

THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS

By

S. BARING-GOULD. M. A.,

Hon. Fellow of Clare College; Cambridge;

Author of:

“The Tragedy of the Caesars,”

“Early Reminiscences,”

Etc.

-----*_*-----

THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS

**Written by Sabine Baring-Gould in 1923
but not published until 2014**

© 2014

**Edited, annotated and introduced
by Ron Wawman 2014**

© 2014

Contents

	Page
Editor's Commentary, Easter 2013	v
Sabine's Introduction, Easter 1923	1
Chapter I The Church	5
Chapter II Miracles	23
Chapter III Paulinism	41
Chapter IV Paulinism and Calvinism	69
Chapter V Paulinism and Lutheranism	77
Chapter VI The Atonement	97
Chapter VII Eschatology	117
I The Eschatological Teaching of Christ	118
II Rewards and Punishments	123
III Aspirations	130
Chapter VIII Papalism	137
Chapter IX Modernism	161
Chapter X Present and Future	173
Editor's Endnotes	193
Editor's Index	215



Portrait by Melton Fisher, R.A., 1920

Extract from a letter to Sabine's daughter, Mary Dickinson, dated 17 October 1920, written after Sabine's final sitting for this portrait:

'As a painting it is fine. Whether a likeness or not I am unable to say. It is a picture of an old decrepid [sic] toad.'

**THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS
CONVICTIONS**

EDITOR'S COMMENTARY

The Growth of Religious Convictions

Editor's Commentary

I have long been aware that in the Baring-Gould archive at the Devon Record Office there were typescript chapters of a book entitled *The Growth of Religious Convictions*. However it was not until I was transcribing and researching Sabine's correspondence with Evelyn Healey¹ that I realised from a reference to the chapter on *Paulinism* in a letter to her dated 12 October 1923 that he was actually working on this book during the last year of his life.

Sabine, in the process of amending and correcting the chapters of the book, presumably in preparation for publication, had grumbled in a letter to Evelyn, dated 27 September 1923, about the quality of the typing services available to him. She, having recently learned to type, offered her services to him. On 12 October, after some hesitation, Sabine finally accepted her offer, but only on the understanding that she allowed him to pay her for her work. Sadly after just a few short weeks of collaboration during which, much to his satisfaction, Evelyn retyped the chapter on *Paulinism*, Sabine's health declined sharply. By 1 November his correspondence was, for the very first time, marked by forgetfulness and an element of confusion. Then on 26 November he wrote to say that he was failing altogether and asked her to return all the chapters he had sent her. Just five weeks later, on 2 January 1924, he was dead. What happened to the book after that is not known, but somehow the title page, an introduction and ten chapters were preserved at Lew House and are now held at the Devon Record office, where, apart from the important business of cataloguing, no significant notice seems to have been taken of them.

As I worked on the letters to Evelyn Healey, I became increasingly troubled to think that despite all Sabine's labours this last book had never been published. I also wondered why Sabine had embarked on such an ambitious scholastic project in the ninetieth year of his life and whether his mind was agile enough to cope with such a task. Inevitably I soon found myself at the Devon Record Office browsing through a couple of chapters. There I rapidly came to the conclusion that the whole book was the outcome of a vast amount of work and that it ought to see the light of day. And so it was that, with the help of Merriol Almond, I was able to take the document home on a long term loan and there transcribe it.

Each of the typescript chapters had been neatly bound in a dark green, artificial leather cover. The covers were somewhat insubstantial and each chapter was held together by nothing more than two or three paper fasteners. Both the quality of paper and the page layout in the chapter on *Paulinism* are slightly different from that in all the other chapters. From this, I concluded that this was the version of the chapter retyped by Evelyn Healey.

Many of the chapters included retyped pages. Frequently the pages had also been re-ordered and renumbered. In addition there were numerous manuscript additions, amendments and corrections to each of the chapters. The overall impression was that the whole book had been drafted and typed, then amended and retyped a number of times. How far Sabine was from being ready to send the book to publishers is not clear, nor is it known whether a publisher had already been approached. However it is evident from Sabine's comments in the letter to Evelyn Healey dated 1 November saying *I send chapters here and there to friends for advice*, that by then he was looking for editorial advice and moving in the direction of publication.

The question, ‘Why was this book written?’ received an answer in Sabine’s *Introduction*, where he wrote:

I venture as an old man in my ninetieth year to take a retrospect over the formation and development of my religious opinions, and to consider in what manner and to what degree they have been modified in some instances, and accentuated in others.

Sabine expanded on this in the opening paragraphs of Chapter II, where he added:

*I venture again to introduce my cogitations.
A man’s life consists of his thoughts as well as his acts, of his convictions as well as his experiences.*

The moulding of his mind and the consolidation of his principles are matters of the highest importance; for it is these convictions that form the motive power within him that govern his actions.

They may at times need overhauling and the flywheel be assured action to regulate his thought, and his manner of life.

So, it seems that Sabine was writing about his own convictions and his own perceived need to overhaul them. He went on to say:

I have already related [in Chapter I] how that I worked out in my mind the question of the Church, its origins and its constitution.

It seems probable, from comments in chapter II, on *Miracles*, and from the air of finality in chapter X, entitled *Present and Future*, as well as from Sabine’s own description of the book as *this little work*, that Sabine had meant to write a comparatively short book of ten chapters.

But for whom was Sabine writing? In some areas the book takes on the form of a profound, but inadequately referenced, ecclesiastical historical study. In others Sabine could have been addressing a general clerical audience, elsewhere classical scholars and yet again, occasionally, a lay readership.

In his introduction to the book Sabine had the following to say:

I am aware that I owe an apology to my readers. I possess but a smattering of knowledge in the several branches of philosophy, science, history and theology; and I have had to employ such mediocre faculties as I did possess and such scraps of knowledge as I could acquire to solve problems that presented themselves to me and insisted on solution. There must be thousands in the same condition and same position as myself, without adequate means of following out and becoming master of some one or other of these branches of study; and it is conceivable that the record of my own working out of the problems, with the scanty materials at my disposal, may be of use. My education had been conducted on wrong lines, and lack of having been steadily educated at a public school has been to me a drawback, and has entailed slow mental development. It is, however possible that my solution of the problems

that have troubled me may be of some help to others better qualified in every way than myself.

Sabine's comments in this apologia concerning his lack of knowledge of history and theology were somewhat disingenuous. It is however of interest that he attributed the lacked academic rigour in his scholastic writing to the inadequate schooling that resulted from his father's nomadic lifestyle. He was not alone in this criticism of his work. L'abbé Duine,² his French friend and associate from his days in Dinan, wrote the following:

I tried valiantly in our letters and exchanges to awake his prudence as regards the lines that he took in these areas of patient and difficult work. To the point where one day when I had sent him back certain pages he replied "I never read what displeases me or anything that attacks me".

Despite Sabine's apologia, the conclusion I came to was that he was chiefly writing to and for himself. I also came to the conclusion that without some rewriting, together with the expansion of some sections and the addition of many more explanatory notes, Sabine would have faced some difficulty persuading a publisher that this was a viable proposition.

Studying this book was, for me, very different from researching Sabine's diaries, notebooks and letters with which I have felt very comfortable. Indeed at times I felt that, with my own inadequate grounding in theology, philosophy and ecclesiastical history, I was out on a limb. What kept my nose to the grindstone was the realisation that what I was researching was not just a re-examination and re-affirmation by Sabine of some of his personal beliefs but also a statement of his opinions on many aspects of the Church and of Society. This wide ranging appraisal was entirely undertaken during the troubled tail end of his life. It seemed to me that knowledge of this might assist my own understanding of the man.

The following two extracts from chapter II, would, I contend, accurately reflect the challenges faced by Sabine throughout his life as well as the guiding principles that drove him:

Divine Discontent.

Lodged in every [my?] human breast, is a sense more or less acute of what has been termed "Divine Discontent," a desire for that which is, perhaps, unattainable, but which serves as a goad to endeavour. It is a consciousness of innate powers, of ability, of appreciation, of desire for the exercise of activities now beyond reach. This is the source of all the restlessness of the present age, of longing for amelioration of the conditions of life. With some it takes the form of aggression against social order as at present constituted; in others, [including myself?] determination to fight against adverse circumstances and by resolution and perseverance to overcome them. One sulks, the other strives.

The Joy of Believing.

There is that in the Christian Faith producing results, which the Unbelieving are slow to recognise. This is the inner joy that it affords [me?], the serenity of soul that it produces, in such as have endured disappointed affection, encountered humiliating slights, who have been foiled in life's aims and expectations, the occasions in so many of tendency to sourness of disposition, to resentment against Providence, to prostration in discouragement, and loss of interest in all

effort. In the confidence that the Gospel inspires, all discouragements are put aside, and in the [my?] heart leaps up a fountain of joy in expectation that all the aspirations that have failed in accomplishment here will be fully, overflowingly satisfied in the life to come.

Sabine expanded on this theme of fulfilment in the *life to come* in a later chapter.

If Sabine was, at least to some extent, writing for himself this would explain why, although he provided no less than 111 footnotes and often developed and explained his views on a particular subject, there were many more occasions when he referred to people, historical events, sects, philosophies etc. without any explanation of who or what he was writing about. That certainly made parts of the book frustrating to read and Sabine's thinking at times hard to follow and understand. I had no other option but to refer very frequently to a dictionary and to other sources of information for definitions and explanations. As a result of these collateral researches I have put together another 265 explanatory notes. These are by no means exhaustive but they sufficed to allow me, a layman, to just about follow the thrust of Sabine's arguments. I hope it will do the same for those who follow in my footsteps. I have also added an index.

Throughout the book numerous biblical texts are quoted. Most often Sabine provided the reference, but, occasionally, he neglected to do so. In the editing process I have added the missing references in italics and square brackets. I have also made a point of reading the biblical passages to which Sabine referred. Usually reference and passage tallied but on what was, for me, one particularly satisfying occasion, I found he had claimed that a passage in 1 Kings referred to the Babylonian Captivity when in fact it referred to the exile in Egypt, a much earlier event. This single passage led him to draw an emphatic but erroneous conclusion about the authenticity of a particular biblical document.

There were several, often extensive, quotations in Latin, Greek, German and French. Sabine rarely provided a translation. These omissions have now been rectified.

In my transcription I have incorporated all the amendments, both manuscript and typed, and all the corrections that were included by Sabine in the typescript chapters. Sometimes errors by either Sabine or his typists were not corrected by him; these I have left uncorrected but have denoted thus: *[sic]*. Occasionally Sabine used obscure words. For the reader's convenience I have included a brief definition in italics and square brackets within the text.

As I read the book it became clear to me that the contents did not really match the title. The book would be more appropriately titled '*Aspects of Some of My Religious Beliefs and my opinions on Church and society and how these have developed in recent years.*'

I was struck by the similarity between the title of this book, *The Growth of Religious Convictions*, and that of the book Sabine had published more than fifty years previously, entitled *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief*.³ Apart from the omission of the words *Origin and* they are similar. That is: *The Growth of Religious Convictions* and *The Development of Religious Belief*.

Although Sabine did not refer directly to any of his earlier theological studies he nevertheless seemed to be revisiting certain aspects of *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief*. This would go some way to explaining why the titles are so alike. It also helps to explain why

the later, much shorter book – just over 190 pages in my transcription – did not begin to attempt the comprehensive analysis and synthesis that was a characteristic of his earlier work.

It is possible that Sabine's later studies, particularly of theological researches published during the early part of the 20th century and indeed during the last year of his life, had led him to revisit only those aspects of his original theses that he now felt needed either modification or a different approach. What he produced was a work which drew on scholarship and on the revisiting and modifying of past thoughts, but which also responded to topical developments within and around the Church. Not infrequently he wrote with passion. One aspect that made *The Growth of Religious Convictions* difficult to follow was the absence of a clear unifying theme. This contrasts with *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief*, in which Sabine sought, throughout, to prove, and then tenaciously hold on to, the implications of, the Incarnation.

I concluded that to fully understand the significance of the later work it was necessary to compare not only the contents of the two works but also the circumstances in which they were written.

The Origin and Development of Religious Belief

At the time Sabine wrote *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief* he was in his mid-thirties and making his way in life as a young permanent curate in the parish of Dalton, near Thirsk, Yorkshire. He had moved to Dalton from Horbury in January 1867. Prior to the move he had become engaged to Grace Taylor and she was to join him at Dalton after their marriage in May 1868.

At Dalton, having left the bustle of his beloved Mission in the industrial Yorkshire town of Horbury behind him, Sabine found himself in a quiet and in some ways uncomfortable and frustrating backwater. So it was that, particularly during the 17 months or so before Grace joined him, he had both the time and the inclination to withdraw and immerse himself in scholastic study. He spent his time reading, writing poetry and, significantly, indulging his love of ecclesiastical history. The book that he laboured on, *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief*, was a remarkable scholastic achievement comprising a comprehensive, in depth study of his subject in two substantial volumes.

The twenty chapters of the first volume of this early book present an extraordinarily wide-ranging review of studies of the development of mythological and religious concepts in primitive societies around the world. Sabine went on to discuss polytheism, pantheism and monotheism as well as the significance of asceticism, mysticism, idolatry and sacrifice. He looked in some depth at many schools of philosophy including Chinese, Indian and Buddhist, but he was particularly concerned with Greek and Modern schools. He looked favourably on Plato but was especially drawn to the views of the 18th century German Philosopher, Georg Hegel, on the conciliation of opposites. These views were further developed in the second volume as the logical explanation for the necessity of accepting the existence of God and the reality of the Incarnation. Sabine saw the Incarnation as the essential conciliation of the finite, i.e. man, with the infinite, i.e. God.

Volume II consisted of a further twenty chapters dealing solely with the origin and development of Christianity with particular emphasis on the inevitability of the Incarnation. Along the way Sabine firmly asserted that neither Church nor biblical texts were infallible. He made much of equality and freedom, as well as the rights and duties of man in the

development of human nature, both in the Church and in social organisation. There was thus a political overtone and his attitudes strike chords with some of our own preoccupations today. He looked in some depth at adverse developments in both society and the Church, which he related to the development of autocracies, theocracy and the abuse of human rights that inevitably resulted from both of them. He was particularly firm in his insistence that the Anglican Church must throw off its domination by, and connection with, the State. This attitude reflected his early experiences within the Church and such events as the Gorham Judgement of 1850.

But there was, nevertheless, a sense of buoyancy and optimism throughout this work and his attitude to the waywardness in the Church and in Society was on the whole balanced. He saw the waywardness as an inevitable but also remediable result of human frailty, as society and Church evolved. Nevertheless his criticisms were firmly stated. Thus he wrote:

Mediaeval temporal autocracy was a mighty wrong. The governed were the chattels of their sovereign, to be imprisoned, driven to war, impoverished, sold, made to believe or disbelieve at the caprice of the monarch..... Its existence, linked as it was to the Church, forced into life another wrong, – the Papacy, set up as a counterpoise to the temporal power. Then indeed the bondage of man was complete, the State violated the right of man to personal independence, and the Church turned the key on his right to intellectual freedom. The work obligatory on every man sent into the world could not be done; he was not free in body, in mind, and in soul, to accomplish his destiny...

And so on.

The Origin and Development of Religious Belief received a mixed reception that was in some ways predictable. Thus while the *Church Times*, the *Church Quarterly Review* and *The Guardian* were enthusiastic, Sabine, in a footnote to the preface to Volume II, reported that:

The Roman “Catholic World,” the high Anglican “Church Review,” and the extreme Protestant “Press and S. James’ Chronicle” have agreed to denounce me as gross materialist, a thorough rationalist, and an undisguised infidel.

Sabine was usually not one to enjoy adverse critical reviews of his work, but this statement suggests that he was proud of the heated reception given to this book. It demonstrated that he had done what he had set out to do – stir things up!

Importantly for Sabine the Prime Minister at the time, Mr Gladstone, also read the book and was sufficiently impressed by it to offer Sabine the Crown living at East Mersea. This enabled Sabine to escape from what, had he not been able to fill his time with study, would have been a stultifying position at Dalton.

Purcell in his biography,⁴ gave some thought as to how Sabine researched this early book and concluded that, isolated as he was in the middle of rural Yorkshire and with very little access to books, most of the research must have been carried out during his years at Hurstpierpoint and that when he came to write the book he “*relied almost entirely on his prodigious memory.*” My own view is that Purcell greatly overestimated Sabine’s powers of memory and significantly underestimated his resourcefulness. He also took no account of the great speed at which Sabine invariably worked and his unfortunate tendency to come to hasty

judgements. These latter attributes were a more likely cause of the mistakes criticised by Purcell than a reliance on memory.

As is well known, Sabine was a magpie from an early age and it is evident that among the many things he collected from youth was a vast collection of books. It is pertinent to take note of what he wrote in the preface of his book *Post-Medieval Preachers*. That book was published during his first year at Horbury but was probably written during his last year at Hurstpierpoint and largely based on researches carried out there:

*The Author returns thanks to Mr. John Mozley Stark, of Fitzwilliam Street, Strand for his assistance in the compilation of this Work, by the loan of some costly and scarce volumes not in the Author's library.*⁵

There is no reason to believe that Sabine's approach to gaining access to books was any different now he was at Dalton. In addition he was a resourceful traveller. In the penultimate chapter of *The Growth of Religious Convictions* he lamented:

"of recent years I have not been much in town, but I was there often in the sixties and seventies,"

The *sixties and seventies* neatly straddle the period when Sabine would have been researching and writing this early book. Furthermore he was officially recognised as a frequent user of the Reading room of the British Museum. Add to that the reality that, at Dalton, Sabine was not as isolated as it might seem. Dalton is some 6 miles from Thirsk, a busy market town on the main railway line through York to London. In the book Sabine actually described watching the trains pass by his window at Dalton while he was writing! It is also evident that many of the poems Sabine was writing in his Diary notebook during his 18 months at Dalton⁶ were based on the ancient religious texts that he was reading at the time. Some of these poems were eventually published in *The Silver Store*.⁷ Apart from not infrequent trips to London, I am convinced that Sabine would also have made extensive use of the facilities of York Minster, some 15 miles south of Dalton. Finally anyone who has actually read *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief* cannot fail to be aware that not only was the book well referenced, but it included a huge number of lengthy quotations from many of the works to which Sabine referred. It would have been impossible for these to be furnished from memory.

I did not find this earlier work any easier to read than *The Growth of Religious Convictions* and, while struggling to understand it, I was not sure whether I was encouraged or disheartened by Sabine's own comment, that when trying to follow the thoughts of modern German Philosophers:

*....the difficulty of arresting them and reducing them to a clear and easily intelligible system is extreme; the moment when one fancies that a thought is assuming precision and outline, it throws out a cloud of ink like sepia, and leaves the pursuer bewildered and in the dark.*⁸

Apart from that, Purcell also thought the book was *not easy reading*. So I was not on my own. Somehow, however, I found that, having read the earlier work, from cover to cover, I must have absorbed something, for when I returned to his last book, *The Growth of Religious Convictions*, it began to make more sense to me. Here Sabine was indeed revisiting and to some extent revising some of the thinking in his earlier book.

The Growth of Religious Convictions

Was it only because Sabine's views on some things had changed that he decided in the very last year of his life, to revisit and review certain aspects of his religious convictions in this arduous and time-consuming way? Or could he also have been driven in other ways?

It may help to reflect on Sabine's circumstances in 1923. It soon became apparent to me that when writing *The Growth of Religious Convictions*, Sabine must have been able to read and then write authoritatively on the current work of other authors and amend his views accordingly. I am confident that he would need to have been fully alert mentally to be able to do this. Furthermore, despite his great age, Sabine remained the master of a fine turn of phrase and made use of numerous similes, metaphors, anecdotes and even parables, in support of his arguments. These are important points to make. For one thing they cast doubt on Dickinson's use of the adjective *feeble* when otherwise astutely describing Sabine's *anger of old age* in his excellent biography.⁹ It is patently clear that, despite his great old age, Sabine's mind was sufficiently agile to ensure that his anger was still capable of being devastating.

The author of this commentary is himself in his ninth decade and it occurs to him that maybe one has to be old oneself before it really becomes possible to empathise with the anger of old age. He is nevertheless impressed that a comparatively young Dylan Thomas was able to demonstrate remarkable insight into this phenomenon in the superb poem *Do Not Go Gentle* that he addressed to his elderly father in his last illness. This poem opens:

*Do not go gentle into that good night,
Old age should burn and rave at close of day;
Rage, rage against the dying of the light.*

We know from comments made by Sabine in correspondence with others and from further comments in Dickinson's biography that, at this time, Sabine was the victim, not of mental feebleness, but of extreme **physical** feebleness. This was the major factor contributing both to his social isolation and to the frustration of his characteristically energetic and purposeful life. Surely here was one important source of his anger. In his relatively isolated manor house at Lew Trenchard in the 1920s he had to endure a far more lonely existence than during his time at Dalton. In both situations Sabine had much time on his hands. But his state of mind in his last years was very different. At Dalton he was buoyant and optimistic. By contrast there is every reason to believe that, since the death of his wife, Grace, seven years previously, the spark had gone out in his life and indeed for a substantial part of this time he may well have been depressed. This would have been another factor contributing to his anger, much as it may well have done during the troubled period following the death of his daughter Beatrice in 1876.¹⁰

Sabine's unhappy mood state had probably also been aggravated by family anxieties associated with the Great War and further adversely affected by the highly unsatisfactory relationship that developed between himself and his eldest son, Edward, and his daughter-in-law, Marian, after they had taken over management of the house in 1919.¹¹ This was a great source of anger.

It is apparent from Sabine's correspondence with others, that his anger was often projected onto Marian. The reasons for this are, at present, far from clear and may well prove to be very complex. As such they are beyond the scope of this commentary.

Correspondence with friends suggested a yearning in his last few years to leave this world and meet his maker.¹² This yearning was reiterated in chapter VII, *Eschatology*, of *The Growth of Religious Convictions*. In some ways this is the most interesting chapter in the book, presenting, as it mostly did, Sabine's personal views on the afterlife.

Driven, as Sabine was throughout his life, to intense intellectual activity, he may have been compelled to undertake this last great mental exercise as much to keep his mind occupied and so keep his darker thoughts and emotions at bay, as anything else. Certainly this would have been a more effective and acceptable way of keeping himself calm than resorting to alcohol, as family tradition suggests he had done, prior to Edward and Marian moving into Lew House.

In the same way that Sabine's buoyancy and optimism is reflected in the content of *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief*, so anger and bitterness come through in many, but not all, parts of *The Growth of Religious Convictions*. The earlier book was notable for its compassionate understanding of human waywardness, while Sabine's attitudes towards individuals, although often critical, were more inclined to be expressed in shades of grey. By contrast, in his last book he tended to be intolerant of waywardness in others and his attitudes towards people were inclined to be starkly black or white.

