

# Evangelical Christianity and Romanticism

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The first of the articles in this series dealt with the relationship between Evangelical Christianity and the Enlightenment. Evangelical Christianity was defined in terms of four salient characteristics: conversionism; activism; biblicism; and crucicentricity. It was argued that Evangelical Christianity was started by the impinging of the Enlightenment on the Protestant tradition and that in the eighteenth century and on into the nineteenth much Evangelical religion displayed Enlightenment characteristics. There was therefore an alignment with the progressive thought of the eighteenth century.

We can now turn our attention to Romanticism, to the new cultural mood which supplanted the Enlightenment at the very end of the eighteenth century and in the early years of the nineteenth. Perhaps Romanticism is best known in the English-speaking world through the Lake Poets, especially William Wordsworth and S.T. Coleridge. The mood that is the subject of this article, however, extended beyond the generation of poets who flourished at the beginning of the nineteenth century long into that century and indeed on into the twentieth. The Romantic phenomenon was the incoming cultural wave of the nineteenth century.

What, then, were the features of Romanticism? Essentially it replaced the Enlightenment's stress on reason with a new stress on will and emotion. More specifically, in the area of metaphysics there was a greater awareness of the spiritual. According to a literary critic of the early twentieth century, T.E. Hulme, Romanticism was "spilt religion."<sup>1</sup> A sense of the divine ran out from religious institutions to consecrate the world of nature and history. There

was a feeling in the Romantics for the numinous, in mountains and seas, in dramatic panoramas. The artist John Martin, for instance, depicted vast scenes with rocky crags, precipitous drops and tiny human beings perched on the edge. A sense of awe was created by the painters and the writers alike. The simplicity that marked Enlightenment poetics was very much out of vogue. Metaphysical systematizers were in favour, the greatest being Hegel with his great vista of world history. In Hegel and in many other thinkers of the era there were distinct signs of pantheism. The world was charged with the spiritual.

In the area of epistemology there was change also. Knowledge was now held not to be the result of passive experience but to be the fruit of creative activity by the mind. Reality was primarily mental. This is the tradition of idealism that stemmed from Immanuel Kant in Germany. It was to impinge increasingly on Anglo-Saxon thought as the nineteenth century wore on. Knowledge was often thought in the Romantic age to be the result of intuition, a perception outside the categories of science. Thus, for example, the great music of the age was felt to be the result of spontaneous apprehension. There was a cult of the genius. The music of Berlioz, of Schumann and of Verdi in different ways testifies to the spirit of the age. Many of the musical trends culminated in Wagner. The music of the period illustrates the surges of feeling which were characteristic of the new cultural mood.

There was a further major emphasis, on history. There was a fundamental movement of thought associated with Romantic sensibility which has sometimes been called "historicism." The ideal

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form of society was located not in the future (as it had been by the Enlightenment's idea of progress), but rather in the past. The past was felt to be a time when affairs were much better than in the present. Furthermore, according to historicists, groups of human beings create their own values over time. There is therefore no permanent set of values which has absolute intrinsic worth. Thus historicism created a sense of tradition, of the importance of inherited wisdom, of the significance of the customary. The historical emphasis is clearly exemplified in the novels of Sir Walter Scott with their colour, their awareness of the distinctiveness of past ages and their folk spirit. This folk spirit, a dimension of the historicism of the period, undoubtedly gave an impulse to the nationalism which is one of the most significant creations of nineteenth-century thought. Nationalism was the driving force behind many of the political developments of the age. So in metaphysics, epistemology and history there were significant breaks with the past.

The consequence was a different understanding of humanity. Whereas the Enlightenment had tended to see human beings as machines on the model of Newtonian science, Romanticism saw them as organisms, as part of the growing world of nature. A favourite Romantic metaphor for man was a tree. Biology rather than physics supplied the imagery. Human beings, furthermore, were typically treated as members of communities. Trees, after all, grow in the soil of a particular land. The notion of organism led on to a sense of group solidarity. Perhaps the greatest representative in Germany of nearly all these trends was Goethe. His nature mysticism of colour and substance was near the heart of the new ways of thinking. All the movements of opinion can be summed up as Romanticism. The Romantic tone gradually made inroads during the nineteenth century into different fields – into wallpaper design as much as poetry, challenging Enlightenment norms and usually winning the victory.

