to take further action against France. King William III of England agreed, and the Whigs and Tories joined together to support their king.

If France indirectly controlled Spain through Philip, then Spanish and French commercial and colonial policies would become merged into one. French and Spanish maritime power would be united. The Spanish Netherlands, great channel of commerce with central Europe, would be blocked to English trade. Financial circles interested in England's commercial, trading, and colonial activities abroad also looked to the possibility of sharing in trade and investment developments in Spanish America.... The Whigs stood for war.⁷⁰

On September 7, 1701, England, the Netherlands, and Austria formed the Grand Alliance. "They agreed that the French and Spanish thrones must never be united; that the French were to have no share in the Spanish colonial trade."⁷¹ Louis XIV took steps to anger the English: first, he prohibited all imports from the British isles; and, second, he declared James II's son to be proclaimed James III, king of England, thus breaking his treaty promise of 1697.⁷² These actions galvanized the British, and war officially began in the spring of 1702.

⁶⁹ Goldwin Smith, *A History of England*, p. 404.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 404.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 405.

⁷² *Ibid.*

Meanwhile, in March 1702, William III died in a hunting accident, and he was succeeded by Queen Anne during that same year. The War of the Spanish Succession thus became “Queen Anne’s War.” England joined the pro-Austrian allies during the war. See, e.g., “List of Allies during the War of the Spanish Succession (1701 – 1713).”

Table 2 “List of Allies: The War of the Spanish Succession (1701-1713)”

Austria’s Allies	France’s Allies
Austria (Holy Roman Emperor)	France
Great Britain	Pro-Bourbon Spain
Dutch Republic	Bavaria
Pro-Habsburg Spain	Savoy
Prussia	Cologne
Savoy	Liege
Portugal	
Denmark-Norway	

The War of the Spanish Succession (1701- 1713) was fought on three fronts: Europe, America, and on the seas. In North America, the war was called “Queen Anne’s War,” which included skirmishes and battles in what is now the modern-day southern United States, New England, and Canada. It was an international, mercantilist war of enormous magnitude:

The war broke out in 1701 and was primarily a conflict between French, Spanish and English colonists for control of the American continent while the War of the Spanish Succession was being fought in Europe, with each side allied to various Native American tribes. It was fought on four fronts:

1. In the south, **Spanish Florida** and the English Province of Carolina attacked one another, and English colonists engaged French colonists based at Fort Louis de la Louisiane (near present-day Mobile, Alabama), with allied Indians on both sides. The southern war did not result in significant territorial changes, but it had the effect of nearly wiping out the Indian population of Spanish Florida

and parts of southern Georgia, and destroying the network of Spanish missions in Florida.

2. In **New England**, English colonists fought against French colonists and Indian forces in Acadia and Canada. Quebec City was repeatedly targeted by British colonial expeditions, and the Acadian capital Port Royal was captured in 1710. The French colonists and the Wabanaki Confederacy sought to thwart British expansion into Acadia, whose border New France defined as the Kennebec River in what is now southern Maine.^[3] They executed raids in the Province of Massachusetts Bay (including Maine), most famously the Raid on Deerfield in 1704.

3. In **Newfoundland**, English colonists based at St. John's disputed control of the island with the French colonists of Plaisance. Most of the conflict consisted of economically destructive raids on settlements. The French colonists successfully captured St. John's in 1709, but the British colonists quickly reoccupied it after the French abandoned it.

4. French privateers based in **Acadia** and **Placentia** captured many ships from New England's fishing and shipping industries. Privateers took 102 prizes into Placentia, second only to Martinique in France's American colonies. The naval conflict ended with the capture of Acadia (Nova Scotia).⁷³

All of this was a world-wide race-conscious struggle for empire. In the end, England would emerge the war as “Great Britain” and as “the foremost of European nations.”⁷⁴ This was memorialized in the Treaty of Utrecht of 1713 and the famous Assiento (contract), which gave Britain “the monopoly of the importation of Negro slaves into the Spanish colonies for thirty years.”⁷⁵ This occurred during the reigns of the Anglican Queen Anne (England) and the Catholic King Philip V (Spain), as follows:

1713, March 26. Great Britain and Spain: The *Assiento*

“The Assiento, of Contract for allowing the Subjects of Great Britain the Liberty of importing Negroes into the Spanish America. Signed by

⁷³

⁷⁴ Ibid., p. 408.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

the Catholick King at Madrid, the 26th Day of March, 1713.”