One point that needs to be made is that nowhere in this book, or indeed anywhere, to my knowledge, in Sabine's writing did he express the slightest personal doubt concerning the existence of a loving God, of a heaven, of the incarnation, or of a life hereafter. This steadfastness of belief is evident in both published and unpublished writing, and is irrespective his circumstances or state of mind when writing. It is known however that Sabine was aware with the possible effect of personal suffering on a belief in God. In his book, *The Mystery of Suffering*¹³, published a year after the death of his two year old daughter, Beatrice in 1876 and at a time when he may have been experiencing a significant grief reaction¹⁴, Sabine wrote:

Every great pain and sorrow produces a marked effect on him who has endured it. It either hardens or it melts. It sweetens or it embitters. It opens or it closes the heart. It sometimes produces a cold, cynical spirit, which disbelieves in love, in hope, and doubts everybody, even God

Let us now look more closely at the individual chapters in Sabine's last book.

Introduction

In addition to telling us what Sabine's aims were in writing this last great theological work, the *Introduction* is invaluable for the extent to which he added significantly to what he had written elsewhere about the development of his attitudes to the Church in 1851 at the age of 17 years. Now he wrote:

Until I reached the age of seventeen such religion as I entertained was unenquiring. I was conscious of certain dislikes, but not of any particular likings; with adolescence, however, I saw that religion was too serious a matter to be

treated with indifference....Of the English Church, all that I knew by practical experience was what I had seen at home, but mainly in the Continental Chaplaincies. Anglican worship was not at that time stimulating, and Anglican teaching was indefinite. Such as it was, this teaching was accepted much as at dinner one accepts cabbage. It was taken because everyone else took it. My father insisted that cabbage purified the blood – but it needed cooking to make it appetising, and the clergy at that period were sorry cooks in dealing with Christian doctrine.

Chapter I: The Church

The earlier paragraphs in this chapter elaborated on Sabine's thoughts in the *Introduction*:

In 1851 I had reached a period in my life in which opinions began to shape themselves into convictions, and wavering lines of thought began to straighten out.

Hitherto I had not possessed other than a vague acquaintance with the English Church, its doctrines, its Constitution, and its Services. I knew the Catechism, the Psalms and the Collects, some of the former and all the latter my mother had made me learn by heart, and the Sermon on the Mount, on which my father had insisted as the guide of life. I could respond Amen to the prayers, but I detested Sermons.....At this time, when issuing out of boyhood into manhood, the boy not yet shaken off, and the man not yet put on, I began to think out religious and ecclesiastical questions for myself. The first of these was as to the origin and constitution of the Church. I did not then concern myself about dogmas, disputed or undisputed, but tried to find out the principle of the life and organisation of the Church itself. To me, at this time, it seemed that the primary question to be answered was:- what is the Church?

Throughout this chapter Sabine looked in some depth at the Apostolic and Subapostolic Churches. In the process he developed his own theory that the Laws of Darwinian Evolution, which he had also picked up in 1851, are God's Laws and as such are also applicable to the evolution of the Church. He equated the period of the earliest Church to the biological period of gestation. This explained the chaos of the Apostolic Church and the embryonic obscurity of the Subapostolic Church. It also seemed to explain to Sabine the apparently sudden emergence of the Church *as a complete and well organised society in the Second Century*.

We must assuredly look on the Church growing from its early age much as we look on the world as brought to perfection out of chaos; once disorder, subsequently order, once confusion, now discipline.

Sabine viewed the emergence of sects and dubious practices as, at best, examples of arrested development or, at worst retrogression, as in Antinomianism. Of particular interest is Sabine's praise for, and approval of the actions of St. Paul in his struggles to create order out of chaos. He wrote:

I both pity and admire him.

As the reader will see, this judgement contrasted sharply with Sabine's ambivalent comments on the Apostle in Chapter III.

Chapter II: Miracles

In his earlier book, *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief*, miracles are mentioned briefly in the chapter on *Evidence for the Incarnation*, only to be dismissed as unreliable as evidence. Indeed in that chapter Sabine was inclined to dismiss the need for such evidence, instead simply stating that the truth of the Incarnation was an essential conclusion to be drawn from Hegelian philosophy. Now in his last work, he made no mention of Hegel but devoted a whole chapter to *Miracles*. Although Darwin's theory of Evolution had been published several years before Sabine's earlier book there is no indication that Sabine had taken this into consideration in *Origin and Development*, and although, throughout the book, he purported to use Science to support his views, his understanding and use of science was often flawed. In his critique of *Origin and Development*, Purcell was also not impressed by Sabine's knowledge of science.

Now in his last book Sabine made the statement that:

Darwin has established the Law of Evolution in an impregnable position.

In this day and age when a sharp conflict between the theories of Evolution and Creationism is being promoted in some quarters, it is of interest to note the easy way in which Sabine saw no such conflict. Unfortunately his interpretation of Evolution as evidence for the natural basis for miracles indicates an inadequate understanding of the science. The explanation for his early uncertain understanding of Evolution is not difficult to find:

My father and I belonged to the local Society in Bayonne for the pursuit of knowledge, whether in Natural History, Antiquities or History generally. The broad principle of Evolution laid hold of me, and I applied it to the question I desired to solve.

And again:

My acquaintance with Darwin's doctrine of Evolution at the time when it first made an impression on my mind, in 1851, was but crude and inadequate, picked up from discussions between my father and my tutor, and certain friends, as also from Reviews.

Now in his great old age Sabine's understanding remained inadequate. He went on to say:

But there is another fact that should not be disregarded, the effect of arrest.

Sabine meant the arrest of development. Without explaining exactly how, he put this forward as the explanation for "The Fall of Man." He seemed to imply that both ongoing development (i.e. evolution) and arrest were, for man, somehow an act of will. A decision not to aspire to Godliness was tantamount to a decision not to evolve. Thus it will be seen that Sabine's understanding of the evolution of man was along scientifically discredited Lamarckian rather than Darwinian lines. He concluded that by not falling into sin someone, like Jesus, was capable of evolving to the superior state of *Superman*. He wrote:

One who has not partaken of fallen human nature is not subject to the checks by which sinful human nature is held in restraint. He occupies another category of

human being... making him capable, as man, of performing acts beyond the scope of the possible as he is now. By that he meant miracles.

This statement does not remotely chime with the editor's understanding of the scientific theories of Evolution. Sabine had a knack of developing a pseudo-scientific argument through the almost unconscious insertion of dubious assumptions that enabled him to believe what he wanted to believe. He is by no means alone in this trait. To be fair, in his *Introduction*, Sabine did, as we have seen, acknowledge the limitations of his knowledge:

I possess but a smattering of knowledge in the several branches of philosophy, science, history and theology; and I have had to employ such mediocre faculties as I did possess and such scraps of knowledge as I could acquire to solve problems that presented themselves to me and insisted on solution.

Chapter III: Paulinism

Chapter III, *Paulinism*, presented the editor with another complication. *Paulinism* was a subject not dealt with at all in *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief*. Moreover, the next two chapters, IV and V, went on to look at the influence of some of Paul's earlier thinking on wayward developments in the mediaeval and post-medieval Church and on the emergence of Lutheranism and Calvinism. To understand the significance of these three chapters it has been necessary to refer to yet another of Sabine's books, one written in 1897, some 25 years before his death and at a time when he was probably at the height of his powers. This, of course, was his *Study of St Paul*.¹⁵ I was, however, much encouraged by a statement in the preface to this book in which Sabine described how he had adopted the approach of a novelist rather than an ecclesiastical historian when writing it. He wrote:

The line I have adopted is that of a man of the world, of a novelist with some experience of life, and some acquaintance with the springs of conduct that actuate mankind. A novelist, it will be objected, with a shrug, is the last man who should treat such a subject...But this is due to a misconception of what a novelist is or really should be. He is not properly an enchanter calling up fantastic visions, a creator of startling situations, and an elaborator of ingenious plots.... he is rather one who seeks to sound the depths of human nature, to probe the very heart of man, to stand patiently at his side with finger on pulse...This then is the point of view adopted by me. I treat the great Apostle as a man.

The result was a very readable book. In the style of a novelist, Sabine set the scenes brilliantly and his descriptions of places like Ephesus, Athens and Corinth and the people in them, brought them to life delightfully. Significantly he treated his subjects with great compassion and understanding. Thus, while conceding that Paul, on the one hand, and Peter and James, on the other, made many mistakes and did not always gel together, he emphasised that they were labouring under very different but equally difficult and, at times, dangerous circumstances. Given their different backgrounds and abilities, they could not have done better and the outcome, in the long run, was the successful launch of Christianity. Nor did Sabine express any difficulty believing in Paul's revelations. Indeed he made the following comment:

I suppose there are few men not in the whirl of business or tangle of social frippery, that have not their moments of elevation into commune with God, when sudden visions of truth, not to be accounted for by any apparent causes, burst upon the

mind; their moments when God is present and very real to them in a manner quite unutterable by words.

I think we can deduce from this that Sabine had at some time, or times, in his life had such experiences, so why should he not believe Paul's revelations?

Returning again to Chapter III of *The Growth of Religious Convictions*, here Sabine gave a potted history of St Paul, somehow reducing the 460 pages of *A Study of St Paul* to just 45. But this was a very different and on the whole highly critical and sceptical account in which Sabine went out of his way to emphasise Paul's failure to improve his inadequate knowledge of Christ's life and his stubborn refusal for many years to meet with or take note of the other Apostles.

Thus Sabine wrote:

We will now take a brief glance at the early history of Paul, in order to see whence he did derive what he was pleased to entitle "his Gospel." That he knew next to nothing of the real teaching of Christ is certain. It also appears that he took no trouble to acquire it. Consequently we must look elsewhere for the sources of his Gospel, and these Sources are apparent in the Apocryphal literature of the Palestinian school as well as in that of the Alexandrian Writers.

Similarly:

The Apostle would appear to have been impatient of contradiction or correction, and to have been ready to dismiss from his memory every record and report that did not agree with his preconceived theories, and comport with his "Gospel."

Sabine was critical of Paul's reliance on the Apostolic Apocrypha as the basis of his doctrine and for the disastrous long term effects of Paul's early preaching against the Jewish Law and apparently in favour of Justification by faith alone. At times, Sabine came close to doubting Paul's status as an Apostle, at one point using the phrase *self-esteemed Apostle*.

Sabine did concede, however, that Paul would not have appreciated that the Gentile would have difficulty distinguishing between the ceremonial and the moral Law of the Hebrews. It is also evident that Sabine acknowledged that Paul did eventually modify his teaching when at last, he allowed himself to come under the influence of the other Apostles.

Despite all the negative comment, Sabine concluded that, although Paul was in some ways an unattractive personality, he was used by the Holy Spirit to make a huge contribution to the development of the early Church. Sabine's ambivalence is evident in the following:

The Church owes a great debt to Paul. Although his arguments may be of small value,... yet his writings abound in glittering passages, on which the reader eagerly fastens. His epistles resemble boxes of many coloured beads; the string on which they were threaded is hopelessly tangled, so that critics contend to deduce something logical from his writings, but must put into them first of all their own ideas; and each critic finds a different solution. The sparkles sprinkled over the text are like salt dredged over food, and conserve to the text its nutritive character, and neutralise what is unwholesome.

That paragraph makes use of a delightful simile. A similarly delightful passage compares the gospels of St John and St Paul:

The calm and systematically theological character of the doctrine of the Fourth Evangelist is totally unlike that of the Apostle to the Gentiles. S. John's writings remind me of a placid lake over which play the soft breezes of Spring, without producing a ruffle, whereas those of S. Paul are like a chopping sea, answering to every bluster of passion, subject to cross currents, recoils, tides; casting up much wreckage, but constructing little that is complete, enduring and coherent, only supplying abundant material for anyone who liked to build up out of his words the most opposed moral and doctrinal systems. The effect of the Apostle John upon that versatile and impulsive soul may have been sedative, soothing and regulative. The subapostolic Church became Johannine, not Pauline.

Sabine ended up writing:

Out of all this confusion, and these variances, S. Paul was able to produce unity. His great work was the conciliation of scattered truths, and the satisfaction of various cravings.... Paul was the conciliator, and conciliation was his achievement.

In some ways this lukewarm praise of Paul suggests that Sabine could just as easily have concluded that Paul's success was due to his ability to appear to be all things to all men.

Chapter IV: Paulinism and Calvinism and Chapter V: Paulinism and Lutheranism

In these two chapters Sabine expounded on what he put forward as misinterpretations of Paulinism during the 15th and 16th centuries by Calvin and Luther. This also gave him the opportunity to deliver harsh criticisms of Protestantism generally, together with the concepts of Justification by Faith Alone and the Abrogation of the Law. Along the way he laid about him in attacking Gnosticism, Marcionism, Valentinianism and, in later years, Pseudo-Paulinism, and even Wesleyanism. I was left with the feeling that Sabine was inclined to tar all Protestantism with the same brush that he used to discredit such wayward sects as the Muckers of Germany, and the Free Love Perfectionists and Bible Communists of America.

Chapter VI: The Atonement

Chapter VI, entitled *The Atonement* revisited the chapters on *Sacrifice* and on the *Dogma of the Atonement* in *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief*. Much of the material and many of the arguments are similar, although the later work is perhaps more to the point and easier to read. Sabine looked at the origin of Evil, the Duality of man and the evolution of sacrifice before turning to the concept of atonement. He wrote that the concept of atonement was not significantly developed in the early Church but, as Sabine wrote, was eventually accepted as:

The reconciliation of man with a loving Father. This is clearly shown in the parable of the Prodigal son.

In his earlier work Sabine laid the blame for the eventual distortion of the dogma of atonement at the door of the Reformers of the 15th century who, he wrote:

taught that the Almighty had laid down a law that punishment must be the penalty of sin

Sabine then went on to criticize the way in which the Protestant Church had associated the dogma of Justification by Faith Alone with atonement and wrote:

Luther lays down the revolting doctrine that fornication, adultery, theft, and murder, committed by the justified are no more sinful.

Now in *The Growth of Religious Convictions*, his more recent studies had led him to lay the blame for this view of Atonement on Archbishop St Anselm of Canterbury who, in the 12th century, argued that:

The Justice of God could not be allayed till due penalty had been paid.

This led Anselm to the conclusion that the death of Christ upon the Cross was vicarious. Other scholars, including Abelard, repudiated Anselm's theory but, according to Sabine, the damage was done and it was this that led to the Protestant adoption of the early Pauline idea of justification by faith alone. He wrote:

Calvin,, laid hold of it, and of it constituted one of the foundations of his newly invented religion. As such, in its crudest and most repulsive form, it was preached in ten thousand Presbyterian pulpits and even found its way into hymnody.

It also, he wrote, fostered corruption within the Church of Rome through the widespread sale of Papal *Absolutions, Dispensations and Indulgences*.

Nevertheless, whether justifiably or not, Sabine appeared to have a need to end the chapter on a positive note with the claim:

We have stepped out of the Wood of error, doubts and disputations, with its rare flickering lights, leaving behind only the few errant and stumbling Calvinists, to emerge into the broad, clear, and certain sunlight of divine Revelation, and to bask in all-pervading Love.

As will be seen, bursts of bewildering optimism like this re-emerge in the final chapter, but, for now, we turn to Chapter VII, *Eschatology*.

Chapter VII: Eschatology

Apart from a section on the fulfilment of the prophetic sayings of Christ, Chapter VII, *Eschatology*, the study of Last Things, dealt with the Afterlife and, as such, equated with a chapter in *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief* entitled *Immortality*. In the early book, after giving a somewhat longwinded review of attitudes to the afterlife in pre-Christian times, Sabine accepted the existence of an afterlife as proven by the reality of the Resurrection. In his description of the nature of the afterlife there are both similarities and differences between the two books. The most notable similarity is his use of poetry to illustrate his thought. The most notable difference was Sabine's conception in the early book that the afterlife, although full of happiness, would be graduated. That is, those whose

attainments and aspirations in this life were limited would have less to look forward to in the next. Thus He did not think much of the prospects awaiting the *Wiltshire rustic*!

The chapter on Eschatology in *The Growth of Religious Convictions* was notable for having very few references to the work of others and, more than anywhere else in the book, seemed to consist predominantly of Sabine's personal thoughts. Thus he wrote:

I make no pretence to dogmatise on any of these points. I speak of them simply as I have worked them out in my own mind. Every truth has many aspects, and it is but a single one of these that the ordinary man can see. I make no claim to learning, scientific or theological, solely to a certain measure of common-sense applied to the solution of problems profoundly influencing life and its prospects of futurity.

While most of chapter VII, along with all the other chapters in the book, was separately fastened and bound, the pages of the third section of this chapter, entitled *Aspirations*, were stapled together and inserted loosely into the bound chapter VII. This suggests that the content of this section might have been in the nature of an afterthought added to the chapter at a later date. Certainly this section contained none of the forbidding thoughts on the afterlife that pervaded the previous section, entitled *Rewards and Punishments*, in which Sabine had written that immediately on death a person becomes aware and remains aware, not only of every single transgression throughout his life, but the accumulated effects of these on other people throughout eternity. Sabine offered the theory that electro-magnetic waves possibly had a role in the transmission of this sort of information in the spiritual world, but, in the process, he again demonstrated his inadequate knowledge of elementary physics.

By contrast the section on *Aspirations* inserted as an afterthought, contained some delightful poetry and was full of an optimism suggesting that, at the time he wrote it, Sabine was ready to leave his life on earth and calmly awaiting unending joy and the fulfilment of every one of his mortal aspirations, in the afterlife.

This theme was particularly well developed in a subsection subtitled *The Indian Summer* and was expressed in a German peasant song from which he quoted and which translates as follows:

*Now I buy myself five ladders
Tie them one to the other
And whenever I don't like it any more down here
I'll climb up there.*

However, underneath this verse Sabine added his own further thought:

The craving is ever present to reach and to ascend the sixth and subsequent ladders.

This brief comment suggests that that Sabine's mental state was perhaps by no means as tranquil as he seemed to be trying to persuade himself it was. Nevertheless the chapter closed with a delightful poem entitled *Life's Renewal*. He introduced the poem with the words:

I will express my feelings in a couple of stanzas.

The last stanza was as follows:

*All hail to the leaf that is wrinkled and sere,
 When the bud behind it swells;
 Youth leaps from decay, and the short'ned day
 Of the coming spring-tide tells.
 And the ploughshare gleams, and the furrow steams
 When the Earth has dealt her spoil,
 And the winter's rain falls never in vain,
 It blesses the farmer's toil.
 Oh! the wheel of life will turn, will turn,
 And what though fate seem cruel?
 The Sun that is shorn, will again be born,
 For in Death is Life's renewal.*

Sometimes Sabine gave the source of the verses he used, sometimes he did not. In this instance these lines were not written specifically for this book but for one written by him nine years earlier. His *couple of stanzas* were the slightly amended third and fourth verses of the poem he wrote for Siegfried to joyously sing as he re-forged his father's sword, *Nothung*, in his Wagnerian novel *Siegfried, a Romance*.¹⁶

Chapter VIII: Papalism

After that, Chapter VIII brings the reader back to earth with a bump. In *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief*, Papalism was covered under the heading *Theocracy* in a chapter entitled *The Incarnation and Authority*. Although very critical of the Papacy, Sabine's mood there was one of sadness rather than the anger which characterised the ferocious manner in which he attacked the Papacy in chapter VIII of *The Growth of Religious Convictions*. Here he vilified one Pope after another, dwelling on such things as corruption, simony, wholesale falsification of documents, persecution and massacres. He wrote:

The chair of Peter was besmirched with cruelty, licentiousness, turpitude of every description, down to the Renascence and the life of that climax of wickedness, Alexander VI.

And again:

If we sought to know..... how the Papacy has dealt with the lives of the flock, whether as a shepherd or as a butcher, we have but to turn over the pages of history, to be confronted with a continuous and sickening record of massacres, tortures, burnings at the stake, and hecatombs of desolate cities and blazing churches. The history is too lengthy, too monotonous in its account of callousness to justice and mercy to be dealt with here.

Sabine added:

I might fill pages with their wrong doings, of the butchery and the burnings not merely countenanced but instigated by them.

He wrote at length on the Pornocracy, a period in the 10th century when the appointment of an entire series of eleven Popes was in the gift of two notorious women. Sabine gave special attention to the monk, Hildebrand, later Pope Gregory VII, who revolutionised the Papacy by

initiating the unilateral assumption by it of supreme jurisdiction and infallibility. Hildebrand also eliminated the popular element of the election to the Papal Throne. Sabine wrote:

The carrying out of Hildebrand's scheme rent the Universal Church asunder, and prepared the way for the alienation from the Catholic Church of the Kingdoms of Northern Europe.

Sabine added a scornful account of the ceremony of enthronement of a new Pope, which he claimed to be an invention by Hildebrand at a time when he was no more than a deacon. Sabine concluded, therefore, that the ceremony had no sacramental validity. He dwelt at some length on the Porphyry closed stool used in the ceremony, the *sedes stercoraria*, which translates as the 'dung seat.'

He ended the chapter with the simple but acidic statement:

The resemblance of his successors in Rome to Peter is not conspicuous. I fail to perceive a family likeness.

Despite these condemnations of the Papacy, Sabine's attitude to the Church of Rome was otherwise surprisingly benign. Thus he felt able to write:

The Vitality, the strength and persistence of the Roman Catholic Church have been due to this, that it has upheld the Catholic faith and Catholic worship. But so also has the Holy Eastern Church in all its branches, with consistency, and so, at times hesitatingly, has the Anglican Church.

Chapter IX: Modernism

Having disposed of the Papacy, in chapter IX Sabine turned his guns on *Modernism*, the tendency for some in the Church to adjust Christian dogma to accord with scientific findings and criticism. He also attacked broad churchmen of the 19th century such as Dean Stanley and his mentor, Thomas Arnold who he saw as the precursors of the 20th century Modernists.

The chapter opened with an amusing personal reminiscence:

When I was a boy I had on me a temporary fit of taxidermy. The preparation of frogs was simple and efficient. No knife was required in the operation, there was no schism made in the skin. The whole interior with its vital organs was turned inside out through the mouth, like the inversion of a glove. Then the skin was reinverted, inflated, and, when dried, was varnished with copal. This, set up, although destitute of lungs, liver, heart and brain, bore a pleasing but delusive semblance of the living amphibian.