It is well known that this way of thinking affected the churches. It transformed the style of Roman Catholicism during the nineteenth century. Ultramontanism, the movement exalting the role of the papacy within the Catholic Church, was very much on its cultural side an expression of Romanticism. The deliberate adoption outside Italy of the customs of Rome bears all the hallmarks of the Romantic. There was a revival of pomp and colour, of Marian

vespers and the confessional. All this was an expression of Romantic taste impinging on organized religion. In the Church of England it is generally accepted that the Oxford Movement of the 1830s represented to a large extent the impact of Romantic thought. John Henry Newman's style is quintessentially Romantic. Ritualism, which extended the legacy of Oxford movement by imitating Roman Catholic developments in the liturgy within the Church of England, was likewise Romantic in inspiration. And certain aspects of Broad Church thought within the Church of England, especially the theology of F.D. Maurice, professor at King's College, London, were deeply influenced by Coleridge and his circle and so bore the stamp of the Romantic.

What is less appreciated is that Romanticism affected Evangelicals too. Evangelical assumptions, as we have seen, had been integrated with the Enlightenment worldview. But during the course of the nineteenth century, in different fields at different stages, Evangelicalism came to terms in many ways with Romantic thought. It is that process that is concentrated on here – the ways in which Evangelicalism was modified by the Romantic influences.

A central figure was Edward Irving. Born in 1792, Irving became a minister of the Church of Scotland as a *protégé* of the leading Evangelical Thomas Chalmers. In 1822 he went to London to serve largely a Scottish congregation. He was a striking figure: he stood 6'2" tall, possessed a very strong voice and had a squint which added to his pulpit power. His hair was parted to right and left in affected disorder in the manner of a Romantic genius. According to a great friend, Thomas Carlyle, the greatest Romantic writer of that generation, Irving's desire to be loved motivated a great deal that he did. His preaching swept London by storm. He was mentioned in the House of Commons, carriages brought members of the peerage to his church and he became the talk of the town. Why? Because his style was Romantic. He appealed to the elite who admired the Lake poets. In idiom and content he was very Coleridgean. He was, in fact, a close friend of Coleridge. He regularly visited Coleridge's house in Hampstead and was deeply swayed by the poet's way of thinking. As Irving put it in addressing Coleridge, "You have been more profitable...to my spiritual understanding of the Word of God...than any or all of the men with whom I have entertained friendship."<sup>2</sup> It is not surprising that Irving read

Scripture through Romantic spectacles. And that produced many fresh interpretations. Aspects of the Bible that perhaps had lain dormant in previous generations sprang to life.

Most strikingly, Irving discerned the second advent as a major category that had been neglected. In 1827 he published a translation of a strange work by a Chilean Jesuit entitled *The Coming of Messiah in Glory and Majesty*. Evangelicals in general in the previous generation had supposed that the second coming was not a literal event. Thomas Scott, an Evangelical Anglican leader, actually said in 1802 that there would be no visible appearance of Christ on earth.<sup>3</sup> Irving insisted on the contrary that Christ would indeed return in person. A strong conviction of the imminence of the second coming was the major theme of the Albury Conferences held in Surrey in the late 1820s and became the subject of many other prophetic conferences as the century advanced.

The adventism of this movement took a particular form. Those who attended the Albury Conferences decided that postmillennialism, a common belief among eighteenth-century Evangelicals, was mistaken. The widespread view had been that the second coming would take place *after* the millennium. There would be gradual progress from the present age into the good things to come. Irving and his successors by contrast, were premillennialists, holding that the second coming would take place before the millennium, and be associated with judgments on the present wicked age. Belief in the personal advent in premillennial form had existed before. It was common in the seventeenth century. But it was revived in Irving's circle because of his Romantic sensibility. The second coming of Jesus Christ was of a piece with the dramatic personal intervention of a hero in the affairs of the nation as seen in many a Romantic poet. Because of that sensibility, Irving became aware of something in the Bible that others had not recently seen. Following adventism there was a gradual rise of other attitudes which can be identified as similar to the Romantic spirit of the age. As the nineteenth century wore on, more and more Romantic characteristics began to mark Evangelical Christians.