Art. I. “First then to procure, by this means, a mutual and reciprocal advantage to the sovereigns and subjects of both crowns, her British majesty does offer and undertake for the persons, whom she shall name and appoint, That they shall oblige and charge themselves with the bringing into the West-Indies of America, belonging to this catholick majesty, in the space of the said 30 years, to commence on the 1st day of May, 1713, and determine on the like day, which will be in the year 1743, **viz. 144,000 negroes, Piezas de India, of both sexes, and of all ages, at the rate of 4800 negroes, Piezas de India, in each of the said 30 years**, with this condition, That the persons who shall go to the West-Indies to take care of the concerns of the assiento, shall avoid giving any offence, for in such case they shall be prosecuted and punished in the same manner, as they would have been in Spain, if the like misdemeanors had been committed there.”

Art. II. Assientist to pay a duty of 33 pieces of eight (Escudos) for each Negro, which should include all duties.

Art. III. Assientists to advance to his Catholic Majesty 200,000 pieces of eight, which should be returned at the end of the first twenty years, etc., John Almon, *Treaties of Peace, Alliance, and Commerce, between Great-Britain and other Powers* (London, 1772), I. 83-107.

1713, July 13. Great Britain and Spain: Treaty of Utrecht

“Treaty of Peace and Friendship between the most serene and most potent princess Anne, by the grace of God, Queen of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. and the most serene and most potent Prince Philip V. the Catholick King of Spain, concluded at Utrecht, the 2/13 Day of July, 1713.”

Art. XII. “The Catholick King doth furthermore hereby give and grant to her Britannick majesty, and to the company of her subjects appointed for that purpose, as well the subjects of Spain, as all others, being excluded, **the contract for introducing negroes into several**

parts of the dominions of his Catholick Majesty in America... for the space of thirty years successively, beginning from the first day of the month of May, in the year 1713, with the same conditions on which the French enjoyed it, or at any time might or ought to enjoy the same, together with a tract or tracts of Land to be allotted by the said Catholick King.... John Almon, *Treaties of Peace, Alliance, and Commerce, between Great-Britain and other Powers* (London, 1772), I. 168-80.

“The Treaty of Utrecht ended the war in 1713, following a preliminary peace in 1712. France ceded the territories of Hudson Bay, Acadia, and Newfoundland to Britain while retaining Cape Breton Island and other islands in the Gulf of St. Lawrence. Some terms were ambiguous in the treaty, and the concerns of various Indian tribes were not included, thereby setting the stage for future conflicts.”⁷⁶ But the Treaty of Utrecht set England upon a very dark moral course-- capitalism (mercantilism) had begun to darken England’s moral vision. The rise of Protestant merchants—whether Tory, Anglican, Whig, Puritan, Calvinists, Baptist, Arminian, Independent, etc.—overshadowed the moral teachings of conventional Christianity with respect to the “Golden Rule.” See, generally, R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*. In England and colonial North America, capitalism and secularism challenged and eventually overthrew orthodox Christianity and the Anglican Church.

Church ←---→ State ←---→ Capitalism (Mercantilism)⁷⁷

By the early 1700s, Great Britain was positioned to become the leading economic and political power of Europe. Colonialism, slavery, and slave-trade were at the heart of its international policy.

At the same time, the conscience of the world began to writhe. ‘Modern slavery was created by Christians, it was continued by Christians, it was in some respects more barbarous than anything the world had yet seen, and its worst features were to be witnessed in countries that were most ostentatious in their parade of Christianity. It is this that provides the final and unanswerable indictment of the Christian Church.’.... While the British were fighting ostensibly for

⁷⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Queen_Anne%27s_War

⁷⁷ See, generally, R.H. Tawney, *Religion and the Rise of Capitalism*.

dynastic disputes in Europe, they were really, in the War of Spanish Succession and in the Seven Years' War, fighting for profit through world trade and especially the slave trade. In 1713 they gained, by the coveted Treaty of Asiento, the right to monopolize the slave trade from Africa to the Spanish colonies. In that century they beat Holland to her knees and started her economic decline. They overthrew the Portuguese in India, and finally, by the middle of the century, overcame their last rival in India, the French. In the eighteenth century they raised the slave trade to the greatest single body of trade on earth.

The Royal African Company transported an average of five thousand slaves a year between 1680 and 1686; but the newly rich middle-class merchants were clamoring for free trade in human flesh. Eventually the Royal African Company was powerless against the competition of free merchant traders, and a new organization was established in 1750 called the 'Company of Merchants trading to Africa.'

In the first nine years of this 'free trade,' Bristol alone shipped 160,950 Negroes to the sugar plantations. In 1760, 146 ships sailed from British ports to Africa with a capacity of 36,000 slaves. In 1771 there were 190 ships and 47,000 slaves. The British colonies between 1680 and 1786 imported over two million slaves. By the middle of the eighteenth century Bristol owned 237 slave trade vessels, London 147, and Liverpool, 89.