Such was the treatment to which the disciples of Arnold and Stanley wished to reduce the Church of England, and some such also is the treatment to which the Modernist school of the present day would subject her. Let there be internal emptiness, windy inflation, and external varnish.

It probably did not occur to the earlier school, nor does it to the Taxidermist School of the present day, that there exist large numbers of persons of every class in life,

and of every age, who value the substance of Christianity, and are comparatively indifferent as to its exterior expression.

Sabine deplored the fact that since the Gorham judgement it was possible for clergy to deny such fundamental beliefs as the Resurrection, yet still remain in the Church. He then went on to reaffirm his belief in the genuineness of the four Gospels.

Those readers who have been intrigued by Sabine's life-long love of the campanula^{17 18} will be delighted by the parable which he provided:

Of all the wild flowers strewn by the hand of God upon mountain and moor, none have so appealed to my heart as has the common harebell. And yet for long it makes no display; it shows nothing but a slim stalk fine as a horsehair; and is leafless, swaying, stooping at every transient puff of air, unresisting, unpromising. But eventually, a little bud appears at the apex of the poor vegetable fibrous thread, and this speedily uncloses into an admirable blue, pendulous bell.

It has struck me, perhaps in a review of my own life, but also in consideration of a thousand other lives, that seem to be commonplace, and unproductive, that they may, and in many cases will, resemble the campanula. Far away, out of sight, is the beginning of the career – the root upon which the future depends, nourished in childhood, at the mother's side, with all that conduces to health, physical, mental, moral, and spiritual; with a sense of the true, the just, the beautiful; and with spiritual aspiration after God encouraged. woe to the parents that do not sow the seeds of faith and love of God in the susceptible hearts of their children, smother early stirrings of the soul, and encourage indifference to the duty of worship; who leave their offspring to pick and choose in after life, (when the spiritual faculty has been left uncultivated) any religion that commends itself to their taste.

This is one of the many blights that have been wafted to us across the Atlantic, and which is sapping the life-blood, and deforming the aspect of traditional English culture.

The sting in the tail of this parable consists of one of three disapproving comments in the book about the adverse effects on the English of importations from America. I am inclined to think that these attitudes to America and Americans, which are not to be found in Sabine's earlier writing, reflect nothing more than the difficult relationship he is known to have had with his American daughter-in-law, Marian. This particular reference suggests that Marian may have been a freethinker who was prepared to stand up to her father-in-law's rigid and probably uncompromising attitude in the religious instruction of her three children, who would have been 13, 14 and 17 years of age when they moved into Lew House with their parents.

Sabine ended this chapter with another parable neatly summing up his thoughts on the threats of Modernism to the Church:

A man once buried his treasure in a field, and visited it every day. This having been observed, a servant stole it, and did not trouble to refill the excavation. The owner, in distress, wrung his hands and loudly bewailed his loss. A neighbour enquired into the cause of his trouble, and was informed. "Never mind," observed the neighbour.

“You have the hole where your treasure lay, and that will suffice for your consolation.”

It is much like this with the Treasure of Gospel Truth, extracted and taken away by the Modernist. The hole is left, and the man who once believed in Christ as his Saviour, his present treasure, and final reward, is left to console himself with – a Void.

Chapter X: Present and Future

The final chapter, *Present and Future* opens with a review of the battles between the Tractarian and Evangelical parties that dominated the early years of Sabine’s life in the Church and also his own involvement in the riots at St Georges-in-the-East. Now he felt able to conclude:

... the original Tractarians were a very small knot of earnest unworldly men, while the hosts whom they dared to confront, and to whom they threw the gauntlet down, were overwhelming in numbers, overpowering in influence, and inexpugnable [impregnable] in prejudice. And to think that I have lived to see the change, which has been a privilege denied to so many whom I knew, and who fought at my side!

Sabine’s vivid description of the unscrupulous way in which he believed the Evangelicals had tried to advance their position is worth repeating. He likened their behaviour to that of the women of Lemnos!

The women of Lemnos having been afflicted by Venus with an evil smell, were deserted by their mates. Enfuriated [sic] at this abandonment, and not for one moment attributing the cause to themselves, these women fell upon and massacred their husbands. The Evangelicals, finding that their savour was no longer relished, fell upon the Tractarians with the knives of the Privy Council, the Law Courts, Episcopal denunciations, the Press, Parliamentary legislation, the Prime Minister, and the Rabble, in fact with every available weapon on which they could lay their angry hands, with intent utterly to exterminate them.

But their success was not anything like as complete as that of the women of Lemnos, and they have been forced to retreat in bad odour to the churches of which the Simeonite Trustees, the Church Association, and other partisan societies hold the advowson.

Indeed Sabine concluded that the Evangelical Party was *now undergoing dissolution or change* and that *practically Calvinism and Lutheranism had been discarded*. He saw the Evangelicals, broad churchmen and latitudinarians as largely rejected and only surviving through the patronage of politicians, advowsons and the existence of many Trusts. He made the delightful comment:

These Trusts act towards the Church of England as do intestinal worms upon the human body, lowering the vitality, producing lassitude, a pallid complexion, vacuous look, and a staggering gait.

Sabine's description of the then current situation vis á vis the Tractarian and Evangelical parties was at variance with what he had to say in his book *The Church Revival*¹⁹ published less than ten years previously. There, in the final chapter, significantly entitled *Via Media*, he wrote very much along the lines of a meeting of minds and a levelling up and down of the two parties respectively. He implied that although the Anglican Church had in some ways been enriched by this, in others it had become more pedestrian. He made no suggestion that the Evangelical party undergoing dissolution. All this contrasted sharply with the way he now compared its soundly defeated members with the women of Lemnos!

Sabine then went on to dismiss the Romanist party within the Anglican Church with the comment:

There has sprung up among us a party of extremists that frankly hopes the time will come when will ensue union between our Church and that of Rome. No more impracticable and chimerical dream could be entertained. That England will ever re-submit to the papal yoke is an idea fit only for an inmate of Bedlam.

This final chapter is notable for the benign and unduly optimistic views expressed concerning the current and future development of European society in general and the Anglican Church in particular. Inevitably however Sabine removed his rose coloured spectacles for occasional sideswipes. These included adverse comments on 'the monied classes.' Thus:

We cannot alter, we cannot expect to alter, the Godlessness of our Monied Class.

and

Whereas the well-to-do and the professionals are motoring the country, playing at Bridge on the drawing-room table, wiping their lips after a morning snack of pale Sherry, whilst the bells of the church have sounded over their heads, unheeded, the poor and lowly are kneeling in the village church. He, before Whom the disciples spread their garments, and waved branches, knows that now as of old... "not many wise men after the flesh, not many noble" hold their peace, the scullery-maid, the typist girl, the whistling plough-boy, the shop-assistant, the lawyer's clerk, the factory-hand, will be found, not perhaps in great numbers, but much in sincerity, to give Glory to God in the highest.

It is relatively easy to relate Sabine's views on Americans to his judgements on his American daughter-in-law. It is tempting to similarly relate Sabine's critical comments on 'the monied classes' to particular individuals, such as his son Edward, but such a relationship cannot be established with the same level of confidence.

Elsewhere Sabine made an interesting prediction of one future development in politics:

The great work to be achieved isto educate Labour – our future Master, to love and serve God in integrity and truth; to cleave to the Church, His Kingdom...

Sabine's description of the 1922 Christmas Day service in Exeter Cathedral, which it is known from correspondence he attended accompanied by his equally frail aunt, Kate (Marianne K.) Bond,^{20 21} is particularly moving. Sabine was staying with Kate, who was a couple of years older than him, at 4 Colleton Crescent, Exeter, over the Christmas period. His comments on the service sum up his benign thoughts on the state of the Anglican Church at that time. As such it is an appropriate way to conclude this commentary:

Last Christmas Day, 1922, I was in Exeter. At the Holy Communion the lights burned on the altar, the officiating clergy, celebrant, deacon and subdeacon, were in copes of gold brocade, the whole service in plain-song was sung, for the entire choir was present, and there were numerous communicants. In the evening, the nave of the cathedral was crowded by a reverend congregation, and there was not merely choral vespers, but a solemn procession as well headed by the great golden cross of the Cathedral, and with banners waving.....It was more than I could bear; thinking of the past, and considering how mighty was the transformation.

...It was not, however, the externals that so affected me, but the altered spirit of the congregation that was so impressive – In that vast crowd filling the nave, before the service began, there was a hush that none dreamt of disturbing, whereas formerly folk walked about and chatted whilst divine service was in progress. Men and women knelt, whereas formerly such as secured a seat, lounged. The atmosphere was charged with spiritual fervour, and hearts were linked to hearts with a common devotion. Where of old had been a savour of mildew was now a fragrance as of incense.

Acknowledgements

As always I am especially grateful to Dr Merriol Almond for her enthusiastic encouragement of my researches into the highways and byways of Sabine's unpublished work. I am also indebted to my wife, Margaret for her assistance in ensuring the accuracy of my transcription of the amended typescript that was abandoned after Sabine's untimely death and to Penny Yeo for her meticulous proof reading. I am deeply grateful to John Hunwicke for the translations from Latin and Greek, Alan Payne from the French and Nicol-Kirstin Baur from the German passages. Thanks also to Martin Graebe for pointing out to me the source of Sabine's poem, *Life's Renewal*.

Ron Wawman
Easter 2013

References in the Editor's Commentary.

- ¹ Wawman R. www.nevercompletelysubmerged.co.uk *The Last Thirty Years of the Life of Sabine Baring-Gould: Part II Sabine's Correspondence with Evelyn Healey*.
- ² Heudré, Bernard. *The memoirs of abbé François Duine*, Newsletter SBGAS 63, June 2010, p 2
- ³ Baring-Gould S. *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief*, 1869, London, Rivington's.
- ⁴ Purcell W E. *Onward Christian Soldier*, 1957, London, Longmans, Green, pp 91-95.
- ⁵ Baring-Gould S. *Post-Mediaeval Preachers*, 1865, London, Rivington. Preface.
- ⁶ Wawman R. www.nevercompletelysubmerged.co.uk. *Sabine Baring-Gould's Diary/ Notebook*, pp. 70-124.
- ⁷ Baring-Gould S. *The Silver Store*, 1868, London, Longmans.
- ⁸ Baring-Gould S. *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief*, 1869, London, Rivington's, p. 289.
- ⁹ Dickinson, Bickford. *Sabine Baring-Gould, Squarson, Writer and Folklorist*, 1970, Newton Abbot, David and Charles, pp 173.
- ¹⁰ Wawman R. *Never Completely Submerged*, 2009, Guildford, Grosvenor House, pp 234-6
- ¹¹ Wawman R. *Never Completely Submerged*, 2009, Guildford, Grosvenor House. pp 236-8
- ¹² Wawman R. www.nevercompletelysubmerged. *Sabine's Last Thirty Years. An Overview*, pp. 19-22
- ¹³ Baring-Gould S. *The Mystery of Suffering*, 1877, London, Skeffington.
- ¹⁴ Wawman R. *Never Completely Submerged*, 2009, Guildford, Grosvenor House, 234-6
- ¹⁵ Baring-Gould S. *A Study of St. Paul*. 1897, London, Isbister.
- ¹⁶ Baring-Gould S. *Siegfried, a Romance*. 1904, London. Dean and Son, 155-170.
- ¹⁷ Baring-Gould S. *Early Reminiscences*, 1923, London, Bodley Head, pp 293-4
- ¹⁸ Baring-Gould S. in Wawman R. www.nevercompletelysubmerged.co.uk *Adolescent Notebook*, p. 72
- ¹⁹ Baring-Gould S. *The Church Revival*, 1914, London, Methuen
- ²⁰ Wawman R, www.nevercompletelysubmerged.co.uk *The Last Thirty Years of the Life of Sabine Baring-Gould: Part II Sabine's Correspondence with Evelyn Healey*, p 60.
- ²¹ Wawman R, www.nevercompletelysubmerged.co.uk *The Last Thirty Years of the Life of Sabine Baring-Gould: Part I Sabine's Correspondence with his daughter Mary Dickinson*, p.132.

THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS

**By
Sabine Baring-Gould**

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

I venture as an old man in my ninetieth year to take a retrospect over the formation and development of my religious opinions, and to consider in what manner and to what degree they have been modified in some instances, and accentuated in others. I offer my observations to those whom it may interest, as showing the tuning of the harp and the modulation of the music produced by its strings, in course of time, and under shifting influences.

Until I reached the age of seventeen such religion as I entertained was unenquiring. I was conscious of certain dislikes, but not of any particular likings; with adolescence, however, I saw that religion was too serious a matter to be treated with indifference.

There was a picture, I think by Martin, that was reproduced in one of the Annuals so popular in the forties. It represented a traveller in quest of the Water of Life. He was endeavouring to surmount a smooth sloping rock, and it remained a question whether he would succeed, or whether he would slip back into the morass from which he had emerged. I figured myself as this toiler. The major part of my youth had been spent on the Continent, and the performances in the English chapels or salles à manger adapted on Sundays for Divine Service were unattractive. Public worship was conducted by English, but more usually Irish Chaplains.

My Father was a most honourable and upright man, but had no definite theological convictions. He had been educated at Halibury [*sic. Read Haileybury*] College, an institution for the training of pupils for the service of the East India Company. He left for India when aged eighteen, and had imbibed no beliefs in Christianity, but was guided entirely by Natural Religion. Although he read to the family every Sunday evening a printed Sermon, this was not done until he had divested it of all definite dogmatic assertion; scoring out such passages with his pencil. I had not the advantage of a public-school education, which to me, has been of great social disadvantage. During my childhood and youth, my father and mother with the family travelled abroad, and I was furnished with a private tutor, and my sister with a governess. My first tutor was a sensible, but not a religious-minded man, a Cambridge graduate, who entered Holy Orders so as to qualify himself to secure a family living, when it became vacant. He intensely disliked the obligation laid on him, and I never acquired from him a single religious conviction. My next tutor was also a Cambridge graduate, a good kindly man, but not one inspiring much respect. [*Mr. W E Hadow*] He did, however, lend me Theophilus Anglicanus, which afforded me precisely what I craved for, a definite understanding as to that for which the English Church stood.

When we were at home at Lew Trenchard, I was educated by these two men, as also when travelling abroad.

At home, my father's younger brother was rector. He had been given the living by my grandfather when he took his B.A. degree, and without having had proper training in pastoral work in a previous curacy, except for a few months. He had inclinations towards Tractarianism, but nothing further carried than reading from the pulpit one of Newman's Plain Sermons, and preaching in his surplice. He furnished me with many of Dr. Neale's Church-history tales, and those by Paget advocating return to the first principles of the Church. These books left a fragrance in my mind that has never been dissipated.

Of the English Church, all that I knew by practical experience was what I had seen at home, but mainly in the Continental Chaplaincies. Anglican worship was not at that time stimulating, and Anglican teaching was indefinite. Such as it was, this teaching was accepted much as at dinner one accepts cabbage. It was taken because everyone else took it. My father insisted that cabbage purified the blood – but it needed cooking to make it appetising, and the clergy at that period were sorry cooks in dealing with Christian doctrine.

The religion on which we were fed was tasteless, and, as far as I could judge, innutritious. *[sic.]* The English Chaplains abroad were themselves uninstructed, and their lives were not inspiring. Charles Lever describes one of these men, the Rev. Paul Classon, in Davenport Dunn. But it is overdrawn.

The liturgy of the Church supplied one with intellectual and moral instruction. It did more, it appealed to the emotions; but at the period concerning which I write this was a theory very imperfectly elaborated; and I saw, or suspected that I saw, in it every element that would serve to win the hearts of the English people if reverently, intelligently, and earnestly carried out.

I am aware that I owe an apology to my readers. I possess but a smattering of knowledge in the several branches of philosophy, science, history and theology; and I have had to employ such mediocre faculties as I did possess and such scraps of knowledge as I could acquire to solve problems that presented themselves to me and insisted on solution. There must be thousands in the same condition and same position as myself, without adequate means of following out and becoming master of some one or other of these branches of study; and it is conceivable that the record of my own working out of the problems, with the scanty materials at my disposal, may be of use. My education had been conducted on wrong lines, and lack of having been steadily educated at a public school has been to me a drawback, and has entailed slow mental development. It is, however possible that my solution of the problems that have troubled me may be of some help to others better qualified in every way than myself. It was the mouse that liberated the lion entangled in the meshes of a net. "I believed, and therefore will I speak," (Ps. CXVI.10).

Lew Trenchard,
Devon.
Easter 1923.

“From me I assure you, that you will get no fine arguments, decked out in splendid phrases, only plain speech set forth in any words that come to hand. I believe that what I have to say is true, and I ask that none of you should look for anything else.”

Xenophon: Apology of Socrates.

THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS

Chapter I

THE CHURCH

Chapter I

THE CHURCH

In 1851 I had reached a period in my life in which opinions began to shape themselves into convictions, and wavering lines of thought began to straighten out.

The English Church.

Hitherto I had not possessed other than a vague acquaintance with the English Church, its doctrines, its Constitution, and its Services. I knew the Catechism, the Psalms and the Collects, some of the former and all the latter my mother had made me learn by heart, and the Sermon on the Mount, on which my father had insisted as the guide of life. I could respond Amen to the prayers, but I detested Sermons, because at that period they taught nothing definite, and were wholly uninteresting. They were like gruel splashed in one's face.

The Roman Church.

As to the Roman Catholic Church, I knew nothing whatever about it, save that it obviously encouraged idolatry, and humoured superstition. But I did respect the Roman Church as maintaining the principle of worship. I looked upon her much as I might have done on the Samaritan healed of his leprosy, who did return, to fall on his knees and give glory to God, and yet, he remained a Samaritan. On the other hand, the Nine turned their backs on Christ, and strutted off to display their clear skins to the rabble in the marketplace, and to brag to the clerics of their own persuasion, that they, at all events, were the sons of Abraham, and were disposed to attribute their cure entirely to their own faith. [*Luke XVII, 11-19*]

On Worship.

The principle of Worship had been totally lost by the Presbyterians, and was but half understood by the Anglicans. The former had actually exchanged the meaning of the word for something else to which it did not bear the smallest resemblance; from the prostration and shout of praise of a vast congregation to the performance of a pas seul [*a dance for one person*] executed by a preacher in a pulpit to a congregation, critical and captious, on the alert to pick holes in the discourse, judges not learners, or else men that sat through the performance as a duty, and fondly regarded it as an act of devotion.

“O come let us worship, and fall down, and kneel before the Lord our Maker,” said the Psalmist. [*Psalm XCV*] That was his conception of Worship. “They rest not day and night, saying Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come.” That was what John the Divine thought of Worship. [*Rev. IV. 8.*] What possible resemblance could exist between a Presbyterian ministration and an act of worship, as understood by David and by S. John? They pertained to the different categories of giving and receiving. As I have known it abroad, I have seen no kneeling, no prostration, only a sitting with one leg crossed over another; a snuff-box passed to a neighbour, and a pinch acknowledged with a bow; an occasional look at the watch; then the hand passed to grope at the seat of the trousers, to ascertain whether the friction of an hour and a half's fidgeting session on a hard bench, had, or had not, rubbed off some of the nap. No need to examine the knees, they had not been bent in prayer.

Protestantism.

Nevertheless I could not fail to entertain great respect for Protestantism, as guaranteeing to men liberty of conscience, as productive of level-headedness, as insisting on Truth, and on Individual responsibility, whereas the Roman Church trifled with Truth, and shunted responsibility for every sort of abuse and falsehood on to the shoulders of the Pope.

Of Anglican Protestantism I had more than I liked, from the English chaplains perched in such places as harboured British residents, and from whom they could pick up a livelihood. They were not an attractive description of men, generally underbred, and narrow in their ignorance. My father kept them at arm's length. I cannot recall a single instance of his inviting one of them to a meal in our house. Since the period of which I write, the type of chaplain, at least where appointed by the S.P.G., has changed entirely for the better.

Of Lutheranism at this time I knew nothing save the impregnation of it in the English Church among the Evangelicals.

At this time, when issuing out of boyhood into manhood, the boy not yet shaken off, and the man not yet put on, I began to think out religious and ecclesiastical questions for myself.

What was the Church?

The first of these was as to the origin and constitution of the Church. I did not then concern myself about dogmas, disputed or undisputed, but tried to find out the principle of the life and organisation of the Church itself. To me, at this time, it seemed that the primary question to be answered was:- what is the Church? One must have a bottle ready to contain wine before attempting to draw the liquor.

Had the Church in the 1st Century a definite Creed? Had she an articulated Ministry? Had she an orderly constituted Worship? Had she, finally, a strict moral code?

Development.

Already, in 1844, Darwin had enunciated his views as to Evolution, though his great work on the Origin of Species did not appear till 1859; and my father had adopted his thesis as to Evolution, as far as propounded, but in a rudimentary form only, and wholly imperfect.

My father and I belonged to the local Society in Bayonne for the pursuit of knowledge, whether in Natural History, Antiquities or History generally. The broad principle of Evolution laid hold of me, and I applied it to the question I desired to solve.

At Bayonne, I happened to have captured a fleshy green caterpillar with bands of black spots on it. This I put in a box, and fed it till it turned into a chrysalis. This chrysalis I retained, expectant and wondering as to what would be the result, when lo! in Spring the live insect emerged as a gorgeous swallow-tailed butterfly, a joy to behold; utterly unlike to the grub which had been its pristine condition.

This led me to see that progress from the larva to the imago is the law of Nature.

Progress, a Law.

The story of Creation told the same tale. Wherever there is life, there is found progression, not reversion from the perfect to the rudimentary, still less immobility. Life is the bringing to light of latent powers, is the unfolding of faculties possessed at first only as potentialities, is an advance from the inorganic to the organic, from the invertebrate to the vertebrate. The law is written in such plain characters over all creation that it cannot fail to be read, saving by the wilfully blind.

Therefore, it seemed to me probable that the Church in Apostolic times was in an inchoate condition, having in it all the elements of life, but these undeveloped. The corollary to this was that to endeavour to recast the Church according to what we learn of it at its initiatory stage is a violation of a law of God.

The Cell.

Every living being, whether animal or vegetable, begins existence as a cell; that is to say, as a minute portion of protoplasm, or living substance, enclosing a nucleus. Some of the lowest forms of life, (protozoa and protophyta) remain permanently in the unicellular state; but in the case of all except the lowest organisms, the original cell divides, the resulting daughter-cells again subdivide without losing their organic connexion one with another, so that the result attained is a multicellular organism.

Differentiation.

But at once a differentiation takes place between the constituent cells, which assume diverse purposes, not acting independently, but in association, so as to serve for the common good, and for the attainment of the predetermined type. Thus, this differentiation does not lead to independence of action, but to co-operation. In the higher animals we find certain groups of cells told off to form the foundation of the muscular, the nervous, the absorbent, the secretive, the intelligent, and the mechanical support of the other tissues.