Several can be listed. First there was **poetic sensibility**. There was a stress on feeling at many levels. Preachers became keen on Romantic authors. David Thomas, a Congregational minister at Bristol in the mid-nineteenth century is a good example. "His

feeling for Wordsworth," it was said, "amounted almost to a passion."<sup>4</sup> A copy of Wordsworth was always on his desk and when he was unwell the best medicine was Wordsworth. Needless to say he took his holidays in the Lake District and he would point out spots connected with Wordsworth to his long-suffering wife. The qualities of the poets inevitably coloured the preaching of ministers such as Thomas. They frequently concentrated, for example, on the gradual growth of the soul, the theme of Wordsworth's *Prelude*. An allied motif is evident in the music that became popular amongst Evangelicals later in the nineteenth century. The *Sacred Songs and Solos* of Ira D. Sankey, the companion of the evangelist Dwight L. Moody, have much in their tone which is Romantic. Sankey's songs were immensely popular from the 1870s throughout the Evangelical world. The explanation was given by R. W. Dale, an English Congregational contemporary. "People want to sing," he wrote, "not what they think, but what they feel."<sup>5</sup> Sankey was catering for a growing Romantic taste at a popular level at the end of the century.

Secondly, the **supernatural dimension** was magnified. There was a craving for immediate contact with the divine in everyday life. The Romantic ethos has been called by a major literary critic "Natural Supernaturalism."<sup>6</sup> It conditioned the policies of Irving. He criticized bodies such as the British and Foreign Bible Society for using ordinary business methods for the purposes of the kingdom of God. The society was pursuing a rational Enlightenment technique, but it is not surprising that a Romantic should regard this approach with contempt as debasing the spiritual. Business methods, according to Irving, contaminated Christian work, which should employ distinctive godly ways. Committee meetings, for example, should begin with prayer. Likewise, according to Irving, there must be a new departure in missionary methods. He repudiated much of what William Carey had called "means." Instead of the elaborate structure of home support with committees, bankers and subscribers, Irving urged that there should be no such help at all. Missionaries should go out as men of faith, like the earliest apostles, trusting God to provide for all their needs without any preliminary arrangements. Here was the birth of the faith mission principle which has grown so widespread in the twentieth century. Hudson Taylor, founder of the China Inland Mission, well illustrates the attitude of the fresh missionary tradition. On a voyage to China, Hudson Taylor

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gave away his life-belt quite deliberately to show that his trust was in God alone. The faith principle was adopted by the newer missionary societies established in the wake of the China Inland Mission. In its origins it was a Romantic attitude springing from a new reading of scriptural passages by Irving and his generation.

Thirdly, there was a **sense of history**. Evangelicals became more aware of the past. Irving cultivated in the pulpit what was called the "Miltonic or Old-English Puritan style" of declamation.<sup>7</sup> He adopted a theological stance that he called Calvinism. He stressed the sovereignty of God, but his version of Calvinism was not based on close study of sixteenth- or seventeenth-century teaching. He believed, for example, that God is so powerful that the atonement must have been intended for all, not just the elect. That is a subversion of much Calvinistic teaching of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Nevertheless he saw himself as a Calvinist, believing in the omnipotence of God in a very strong sense. Historiography at times seems similarly cavalier. Merle D' Aubigné's *History of the Reformation*, an immensely popular text, has very little concern with accurate portrayals. Rather its purpose is to evoke the atmosphere of past times, to depict the heroic rediscovery of pure doctrine in the midst of popish decadence. The growth of anti-Catholicism amongst Evangelicals from the 1830s was not simply a consequence of social developments. A large number of Catholic Irish, it is true, came into areas where traditionally Protestantism had been dominant. Nevertheless there was also a sense of ideological struggle inherited from the past, light versus darkness, Protestant truth versus Roman error. That was no more than an expression of the historical consciousness that marked the nineteenth century as a whole.

Fourthly, there was a **corporate emphasis**. Society came to the fore rather than the individual. The emergence of "holism," as it is sometimes called, was a break from the Enlightenment's legacy of individualism in which each human being was seen as a separate unit. Society had been conceived by Enlightenment thinkers as no more than an assemblage of units. To Romantics, by contrast, the individual was rooted in a particular community, and therefore community was prior to the individual. There were implications for Evangelicals in their theory of the church. They stressed the community of Christians, the doctrine of the church, and related

