doctrines of his contemporaries are for the most part accurate, and his condemnation of them measured. His most infamous work, *Chillingworth novissima* [The Last Days of Chillingworth], exemplifies the ambivalent nature of Cheynell's Calvinist piety. Cheynell attended Chillingworth after his capture and ministered to his needs, physical and spiritual. His zeal in performing the latter duty made him Chillingworth's tormentor as well. When Chillingworth died, Cheynell was instrumental in providing him with a Christian burial, yet at the ceremony he condemned the man and his work.

Cheynell's defence of the Trinity, *The Divine Triunity of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit* (1650), his last and most substantial work, is learned and conceptually acute. It presents a comprehensive system of Christian divinity from the standpoint of scholastic Calvinism. Scripture, dogmatically interpreted, is its only intended source. The doctrine of the Trinity is not an inference drawn from certain assertions in Scripture, it is the whole content of Scripture, which properly understood presents the self-revelation of the one God as Father, Son and Holy Spirit. This self-revelation is said to be equally manifest in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper. In this respect, Cheynell anticipates the recent system of Karl Barth, offering an account of it that is clearer and more compact. Like Barth, Cheynell's programme self-consciously denies that philosophical self-concepts can be used to illuminate theological dogma, and rather undertakes to redefine philosophical terms, for example 'person', in the light of revealed truth.

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**Chillingworth, William (1602–44)**

William Chillingworth was born in Oxford in October 1602 and died on 30 January 1644 in Chichester, where he was buried in the cathedral. He was godson of William Laud, who was then a Fellow of St John's College, Oxford. Chillingworth attended Grammar School in Oxford and was appointed a Scholar of Trinity College, Oxford in 1618. He graduated BA in 1620 and was elected a Fellow of Trinity College in 1628. Attracted by the idea of an infallible Church, he converted to Roman Catholicism in 1629/30 but professed himself a Protestant once again in 1634. He was made prebendary of Chester Cathedral in 1635, chancellor of Salisbury Cathedral in 1638 and sat in the Convocation of 1640. Chillingworth joined the Royalist party in the civil war and served as chaplain to the king's army. He was taken prisoner in 1643 by Waller at the surrender of Arundel Castle. His principal philosophical achievement is contained in his famous treatise *The Religion of Protestants a Safe Way to Salvation*, first published in 1638, a copy of which was tossed into his grave by his Puritan nemesis Francis Cheynell.

An intimate friend of Lucius Cary, Viscount Falkland, and a key member of Falkland's celebrated *conuivium philosophicum et theologicum*, otherwise known as the Great Tew Circle, Chillingworth was recognized early in his career at Oxford as an exceptionally able dialectician. His philosophy was formed against the background of the so-called Pyrrhonist Crisis of the early seventeenth century. Like other members of the Circle he was preoccupied by the problem of scepticism. In the 1620s he became deeply engaged in the doctrinal disputes which raged in Oxford between Protestantism and the Church of Rome, especially with respect to the so-called 'Infallibility controversy'. The central question of this controversy was epistemological and took the form of addressing the definition of the *regula fidei*, that is the ultimate criterion of certainty in matters of faith and Christian doctrine. The problem was how to secure a sure foundation for theological discourse which reason had not yet succeeded in subverting. The infallibility of papal authority, of Scripture, ecclesiastical tradition, private prophetic inspiration, and even geometrical demonstration were all in the running in the unfolding 'crisis' as potential principles of certainty. In the course of a disputation with the Jesuit John Percy (alias Fisher), Chillingworth came to doubt the orthodoxy of the reformed Church of England and longed for some resolution of his own experience of scepticism. Attracted by the prospect of an infallible doctrinal authority he came to view the Roman Church alone as competent to claim infallibility, especially in matters of faith necessary to salvation. He became convinced, as he explained later, that 'there was and must be always in the world some church that could not err; and consequently, seeing all other churches had disclaimed this privilege of not being subject to error, the church of Rome must be that church which cannot err' (*Works*, vol. 3, p. 386). It is interesting to note that even here, in his affirmation of an infallible dogmatic authority, Chillingworth appeals to syllogism.