What is unnecessary is discarded.

Not only so, but in the upward progress, the animal or the vegetable operates in discarding portions of the constituents that no longer serve its purpose, and are superfluous. Thus, the tadpole casts off its tail when it becomes a frog. The chick is furnished with a little horn on its beak wherewith to peck a hole in and rend asunder, the enclosing shell. When liberated, this horn is no more needed; it is reabsorbed or rejected. The artificer, as Browning tells us, aiming at fashioning a ring, adds alloy to the gold, unfit without it, "To bear the file's tooth and the hammer's tap."

The ring fabricated, the alloy has served its purpose.

"But his work ended, once the thing a ring,
Oh, there's reparation. Just a spirt
O' the proper fiery acid o'er its face,
And forth the alloy unfastened flies in fume;
While self-sufficient now, the shape remains,
Prime nature with an added artistry."
[Robert Browning, The Ring and the Book, 1869]

The Church in its formative condition speedily shed such elements as the prophets and the speakers with tongue and their dependents the Interpreters, whereas the necessary organs, the Episcopate and the Priesthood, existing only potentially in the Apostolic Church, became articulate and active, Just as the unjointed “pats” of the grub when developed into the butterfly become limbs fully formed.

Limitation in development a temporary pause, not a finality.

The term or limit of evolution is that imposed upon every creature possessing life. And this limit is so placed as to fit it for the position it has to occupy in the œconomy [=economy] of Nature. It is an arrest in development to accommodate it for its situation and to make the best of its surroundings.

Development from the simple to the complex.

We are well aware that every organism in process of development passes from the simple to the complex, but the complexity is bound together by the sense of common interest. The Church reappears after having begun in the Apostolic age in the embryonic condition; it traversed in obscurity the period of differentiation and articulation of organs and appears again, as a constituted, well-organised society, not a chaos. We saw the initial stage in which those who functioned possessed vitality, but were not at that time definitely distinguished, the one from the other. In fact the title of Presbyter was accorded as one of respect not of office, for it signifies no more than Monsieur, Signior, Sir, and was given alike to an Apostle and to any bustling and self-assertive evangelist, or other functionary, whether instituted or self-appointed.

The regulating Spirit.

As in the preparation of the seamless robe, the linen fibre had to be bruised, tried and cleansed; then to be spun, next woven, and finally fashioned into the garment worn by the Saviour of the world; and as, moreover, all these processes were conducted under the supervision of human intelligence, so was it with the fashioning of the Catholic Church. The selection and preparation of the material, its weaving together into one whole texture, the co-ordination of all parts, and its complete shaping, were due to the Supreme Intelligence of the Holy Ghost, as promised and accorded by Christ Himself.

My acquaintance with Darwin’s doctrine of Evolution at the time when it first made an impression on my mind, in 1851, was but crude and inadequate, picked up from discussions between my father and my tutor, and certain friends, as also from Reviews. As far as I could gather, it consisted in the following teaching:-

The Law of Progress.

That in Nature, nothing is produced all at once in a complete condition; only in pagan myth did an adult Minerva spring out of the head-piece of Jupiter. On the contrary, everything commences in a rudimentary condition, and passes, by a succession of stages to the state in which it assumes a determined form; and further, in this process, often remarkable changes take place even to transformation. I was aware that this was taking place in my own self, it was as S. Paul spoke, “When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man I put away childish things.” [1 Cor. XIII. 11]

I could see the truth exemplified in the egg I was eating at breakfast, and the cold chicken on the sideboard. In place of sudden appearances, there was in Nature, in Civilization,

everywhere, evidence of progress, of slow and continuous development. Everything gradually and inevitably alters its character to adapt itself to its medium. I saw that the law applied to human civilization, to all the arts and sciences; and it was, and must have been, according to this same law that the Church passed out of the embryonic stage, through gestation, into a complete well organised society.

According to the Apostle's own account of his community at Corinth, it was a noisy riotous congeries of folk of all sorts, that knew neither manners nor subordination. The initiatory stage of every vital process is not usually an attractive one. Apparently, in the Corinthian Church there were many petty jealousies, rivalries, and scrambles to dispossess others of the seats they occupied. The general aspect must have been disconcerting. The Apostle complains of his converts jabbering in unknown tongues, one trying to out-shout another, so that the novice entering the assembly would be unable to comprehend what the uproar meant. Nevertheless there was that in the congregation which was calculated to be permanent, and to produce decency first of all, and next, order. There existed in the community a germ of progressive life; that, given time, would differentiate the offices, and establish organisation.

A Term to Evolution.

The Church, when fully organised, reached the term of her evolution as an Ecclesiastical Confederacy of Sees under their several Bishops, among whom none was superior in authority to another though each nation was autocephalous under its patriarch or archbishop.

In the Protestant sects we see arrested development before the imago is attained, or rather a reversion to an immature condition.

Attempts made to resuscitate what has been rejected.

An instance of the effort made to resuscitate discarded elements may be seen in the attempts ventured on at various periods to arouse the dormant or expired faculty of Prophecy. It was essayed by Montanus and his two female assistants Prisca and Maximilla; later by Joachim of Floris, with his "Everlasting Gospel;" later again by the Prophets of the Cevennes, and next by the Irvingites. It still is encouraged in the Roman Communion, where it breeds fresh cults, and supplements the Gospel story with fresh revelations.

The Period of Incubation in the Church.

It has been matter of complaint that, owing to the paucity of records, we know almost nothing concerning the state of the Church in the Second Century. Between the primal stage in the period of the Apostles and the differentiated and articulated condition in the age of Ignatius, there exists a gap in our historic testimonies.

As a matter of fact, this was the hatching-out period of the Church. We read of it in its embryonic state in the Acts of the Apostles and in the Epistles; but we know nothing of the processes that went on, till such time as the Church appeared, hatched out in full form of Order, Worship and Belief.

It is so in Nature. The egg is laid, is brooded over, but it is not till the disruption of the shell and the emergence of the pullet with all its organs complete and active, that we learn what a formative process has been going on in secret. A prospective mother instinctively hides herself, till her child is born. Over intermediary processes Nature draws a veil. History does the same with regard to the Church.

Misconception of Advance.

Protestant ecclesiastical writers describe the Apostolic age as one of blazing light, whereas according to them from the moment of the withdrawal of the Twelve and of S. Paul, darkness set in; and there ensued a fall in men's characters and ideals from the purity of Primitive Christianity. This is tantamount to an assertion that Christ's promise had failed, and that the Holy Spirit had been unequal to the task of leading into all truth.

According to these writers, Mosheim, Milner, Bunsen and the like, true Evangelical Christianity only lingered on during one thousand five hundred years in the sporadic and phenomenal [*sic*] appearance of certain discontented individuals conscious of abuses, insensible to advantages. These writers were like a man walking in a dark night and lighting on phosphorescent worms and grubs emerging from dung-heaps, and pointing them out as harbingers of Day.

I. Growth of the Episcopate.

The Episcopate, as we read of it in the Pauline Epistles, slept in the Apostolate. The process of gestation ended, it emerged in such unmistakable features that, at the end of the Second Century, there were not only bishops everywhere, but there remained no recollection that the constitution of the Church had ever been different, and men found it hard to conceive the idea of a Church without a bishop.

Result.

As a fact – so it appeared to me, Apostolic Christianity was a nidus enclosing the living germ out of which the Catholic Church would be developed progressively till it attained the type predestined for it by Christ Himself.

The Pauline Foundations.

The Churches founded by S. Paul, if we may judge by that of Corinth,¹ were made up, in addition to a substratum of quiet and earnest seekers after God, of a noisy and bustling class, “the off-scouring of all things,” [*1 Cor. IV. 13.*] slaves and freedmen, with the characteristic vices of their class, possibly superannuated athletes, no longer capable of performing in the palaestra [*wrestling school*] and race-course, hoping to obtain a little credit among fresh surroundings; debased Hebrews who trusted that the new religion would afford them emancipation from the Moral law as well as from that which was ceremonial; discredited poets, who hoped to obtain a hearing for their compositions among an audience of the uncultured; mystics who took their speculations to be revelations; the Excitables in quest of Sensationalism and an emotional religion, not to be accepted too seriously; and a parcel of self-assured, self-assertive bombasts, who trusted to force their way into notice as prophets, yelling hystericals,² and interpreters of unknown tongues. This heterogeneous collection of men was only held together by the personal influence of S. Paul. Anything like order and system was out of the question at that early period, and out of such material.

Consequently the Protestant account of Primitive Christianity was, so I esteemed it, nearest to the truth, but the aspect was eminently unattractive. On the other hand, the Anglican

¹ It is generally admitted by critics that there had existed a lost Epistle to the Corinthians, probably intermediate between the First and the Second. It has been lost or suppressed.

² S. Paul tells us that these vociferations were wholly unintelligible. *1 Cor. XIV. 2.*

conception, hardly as yet formulated, that in this very unsavoury mess lay the germs of something better, was what seemed to me to be the true solution of the puzzle.

The Church at Jerusalem.

In the Church at Jerusalem there existed some sort of order as well as decency; to what extent either or both of these were to be found in the Pauline Churches beside that of Corinth we have no means of judging, as we know little of their composition.

It would be according to analogy, nay, according to Law, that Christian Church organisation should be evolved from rudimentary beginnings. The primal Creed consisted of nothing more than Confession of belief in certain historical facts, or at most deductions of the simplest and most obvious kind, made from them.

Conditions for Baptism, at first simple.

The profession "I believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God," ascribed to the Ethiopian Eunuch, sufficed, and entitled him to receive baptism. [*Acts VIII, 26-36*] This was a type of what Christianity was in its embryonic stage. The Church was satisfied for the moment with the acceptance of the fact of the appearance of the Saviour, God and Man, being assented to, and it left that truth to be assimilated, and at first it asked for no more.

But so crude a Confession as that of the Eunuch could not suffice for long. It was inadequate. It might signify no more than acceptance of Christ as an Emanation only, without personality. Definition became a necessity. The neophyte was required to acknowledge Christ as something more than an aeon, as the Messiah. And he was further asked to profess conviction in the divinity of Jesus, in His miraculous Birth and Resurrection. Consequently, even in the Apostles' time a "form of sound words,"³ a "Deposit" of definite articles of belief became requisite before a believer was admitted to Baptism, and this formula became more fixed in the "Baptismal Creed," such as we possess it in the Catechetical lectures of S. Cyril of Jerusalem. Thereupon Christianity became a phenomenon demanding more respectful study. This accordingly was done.

II. Evolution of Creeds.

Many a keen thinker, wincing under the attacks made by Christian writers upon the absurdities and immoralities of the popular religion, proceeded to give close attention to the as yet undefined or imperfectly defined doctrines of Christianity, and the teachers in the Church were driven to systematise their religious tenets, and to range and co-ordinate the verities that had been deduced from the primary teaching of facts.

Moreover Christianity was confronted as well by Eastern Gnosticism with its many and enticing theories accounting for the existence of matter, the presence of Spirit, and the relation of man to the Creator.⁴

³ 2 Tim. I. 13, Heb. IV. 14, X. 23.

⁴ For a recently recovered Gnostic Gospel, Pistis Sophia, see it translated into English by G.R.S. Mead, Theosoph. Publ. Soc. 1896. Better, Amelinean, direct from the Capt. 1895. [*This reference had been entered by Sabine in manuscript. The writing is minute and the accuracy of transcription is therefore uncertain*]

III. Evolution in Worship.

In like manner to evolution and Articulation of Faith there was added evolution and Articulation of Divine Worship. In Jerusalem the Apostles and first Christians worshipped daily in the Temple; but in Greece and Asia, under S. Paul, the religious assemblies had been exhibitions of mere rowdyism, that had to be disciplined; nevertheless the germs were produced that developed into the liturgies of S. James, S. Mark, S. Chrysostom, the Roman Mass, and the English Eucharist. These all point back to an original type, or framework, that allowed of expansion by the celebrant in the Intercessions and the Thanksgivings, and Ascription of Praise, as the fervour of the celebrant, or as special circumstances allowed.

IV. Evolution in Organisation.

As with the Faith, and as with Divine Worship, so would it be with the Organisation of the Church. It was bound to develop out of a protoplasmic condition, one that was inarticulate and inorganic into one articulate and organic; in course of time ever on the advance, picking up the unvitalised cells that surround it and assimilating them, till the type was attained, determined by Him who sowed the seed. Such, as already pointed out, was the origin of the Episcopate.

One qualification must be observed. Evolution must be from the original germ and that logically deduced. Where there is parasitic growth of doctrines which have attached themselves to portions of the Church, these carry their extraneous origin on their faces.

Retgression; against Law.

We arrive accordingly at the conviction that the Universal law of Progress from the rudimentary to the predestined type, from the inorganic to the perfect in organism, must apply to the Church. It must develop according to type, and the type was in the fore-knowledge of God as is the type of every man, beast, bird, fish, plant to which the germ progresses, till it reaches the limit imposed by its environment, and at which it is stayed.

In the second place, this being acknowledged, it is obvious that any attempt to revert to the condition of the Church in its protoplasmic condition is to go against the law of God. As well bid the eagle shed his wings and return to the egg from which he had been hatched; as well bid man retreat physically and mentally to the condition of the slobbering babe. Or, once again, a passenger to the States from Liverpool think to reach New York in a dug-out-canoe.

The Apostolic Church inarticulate.

Of late years we have come to know a great deal more about the Apostolic Church than we did at the period concerning which I now write; but all we learn serves to confirm the fact that the primitive Church was not the articulated, perfect organisation we had previously been led to suppose. Indeed, the frank admissions of SS. Peter, James, Jude and John, and, above all, S. Paul's Epistles, were disregarded, yet they suffice to let us see what a fermenting vat it was, throwing off much scum; itself containing but unclarified must, yet with promise to end in good wine such as makes glad the heart of man.

Early Communism.

The Church at the outstart was full of youthful vigour, but it had to learn much by experience. One of its first ventures led to dismal failure. It started at Jerusalem on a Communistic

platform. "They were of one heart and of one soul; neither said any of them that ought of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common." [*Acts. IV. 2.*]

Yet, when it was claimed that this applied to the wives of the Faithful as well as to their landed possessions and household chattels, and when Nicholas, the Deacon, offered his beautiful wife all round to whoever would take her, and she, the mother of his children, then it was that the Believers were frightened, backed and dropped the attempt; and Nicholas, disappointed at not being able to carry the Church with him, fell into schism.

No attempt was made at Antioch and in Asia Minor or Macedonia, to resuscitate discredited Communism. Later, S. John represents the risen and glorified Christ as addressing the Church at Ephesus: "This thou hast, that thou hatest the deeds of the Nicolaitans, which I also hate." [*Rev. II. 6.*]

The Church was conscious of her mission to remodel Society as well as to elevate the spiritual life in individual man, but how to effect this it could learn only by experience, and experience implies failures.

Experiments.

If we look at the history of the Church, we find her at various periods, and repeatedly, making experiments. The asceticism of the anchorites was one of these, the founding of monastic institutions was another; the Papacy itself was an experiment, so was the Reformation. Some of these served a temporary and transitory purpose, some have stood the test of trial, others have not, and some have actually bred evils out of attempts designed to be beneficial.

I had not the knowledge, since acquired, of the condition of the Church in the first ages, but the Epistles of S. Paul sufficed to shew that she was by no means in a state or ideal perfection, and of complete organisation. There was in her much more of the grub than there was of the Swallow-tail.

The congelation of fluid belief into a Creed was but beginning; the Sacred Orders, the Sacraments, the Moral Code were unfixed.

Composition of the Early Church.

Cowper in a letter to the Rev. John Newton, on the occasion of his moving from Olney to Weston, wrote: "When God's creatures have thrown one house into confusion by leaving it, and another by tumbling themselves and their goods into it, not less than many days' labour and contrivance is necessary to give them their proper places. And it belongs to furniture of all kinds, however convenient it may be in its place, to be a nuisance out of it." If Cowper and Mrs. Unwin found a difficulty in adjusting their carpets, their curtains, and finding suitable situations for arm-chairs, sofas, bureaux and consoles, in new quarters, it was much the same with S. Paul. He had a vast and incongruous collection of human material to put in their places, when transferred from Judaism and Paganism to the House of God. There were rigid legalists to be scolded and put in corners, prophets from Gentilism, ventriloquists, musical composers, orators, poets, – human furniture of every description to be arranged so as not to impinge one on another, and some, after a brief testing, to be rejected altogether. Others who had served one purpose in their former habitation, had to be altered and re-shaped so as to be accommodated to their new quarters and new purposes.

A good deal of furniture in shifting gets scratched, chipped, and broken. It is so at all times with those who change their religion. They lose the old restraints, and are slow in acquiring such as are new. This has been the experience of missionaries everywhere. A converted Jew is often a greater rogue than Samuel who remains a Jew.

Discontent.

Another element that marred harmony and hindered progress, which the Apostle encountered, was the dissatisfaction of the members of the Church with their position (Rom. XIII. 3-6; 1 Cor. XII. 6-26). Like a company of actors, each wanted a leading rôle, and was dissatisfied with his place because it was not sufficiently in the glare of the foot-lights. "If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the of the body; is it therefore not of the body? And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body; is it therefore not of the body?" [1 Cor. XII. 16.]

When I was at Bayonne, I had frequent opportunities of watching the drill of the recruits to the army. They were of all sorts, classes, capabilities, and tempers. There was the clerk from his desk, and the gamin [*a mischievous street urchin*] from the gutter, the Count from his château and the cotter from his hovel; the prestidigitateur, who could juggle any card you named out of the pack held above his head, and the boor from the farm, whose hands were so cramped by holding the plough, that they had to be soaked in hot water, before he could be trusted to manipulate a musket. Whenever I read certain chapters in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, I recall the drill-yard at Bayonne, and seem to see the Apostle striving to introduce some kind of order among his heterogeneous converts, and I both pity and admire him therefor. [*sic*]

The Ministry of two Kinds.

S. Paul started his churches with a very mixed collection of officials. There were presbyters, prophets, evangelists, teachers, speakers in unknown tongues, psalmists, interpreters. Practically these functionaries resolved themselves into two classes, those whom the Apostle himself formally commissioned, and those who thrust themselves forward, as intuitive of inward calls. S. Paul tried both, but eventually had to dismiss these latter as impracticable; whereupon they headed schisms, and led away many of the dissatisfied. In a pack there are found occasionally hounds that will not run with the rest, but sniff out trails for themselves and get lost. The huntsman hardly regrets them. The experiment proved to be a failure, after a short experience.

Mission.

The principle of Mission runs through all the New Testament conceptions of office. It is so seen with our Lord Himself; it is so with the Apostles, it is so with other Christian ministers. "No man taketh this honour unto himself, but he that is called of God, as was Aaron. So also Christ glorified not Himself to be made an high priest, but He that said unto Him, 'Thou art my Son.'" (Heb. V. 4, 5). "As Thou hast sent me into the world, even so have I sent them into the world" (John XVII. 18). "How shall they preach except they be sent?" (Rom. X. 15).

But beside such as were ready to accept mission from the Apostles, there were a number of energetic, self-assertive, independent professors, who insisted that they had received an inward call, and that this was sufficient to justify assumption of office. S. Paul did not turn them away. So long as the Church was a missionary body, he found some use for these men.

Prophets.

At first he placed great confidence in them. Indeed, so highly did he esteem them, that Apostle and Prophet meet us in the earliest age as the two supreme Orders of the Ministry. Together with the Teachers, they form the great triad of the First Epistle to the Corinthians. But before the first Century was out, they had dropped from consideration. In the Didache, the “Teaching of the Twelve Apostles,” – that curious exposure of the minds of the Judæo-Christian believers, the prophets are held in extraordinary esteem. Beyond the close of the first Century and the beginning of the second, we hear no more of them as an Order; those who continued, professing supernatural enlightenment, had lapsed into heresy or schism. Such were the Valentinian Mark, [*The editor has been unable to identify Mark the Valentinian*] Montanus, and the two hysterical women, Prisca and Maximilla. S. Paul mentions the prophecy of but one of these men, Agabus, who declared that the apostle would receive bonds in Jerusalem, a prediction demanding no further illumination than perspicacity, knowing as did Agabus, the temper of the Jews and the impulsiveness of the Apostle.

In Lucian’s Peregrinus, we have the biography of one of these much run-after Christian prophets. Lucian represents him as sponging on the widows and orphans, and thriving on the credit of being a confessor, on account of his having been arrested by the Roman Governor of the city where he was playing his pranks. At last the Church found him out to be a blatant impostor, and excluded him from Communion. Finally in a fine phrenzy, [*sic*] he burnt himself alive in public, A.D.165.

By the beginning of the 2nd century the Prophets had disappeared. In the Shepherd of Hermas, they are not alluded to as in the ministry of the Church. In fact the authorities had apparently come to the opinion of Agamemnon in Iphigenia in Aulis, “The whole race of Prophets is an ambitious evil.”

Unknown Tongues.

As to the Speakers in Unknown Tongues, the Church must have found them as impracticable and as great nuisances as the Prophets, for they also disappear.

Lucian gives us a specimen of their linguistic performances. This was the utterance of one:- “Morfi abaxgulis ehnenchierane sabbarbaiohu malach altis.” An interpreter of their speeches could make out of them anything that suited his fancy. The Interpreter was shed as well as the speaker of tongues, impostors both, when not self-deluded fanatics.

We see then the Church testing, judging, accepting, rejecting, as a living Body acts in its progress through life from the beginning.

It was with the Church as a body that the Spirit of God dealt especially. It was the organ by which Christ was to establish His kingdom in the world; no member of it was in isolation, no member of it was supreme, but each had his special function, which was committed to him. No man in the church had right to arrogate to himself any office or power within it, unless he received Mission.

The First State in Organisation.

This point was reached by the end of the first Century. A first stage this in evolution. The Early Church had tried the two classes, and it rejected the independent self-appointed.

Whatever were their pretences to gifts of the Spirit, and assurance of a “Call,” they proved themselves to be so wilful and incompetent, that they had to be discarded in favour of those to whom had been given Apostolic mission. This first step was one of weeding.

The various Protestant sects appeared to me, whether large ponds or little puddles, to have their ministry in the tadpole stage of arrested development, whereas the Quakers and Plymouth Brethren were in the gelatinous condition of spawn. What was unsettled under Paul became systematised under Ignatius. In the Pastoral Epistles we see the spawn beginning to exhibit ocelli. [*sic*]

Sir William Ramsay, in his book The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D.170 says:- “The really striking development implied by Ignatius is, that a much clearer distinction between bishop and presbyter had now become generally recognised. This distinction was ready to become a difference of rank and order; and he, first, recognised that this was so. Others looked at the bishops under prepossessions derived from the past: he estimated them in view of what they might become in the future.”