Liverpool's first slave vessel sailed for Africa in 1709. In 1730 it had 15 ships in the trade and in 1771, 105. The slave brought Liverpool in the late eighteenth century a clear profit of £300,000 a year. A fortunate slave trade voyage made a profit of £8,000, and even a poor cargo would make £5,000. It was not uncommon in Liverpool and Bristol for the slave traders to make 100 percent profit. The proportion of slave ships to the total shipping of England was one in one hundred in 1709 and one-third in 1771. The slave traders were strong in both the House of Lords and the House of Commons, and a British coin, the guinea, originated in the African trade of the eighteenth century.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ W.E.B. Du Bois, *The World and Africa*, pp. 53-55.

When William III died, due to a hunting accident in 1702, the War of the Spanish Succession had just commenced in Europe and America. This war presented another golden opportunity for England's colonial expansion. William's successor, Queen Anne, would take advantage of that opportunity.

E. Queen Anne (1702-1714)

Queen Anne (1665-1714) was the daughter of King James II and the younger sister of Queen Mary II. Anne was neither a Calvinist nor a Roman Catholic, but instead her heart was truly Anglican and she sought to rebuild and to preserve the Church of England.⁷⁹ She trusted neither Whig politicians or religious dissenters. "During her reign, Anne favoured moderate Tory politicians, who were more likely to share her Anglican religious views than their opponents, the Whigs. The Whigs grew more powerful during the course of the War of the Spanish Succession, until 1710 when Anne dismissed many of them from office."⁸⁰ One of her first acts was to strengthen and empower the Tory party, which she considered to be her natural ally. To do that, she added twelve new Tory peers so that the Tories became the majority in the House of Lords. Next, the Tories added a new property qualification for holding office as a Member of the House of Commons. "The Property Qualification Act required a member of Parliament to have a landed estate of £ 300 annual value if he represented a borough of §600 if he represented a rural riding. Most of the Whigs were merchants, financiers, and so on; many were therefore landless and thus could not stand for election."⁸¹ Next, the Schism Act required all teachers to be licensed by a bishop to teach nothing but the Anglican catechism, and the Occasional Conformity Act required all individuals who held public office to take communion within the Church of England "regularly," or at a minimum of once per year (as per the "Test Act").⁸² Finally, Queen Anne's "bounty" was a tithing law that was designed to direct the public finance toward the upgrading of clergy salaries as well up-build of the Church of England:

The anti-Puritan purges of the Cavalier years had driven over two thousand Puritan clergymen out of the Church of England. Under William III about four hundred Nonjuring divines had been expelled. When the devout Queen Anne came to the throne she tried to strengthen her beloved Anglican Church, so weakened and anemic.

⁷⁹ Goldwin Smith, *A History of England*, p. 414.

⁸⁰ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anne,_Queen_of_Great_Britain

⁸¹ Goldwin Smith, *A History of England*, p. 414.

⁸² *Ibid*, pp. 415-416.

Her first step was a financial one. From the days of Henry VIII the crown had collected large revenues from the clergy. Anne turned all these revenues back to the church. This gift, called Queen Anne's bounty, was primarily intended to increase the salaries of underpaid clergymen. But more was needed than money. The Anglican Church contained many inferior men. Political patronage considerations impelled Whig governments to give bishoprics and deaneries to Whigs without regard for learning or piety. Tory governments gave them to Tories. Many ecclesiastical preferments went to the highest bidders, especially to the younger sons of nobles; such men were usually neither godly nor intelligent....

The poorer positions were opened to individuals who were incapable of making better livings elsewhere. Nevertheless, many of the humbler clergy were pious and capable. 'Six thousand of your clergy,' wrote Sydney Smith, 'the greater part of your whole number, had at a middle rate, one with another, not £ 50 a year.' Henry Fielding's famous Parson Andrews drew £ 23 a year. Oliver Goldsmith's father was one of those who were 'passing rich with forty pounds a year.' The annals of the starveling curates were often sad as well as short and simple.⁸³

Perhaps the leading Tory personality was Henry St. John, also known as Lord Bolingbroke. Bolingbroke "certainly wanted to build up a strongly forged Tory party on the traditional foundation of loyalty to the royal prerogative and the church."⁸⁴ For it was Lord Bolingbroke who thus laid the foundation of Tory political philosophy and theory that reached back to the Elizabethan philosophy and writings the Rev. Dr. Richard Hooker (1554- 1600). Bolingbroke's Tory philosophy would later be championed by future British Prime Minister Benjamin Disraeli (1804 -1881), who championed the royal prerogative, empire, tradition, and the Church of England.

At the same time, under Queen Anne's reign, "[c]haritable and missionary societies multiplied: the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge; the Society for the Reformation of Manners; the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. The tendency to good works grew strong again. It was remarked, too, that more was heard from Anglican pulpits about Charles the

⁸³ Ibid., p. 451.

⁸⁴ Ibid., p. 417.