Shortly after he became an open convert to the Roman Church in 1630 he attended the Jesuit College at Douai, a seminary originally established by Philip II of Spain for the purpose of training mission priests for the restoration of Catholicism in England. Chillingworth's conversion was to be short-lived. At Douai he very quickly learned that he was expected no longer to think but to obey. Disillusioned by his experience at the seminary, he returned to Oxford a 'doubting papist' in 1631. An agonistic interlude between his return to England and his eventual formal profession
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A highly consequential intellectual struggle emerged in the Protestant Reformation. Chillingworth's work, "The Religion of Protestantism," was a seminal contribution that sought to reconcile religious beliefs with rational inquiry. Chillingworth, a disciple of the intellectual tradition of the Cambridge Platonists, aimed to provide a rational foundation for Christian doctrine. He argued that natural reason, as a universal faculty, could discern the truths of faith. By elucidating the role of reason in religious matters, Chillingworth sought to challenge the dominance of scriptural infallibility and papal authority.

Chillingworth was influenced by several key thinkers, including John Locke, Henry More, and the Cambridge Platonists. His work anticipated the later development of Unitarianism, which sought to reconcile Christianity with human reason. Chillingworth's treatise was met with considerable criticism, particularly from the Church of England, which condemned it as heretical. The Thirty-nine Articles of Religion, a foundational document of the Anglican Church, were used in its defense, but Chillingworth's critique of the necessity of infallibility and the role of reason continued to resonate.

In his later works, Chillingworth continued to develop his ideas, particularly in "The Fundamental Principles of the Christian Religion" (1660), which laid out his comprehensive system of natural theology. His ideas were later developed by later thinkers such as Matthew Tindal and Thomas Bayly, who continued to push the boundaries of religious thought in favor of a more secular and rational approach. Chillingworth's influence is evident in the development of later movements such as Unitarianism and the Enlightenment, where the role of reason in shaping religious beliefs became increasingly prominent.
vaunted claim to universality and hence to public authority. This aspect of Chillingworth's argument looks all the way forward to Hume.

Reason, then, cannot lay claim to infallibility. Indeed Chillingworth's intellectualist conception of faith led him inexorably to the conclusion that the authority of Scripture is ultimately based on 'probable belief'. Religious faith could lay claim to no more certain authority than the evidence adduced, namely the indefensible authority of divine revelation. 'The Bible only is the Religion of Protestants!' Despite the high-sounding rhetoric, Chillingworth was willing to settle for a reduced principle of certainty, namely a rationally vindicated probability combined with a limited pragmatic certainty. This revision of the 'rule of faith' relies heavily upon a conservative appeal to the tradition of natural law, to the claim that reason consists in certain innate principles of right. Moreover Chillingworth's defence against scepticism, his response to the crisis pyrrhonienne, is grounded in the recognition (derived from the methodological discussion at the outset of Aristotle's Ethics) that there are varying degrees of certainty appropriate to the different species of knowledge. Religion, like ethics, permits a pragmatic or moral certainty, but nothing comparable to the certainty appropriate to a geometrical demonstration. Religious faith for Chillingworth found its effective justification on the practical plane: 'The goodness of the [moral] precepts alone were sufficient to make any wise and good man believe that his religion was true and right'.

Having abandoned the quest for absolute philosophical certainty, Chillingworth was content to rest in epistemological probability free from significant error. His position argued for the epistemological benefit of reason from external command and thus anticipated a certain degree of toleration as the necessary condition of inquiry. This toleration was, however, more purely intellectual than institutional, for Chillingworth was still able to argue concerning the Church of England 'that the constant doctrine of it is so pure and orthodox, that whoever believes it, and lives according to it, undoubtedly shall be saved' and that 'there is no error in it which may necessitate or warrant any man to disturb the peace or renounce the communion of it' (Works, vol. 1, p. 33). The Religion of Protestants went through numerous editions. Two appeared in the initial year of publication (1638). Four more editions appeared after the Restoration (1664, 1674, 1684 and 1687). Chillingworth's various other writings on episcopacy, infallibility and conversion to Rome were incorporated in numerous eighteenth-century editions of his works.

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