The Church a Living Body.

The Church was no fortuitous congeries of atoms. It was a living, growing, developing Body, whose soul was the Divine Spirit. The principle of life was in the Church, in effervescence, there was plenty of potentiality but very little performance.

The evolution of the Church corresponded, as we might have expected, to the evolution of man, from the cowering and impulsive babe, clutching at everything and putting everything into its mouth, to the human being in the full perfection of his powers, mental as well as corporeal, rational as well as instinctive. It could not be otherwise; one law governs all creation.

Baptizing for the Dead.

An instance of the unsettled condition of the Church at this early period may be seen in the practice, apparently common, of “baptizing for the dead” (1 Cor. XV. 29). A convert very naturally desired that his deceased parents and grand-parents might be released from Gehenna or Sheol, and be admitted to the privileges of the Gospel, so that they might not be separated from himself in Eternity.

S. Paul did not condemn the practice as an abuse, but actually urged its existence as a basis of argument in favour of a General Resurrection, which some denied, alleging that the Resurrection was passed already.

Subintroductæ.

There existed another primitive institution in which S. Paul saw no harm, and which he was disposed to do more than tolerate, but which in the long run became such a source of scandal that Council after Council was forced to regulate it, where it was not found possible totally to suppress it. This was the institution of mulieres subintroductæ. [*surreptitiously introduced women.*] These were young women who attached themselves to favourite prophets, evangelists and preachers, and careered about the country together on very familiar terms. The Apostle Paul called them Virgins,⁵ in 1 Cor. VII. 25-8. With admirable good sense, S. Paul advised the clergy who did ramble about with these girls, should they become

⁵ περὶ τῶν παρθένων [*peri ton parthenon: now concerning virgins (1 Cor. 25)*]

overwarmly attached to such as knitted their stockings, sewed on their buttons and cooked their meals, that they should marry. "It is better to marry than to burn." [1 Cor. VII. 9.]

"Nevertheless he that standeth stedfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power over his own will, and hath so decreed in his heart that he will keep his virgin doeth well." [1 Cor. VII. 37]

The Eastern Church settled down on S. Paul's advice, and has her parish priests married. The Popes, however, took the perverse line of insisting on clerical celibacy, involving the Western Church in recurrent scandals and troubles.

Acts of S. Paul and Thekla.

So prevalent did the institution become, that an early apocryphal work was written and circulated, that represented Paul himself as having travelled accompanied by a girl, dressed in boy's clothes, whose name was Thekla. This work was probably composed by some favourer of the custom, so as to give it apostolic sanction.

So little did this masquerading as a boy shock ecclesiastical sentiment, that Thekla figures to the present day in the Greek and Roman martyrologies. The Greek fathers were loud in their eulogies of S. Thekla. They held her up as an incomparable model deserving of imitation. S. Gregory Nazianzen, S. Epiphanius, Methodius,⁶ and in the West, even S. Jerome, could not belaud her more highly than she deserved. But this was perhaps due to the purely fabulous story of her martyrdom, as fabulous as that of her having accompanied the Apostle dressed as a boy.

In much the same manner S. Hilary was afflicted. On his way to attend a Council at Seleucia in Isauria, after three years of banishment from his see of Poitiers in Gaul, as he passed through a garrison town, he went on the Lord's Day into the Temple and there spoke. Immediately a heathen damsel named Florentia breaking through the throng, cried that he was a servant of the Living God, and she desired that she might be signed by him with the Cross. She thenceforth attached herself to him in all his Journeys, and could not be shaken off until he reached his Episcopal see of Poitiers. [*The existence of Florentia and a relationship with S. Hilary rests solely on an unreliable account written by Fortunatus, c.530-600, a Latin poet and hymnodist in the Merovingian Court*]

According to Aphraates, the great Syriac theologian of the fourth Century, in his time the "Sons of the Covenant," i.e. the Monks and Solitaries, had taken to themselves "daughters of the Covenant," i.e. Nuns, to live with them on very familiar terms. He wisely advised them frankly to call them their wives, and so quietly to drop their monastic title and profession.

It was not much better in the 5th Century, for in the Canons of Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa (411-435) he ordered that neither Suffragan nor priest nor monk should take to live with him any but a near relation "nor make households for these women outside their own establishment!"

⁶ Methodius makes Thekla a speaker in the Banquet of the Ten Virgins, and she is the leader and chief singer in a hymn in honour of Chastity, the other nine standing around her and responding in chorus. There is a homily attributed to S. Chrysostom in which Thekla is belauded; but it is not genuine. In his Commentary on 1 Cor. VII. he slurs over the whole passage concerning Virgins, as not one on which he desired to make any remarks.

The Case of Glycerius.

S. Basil the Great was sadly worried relative to a certain Evangelical deacon named Glycerius, who was not content with a single focaria, [*Latin: a female servant or, sometimes, concubine*] but surrounded himself with a flock of enthusiastic girls, who accompanied him on his revivalistic tours. But what vexed S. Basil especially was that a neighbouring bishop⁷ patronised this vagrant deacon, and approved of his method, as one long customary in the Church, so that he felt indisposed to put a stop to it.

Agapae.

Another of the experiments essayed by the Apostolic Church that led to dismal results was the institution of the Agapae, or Love Feasts. The idea that gave birth to the institution was the desire felt to reproduce the series of events that occurred on the night before Good Friday, when Christ and His apostles ate the Paschal Supper, thus accomplishing the great institution of the Old Law, before that He instituted the Eucharist, the Great Sacrament of the New Covenant.⁸

Consequently the Primitive Christians had a Love Feast, and this was followed by the Eucharistic celebration.

But at Corinth, and possibly elsewhere; this procedure led to grievous scandals, as described by S. Paul (1 Cor. XI. 20-2). Not only so, but the practice gave occasion to charges of hideous immorality levelled against the Christians by the heathen. It was found necessary to suppress the Agapae. It is probably due to this, that the rule of Fasting before Communion became dominant in the subapostolic Church. Very early, notice of the Agapae ceases in the Church in connexion with the Institution of the Eucharist, which latter was remitted to the early morning, and the sole relic of the union of the two rites was the retention for the Liturgy of the term Coena Domini, the Lord's Supper, which properly pertained to the abolished Agapae, and not at all to the Eucharist.

The present representatives of the Agapae are the Anniversary and Harvest teas.

Stages.

We must assuredly look on the Church growing from its early age much as we look on the world as brought to perfection out of chaos; once disorder, subsequently order, once confusion, now discipline.

First the protoplasm, then the cell, next the blade, then the ear, after that, the full corn in the ear. First the egg, then the chick, finally the full-fledged fowl. First the babe helpless and full of humours, then vigorous youth, and next man in perfection of strength and vitality. First nebulosity, then concentration, and finally the planet.

The Sects represent arrested Development.

According to the theory arrived at by me, all the sects of Christianity represented, and represent, forms of arrested development of the innate Spiritual and vital germ. As to Spirituality in each and all, it was and is obvious and undeniable. It is the cell in which is life; but it has met with a check through various circumstances; just as in organic life we notice stages of development brought up to an impediment that is insuperable, and necessitates a

⁷ Gregory of Naziansos, the elder. The date 373.

⁸ S. Luke plainly intimates that the Institution followed after the Supper (XXII. 20).

halt. There has existed, so I considered, in the very fact of this arrest, a menace of retrogression and deterioration, either into a spongy Socinianism, or an inflation into full-blooded Antinomianism. And as a matter of fact such results have occurred again and yet again in the history of Christianity. In England the descendants of the Commonwealth Presbyterians slid into Unitarianism; and Lutheranism has proved itself to be a fertile mother of immoral sects.

The spiritual life is in all, till the lapse into a lower form of life, like senility in man, when he slobbers and stumbles as an infant. But the life of the Spirit is in every sect of Christendom up to that point, as the spirit of Life is found in the Earthworm as well as in the bumble-bee and in the lark. It is only when they degenerate from type, whether that type be high or low, that they become morally, spiritually and theologically objectionable.

Attempts of reversion to what was rudimentary.

The rudimentary ever precedes the perfect, but it has in itself the force that carries to perfection. When my Swallow-tail issued from his chrysalis, he little resembled the sluggish, greasy grub he had been. As he fluttered his radiant wings, and I let him soar on the soft summer air towards the blue skies, I thought to myself, Here is a picture of what the Church became in the Middle Ages, and in the caterpillar was the figure of the Apostolic Church. Calvin, Zwingli, Farel, John Knox, Bucer, Beza, Bishops Hooper and Jewel and Archbishop Abbot, in their attempts to reconstitute the church according to its primitive condition, were much like one who having a rainbow coloured butterfly between his fingers, rubs off all the painted plumage from the wings, plucks out the antennae (as the grub had none) and curtails the legs to the first joint, for the caterpillar's feet were not attached to jointed limbs.

The Morality of the Primitive Church.

It may be thought that I have painted the composition and condition of the Primitive apostolic Church in over sombre colours; but let us see how the founders of the Church described their own converts, and these not S. Paul alone, among whose proselytes all sorts of men were included; but in the more orderly and respectable Churches addressed by S. James, S. Peter and S. Jude. They are described as "unruly and vain talkers and deceivers," actuated by the love of "filthy lucre;" "having their mind and conscience defiled;" professing that they know God but in works denying Him, "being abominable and disobedient, and unto every good work reprobate." Jude addressed especially "them that are sanctified by God the Father, and preserved in Jesus Christ and called," yet as harbouring among them "filthy dreamers" who "defile the flesh, despise dominion and speak evil of dignities;" "what they know naturally, as brute beasts, in those things they corrupt themselves." [*Jude .I. 1, 8, 10.*] S. Paul was constrained to exhort the faithful not to select a bishop from the class among them who were "rioters," "drunkards," "brawlers," "strikers," "self-willed," and to select one such as limited himself to a single wife. His Church founded in Crete was not a congregation of saints, but of "liars, evil beasts, slow bellies." [*Titus, I. 10-16*] A very far from perfect state of Christian temper was to be contemplated in those Christians who, according to their condition or sex, were to be specially exhorted "not to purloin" from their masters, not to be "false accusers and slanderers," [*2 Tim. III.3.*] not to be "gadders about," not to be "disobedient to their husbands." The men "called to be saints," appear to have exhibited among themselves very obviously and definitely the common faults of men: intemperance in eating and drinking, violence, covetousness, envy, pride and boastfulness, over-respect to worldly rank and wealth; the women to have shown the common faults of women, those of "being idle, wandering about from house to house, tattlers, busybodies, speaking things that they ought not." [*1. Tim. V. 13.*] The Christian Church of that day had "spots in its feasts of charity,"

[*Jude. I. 12.*] and displayed a coarse mixture of bad and good, in the very sanctuary of religious worship. Professed Christians were “murmurers, complainers, walking after their own lusts, speaking great swelling words, having men’s persons in admiration because of advantage.” They were “mockers,” “sensual” men, [*Jude. I. 16, 18, 19*] “feeding themselves without fear.” [*Jude. I.12.*] A sorry picture this, very unlike what our fancy had pictured to us, but drawn by apostolic hands, with a frankness not a little startling; and showing us how deluded we have been in regarding the Apostolic Church as “a little heaven here below.” It was actually a gathering together of all sorts and conditions of men to reshape and transmute, a work necessarily of time and patience, and of slow procedure.

Dean Stanley on the Transition Period.

“How was the transition effected from the age of the Apostles,” asks Dean Stanley, “to the age of the Fathers, from Christianity as we see it in the New Testament, to Christianity as we see it in the next Century, and as, to a certain extent, we have seen it ever since?”

“No other change equally momentous has ever since affected its fortunes, yet none has ever been so silent and secret. The stream, in that most critical moment of its passage from the everlasting hills to the plain below, is lost to our view at the very point we are most anxious to watch it The torrent itself we see not, or see only by imperfect glimpses. It is not so much a period for Ecclesiastical History as for ecclesiastical controversy and conjecture The Early Church was working its way, in the literal sense of the word ‘underground,’ under camp and palace, under senate and forum – ‘as unknown, yet well known; as dying, and behold it lives.’”⁹

In fact Christianity was in fermentation, clarifying itself, as has been already said, from all the sour and offensive matters with which it was overloaded in the Apostolic period, to issue forth in the second Century a pure, wholesome and sweet religion, well organised, and clear of deleterious and adventitious matter. In cider picking, all kinds of rotten and immature apples go into the press. It is only after the scum has been cleared off that the liquor is potable.

The church in the 2nd and 3rd centuries, when organised and disciplined, was in a far purer, healthier condition than it can have been, than it was admitted by its founders that it had been, in the Apostolic age.

It is not immediately that chaff can be winnowed away, to leave the solid wheat behind. A wilderness is not converted into a Paradise in one season. Weeds have to be painfully uprooted, good seed has to be sown, and patience has to be exercised in awaiting the germination and fructification of the seed.

The Apostles went forth sowing: the fields were not covered with harvest till two centuries later, and then were not free from an after growth of charlock. The silence of history relative to the subapostolic age is due largely to the fact that it was a period of weeding quite as much as one of sowing.

Summary.

I put the substance of this chapter into the smallest possible space:- We are nowhere authorised, and we have no warrant for expecting, to find such a thing in the Acts of the

⁹ Stanley (Dean), Lectures on the Eastern Church (1869), pp .XXXVII . –VIII.

Apostles, and the Epistles of S. Paul as affords a type of Church organisation fully perfected and in working order. We are shown the Church incomplete, in a state of gradual formation, nothing more. It is exhibited to us in the first stage of a process – the Ship of Christ's Church in the condition of construction, hardly yet the launching. We are given glimpses of the operations in the dock-yard, nothing further. We see the yard strewn with material of all sorts, designed, if found suitable, to be fashioned into serviceable parts of the whole; we hear the clatter of tools, the shouts of the workmen, their songs, squabbles and occasional oaths, but the outline or framework of the projected vessel is as yet hardly distinguishable. This was much the answer of the Apostolic Father Epiphanius to the premature Presbyterian Aerius, when the Father showed how that the account of the ministry in S. Paul's Epistles was one of an institution in process of differentiation, not one of complete organisation.¹⁰

¹⁰ Adv. Haer. LXXV.

THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS

Chapter II

MIRACLES

Chapter II

MIRACLES

I venture again to introduce my cogitations.

A man's life consists of his thoughts as well as his acts, of his convictions as well as his experiences. The mouldings of his mind and the consolidation of his principles are matters of the highest importance; for it is these convictions that form the motive power within him, that govern his action. They may at times need overhauling, and the flywheel be assured action to regulate his thoughts, and his manner of life.

I do not pretend to say that my solutions of the problems set me to puzzle out are adequate; all that I can say is that the solutions did satisfy me at the time, and still content me. I have already related how that I worked out in my mind the question of the Church, its origin and its constitution; and next the idea occurred to me that the key to unlock some of the difficulties felt as involved in the Christian scheme of Salvation, notably the problem of the Miraculous, might find their solution in the doctrine of Evolution applied to them as a solvent.

The Rationale.

I had been driven to consider and to form a rationale of miracle, both for my own satisfaction and so as to be in a position to answer objections frequently raised and persistently urged not by aggressive sceptics only, but by such as were college friends troubled with doubts and difficulties relative to the miraculous in the story of the Gospels, as infringements of the Laws of Nature in such cases as the Incarnation, the Feeding of the Four Thousand with seven loaves and "a few small fishes," the Walking upon the Water, the Raising of Lazarus, the healing of the halt, the blind and the dumb, the Resurrection of the Lord Himself, and the Ascension into Heaven.

The Usual Defence Unsatisfactory.

The usual line of defence adopted by Divines and Apologists was to assume that all Miracles were suspensions of the Law of Nature by Him Who had imposed that Law. That He could do so, and that He did it, when it served His purpose; that was their argument.

This, however, was a very unsatisfactory and unconvincing line of defence. It represented the Almighty as acting capriciously, in imposing a Law, and yet Himself setting the example of infringing it. Nothing is more sure than that the breach of a Law of Nature entails punishment. It is wholly inconceivable that the Almighty should break a law of His own appointment, and that without scruple, when He had made punishable such a breach by one of His creatures.

Nor Necessarily Evidential.

Again: Apologists argued that miracles were wrought as evidences to prove certain truths revealed to the world. They were the Credentials of Christ and His Apostles.

But the Bible itself allows that miracles were wrought by necromancers and by devils.¹¹ How were men to discriminate between the two? It is asserted by the Author of Exodus that the prophet of the Lord in testimony to his commission, cast down his rod, and it was converted into a serpent; but the Magicians of Pharaoh did the same thing by their enchantments; and the manner in which the superiority of Aaron over Jannes and Jambres was shown by the fact that his rod swallowed up theirs. [*Exodus 7; 10-12*] But such an almost ludicrous proof was not always possible as a means of discrimination.

Theodore Parker wrote: "I do not believe there ever was a miracle, or ever will be; everywhere I find law the constant operation of the infinite God." And so it is with respect to our present environment. Baden Powell said much the same as did Parker but in more cautious terms. The invariableness of natural law precluded the possibility of its transgression by Him who had imposed it.

The argument that the working of a miracle in order to testify to the divine commission of the performer, and to the truth of his doctrine, was effectual for thirty years at the outside, and was needful at the outstart of Christianity but later, on the death of witnesses, it ceased to be demonstrative.

We must find some other basis of apology, some other explanation of the miraculous.

It is true that on two occasions Our Blessed Lord did point to His working of Miracles as evidence of His mission, but as a general rule these miracles were not wrought for that purpose, but were performed in order to exhibit His sympathy with those who suffered, and to show that He belonged to a higher plane of humanity, that enabled Him, as man, to override the ordinary, observable laws of Nature, not by suspending them for one moment, but by a power supernatural, only because beyond the range of common notice.

The Limit of the Possible is arbitrarily fixed.

The line of the possible is not the same for all men, and were that line arbitrarily drawn by such as suffer limitations, then all that transgress that line would be regarded as supernatural beings. The line of demarcation is not straight ruled but indented.

To some, the piping of the golden-crested wren, that resembles the shrill note of a wet finger drawn over a window-pane, is inaudible. To others it is not so.

When I was at Cambridge, in King's College Chapel, I have felt the nervous thrill of some deep tone on the organ, but my ear was incapable of registering the vibration, whereas the man standing by me heard it distinctly.¹²

There are not a few individuals who are colour blind, who cannot discriminate between scarlet and verdigris. To such as these, the faculty to see the prismatic colours in the rainbow is to be invested with a supernatural power; superior, that is, to the power they themselves naturally possess.

I have related elsewhere how that when I was a boy of about twelve I dreamt that I saw luminous flames emitting rays of colour unregistered by the prism. When awake, I tried

¹¹ Cf. Luke XI. 20.

¹² The deep C. with 16 ½ vibrations in a second.

ineffectually to realise what I had seen, so as to find these colours to correspond with any that could be discovered in Nature. For some years the recollection of that vision haunted and fretted me, as a puzzle beyond my powers of solution. It left a lasting impression on my mind that there may be, in fact that there are, coloured rays in Nature of which our visual organs are incapable of taking cognisance. For the moment when I was afforded that sight, I was lifted into a condition superior to any that I had been in before, or have been in since. There was no reversal in my case of any law of nature, but an enlargement of capacity, much as might be given to a colour-blind man, if to him were accorded suddenly the ability to distinguish colour between the flower and the leaf of a pelargonium.¹³

So far, I have spoken only of faculties of perception. Presently we will come to enlargement of capabilities of action.

The Stages of Life.

But before reaching that point, let it be borne in mind that, in the ladder of Life no single step exists, which does not lead to a superior rung, not only so, but at each stage there exists premonitions and preparations for attainment to the higher step. The inorganic stage, in that it crumbles, prepares the way for the advent of vegetation; and the herbage, in its course, makes ready a world meet for the appearance of animated life, the beast, the bird, the fish, the creeping thing.

Every stage from inanimate and inorganic matter has in it potentialities pointing upwards.

Miracle is defined as a contradiction of the Order of Nature. But what is this Order of Nature? It is the succession and recurrence of physical events that we have experienced. When a fact of Nature has gone on repeating itself during a certain time, such repetition shows that there is a permanent cause at work; and a permanent cause produces permanently recurring effects. But, obviously, as the Law of Nature is chalked out according to observation, it is different for every class from the inorganic up through the ranges of Life to Man. Law is Generalization from Experience. But Experience varies in every class of existence. Therefore the Law of Nature is not the same to all stages of Being.

Upward Development.

The demarcation between the Natural and the Supernatural is temporarily fixed. Suppose that this line had been drawn before that life had dawned on the world; and such a period did exist, when the only laws governing what was inorganic were elementary, such as the laws of gravitation and attraction. Then the introduction of the vital spark in its most rudimentary form into plant and animal might be dubbed supernatural. There would be no thrusting aside of Natural Laws, only there would be the production of a living being that utilised them, but with powers transcending theirs. Nothing that was valuable in the lower step would be sacrificed, in spite of change of form; the more mature life and the richer existence would absorb the less complete into itself, and the rudimentary would find its completion in the complex.

¹³ At the present day, through the study of light, we are made aware that there actually do exist in a ray colours, as that which is called ultra-violet, which are imperceptible by the human eye, and yet which register their presence upon a photographic plate. It is the same with the infra-red ray which conveys along with colour such as we cannot distinguish, much heat energy.

The disclosure of the Moral sense in man must be regarded as raising him to a level far above the beast of the field. That gift would again be supernatural, where the line is drawn at animal instincts. The laws governing inorganic matter and the organic phenomena would not be abolished, but be required to take a subordinate place in the economy of nature, whenever an advance occurs.

Limitations.

Man alone has the faculty of speech. The dog can bark, the ass bray; the cat, when it desires to express satisfaction, can purr; when irritated can squeal; but beyond these utterances of feeling, cannot give articulate indication of its feelings. A line is drawn that no brute can transgress. To each shelf in life is given its special code. The Law of the Twelve Tables sufficed in earlier Roman days, but was superseded by the Theodosian code, and that again by the Justinian, as social life became more complex. Humanity moreover is no level plain. It is undulatory. There are deep glens of ignorance and inertness in the Hottentot, the Andaman Islander, the Papuan savage, the Connemara Paddy, – laggards in the march of intellect and culture, co-existent with Alps of intelligence and activity among Europeans. Dunderheads sit at the next table to philosophers and scientists at Frascati's.