questions of ecclesiology, much more than Enlightenment thinkers. Evangelical sympathies were very marked for the Oxford Movement in its early phases. J.H. Newman knew he had substantial Evangelical support for his campaign to restore dignity to the Church of England right up until 1838, when sections of the movement began to adopt a pro-Roman Catholic course. In the later nineteenth century many clergy in the Church of England, starting as Evangelicals, eventually by nearly imperceptible steps became High Churchmen. The spirit of the age elevated their churchmanship almost unconsciously. Irving founded a separate Catholic Apostolic Church. It observed an elaborate ritual and upheld the doctrine of the real presence. Irving was certainly an Evangelical, but the church that he created had a complex structure with twelve apostles, and a diverse hierarchy in each congregation. The Christian community was to be properly ordered. The same element, a conviction of the importance of the corporate expression of the faith, was evident in the origins of the Brethren in the same decade of the 1830s. The Brethren, generally called the "Plymouth Brethren," emphasized the purity of the church and urged people to leave their existing denominations to gather to the name of the Lord only. Loyalty to Jesus Christ, they held, demanded new Christian assemblies. Corporatism, then, was a mark of the age that steadily made progress among Evangelicals.

Fifthly, there was the field of **aesthetics**. Attention for the beautiful was a Romantic preoccupation which certainly affected the churches. Commonly it was a concern with nature. Flowers were very popular. In the first half of the nineteenth century no Evangelical congregation of any type would have had floral decoration in its place of worship. Indeed flowers were explicitly denounced as a feature of heathen religion. Gradually during the second half of the century they were introduced into more and more churches, and in the end Evangelical congregations succumbed. That was a symptom of the spread of Romantic sensibility. A taste for choral music was parallel. Robed church choirs became widespread in the Episcopal tradition, although they were not restricted to the Episcopal tradition. Again the novelty fitted Romantic taste. Equally pulpit style altered. It became more florid and rhetorical. As an illustration, here is a paraphrase – admittedly satirical – of the Twenty-Third Psalm as it might have been given by R. Winter Hamilton, a Leeds Congregational minister of the 1840s:

Deity is my Pastor; I shall not be indigent. He maketh me to recumb on the verdant lawns; He leadeth me beside the unrippled liquidities; He reinstalleth my spirits, and conducteth me in the avenues of rectitude, for the celebrity of His appellations. Unquestionably, though I perambulate the glen of the umbrages of the sepulchral dormitories, I will not be perturbed by appalling catastrophes; for Thou art present; Thy word and Thy crook insinuate delectations. Thou spreadest a refection before me in the midst of inimical scrutinations; Thou perfumest my locks with odiferous unguents, my chalice exuberates. Indubitably benignity and commiseration shall continue all the diuturnity of my vitality, and I will eternalize my habitance in the metropolis of Nature.<sup>8</sup>

The idiom of preaching was transformed. And it was transformed because of the taste of the times.

Sixthly, the **politics** of Evangelicals were affected. There was a reformist impulse in the movement during the Enlightenment era, but amongst those touched by Romanticism it became much less marked. The chief ideological reason for the change was undoubtedly premillennialism. The rising school of eschatology offered little hope for the improvement of the world. Judgement alone was to be expected before the imminent second coming. Hence, Evangelicals tended to be more conservative, more concerned to shore up the existing order than to reform it. Groen Van Prinsterer, a leading Dutch Evangelical prominent in the Orange Party, for instance, wrote a text called *Unbelief and Revolution* in which he traced the French Revolution to the irreligion of the eighteenth century. He argued that what Christians of Evangelical conviction should do in the nineteenth century was to resist revolutionary impulses. In many countries religion of an Evangelical colouring became a sanction for the politics of establishment. It became strongly associated with nationalism, as it did in the British Conservatism of the 1840s. The trend to the right was not uniform. In England, Evangelicals of the Nonconformist churches remained more Liberal in political tone, just as they remained more conditioned by the Enlightenment. Nevertheless there was undoubtedly a swing in the balance of Evangelical politics in the nineteenth century against reform and in favour of supporting the established order. Romanticism encouraged political pessimism, and that is a conser-

vative force.

The six factors that have been reviewed illustrate that Romantic characteristics strongly marked Evangelicalism. What were their consequences for the development of the Evangelical movement? The impact of Romanticism was ambiguous, for its influence pointed in two opposite theological directions. One trend was conservative; the other was liberal.

The conservative trend can be considered first. Various aspects can be discerned. Once more **premillennialism** played its part. Its growth during the nineteenth century was especially evident amongst Anglican Evangelicals. One version that was particularly influential was dispensationalism. Going back to John Nelson Darby, an early Brethren leader, this school of opinion held that history consists of contrasting dispensations in which God deals on different principles with his people. Dispensationalism undoubtedly swayed Evangelicals in a conservative direction, leading, for example, to a repudiation of the social gospel. Its spread was one of the major ways in which a force Romantic in its provenance stiffened theological conservatism.