Martyr (Charles I) than about Jesus Christ.”⁸⁵ The social fabric of England, at least during the reign of Queen Anne, during the years of 1702 to 1714, was decisively religious, Anglican and “catholic.” The general view of law was traditionally conservative and “catholic.” See, e.g., Thomas Woods, *Institutes of the Laws of England* (1720), below:

Thomas Woods, *Institutes of the Laws of England* (1720)

“As Law in General is an Art directing to the Knowledge of Justice, and to the well ordering of civil Society, so the Law of England, in particular, is an Art to know what is Justice in England, and to preserve Order in that Kingdom: And this Law is raised upon fix principal Foundations.

1. Upon the *Law of Nature*, though we seldom make Use of the Terms, *The Law of Nature*. But we say, that such a **Thing is reasonable, or unreasonable, or against the....**

2. Upon the revealed Law of God, Hence it is that our Law punishes Blasphemies, Perjuries, & etc. and receives the Canons of the Church [of England] duly made, and supported a spiritual Jurisdiction and Authority in the Church [of England].

3. The third Ground are several general *Customs*, these Customs are properly called the *Common Law*. Wherefore when we say, it is so by Common Law, it is as much s to say, by common Right, or of common Justice.

Indeed it is many Times very difficult to know what Cases are grounded on the *Law of Reason*, and what upon the *Custom* of the Kingdom, yet we must endeavor to understand this, to know the perfect Reason of the Law.

Rules concerning Law

The *Common Law* is the absolute Perfection of *Reason*. For nothing that is contrary to Reason is consonant to Law

Common Law is common Right.

The Law is the Subject’s best Birth-right.

The Law respects the Order of Nature....”

Source: Thomas Wood, LL.D., *An Institute of the laws of England: or, the Laws of England in their Natural Order* (London, England: Strahan and Woodall, 1720), pp. 4-5.

⁸⁵ Ibid., p. 418.

Finally, under Queen Anne's reign, England became a commercial empire and, through the Assiento Treaty of 1713, a leading trafficker in the transatlantic slave trade. This occurred due in large measure to England's growing consciousness of its special role on the international stage during the War of the Spanish Succession and its global competition with France. On May 1, 1707, "under the Acts of Union, the kingdoms of England and Scotland united as a single sovereign state known as Great Britain. [Anne] continued to reign as Queen of Great Britain and Ireland until her death in 1714."⁸⁶ Anne would be the last Stuart monarch. She had been ill most her life, and despite seventeen pregnancies she was unable to produce a living heir as all of her children died at birth or in infancy. Since the Act of Settlement prohibited any Catholic from becoming an English monarch, the other Stuarts (i.e., James III) were ineligible to succeed to the throne. Thus, upon Anne's death in 1714, the throne of England passed to her second cousin, George I, of the House of Hanover.

CONCLUSION

In 1700, England stood at the cross roads of remaining a divided, isolated island nation or emerging into the world's greatest commercial and military empire. It chose the latter course. In 1701, the Act of Settlement completely severed ties between the British monarchy and the Roman Catholic Church. This law prohibited any future Roman Catholic from again succeeding to the throne of England. Next, in 1707, the Act of Union forged England, Ireland, Scotland and Wales into a unified "Great Britain." During the meanwhile, Great Britain carried forth imperial and mercantilist wars of colonial expansion, and assumed control over the Spanish transatlantic slave trade through the famous Assiento Treaty of 1713. Under this set of circumstances, the Church of England was also at a crossroads. The Church of England still represented the true orthodox Christian faith, which, as reflected in the founding charter of the colony of Georgia in 1732 and in the famous *Somerset* case of 1772, could *not tolerate human slavery*. This was the "law of Christ,"⁸⁷ the common law, and the ecclesiastical law of the Church of England. But truth be told, commercial expansion and the transport of Englishmen to foreign parts of the world took its toll upon the moral and spiritual development of the English colonists. Atheism, deism, materialism, secularism,

⁸⁶ https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Anne,_Queen_of_Great_Britain

⁸⁷ The fundamental "Law of Christ," to wit, is to "love ye one another" (John 15:12); to do justice and judgment (Genesis 18:18-19; Proverbs 21: 1-3); to judge not according to appearance but to judge righteous judgments (John 7:24); and to do justice, judgment, and equity (Proverbs 1:2-3).

alcoholism, and fetishism— suddenly permissible under positive law-- ravished the British Empire during the late 17th century—and human trafficking and slavery likewise became legal by positive law! During 1690s, only a few Anglican clergymen had been allowed to travel to the colonies. Under these circumstances, the Bishop of London Henry Compton took charge of inquiring into the spiritual state of England's colonies, sent special agents to the colonies in order to bring back reports, and helped to organize the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts (SPG). The SPG, which became an official arm of the Church of England, was chartered by King William III in 1701 and headed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. Through the SPG, the Church of England became the church of the British Empire.

THE END

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