It is a matter of pure assumption that man occupies the highest rung of the ladder of life, and that there can be naught superior, imaginable, than Huxley, Edison, Swinburne, Lloyd George and Harrod. The step man occupies is a station on the line and not a terminus. This we conclude for three reasons:

1. All Nature indicates continuous, yet limited progression; the limitation being due to environment, obstructive to progress.
2. In man is a premonition of further powers checked in life by circumstances beyond control.¹⁴
3. God, being infinite, His creation must partake of infinity, and be without finality, anywhere. In all his works there can be no full stop.

1. Any act beyond experience in any stage of life may be esteemed as miraculous. In the book of Job the Morning stars are represented as singing together, and all the Sons of God as shouting for joy when the foundations of the Earth were laid, [*Job 38: 7*] that is to say at the apparition of Inorganic Nature, the first stratum in the great pile of Creation. How much more exultant must have been the heavenly chorus when the first trilobite or Coral-worm appeared, the first swimming, the other building in the waters, both exhibiting individuality and activity. And, finally, what wonder and admiration would thrill the heavenly host when man appeared endowed with intellectual and spiritual life, as the trilobite and coral had been accorded the novel faculty of animal life.

And how mighty in accordance with the same conception of the poet-philosopher, was the burst of song when there appeared at the birth of Christ “a multitude of the heavenly host praising God and saying, Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good-will toward

¹⁴ “Es ist unser demokratischer Ahnenstolz, dass wir von Viertelmenschen abstammen, und immer mehr werden als unsere Vorfahren. Die Entwicklungsfähigkeit des Menschengenies ist unbegrenzt, und lässt sich nicht in ein Dogma verkanseln.” [*Translation: It is our democratic ancestral pride that we are descendants of subhumans (literally 25% human) who can always develop further than our ancestors.*] Auerbach (Berth) *Dorfgeschichten* 1884, IX. p.52 “We descendants of the Lake dwellers talk no longer of miracles; everything is evolution, unmasking of undeveloped powers,” *ibid*, p.65.

men;" [Luke 2:13] for Creation had advanced another stage, with the Divine entering into association with the Human in man.

As each advance in Life is made, it wraps itself about with its own Code of Law, which does not abrogate the preceding code, but supersedes it.

The Superman.

If Christ be, as we suppose, the Superman, in whom resided a power to perform that which is beyond the capabilities of vulgar humanity, then we may well believe that in Him would reside the faculty of exercising and manifesting His superior powers, at will, or of holding them in abeyance, as deemed expedient.

A Fable.

Suffer me to imagine, after the manner of the Fabulists, that each stage in the development of Life, by its representative, were able to express itself, having been accorded the faculty of observation and ratiocination. [*From the French: reasoning*]

When the primal igneous rock, granite, was upheaved out of chaos, and its spokesman became aware after a lapse of time that lichen was blotching, and moss clothing the surface, it – or he – which you like, would consider:- “What is this but the subversion of the Natural law imposed on all organic matter, *i.e.* the imposition of Degradation? The winds beat on the rock, the frosts bite and split it, the rains dissolve it. It crumbles. To crumble is the inevitable destiny of the stone. Here, however, have appeared objects, organic, endowed with capacity of growth, of expansion, of propagation of species. Whoever heard of a block of granite breeding its like? A mass of granite may and will disintegrate into granules, which in course of time become still further disintegrated into sand, but never has a block of granite given birth to granules that grow into rocks like itself. Such is outside the experience of the Inorganic, and must accordingly be dubbed Miraculous, or Supernatural.

And when the herb of the field became cognisant of the existence of the snail, it would say, by its representative angel, “this Slimy object is endowed with the faculty of locomotion, one repugnant to experience. It does not derive nutriment through roots embedded in the soil, but obtains it by means of a mouth at the extremity most opposed to that whence we receive our food. Each advanced stage of Being, born of one subsidiary, bears no resemblance to its progenitor, the lichen to the rock, the snail to the herb, you and I to the dog, the ass, the baboon, the trout; yet there exists a filiation. The new apparition is beyond the range of previous experience. It is a phantom, not a fact; or if a fact, then miraculous.”

The same course of reasoning would occur at every stage in the advance of Being. No progression, however, would be possible until the environment was prepared for the forward stride. With each advance would ensue an expansion of Law to meet its requirements, like an elastic band stretching to comprehend what previously was not compressed within its hoop. The law for the sponge is not that for the fish, nor is that for the trout the law for the skylark.

Human Progress.

According to the teaching of scientists, prehistoric man made his first appearance in the Tertiary age. He was so far in advance of the brute beast, that he was able to make for himself tools and weapons of the most rudimentary description out of flint, and to cloth his naked body with the hides of the beasts he had slain. From the Eolithic he passed to the Palaeolithic stage, and from that to the Neolithic, acquiring skill, and showing ingenuity, as he went

forward. Then he discovered the metals, copper, the amalgam, Bronze, and after a pause, at a thousand years before our era, he learned the properties of iron. Soon after that, he leapt into observation with a ballad in his mouth, and stood upon the platform of history, whenceforth his progress could be recorded as he pursued his advances in the Arts, the Sciences, in the acquisition of all that conduces to culture, and to afford happiness and ease in life.

At the outset of the forward march, man was accorded “dominion over the fish of the sea, and over the fowl of the air, and over the cattle, and over all the earth, and over every creeping thing that creepeth upon the earth.” [Genesis 1:26] But the advance has been carried much further, in that he has at the present time obtained control over the forces of Nature; has harnessed the winds, the waters, the fire, terrestrial magnetism and the lightning.

An Arrest.

There are two facts in life that demand consideration. Darwin has established the Law of Evolution in an impregnable position. But there is another fact that should not be disregarded, the effect of arrest. Life is a stream flowing in one direction with increase of volume and with accumulated force, but it has its backwaters, where the current halts, swirls and expends itself in endless gyrations. Although in Life there exists evidence of successive advances in organism and in the development of individuality, yet, as well, there has been arrest at every forward stride. And it is due to this arrest, occurring at every point from the appearance of the first vital germ up to man, that the world teems with multiplicity and diversity of and in life, from the amoeba and the lichen up to you and me. Every step is represented from the lowest to the highest.

In what Directions Progress is possible.

The general course of Development may be counteracted by an impediment, but it exists all the while. Every stratum of Life is evidence of progress; every individual or class of distinct beings in a condition of inferiority is evidence of the existence of an arrest. Were that impediment removed, life in every form would resume its forward action.

The notable tokens of lagging behind of our physical constitution when compared with that of our inferiors in the Scale of Being are in themselves indications of possible advance in a future state. “It doth not yet appear what we shall be,” wrote the Apostle. [1 John 3:2] We are not justified in supposing that we have reached the topmost landing of the stair and that there is but a bolted sky-light above us, and an inaccessible roof.

Man’s Inferiority to the Beast.

Every beast, bird, insect possesses a mysterious power of communicating with one and other of its species, without speech. It can inform another where there is a deposit of food, can warn it of danger, can explain how to circumvent obstructions, arrange for united migration.

To a small extent, a very small extent, we possess this unspoken tongue, whereby thought can be conveyed from mind to mind without words spoken. “The conveyance of our sentiments, by the varying expression of the countenance, and which is understood by infants and by animals, gives us a faint indication of the existence of a mode of intercommunication more intuitive and immediate than that of language: nor is it difficult, by the aid of this instance, to carry forward our conceptions so far as to grasp an instantaneous and real unfolding of the thought and feeling of one mind, by an act of its own, to other minds. We say, by an act of its own, for the purposes of moral economy, and by the preservation of individuality of

character, seem necessarily to demand the seclusion of each mind, except so far as it may chose to discover itself.”¹⁵

The wings of the butterfly, so radiantly plumed, so adapted for flight from flower to flower, at the slightest impulse of the will, what are they but the lungs of the insect, not boxed up as with us behind a barrier of ribs, but produced through the sides, given flexibility, lustre and colour? Is it not a possibility that man in the next stage of evolution may be silver-winged as the fritillary? What are our exhalations but a token that we have not reached the condition of the honeysuckle, the rose and the pine wafting to us its matchless and health-giving fragrance? So it is with other faculties that the beast, the bird, the fish, the insect, the herb of the field possess, but of which we fall short.

Assimilation.

We have but to recognise the fact to feel assured that there is a future of vast, indeed infinite progress before us, wherein we shall pick up and appropriate these developments, now lagging, as part of our predestined growth.

To the Christian, progress is not final. To him there is no brick wall towards which he strides, and from which he recoils with a bloody nose. Death is but a pause in the limitless, onward advance.

Assuming that God is the Author of Life, we assume, as well, that he is Infinite, and consequentially Infinity must characterise the Life that he has given, that is to say, that it will be indefinitely progressive.¹⁶

As one travelling along a highway draws up upon reaching a turnpike, and cannot proceed until the bar is raised, so it is with man; so has it been with organic life in its forward career from the beginning. As far as we can see, there exists no aspiration in organic life to rise to a higher stage, except in the case of man. The earth-worm is content to be no more than an animated digesting tube; but in man there is a flickering sense of vocation to a higher sphere, one that is spiritual and not merely mechanical, as the turn spit desires to escape from the rotary cage in which it serves to roast a leg of mutton, so as to gambol in the fields in freedom.

Arrest not permanent.

That prospect of spiritual advance which has been shown to the bulk of humanity, and has been disregarded by it, is allowed to the individual, and accounts for the yearnings of the Neoplatonist, the Christian Mystic and Ascetic, the Jewish Essene, the Buddhist monk and the Indian fakir.

S. Paul, possibly, saw that there was temporary arrest in the flow of life, when he wrote: “All creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now. And not only they, but ourselves also, which have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we ourselves groan within ourselves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body.” (Rom. VIII. 22, 23)

The Fall, what it was.

¹⁵ Taylor (Isaac) *Physical Theory of Another Life*, 1839, p.115.

¹⁶ Plato admitted this.

What is it that has checked man in his onward course, in that development which has gone on so surely from Tertiary man with his chipped flints to the European of the present day, the Master of the forces of Earth?

The Gift of Soul.

There was, there must have been, a moment when man ceased to be a mere animal, governed by his sensual appetites, when there was kindled in him the spark of a living soul, a moral sense, a spiritual upheaval, a prospect of wide and unbounded progression. Thenceforth his nature was double. He had double tendencies, one gravitating towards animality, the other aspiring to spirituality; the one “the spirit of the beast that goeth downward to the earth;” [*Ecclesiastes 3:21*] the other that which “goeth upward.” The very fact of the duplicity of his nature, made Choice potential, nay, inevitable, and simultaneously with the acquisition of a duplicity of tendencies, Free Will was born, enabling man to pursue at pleasure the higher or the lower road.

What was the Fall?

The first epoch in Life was the gift of an Organism. The second was the according to the organised being of instinct with mobility. The third was the lifting of instinct into intelligence. The fourth consisted in the offer to man of Spirituality, a sense of God, a gift of insight into the laws and purposes of his Maker. At this point came a halt. Man had had experience of the enjoyableness of life under the motive power of intelligence; as to any advantages, any advancement in happiness by acceptance of the new gift of spirituality he was doubtful. What in theology is termed “the Fall of Man” is no other than the election by him of the inferior condition.

Nevertheless, man has not wholly lost aspiration after something nobler than to make the best he can out of life through the exercise of the intellectual and other available faculties. Most of us are aware of a spiritual element present within us, but with many it is as imperceptible as is warmth in the blood of a trout or a flat fish. We are also aware of its feebleness when at its best, its faltering attempts to rise, like the fluttering of a wounded partridge.

Pegasus in Bonds.

There is a poem by Schiller on “Pegasus in bonds,” that has been exquisitely illustrated by Moritz Retzsch. The snow-white winged steed is yoked to a plough, and is driven by a churl. As it flutters its pinions, the lash of the clown chastises it; in efforts to rise it stumbles, the plumes are bruised and their purity is sullied. Nevertheless it struggles to shake off the yoke, to release itself from the guiding rein in the hand of the boor. Finally, by a supreme effort, the wounded steed sets itself free, spreads its battered wings, and soars towards the source of light.

With Schiller, Pegasus in harness is the Spirit of Poetry shackled and drudging on account of the necessities of life, the need for thalers [*obsolete German coin*] and groschen, [*obsolete silver coin used in Germany from 13th Century*] Sausages and Lager-beer. But the parable is far more applicable to the Spiritual Life in man, now in servitude, but aspiring to rise to its proper element, in a purer atmosphere, where it may expand its pinions, where its mane will flutter, and each hair flash as a silver strand, itself free as the air; and swan-like it may break into a transport of song. If there be anything in the anticipation of the Apostle, it consists in this, that with the final elevation of man to the higher sphere for which God made him, but which he declined to occupy, the law of arrest will be abrogated, and then all creation, with

man at its head, will advance, not indeed to perfection, for perfection implies limitation; but to infinite, unending progression: A dazzling prospect beyond conception.

Man was content so long as he had intellect, that would ensure progress in everything conducing to temporal welfare, and temporal welfare was all that he lusted after.

When once the choice was made, the tendency to turn the back on spirituality became hereditary, and with each generation following, that same tendency strengthened, and the power of resistance became more and ever more attenuated and difficult of exercise.

Hereditary Tendencies.

Some years ago there was exhibited in the Royal Academy a painting labelled “The Gamblers Children.” It represented the little ones in a garret engaged in a game of cards – a dirty pack, by the way – staking on them their dolls, and the pieces of bread “and scrape” given them for their meal. The flare of passion was in their eyes, the flush of excitement in hope of gain kindled their cheeks. The issue of drunkards, the children of debauched parents, derive from those whose blood they inherit a sullied strain of tendency towards the sins of father and mother. If the parents have eaten sour grapes, the children’s teeth are set on edge.

We can well conceive that the activities of the human soul may point to a spiritual progress, as truly as does that achieved in material matters.

The swerving of man from the course of harmonious spiritual as well as mental and physical progress has made his career one that is imperfect, halting and lopsided.

The Fall was no lapse from a condition of perfection, but consisted in a choice of Imperfection, in electing to occupy and abide in, a cul-de-sac. We were not made to halt, when the offer “Friend go up higher” was made to us. Sin was not inevitable. It is due to the wilful choice of the inferior state – to munch oats out of a manger, and pull hay down from a rack, that we have not risen to a position of freedom, and emancipation from the bonds of a beast of draught. This wilful choice of a state of inferiority has proved itself the barrier upon the road to the attainment of a wider field of life, to enhanced powers, physical, mental, and above all, spiritual, to be freely exercised under a largely expanded hoop of Law.

The Rationale of Miracle.

What then is miracle? It is no violation of law; it is the exercise of powers in abeyance now, that are given to, or acquired by, those in a superior grade to man as he is at the present day, and as he has been since the dawn of history; but such as he will possess, when emancipated from the down-drag of material and animal propensities.

This, which is preliminary, leads to the conclusion for which I am contending, viz. that one who has not partaken of fallen human nature is not subject to the checks by which peccant [*liable to sin*] human nature is held under restraint. He occupies another category of Being, subject to the revised Code, making Him capable, as man, of performing acts beyond the scope of the possible for man as he is now, occupying the state of immobility, or even one of regress.

Superman.

The corner-stone of Christianity consists in belief that our Lord Jesus Christ was born without sin, and, as a man, fulfilled the will of His Father, was consequently in the position of

Superman, perfect in His humanity, replete with Spirituality, filling that place once offered to mankind, but which mankind had rejected. As such, He was outside of the limitations of the observable laws of Nature that restrict man who has not been lifted into the higher region. He was in the superior scale of being. He could, by exercise of will, perform acts according to the higher law, acts impossible of achievement by such as stand on a lower grade. The free man can overleap the wall that holds the prisoner fast.

Christ the Superman.

Allow the claim made by Christ, allow that He possessed an unfallen nature, and the marvels recorded of Him are not incredible. When He was transfigured, so that His face shone as the sun, and His raiment was white and glistening, such as no fuller on earth could whiten; when He walked upon the water, stilled the storm on the Sea of Genesareth; [*Gennesaret*] when He healed the sick, gave sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, speech to the dumb, flexibility to stiffened joints, life to the dead; when He fed the multitude in the Wilderness; when He rose from the dead, and ascended into heaven, His every act was a manifestation that He occupied a higher plane of existence, one, hitherto beyond the reach of recalcitrant man, but one which he might have reached at a time when the offer was made to him, which he rejected.

It is no violation of the law of gravity that the magnet should lift a bar of steel. There can have been none when Our Lord walked on the water, for if that law had been suspended, then He would not have walked. When He opened the eyes of the blind, He did that which is performed by many an oculist by the aid of surgical tools. When He raised Lazarus from the dead, He disclosed that He could suspend and overcome the dissolution that follows death, beyond that acquired by the professional embalmer, with his gums and herbs. He did more. He showed that Death was not to have dominion over humanity, and this by the raising of the widow's son, and that of Lazarus. Above all by His own Resurrection He revealed to us that the Superman would be superior to Death. "And, I, if I be lifted up from the earth, will draw all men unto Me," said Christ. This has been generally assumed to signify that He, when raised upon the Cross, with the cords of Love would attract humanity to Him. I do not deny that such is not one of its significations; but I think it has another, that may be thus paraphrased:- "And, I when raised from the grave, will lift all humanity to a loftier sphere, in which it will exceed its feeble powers as at present possessed, and endow it with what are at the present day considered to be supernatural gifts, and with deathlessness, aye, and with creative powers as well, such as is adumbrated now by invention and production in the mechanical, scientific and artistic spheres."

If I mistake not, this is the explanation of the Miracles of the Gospel. If I mistake not, this is the prospect held out to the Faithful by Christ, the Incarnate Son of God.

I repeat it: Accept Christ as what He professed Himself to be, and that which the Universal Church has insisted that He was, an Immaculate Man, – One with God, lifting manhood out of the degradation into which it had fallen, partly through an initial fault of choice, also through atavism [*reversion to a primitive type*] accentuating this loss; then the difficulty in accepting the miracles of the Gospel is removed.

A Second Consideration.

2. I have already stated that all Nature points to progressive development (Nature signifies About to be born, Becoming not Become); yet this progress is liable to arrests. This has been dealt with sufficiently for my purpose, though I have allowed myself digressions, the object of which will presently appear.

I also made the assertion that in man is lodged a desire for, and a presentiment of, further advance and development of latent powers, now held in check by adverse circumstances. To this point I will now address myself.

The beast, as far as we can judge, possesses no aspiration beyond the accessible, and after what is outside the medium in which it is placed. Having attained the limit of its powers of development, it acquiesces in death.

The silkworm gorges itself on mulberry leaves to the bursting of its hide which takes place progressively in four or five moults, that ensues in about twenty five days. It has some indistinct and instinctive feeling that it has not so far reached the limit of its career. It proceeds to spin for itself a cocoon, in which it enshrines itself for a fortnight or three weeks. At the end of that period, it bursts its cerements, and issues forth with wings, antennae and feet, suitable to a new life, which however lasts at outside but three days. The female dies after having laid her eggs, and the male does not long survive her. The development has reached its predestined term, and is then cut short.

No animal other than man possesses ambition beyond its abilities, and outside of the medium in which it is placed. The earth-worm is content to burrow beneath the soil which it chews, and digests, and only mounts to the surface for the purpose of there discharging its cast. The bird is plumed and winged joy, that breaks forth in song; and when winter approaches, it quests sunshine, warmth and nourishment elsewhere. It entertains no ambition to rise any further in the scale of being. Even the dog's ambitions are bounded by longing after food, warmth, and a caress from its master's hand. I have read to my colley [*sic*] one of Mr. Lloyd George's most animating speeches, without producing even a cock of the ear, or a wag of the tail from that intelligent creature, Kim.

Latent Aspirations.

But it is wholly different in man. He is ambitious of advance, because he feels in himself capacities to which he is hindered from giving expansion, and to which doing justice, as he is situated. The impulse "to better himself" implanted in every soul is of two kinds, it may be merely the coarse greed after material comforts, or it may be due to mental or spiritual impulses, urging to development of latent talents of which the man is aware, but which, from various causes, is unable to enlarge and exercise.

"Divine Discontent."

Lodged in every human breast, is a sense more or less acute of what has been termed "Divine Discontent," a desire for that which is, perhaps, unattainable, but which serves as a goad to endeavour. It is a consciousness of innate powers, of ability, of appreciation, of desire for the exercise of activities now beyond reach. This is the source of all the restlessness of the present age, of longing for amelioration of the conditions of life. With some it takes the form of aggression against social order as at present constituted; in others, determination to fight against adverse circumstances and by resolution and perseverance to overcome them. One sulks, the other strives.

Incompleteness.

Every man who thinks is conscious in himself of incompleteness. He possesses faculties that he is not in a position to cultivate and to exercise. No one who gives a thought to his condition can be unaware of a lack of adjustment of his faculties to his condition and

prospects, with respect to those things to which he aspires. “We are tenants,” wrote Isaac Taylor. “of a spacious house; but, although we have the run of certain apartments, we are only permitted to look into the halls and saloons. But will not these restrictions be at length removed, and man find all doors of the palace open to him?”

This is precisely the prospect laid before us by Christianity, which is not only, as some represent it, an equalising of lots, an act of Divine justice, compensating for past hindrances and disappointments. It is rather the throwing down of all barriers, that have hitherto impeded progress.

The very fact, the indubitable fact, of our possessing these cravings is, in my opinion, as a Christian, a promise, and an assurance of their future satisfaction. It is to me absolutely incredible that a good and loving God should have lodged in our hearts the germs of talents, that need only opportunity to enable them to grow and ripen, but are destined to be sterile. It would be to attribute cruelty to God to deny this. What mother dangles an apple before her child’s eyes, and when it stretches forth the eager hands to grasp, by a jerk throws the fruit away, and laughs at her infant’s tears of disappointment?

Sordid Discontent.

Discontent may, and does arise out of despair at inability to acquire social gratifications, animal comforts; at not being in pecuniary capacity to obtain duck and green peas, and be obliged to lunch off fat bacon, at having to munch a Yarmouth bloater, when an employer is relishing fresh salmon; at having to put up with a pot of London porter, because Guinness’s stout is beyond our means; as condemned to inhabit No. 2 in a row of red brick cottages, with a family of squalling children in No. 1, and a scolding, voluble shrew in No. 3, whereas the ideal before one is a cottage in the country wreathed with roses and woodbine; with hollyhocks in the front garden – and no other neighbours than the blackbird and the thrush.

Intellectual Aspirations.

Of such aspirations as these I am not going to speak, they do not concern me. Man must strive to obtain luxuries by effort and perseverance.

But I refer to intellectual aspirations, and these not only after knowledge, but also after expansion of artistic talents as directed towards the source of all ideal Beauty.