A second area was the **reinforcement of biblical inerrancy**. The modern form of belief in the inerrancy of Scripture was an innovation of this period. The conviction newly adopted in the early nineteenth century was that it is possible to deduce the quality of inerrancy in Scripture from God's truthfulness. The formal argument goes as follows. God cannot lie; God speaks his word in the Bible; therefore the Bible contains no error. That deductive method was an approach common amongst Romantics. It was not the way that the Enlightenment theorists had approached the Bible. The Enlightenment had characteristically used not a deductive method, but an inductive method. Evangelicals of the eighteenth century were eager to affirm the truth of Scripture, yet were also happy to admit that minor discrepancies in the text might be found by investigation. Inerrancy was not part of their worldview. There was an illuminating incident in the career of Henry Martyn, the pioneer missionary to the East. In modern-day Iran he was questioned by a Persian scholar on whether the New Testament was spoken by God. The Muslim scholar believed the Koran to have that status. Martyn's reply is most instructive. "The sense from God," he said, "but the expression from the different writers of it."<sup>9</sup> Henry Martyn, that is to say, did not believe in verbal inspiration. The view that Henry Martyn upheld was the attitude of

the Enlightenment. By the mid-nineteenth century, a much firmer attitude to the Bible was coming into vogue amongst Evangelicals. Its origins can be traced to Robert Haldane, a Scottish Evangelical, who found at Geneva in 1816 a diffuse Germanic view of inspiration. It was held there that Scripture is no more inspired than any poem. In reaction Haldane asserted a doctrine of absolute verbal inspiration in which every word of the original text of Scripture was held to be equally inspired. That attitude was to spread through the journal *The Record* to most Evangelical Anglicans. Thus Bishop J.C. Ryle in the later nineteenth century could declare, "I feel no hesitation in avowing that I believe in the plenary inspiration of every word of the original text of Holy Scripture."<sup>10</sup> It is therefore untrue to suppose – as it is commonly supposed – that a traditional strong view of the Bible was broken down in the late nineteenth century by higher criticism. A more accurate perspective on attitudes to the Bible amongst Evangelicals in the nineteenth century is that a stronger view of the Bible developed over time. In particular, a higher view of inspiration grew up which was Romantic in style. It had the effect of reinforcing theological conservatism.

Thirdly, there was the **higher life movement**. From the 1860s a holiness movement developed within Evangelicalism. It taught that sanctification is available by faith, not by works. It was strongly indebted to John Wesley, who had taught that perfection is possible before death. Many Methodists upheld this teaching, but the holiness tradition received a new twist from the 1860s. It began to be taught that holiness comes not after a long struggle, which was Wesley's view, but immediately in response to a seeking faith. This constituted a rejection of Enlightenment gradualism. The immediatism of the new school was typical of Romantic thought. In America holiness churches split off from Methodism. The popularity of the new doctrine ensured that they soon formed a strong sector within Evangelicalism. There were some remarkable developments. The Fire-Baptized Holiness Association of south-eastern Kansas, for example, held in the 1890s that beyond the second blessing the believer should progress through baptisms of fire, dynamite, lyddite, and oxidite. In Britain a much milder form of holiness teaching was institutionalized at the Keswick Convention from 1875. It was a focus of the conservative Evangelical movement in Britain and the whole English-speaking world in

the first half of the twentieth century. It was the last of three major factors, all stemming from the Romantic impulse, that made for conservatism.