The hunger after knowledge is insatiable, but the capacity to pursue it in any direction is limited. I knew Professor Adams, the eminent astronomer. He had been a shepherd boy on the Bodmin moors. At night he would lie on the turf watching the stars and wondering what they were, and why the planets did not twinkle. By chance, a neighbouring gentleman detected his abilities, and the trend of his soul after Astronomy. He sent the boy to school, and then to University. Adams was the discoverer of the planet Neptune. Here chance, or good luck intervened. Yet how many thousands there are, to whom such a chance never come, and yet who have the same hunger and thirst after knowledge.

Rundle.

The reader must permit me to take some instances out of my own personal experience so as to illustrate the lesson I am endeavouring to inculcate.

There was a plumber and house-painter, named Rundle, in the adjoining parish of Bridestowe. My father sent for him to paint the doors and panelling of the hall, imitation

maple. One day, when my mother was in the adjoining drawing-room at the piano, singing some German Volkslieder, with her exquisite voice, limpid, liquid, flowing, I happened to enter the hall, and there found Rundle on his knees, paint-brush in hand, with the tears streaming down his cheeks, and his breast heaving with sobs. "Rundle," I enquired. "What is the matter with you? Are you ill?" "Oh, no, sir," was his reply; "only overwhelmingly happy. When I hear beautiful music, it makes me weep for very joy of heart." And that man had no chance of hearing other music, than the wheezing of an American organ in the church, and the singing out of tune and time of the village choir.

I am acquainted with a similar case from my own parish, of a girl – a child no longer – whom I have known from her infancy, with whom music is the passion of her life, to whom, like Rundle, it brings tears into her eyes. Yet as a domestic servant, she has had no opportunity of learning to play on the piano, and can but rarely and exceptionally hear concerted music. "Beautiful music," said she to me, "even a simple melodious hymn tune, is something more than I can bear. It thrills through me and makes every nerve tremble."

I told her the story of Rundle, the plumber, and added: "He is now passed into the land of spirits, where he hears the music of the spheres, the endless Hallelujah of all creation; and his heart leaps and laughs with joy. No tears there, due to sense of unattainment. My child, I live in the country, in a house in which the inmates are incapable of playing a piano, much less a violin. The only substitute for music is the strident succession of notes from a gramophone, grinding out Strauss's waltzes and music hall songs. And a churchwarden, when he thinks to afford me a special treat, indulges me with 'Pop goes the weasel' on an accordion. From that I cannot in courtesy escape, whereas from the gramophone I fly to the extremity of my garden. My dear child, you and I must look forward to that life which will be ours – mine ere long – in a home whence gramophones and concertinas are excluded."

Unconsciousness of Talent.

There are as well persons, who live the greater part, if not the whole, of their lives without consciousness of talents lodged within them, because nothing has occasioned the calling them forth into activity; and they have been aware of nothing beyond an uneasy sense of incompleteness, a want of something unattainable, but of what description they are unable to form a notion. It frets them without their being able to discriminate the occasion thereof.

Who would dream of fire being latent in a flint, unless a casual stroke had elicited sparks?

I am convinced that I have in myself powers that have never been evoked, through circumstances having been allowed to arrest them. Had I not injured my eyes; by overstrain, I might have become a painter. Had not the opportunity been denied me in youth to learn fingering keys, I might have become a musical composer. Had not my parents interdicted the pursuit, I might have become an architect.

And so with you, my reader, so with everyman, each has in him the germ of faculties that might, and would, become forces of power and beauty, but for hindrances he has had put in his way. In each one of us are faculties in abeyance, time and occasion only are needed for the floreation [*sic*] and fructification. That this time will come is the hope, the confidence, of the Christian.

The restlessness that is so conspicuous a feature in the present day, in the globe-trotting American, in the shallow hearted nouvelle riche tearing over the roads in her car, with no

object in view save change, is represented by Christ as characteristic of the unclean spirit, seeking rest and finding none, and for the very good reason, that its aspirations are void of God, and of good will to others save [*sic*] Self. There is an ever-present sense of incompleteness combined with an ignorance as to whither to go to find what is needed. We call Corporal Nym to mind, who said: "I will live so long as I may, that's the certain of it, and when I cannot live any longer, I will do as I may. That is the rendezvous of it." (Henry V., II. 1.)

3. And now I must turn to another point altogether, and resume a course of argument I have been led to desert.

The real Purport of Miracle.

I go back once more to the Miraculous in the Life of Christ. If I have seemed to wander, it has been for a purpose, as what follows will show, if I am not mistaken.

At first Evidential.

At first, as was natural, the Apostles appealed to the miraculous in the Life and The Resurrection of Christ, as giving sure evidence that He was the very Messiah, Whose coming had been foretold by the Prophets, and of which the Jewish people had been kept in expectation by the numerous Apocalyptic works that had circulated freely among them of late.

They had to insist on the miracles as Evidential. They went no further. There were many of their hearers who had seen those who had been healed of their infirmities, who had spoken to the daughter of Jairus, and had conversed with Lazarus, since his resuscitation. [*John 11: 1-44*] We may be confident that when the rumour spread through Jerusalem that the Sepulchre in Joseph's garden was empty, there ensued a rush of the citizens to see if so it was; and there must have been relatives and friends of the Jewish guard who questioned the men as to how Christ's Body had disappeared; and from the evasions and contradictions of the men and from hints, let fall, had come to the conclusion that they had been ordered to suppress a truth; and that the suggestion that the Disciples had stolen the Body, was absurd, and unconfirmed. Certainly some of the guards were married men.

Consequently, the preaching of Peter and the other Apostles turned on the Miracles as Evidences of the truth of their Gospel. They could invoke witnesses by the score, probably by the hundreds.

"Ye men of Israel, hear these words. Jesus of Nazareth, a man approved of God among you by miracles and wonders and signs, which God did by him in the midst of you, as ye yourselves know – Him God has raised up" – to sit upon the throne of David, as was foretold. Therefore Peter went on to say: "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the Name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins." "Him hath God exalted with his right hand to be a Prince and a Saviour, for to give repentance to Israel, and forgiveness of sins." (Acts V. 31)

Change in use of the Miraculous from the Evidential to the Illustrative.

The representation of the Miraculous in Christ's Life and Resurrection was put forward with vehemence, as attestation to His Mission, so long as it was effective; but its force became rapidly less as time went on, and testimony became less common. The argument that miracle was evidential was gradually abandoned, and for it was substituted the teaching that it was Illustrative. The burden of proof was shifted to the exigencies of humanity, and it was shown

that Christianity was the only religious system which met all the cravings of the soul of man, and supplied him with unlimited hope of advance in that to which he aspired to progress. This was the line newly adopted.

“Beloved,” wrote S. John, “now are we the sons of God, and it doth not yet appear what we shall be; but we know that, when he shall appear, we shall be like him; for we shall see him as he is,” (1 John III. 2). And S. Paul said: “As we have borne the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly,” (1 Cor. XV. 49). Christ Jesus “shall change our vile body that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body” (Phil. III. 4). “When Christ who is our life shall appear, then shall ye also appear with him in glory,” (Col. III. 4).

In this second stage, the Church generally relinquished the appeal to evidence as no longer efficacious, the witnesses becoming fewer every year, and betook itself to employment of the Miracles of Christ as earnest and illustrations of the benefits to be conferred on men by their faith in, and adhesion to, the crucified and risen Christ.

When He healed the sick and the halt, the woman with the issue of blood, and the blind and the dumb, it was to exhibit these acts as assurance and earnest of what would be man’s future condition, free from all infirmity, defect and sickness. When He raised the dead to renewed life, it was to give assurance that in the risen condition of man, death should be totally done away with. When He was transfigured on the Mount, so that His face shone as the sun, and His raiment became white and glistening, it was a revelation as to the appearance which man would put on in the New Creation. When He walked upon the waters, and when He appeared in the upper room, “the doors being shut,” it was to show that the future condition of man would be superior to the laws governing man at present and that he would meet with no restraints.

When, after the Resurrection, He called His friends by name – as “Mary” when addressing the Magdalen, as Peter and Thomas and John, – and as He associated with them on affectionate and intimate terms, even to partaking with them of a piece of a broiled fish and an honeycomb, it was to declare to the faithful, that in the New Heaven and New Earth, the old intimacies and affections that have been and remain to man so precious a part of his life, will subsist as truly as ever, and in sincerity more sincere than it had been here. A want felt by all was given assurance of being satisfied. That was the new form of appeal.

When this appeal was acknowledged and accepted, then the miraculous in the Life of Christ and His Resurrection upon which all hinged, were readily and firmly accepted.

This has been the appeal which has gone straight to the heart of every man sensitive of his deficiencies, and yearning after the unattainable in this life, which has in all ages given to Christianity its missionary efficacy, and which has carried with it faith in the Gospel of our Lord’s Life, Death, and Resurrection.

That appeal can never be set aside. It is all-compellant. It overthrew cultured Paganism and speculative Philosophy; the first was worn out, the second gave no satisfaction; it resisted the imperial power of Rome, and nerved martyrs through three centuries to contend to the death for Christ and His Gospel; It subdued the Barbarians of the North, it radiated now through Asia and Africa, it has comforted the bereaved, sustained the down-hearted, given patience and expectation to the sick and the suffering, has sweetened life, turning it from an arid waste into a flowery meadow; it has transformed death into the gate of a fuller life.

Ecclesiastical.

As to so-called Ecclesiastical Miracles, whether true or fictitious, they are undeserving of consideration, as they form no basis of faith. No one will build upon a quagmire.

Some are false, some deliberate impostures, some exaggerations and unintentional perversions of facts, some have been explained by the progress of physical science, but all are mere worthless trash.

The Roman Church pretends that Miracles are still wrought in her. The more reason to doubt her word. They are not needed. They respond to no appeal of humanity, satisfy no void in the human heart. In that, they differ entirely from those of the Gospel, upon which a system of Belief is based. We hold to the Gospel because Humanity in its shortcomings, in its inefficiency, impeded in its development, cries out for it, to satisfy its craving, to complete its imperfections, to give to it faculty of enlargement. It supplies a want, which all the trumpery of miracles of Lourdes, La Salette, and of cures approved by the Congregation of Rites by the Vatican never can do.

The Joy of Believing.

There is that in the Christian Faith producing results, which the Unbelieving are slow to recognise. This is the inner joy that it affords, the serenity of soul that it produces, in such as have endured disappointed affection, encountered humiliating slights, who have been foiled in life's aims and expectations, the occasions in so many of tendency to sourness of disposition, to resentment against Providence, to prostration in discouragement, and loss of interest in all effort. In the confidence that the Gospel inspires, all discouragements are put aside, and in the heart leaps up a fountain of joy in expectation that all the aspirations that have failed in accomplishment here will be fully, overflowingly satisfied in the life to come.

As in the Palace of Shushan, when the Great King made a feast to his subjects, at his table every guest was given a golden goblet filled to the brim with royal wine, yet the vessels were of varying capacities, – but all of gold, and all filled (Esther I.7), so will it be, so every happy expectant soul knows that it will be, and looks forward to the appearance of the Great King in His Banquet Hall, clinging to the promise: “Ye now have sorrow; but I will see you again, and your heart shall rejoice, and your joy no man taketh from you,” (John XVI. 22)

THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS

Chapter III

PAULINISM

Chapter III

Paulinism

Jowett's Opinion upon Paulinism.

Professor Jowett, in his interesting and engrossing Commentaries on the Pauline Epistles to the Thessalonians, Galatians and Romans, propounded the novel theory that the Apostle had never shaken off the Pharisaism that he had acquired in youth, and that his doctrine was deeply tinctured with Rabbinism. He also considered that it was not until the nineteenth century that theologians were enabled to liberate genuine Christianity from this adventitious adulteration and discolouration. The theory was startling, and contravened the opinion that had prevailed since the Reformation that Paul, illumined by divine revelation, had been the true exponent of Christianity. Notwithstanding all the Professor's efforts to establish his thesis, he failed to convince his contemporaries, and I, for one, considered that, to employ the expression of King Henry VIII., he had got the wrong sow by the ear.

It was not, however, possible, till much later, to show what was the actual seed-bed of Paul's doctrines, and to be in a position to demonstrate that his Inspiration was very far from being originative. It was actually selective to a very considerable extent.

S. Paul's Inspiration Selective.

In physical, mental and spiritual life there is no spontaneous generation, every advance made has been led up to progressively through a series of preparatory stages. It is consequently improbable that Paulinism should be a phenomenon for which no preparation had been made.

The Apocryphal Literature of the Jews.

The development of Jewish mentality and spirituality is displayed to us panoramically in the books of the Old Testament from the crude conceptions of Abraham, hardly removed beyond those of the surrounding Canaanites, to the highly spiritual condition of the Psalmists and the Prophets. But hitherto a gap has existed, unbridged, from about B.C. 200 to the Christian era, and we have known nothing of the condition of religious belief and aspiration since the publication of the Book of Daniel, a composition of the age of Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C. 178-165).

This hiatus as far as Palestine is concerned has now been closed, and the current of Judaic religious thought has been shown to us in flow unchecked, and full of vigour. At the same time it is revealed to us as altered in character, and as unmistakably preparatory to the manifestation of the Messiah. It is almost wholly Apocalyptic, and prophetic. At a time of the humiliation and abasement of the Chosen People under foreign rulers, it encouraged them to expect that speedily the Elect One, the Son of Man, Eternal, would be manifested, that He would set up His kingdom, which would embrace the whole earth; that the Jewish people would reign triumphant over Gentiledom; and that Jerusalem, either flooded with the glory of the Shekinah, or as descending renovated from heaven, would become the metropolis of the whole world.

These books were hawked about in the back streets of Jerusalem and in the villages of Judaea and Galilee, and were greedily accepted by the Common People as authoritative.

The Scribes and Pharisees did not condemn this literature as heretical, but they regarded it with suspicion. In certain cases where a Sadducee had perpetrated a prophetic work, they re-edited it and brought it into accordance with their own prepossessions.

It was largely due to the popularity of this literary output that crowds went forth to hear the preaching of John the Baptist, on the Advent of the Messianic Kingdom, and that multitudes followed Christ into the desert, there to learn how they might prepare for admission into that kingdom, shortly to be disclosed, and for the manifestation of which they were on the tip-toe of expectation.

It is not possible for us to deny that Christ did recognise this pseudepigraphic literature, up to a certain point, and that He even ratified some of its eschatological promises.

These chap-books of the people usually adopted the form of Ascensions of one or other of the Patriarchs into heaven, where he received instruction as to that which is about to happen on earth, on the splendours prepared for the Elect people of God: on the future in store for the Gentiles; but they also communicated much theological and moral instruction qualified to edify and prepare for the Advent of the Messiah. These works carried on the history of the development of Jewish thought; and, although mixed with much that is fantastic, *bizarre*, are unquestionably in advance of the spiritual stand-point of Canonical Old Testament Scriptures.

The Determination of the Canon.

It must be borne in mind that the Jews possessed no Canon of Scripture till about the year A.D. 100, when at the Rabbinic synod of Jamnia, whither after the destruction of Jerusalem the Sanhedrin had retired and reformed itself, the whole mass of Apocalypses that had circulated from the time of Antiochus Epiphanes to A.D. 70 was rejected.

Rejection of the Apocalypses.

This was due to an outburst of disappointment and spleen, because the promises so lavishly made by the authors as to the Coming of the Messiah, the Triumph of Judaism over Gentiledom, and the elevation of Jerusalem to be the world-metropolis, had been falsified by events.

The result of this rejection was that nearly all this apocryphal literature in the original Hebrew or Aramaic has been lost, and would have perished wholly, had not the Early Christians perceived its value, and had translated the several Apocalyptic treatises into Euthiopic, Armenian, Slavonic, Greek and Latin. The value of this store of literature has only been recognised of late, and has been acknowledged as preparatory to the revelation of Our Lord, and especially as the source of Paulinism

Uncertainty as to what works were.

Down to the date A.D.100. there was no defined barrier between Inspired and Uninspired Scripture; and when S. Paul bade Timothy search the sacred writings for that "all Scripture is given by inspiration of God" (2 Tim. III. 16) his recommendation included the study of the Apocalypse of Enoch, the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the forged Sibylline Oracles, as well as the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes. The people of Berea were commended as more noble than those of Thessalonica in that they searched the Scriptures

canonical and apocryphal alike, without distinction (as none then existed) whether or not they gave promises which seemed to be fulfilled by the Apostolic assurance concerning the manifestation of Christ as the Messiah risen from the dead.

The Palestinian Apocrypha.

Of the apocryphal literary movement there were two currents, the Palestinian and the Alexandrian. The Palestinian Apocrypha were written in Hebrew or Aramaic or, like the Book of Daniel, in a mixture of both. The several works bore the same character, they were apocalyptic, and as already stated, were calculated to encourage the Jews at home with hopes of ultimate triumph.

The Alexandrian Apocrypha.

But the Alexandrian Apocrypha were of a different sort. They were in no ways visionary,¹⁷ and were confined to theological and moral instruction, sometimes in the form of disquisitions, also in that of fictions. These were written in Greek; they have received a hesitating acceptance in the English Church, but one more generous in that of Rome. There cannot exist a doubt that S. Paul as well as the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews was intimately acquainted with the book of Wisdom, and felt none of the scruples as to its canonicity that actuated the Reformers. The book is supposed by some critics to have consisted of two parts of different dates, ranging from B.C.50 to B.C.30.

The Book of Enoch.

Of the Palestinian Apocrypha, the most popular and that in highest esteem was the Book of Enoch, quoted by S. James, as likewise by the pseudo-Barnabas. This also was largely used by S. Paul. Enoch, as we now possess the revelation, is supposed by some critics to be a composite work by three authors writing between B.C.170 and B.C.60. It is however more probable, that the book as it has reached us in translations has been by a single hand, but has undergone interpolation at a later date.

The three main theses in the Book of Enoch are:

1. Its Messianic doctrine. The Messiah is Eternal, All Wisdom, All Mighty, and occupies a seat by the throne of God.
2. Its Universalist spirit. Salvation is not confined to the Jewish people, but is offered to the just of all nations.
3. Its attitude towards the Law, which is cold and very far from that of the Pharisees.¹⁸

We see, accordingly, in the Book of Enoch, the germs of the three most distinguishing features of Paul's doctrine.

The same feeling as that pervading Enoch is noticeable in other Apocryphal books, as the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs, and the forged Sibylline oracles.

¹⁷ The Salathiel Ezra, which is apocalyptic, is late, about A.D. 100, but contains early traditions.

¹⁸ Oesterley. The Books of the Apocrypha, p.205.

All the Palestinian Apocryphal books that are extant are now accessible to English readers through the translations by Dr. Charles, The Apocrypha and Pseudepigrapha of the Old Testament, 1918; and an admirable introduction to their study is provided by Canon Oesterley's The Books of the Apocrypha, 1915. Other works of value are Fairweather, The Background of the Gospels, 1908; and Dr. Thos. Walker, The Teaching of Jesus and the Jewish Teaching of His Age, 1923.

The Apocrypha was preparatory.

One night when I was in Iceland in my tent, I was roused, about midnight, by sound as of trumpet-blasts overhead. Plucking aside the canvas-flap that formed the door, I looked forth, and saw aloft a flight of white swans, illumined by the, to me, hidden sun. Their wings were as silver and their feathers as gold, against an opalescent Arctic-night summer sky.

So was it with these Apocryphal writers, illumined some more fully, some less, by the Sun of Righteousness about to rise. Men awoke, unsealed their eyes, and were in a condition of eager expectancy of the Orb of Spiritual Day appearing, to flood the earth, and fill and kindle the heart of man with the promised gladsome light.

No individual hope offered by Moses.

The revolt of Moses against the predominant "other-worldliness" of the Egyptians is a phenomenon that has not as yet met with explanation.

The ancient Egyptians lived in constant preparation for the life beyond the grave, and the judgment of souls by Osiris. Moses put all such thoughts aside. He bade the Hebrew ignore himself in his zeal for the Nation. Not by one word did he hold out any hope for man individually, beyond life on Earth.

Sheol.

For all the sons of Adam, ultimately gaped Sheol, the unblest abode of the shades. That was to be the final and everlasting habitation of every human soul, if such a thing existed as soul apart from the breath of life. Sheol was esteemed to be "a land of darkness and the shadow of death" from which was no return, "a land of darkness, as darkness itself; and of the shadow of death, without any order, and where the light is as darkness." (Job X. 21, 22.)

The Greek was far ahead of Moses in this particular; he believed that there did exist a world of spirits, where the blessed walked in the Asphodel pastures of Elysium, and the wicked suffered in Tartarus gaping after fruit that eluded their lips. In fact the prospect to man, as held out by Moses, was inferior to that anticipated by the most uncultured savage, who did lay his weapons by the departed brave, in expectation that in the spiritual world he would resume his beloved pastime of the chase. The only rewards offered to the Hebrew by Moses were long life, terrestrial prosperity, and a large family.

Prehistoric men in Britain settling in the land some time between 10,000 B.C., the date of the last glacial period, and the introduction of Bronze, about 2,000 B.C. were not inferior in any way to the Hebrew race led out of Egypt by Moses and Aaron. "Their brain pans were as large as those of the modern European; they worshipped the sun, studied the heavens, and believed in a life after death."¹⁹ Consequently they were spiritually more enlightened as to the

¹⁹ Hippiusley Cox, The Green Roads of England, 1923, p.13. Mr. Cox is specially reliable for his judgment of Prehistoric remains in Britain.

future, than was Moses, and as were the Jews till about 200 B.C., and then they trusted in the speculations of Apocalyptists, and on the feeble adumbrations of the Canonical prophets.

Personality.

The Hebrew's notion of Personality was limited to the Body. This latter lived so long as Blood and the Breath were in it; but when a man exhaled his last breath, there and then was the end of him. The Psalmists had no clearer view as to the future. (Ps. XXX. 9; LXIX. 15.) The dead are no more held in remembrance by God. "The slain shall lie in the grave, whom thou remembrest no more; and they are cut off from thy hand," (Ps. LXXXVIII. 5.) But all was uncertain. Not a gleam of light had revealed to the Hebrew any hope for the future, individually.²⁰ Sheol itself was doubtful.

Influx of Hellenism.