On the other hand, there was a liberalizing trend which can also be traced to the Romantic movement. In the early nineteenth century Romanticism affected central doctrines. Its influence was felt most of all in Germany, the heartland of the Romantic mood. It did not cause specific denials of inherited Christian doctrines. Rather it created a preference for vaguer statements of belief. An aversion to dogma became general. At first the fashion for broader theology, often called "Neologism," was treated in much of the English-speaking world as something to be shunned at all costs. Not only Evangelicals were alarmed by it. E.B. Pusey, one of the leading divines of the Oxford Movement, detested it as a solvent of the structure of Christian thought. Gradually, however, this erosion of the sharp edges of Christian teaching was accepted by a number of people in the English-speaking world, especially those swept along by the new tide of German thought. It was given memorable expression by a Birmingham Unitarian called George Dawson. "I love religion and flowers" he said; "but I hate botany and theology."<sup>11</sup> He liked the experience of the numinous, the direct perception typical of the Romantics, but not the structuring of Christian truths the Enlightenment had continued to teach. In the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries such attitudes began to make inroads on the Evangelical movement itself. In America the Congregationalist Horace Bushnell led the way in reformulating Evangelical teaching in broader terms. The effect was to undermine doctrinal conviction. According to the most recent research, there is no doubt that this process constituted the chief solvent of Christian orthodoxy amongst English-speaking Protestants in the nineteenth century. Biblical criticism has sometimes been awarded the dubious palm. Another possible claimant has been evolutionary thought inspired by Darwin. In fact neither was the primary agent for the subversion of orthodoxy. It was rather the tendency to mystic religiosity, a diffused Romantic influence that was coming in, especially from Germany. The more advanced Evangelical thinkers in the late nineteenth century created a liberal Evangelical movement which was to be strong, especially in Congregationalism and amongst Anglican Evangelicals in the first half of the twentieth century. The very heart of Romanticism, an imprecise apprehension of the

supernatural, was an element making for liberal thinking within the Evangelical movement.

What then can be concluded overall? First, it can be established that Evangelical Christianity is capable of adaptation. It was gradually transposed into a Romantic key as the nineteenth century went on. Evangelicalism has not remained static over time, a wooden cultural relic as it has often been depicted in less discerning historical works. It is commonly thought to be incapable of change. That is not true. Evangelicalism changed enormously in order to remain in touch with the spirit of the age. Indeed Evangelicalism responded to the flow of Western culture as much as any other movement embedded in civilization. Romantic sensitivities made Evangelicals emphasize afresh aspects of the Bible to which the eyes of previous generations had been closed. The renewed quest for the supernatural, for example, ensured that some took up living by faith. The founder of the Bristol orphanages, George Müller, comes to mind. Müller and others who, like him, lived by faith were trusting God in a radical way. God was undoubtedly honoured. Their willingness to trust God was influenced by the spirit of the age. Previously the Evangelical movement had perhaps been deficient in a sense of God "felt" to be present. The movement therefore gained from what Romanticism offered in its new cultural atmosphere.

Secondly, however, not all was gain from adaptation to this cultural change. Most obviously there was a sapping of conviction through Romantic religiosity. Romanticism was also responsible for the polarization of Evangelicals between those who had their thought influenced by the conservative strands in the new ways of thinking and those who were influenced by its liberal strands. The result was the controversy in the 1920s between Fundamentalists and Modernists that disgraced America, together with the related Canadian episodes surrounding T. T. Shields, the Baptist minister of Toronto who split his convention. Conservative Evangelicals may have had certain aspects of their faith strengthened by the Romantic atmosphere, but some of their energies were diverted from the task of mission to disputation. Indeed the Romantic sense of struggle sowed the seeds of the vitriolic denunciation of opponents which was a discredit to the Christian faith in the epoch of the Fundamentalist controversies. Teaching with Romantic origins therefore led in two opposite directions and undoubtedly contributed to the weakening of the Evangelical movement

as a whole.

It has to be concluded that the Romantic impact on Evangelicalism was ambiguous. There was loss and there was gain. But the adaptability of Evangelicalism has a wider lesson. If Evangelical religion could be adapted to a new cultural form in Western civilization, it can be adapted to other cultural forms outside Western civilization. Today surely the lesson is that Evangelical religion can be successfully transformed into terms of the civilizations of the third world. Risks are involved, as the history of the English-speaking world in the nineteenth century illustrates. So long as the risks are carefully guarded against, however, translation of Evangelicalism into a different cultural setting can be achieved without compromising the heart of the gospel. ■

#### Endnotes

1. T. E. Hulme, 'Romanticism and Classicism', *Speculations*, ed. Herbert Read (London, 1936), p. 118.
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3. J. H. Pratt (ed.), *The Thought of the Evangelical Leaders* [1856] (Edinburgh, 1978), p. 256.
4. H. A. Thomas, *Memorials of the Rev. David Thomas, B.A., of Bristol* (London, 1876), p. 49.
5. R. W. Dale in *George Jackson, Collier of Manchester: A Friend's Tribute* (London, 1923), p. 152n.
6. M. H. Abrams, *Natural Supernaturalism: Tradition and Revolution in Romantic Literature* (London, 1971).
7. Thomas Carlyle, *Reminiscences* [1887], ed. C. E. Norton (London, 1972), p. 195.
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