With the Greek invasion, beginning with the conquests by Alexander, a vast change took place in the minds of the people. An universalist spirit was infiltrated among them, opposed to the narrowness and exclusiveness fostered among them from the date of the return out of Babylon. The people, says Dr. Oesterley, "saw no objection to associating with the Greeks, were glad to learn from them, and welcomed the free and wide atmosphere which was characteristic of Greek thought. The result was that Jewish Apocalyptic, enriched by extraneous ideas and beliefs, flourished among the people; to many it brought light and comfort because it solved problems which had hitherto appeared insoluble. That this life was merely preparatory to a happier and fuller one after death, when the godly would come to their own, and the wicked would receive their recompense; such a doctrine laid at rest the doubts and heart-searchings of those who were shocked at seeing the prosperity of the wicked, and who were grieved at the adversity and sorrow of the righteous. Jewish Apocalyptic, therefore, flourished; it appealed to the mass of the people, for it inspired them with hope; it was individualistic, so that each felt that here was a message for him in particular as well as for the nation at large."²¹

Missionary Attempts.

At the same time the more liberal-minded Jews attempted missionary work among the cultured Greeks and Romans; and the proselytes, of whom we hear in the Acts of the Apostles, were the result of their success. Their methods were not altogether legitimate, for they forged Sibylline oracles which they quoted as genuine in support of their efforts. Later, unhappily, Christians imitated their example.

Obviously Paul's success in his missionary tours was the cause of great exasperation to his forerunners in labouring to convert the heathen. He was able to outbid them in his promises. Wherever there was a Synagogue of the Jews, there were to be found proselytes; and the primitive missionaries were filled with rage at the success of the Apostle, and stirred up all such as they could influence against him. The condition was somewhat like that in India, where the German Lutheran missionaries have created prejudice and roused faction against the emissaries of the Church of England.

The Amhaarez.

²⁰ The passage in Isaiah XXVI. 19 is generally acknowledged to be a late interpolation.

²¹ Oesterley, pp. 91-2.

But to return to the popular apocryphal literature. The Palestinian Apocrypha were eagerly read by the Common People, the Amhaarez. The Pharisees, as already said, did not condemn this literary output as heretical, but they regarded it with contemptuous toleration. They looked upon the Common People with disdain, as not attending the Schools of the Scribes, and denied to them part in the anticipated Resurrection. "This people who knoweth not the law is cursed," (John VII. 49) was the judgment on them pronounced by the Pharisees. Moses, and indeed the Prophets, had held out no higher promises to the Elect People, than earthly prosperity. The Jews under foreign rule, having seen the Temple violated, the Law disregarded, and feeling themselves crushed under taxation, had lost faith in the Law as fulfilling its promises. But at this juncture arose the Chassidim, the Pious in Israel, with their broader hopes, and their universality of mission. To use Dr. Oesterley's words, "The great role that the Apocalyptists played was as the true prophets of the people; in this they followed in some important particulars the prophets of old, for if not in the same sense as these the expression of the national conscience, the Apocalyptists spoke to the hearts of the people in the name of God. If, upon the whole, their words were addressed more to individual men than to the nation as a single whole, it was a welcome sign that the individual was coming to his own . . . Soon, very soon, the bright future would dawn, the Great Deliverer would come, and sorrow and sighing would pass away."²²

The Line adopted by S. Paul.

That which Saul did, at his Conversion, was to turn his back upon Pharisaism, and to adopt the views of the Apocalyptists, make them his own, and show how that the writers had taught the Nature of the Messiah, had foretold His Coming, and had prophesied the End of the world, with a general Resurrection, and a Final Judgment. He went further. He proclaimed that the Messiah had come, how that by His Resurrection He had proved Himself to be the expected Son of Man, and how that by His rising from the Grave, He had given an earnest of a General Resurrection; how that He would come at the End of the Age, judge the world, and set up His Kingdom. Paul's doctrine grew out of the Apocalypses as a plant from its root, and would have failed in effect but for their having prepared the way for his Gospel.

Saul would not have hastened to Damascus, unless he had been well assured that there he would find emissaries of the Church at Jerusalem, who had preceded him, and these emissaries could have been none other than personal eye-witnesses of the Resurrection. Upon his Conversion it is possible, it is more than possible, it is probable, we may even assert, certain, that he heard their testimony.

Knowing, as we do, the characteristic vehemence of Saul's character, we can not doubt but that, no sooner had he recovered his sight, than he would seek and catechise those of the Witnesses as were then in Damascus. Not only so, but when he preached, he not only instanced his own experience, but called up as testimonies to the veracity of Christ's resurrection, Witness actually present in the synagogue; a procedure especially exasperating to the Jews who could not refute personal testimonies.

The Gospel at the time was very simple. It consisted of no more than insistence that the Resurrection gave assurance that Jesus was the Messiah. From this ensued the obligation imposed on the convert to abandon past sins and offences (repentance), and to enrolment in the Kingdom of Heaven, by baptism. The basis of all was the Resurrection, and that was irrefutably proved by innumerable responsible witnesses of the highest character.

²² Oesterley, p.96.

From that moment Saul never regarded the fact of the Resurrection as an open question. All that he contested for was its consequence as applied to the case of the Faithful. One may read his writings throughout, and not discover the smallest hesitation as to the reality of Christ's Resurrection. As Paul's Conversion took place in A.D.35 we have the evidence carried back to the earliest date, and his conviction as to its being irrecusable [*that cannot be rejected*] was written, A.D.50 to the Church at Corinth which he had founded. It must be well considered that the Church's faith was not based upon the Gospels, but that the Gospels were the expression of its faith.

In the year A.D.35 Saul, the Persecutor, reached the point of indisputable, inexpugnable [*unassailable, impregnable*] conviction, that the Crucified Jesus had broken the bands of death, and in His glorified humanity occupied the heavens, as the promised Messiah; but this was the sole fact of which he had any consciousness, and as to its application he had no other guidance than the obscure hints of the canonical prophets, and above all, the more explicit teaching of the Apocryphal writers of the last two centuries, and the emphatic assurances of the Witnesses, which he received in Damascus.

Apparently it never crossed the mind of S. Paul, in all his Apostolic career, that the fact of Christ's bodily Resurrection was open to question.

It would seem that the condition at Jerusalem was similar. The Witnesses were too numerous, too circumstantial, too accordant, and of too high repute for their veracity, for it to have been possible, even if attempted, to overthrow their testimony. The Fact was incontrovertible, but the deductions were disputable. With these latter only did the Apostle concern himself.²³

The main doctrines of the Apocalyptists.

The Apocalyptists were not all on the same level of thought. Some few were particularist, but even these gravitated towards that Universalism which Paul the Apostle made his own.

The principal doctrines of the Apocalyptists were as follows:-

- I. The Messiah is the Elect One, co-eternal with Jehovah. In I Enoch He is represented as Divine, having His place on the throne of God. He existed before the world began. He is the Judge and Saviour, and is endowed with perfect Wisdom and Justice. According to the Testament of Levi: "He shall open the gates of Paradise. He shall remove the threatening sword from Adam. To the Saints He will give to eat of the Tree of Life; and the Spirit of Holiness shall rest upon them." [*Levi 5:26*] The Messiah is repeatedly represented as the Son of Man, more hesitatingly as the Son of David.
- II. He will open the Kingdom of Heaven to all mankind, and no more limit it to the observers of the Law. We can see it in the words of Simeon (that the advent of Christ meant "a light to lighten the Gentiles," as well as to prove a "Glory to God's people Israel,") that Universalism had penetrated even within the precincts of the Temple.

²³ At Antioch later he must have met with further Witnesses; but he accepted from them nothing else except their personal testimony to the Fact. Indeed he appears never to have encountered such as controverted the fact, only demurred to his deductions therefrom.

According to the Apocalyptists the Kingdom of the Messiah was to contain all the Elect, and such as lived righteous lives, no matter what their nationality might be; and a Jew that was ungodly was regarded as an outcast from that kingdom.

III. Another doctrine of the Apocalyptists was that of the Resurrection at the Last Day. As already intimated the Jew had little notion of Soul. Man's individuality consisted in his Body and Mind. On the other hand to the Greek, individuality consisted in the Soul, and the body was but a vesture put on at birth and cast aside with indifference at death. To the Greek the idea of a spiritual life after death was no novelty, but this was an idea so strange to the Jew, that he had a difficulty in apprehending it. Consequently the Apocalyptists taught, – as involved in a condition of felicity here-after, that the body itself would be raised incorruptible. Here Paul was able to step in, and connect the Apocalyptic doctrine with that of the Resurrection of Christ. He supplied a needed link. It was because Christ rose from the grave that all such as are united to Him partake in the gift of resurrection. This was the therefore ensuing from the because. “Christ is risen from the dead, and become the first-fruits of them that slept. For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead. For as in Adam all die; even so, in Christ shall all be made alive.” (1 Cor. XV. 20-2.) “If there be no resurrection of the dead, then is Christ not risen. And if Christ be not risen, then is our preaching vain, and your faith is also vain . . . For if the dead rise not, then is not Christ raised: and if Christ be not raised, your faith is vain.” (1 Cor. XV. 13-17.)

Original Sin a new theory of Death.

(It may be noticed parenthetically that the conception of death ensuing on all mankind as consequence of descent from Adam, and death having been inflicted as a chastisement for Adam's transgression, was a novel doctrine introduced into the Rabbinic schools between B.C. 300 and B.C. 200. It was caught up and developed assiduously by the Apocalyptists as an explanation of the degradation into which mankind, and especially the Gentiles, had lapsed. Paul borrowed, and enforced the doctrine, taking it either from his old Rabbinic masters, or from his new teachers, the Apocalyptists, and out of it he fashioned his thesis of the two Adams.)

IV. The Apocalyptists were unanimous in proclaiming an Universal Judgment. With them Our Lord had agreed, and Paul at first was vigorous in his announcement of its arrival within a short period of time. From them he took his eschatology, not from Christ, of Whose words he knew nothing.

V. The Apocalyptists were unanimous upon the topic of predestination and election, and from them Paul derived his teaching thereupon.

Revelation.

The Apocalyptists, whoever they may have been, were firmly convinced that their forecasts of what was to happen, were revelations that they had received: the name of Apocalyptists meant revealers, and their works were taken as Revelations. Paul, who insists on his capacity to preach the Gospel as due to revelation, meant no more than this – that he possessed an internal conviction that he himself was right in what he thought, even should the older Apostles think otherwise. All Paul's doctrine is in this Palestinian Apocrypha, if not in full, yet in germ, and consequently might be held to be “revealed.”

Brief Account of' S. Paul's Early Career.

We will now take a brief glance at the early history of Paul, in order to see whence he did derive what he was pleased to entitle "his Gospel."

Paul's Ignorance.

That he knew next to nothing of the real teaching of Christ is certain. It also appears that he took no trouble to acquire it. Consequently we must look elsewhere for the sources of his Gospel, and these Sources are apparent in the Apocryphal literature of the Palestinian school as well as in that of the Alexandrian Writers.

Saul as a Persecutor.

Saul, as he tells us himself, was brought up as a Pharisee, and was educated in the School of Gamaliel in all the subtleties of Rabbinic interpretation of the Law. Filled with enthusiasm for that, and with hatred of heresy, he assisted at the execution of Stephen, the Protomartyr, and then was engaged in making "great havoc of the Church, entering into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison," (Acts VIII. 3). On his way to Damascus, for the same purpose, his mind brooded perhaps, on the words of Stephen, "Behold, I see the heavens opened, and the Son of Man standing on the right hand of God." [*Acts 7:56*]

His Conversion.

This may have prepared him for the ensuing vision, when he was stricken to earth by the sight of Christ in His splendour, and by hearing an address from Him, according to one version, commissioning him to become an Apostle to the Gentiles. But to be an apostle one must have something to teach; and of that Paul knew nothing.

We might well have supposed that upon his recovery of sight, he would have sped to Jerusalem, there to have sought instruction in the doctrine of Christ. But no such thing took place.

Retirement to Arabia.

Possibly, thinking that the Faithful would fear rather than welcome him, he retired into Arabia and lurked among the red rocks of Perea, perhaps taking with him some volumes of the Apocrypha to consider there, in solitude, and see whether out of them he would be able to devise some instructive notions as to the nature of the doctrine that he had received commission to teach.

Return to Damascus.

After a while he returned to Damascus, where he loitered for three years, without making any attempt to obtain instruction at headquarters from those who had communed with Christ, and who had been commissioned by Him to preach His doctrine of Glad Tidings. "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature." [*Mark 16:15*]

At Damascus, if Saul learned anything of the teaching of Christ, it must have been through second or third hand testimony, not always reliable. He was, however, full of enthusiasm bred of the conviction due to his vision, which had convinced him that He Who had been crucified was alive and glorified in the heavens. And he asked, What does this imply? To what does it lead?

He makes no effort to learn what was Christ's doctrine.

Still he made no effort to seek instruction at headquarters. During the three years spent at Damascus Saul could have acquired nothing trustworthy as to the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Nevertheless he preached diligently, we may presume, iterating the story of his Conversion. He tells the Galatians, "I certify you, brethren, that the Gospel which was preached of me is not after man. For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it but by the revelation of Jesus Christ. But when it pleased God Who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his Grace, to reveal his Son in me --- immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood; neither went I up to Jerusalem to them who were Apostles before me, but I went into Arabia, and returned again to Damascus," (Gal. I. 15-18).

Whilst he was in Damascus almost certainly he came in contact with the Zadocites, a sect of the Sadducees, which had there its headquarters.

Pharisees and Sadducees.

The difference between the Pharisees and the Sadducees consisted in this:- the former insisted on the glosses on the Pentateuch made by the Rabbis being held in equal esteem with the text. On the other hand the Sadducees held to the letter of the Law, and rejected the interpretations as making the Word of God of none effect by tradition.

The Zadocites.

The Zadocites²⁴ assuredly had recorded the words of Christ against the Pharisees, as being consonant with their own prejudices, and these would serve to deepen Saul's aversion from his former teachers. But he broke from association with the Zadocites on the theme of the Resurrection. Consequently he was in ill favour with the Pharisaic party on one side, and with the Sadducean party on the other, with the result that riots ensued. The Governor under Aretas the Petraean King, lent his authority to assist the orthodox, as the larger party. Not that the Governor cared as to the matter in dispute, but that it was his duty to quell disorders in the city.

Escape from Damascus.

The friends of Saul, having ascertained that a conspiracy had been formed among the orthodox Jews to assassinate him, contrived, by letting him down during the night in a basket from a window in the town-wall, to enable him to escape to Jerusalem.

Jerusalem.

There he was at first regarded with suspicion, till Barnabas became his advocate, and introducer to Peter and James. With them he spent at the outside fifteen days; if the [*?we*] deduct the preliminary hesitations and pourparlers, [*informal preliminary discussions. From the French*] probably only a dozen.

We are left to conjecture as to the main topic of discussion. That Saul asked for and obtained instruction in the doctrine of Christ is improbable, on account of the vehement repudiation by him of having been taught anything by oral tradition. His mind was full of the Vision that had been granted to him, and there can exist little doubt that the appearances of the Lord after His

²⁴ For the Zadocites see Charles, Fragments of a Zadocite Work, 1912.

Resurrection formed the principal subject of discussion. Jesus had specially appeared to James, a fact unrecorded save by S. Paul, but James and Peter had seen Him twice in the Upper Chamber, also on a mountain in Galilee, and repeatedly by the Sea of Genesareth. [*Gennesaret*] We can hardly doubt but that out of the comparison of these experiences, Paul formulated his doctrine of the Resurrection [*of the body*] Body, which he gave in 1. Cor. XV. 37-44.

He seeks there no instruction.

Even had Saul sought instruction, a fortnight was far too brief a time in which to acquire much. And still further to prove that he had not been taught Christianity at Jerusalem, he asserted that he was a stranger to the Christians in Judaea, who had merely heard of his conversion.

The fortnight having expired, Saul was constrained to escape, as by his disputing with the Grecians, he had managed to stir up among them sufficient animosity so that they attempted his assassination.

Return to Tarsus.

He was, accordingly, obliged to escape to Caesarea; and thence by ship he returned to his native city Tarsus. There he remained, completely cut off from the current of Christian tradition for eleven years.

Messrs Conybeare and Howson conjecture that these years were spent in missionary journeys and continuous preaching. It may have been so, but we are not justified by a single word in the Acts or in the Epistles of S. Paul to judge that this was the case.

At the conclusion of the eleven years, Barnabas fetched him from Tarsus, and conveyed him to Antioch, where he remained for a twelvemonth.

S. Paul and S. Mark.

At Antioch Paul was in a situation to obtain authentic accounts of the acts and the teaching of Our Lord, and it was probably there that he made acquaintance with John Mark, who had not as yet compiled his Gospel, but was undoubtedly full of information relative to Christ's acts and words. The Apostle does not seem to have relished Mark's communications. Although Mark was taken on, at the instigation of Barnabas, upon their first missionary journey, some friction between them caused a parting of company, and Mark went back to Jerusalem where was his home, for his mother's house was a special centre of reunions for the disciples of Our Lord (Acts XII. 12. 25) In fact, few men, if any, beyond the Twelve, could have been found more suited to report the Memorabilia of Jesus. Mark was a cousin of Barnabas, and a special favourite of S. Peter, who speaks of him as "his son." (1, Pet. V. 13) He is supposed, not without reason, to have been the young man who was present at the arrest of Christ "Having a linen cloth cast about his naked body; and the young men laid hold on him: and he left the linen cloth, and fled from them naked." (Mark XIV. 51-52). Although the name is not given, the circumstance, which is alone mentioned by Mark, is clearly due to personal reminiscence.

One would have supposed, that Paul would have embraced the opportunity to learn of the teaching of Christ from such a person, full of information. But it was not so.

Later, when the Apostle decided upon undertaking his second missionary journey, Barnabas desired to take Mark with them, but Paul would not hear of it: "Paul thought not good to take

him with them, who departed from them from Pamphylia, and went not with them to the work. And the contention was so sharp between them, that they departed asunder one from the other; and so Barnabas took Mark, and sailed unto Cyprus; and Paul chose Silas.” (Acts XV. 37-40)

There was clearly an incongruity, as to the nature of which Luke deemed it advisable to be silent. If, however, we observe how studiously the Apostle in his writings avoids all allusion to the acts and words of Christ, such as he was certain to have heard reported by Mark, and how he asserts his ignorance relative to Our Lord’s history, previous to the consummation of His ministry upon the Cross and how he reports nothing of any specific sayings that were attributed to Him, it is hard not to come to the conclusion that Paul did not find Mark’s reminiscences at all to his taste. The Apostle would appear to have been impatient of contradiction or correction, and to have been ready to dismiss from his memory every record and report that did not agree with his preconceived theories, and comport with his “Gospel.”

S. Paul & the Twelve.

From Antioch Paul again visited Jerusalem, not to learn anything concerning Christ’s teaching, but to insist upon the Twelve accepting his views.²⁵

The manner in which Paul speaks of Peter, James and John, in the Galatian epistle is not cordial, it is somewhat contemptuous. “Those who seemed to be somewhat (whatsoever they were, it maketh no matter to me, God accepteth no man’s person); for they who seemed to be somewhat in conference added nothing to me,” (Gal II. 6) This was hardly respectful in tone of those who were indisputably Apostles superior to himself.

From his own account we can see that the Twelve shewed some hesitation at first, on hearing of his assumption of the apostolic title, and he himself was irritated because his word was not accepted without demur. It did not occur to his mind that the Twelve had merely his own assertion for it; - that he had received appointment to the Apostolate equal, if not superior to their own.

S. Paul does not quote the sayings of Christ.

Somewhat confirmatory of the statement made in the Galatian Epistle that Paul knew nothing, or next to nothing of Our Lord’s teaching is the fact that out of about 83 quotations in the Epistles to the Romans, Galatians, and Corinthians, he makes but one reference to the sayings of Christ, and that one has regard to the Institution of the Eucharist, which he probably acquired from Barnabas. The rest are supposed to be drawn from the Old Testament but most are not from the Original, but from the Septuagint translation, and these are occasionally altered where they did not suit the Apostle’s purpose, and are adapted.

Quotations.

In one case he quoted as from the sacred oracles a passage nowhere to be found in them (I. Cor. II. 9) but which he probably derived from an apocryphal work, though as yet it has not been identified. More serious was his basing an argument on the promise of God made to Abraham that “He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is Christ,” (Gal. III. 16). This is precisely what is not said, for both the Hebrew and the Greek words for seed are collective in the singular, denoting posterity; whereas seed by the Apostle is limited to one person, even to Christ. “The seed of Abraham” certainly meant nothing else

²⁵ The visit to Jerusalem described was the second, not the third. Ramsay, Saul the Traveller, 1896.

but the Jewish people; and to give it another sense is contrary to exegesis. It is certainly a remarkable testimony to the ignorance of S. Paul that he makes so little allusion to the Sayings of Christ. It is true that Luke, in the Acts, giving an address he attributes to S. Paul, makes him quote a speech of Our Lord, "It is more blessed to give than to receive,"²⁶ (Acts XX. 35), but it is not possible to take the text of recorded speeches, whether in historical heathen writings or in those given in Scripture, as not having been subjected to embellishment by the reporter.

Doctrine contrary to that of Christ.

There exists further evidence, though of a negative character, that exhibits S. Paul as ignorant of the teaching of Christ. If there be one point most conspicuously brought into prominence by Our Lord, it is that of doing the Will of God, and not being content with profession. And the Will of God was revealed in the Moral Law.

Relative to the Law.

Paul cannot by any possibility have heard of the sayings of Christ, "Think not that I am come to destroy the Law or the Prophets. I am not come to destroy, but to fulfil. For verily I say unto you, till heaven and earth pass, one jot or tittle shall in no wise pass from the Law, till all be fulfilled," (Matt. V. 17, 18). "It is easier for heaven and earth to pass, than one tittle of the Law to fail," (Luke XVI. 17). Moreover when the Lawyer asked of Christ, "Master, what shall I do to inherit eternal life?" the answer made was pointing to the Law. "This do, and thou shalt live," (Luke X. 25-28).

Had Paul heard any of these words, he would not have ventured to launch his diatribes against the Law, as he did in his Epistle to the Galatians, and to have asserted, as he did in the Second to the Corinthians²⁷ that the Law was done away in Christ, (2. Cor. III. 16) or to the Romans, "The Law, wherein we were formerly held fast, has lost its hold upon us." (Rom. VII. 6). The Apostle does not even scruple to describe the Law as the occasion of Sin. "I should not have known what sin was, except through the Law." (Rom. VII. 7) For where there is no Law, no such a thing as sin can exist and condemn man. "But when the commandment came, sin rose to life, and I died; and the very commandment whose end is life, was found to be the cause of death; for sin when it had gained a vantage-ground by the Commandment, deceived me to my fall, and slew me by the sentence of the Law."

It is not easy, in my opinion, to reconcile the doctrine of Paul with that of Christ as expressed in Mark. V. 19; V. 48; VII. 21; 25-5; XII. 50; XVI.27; XIX. 17; XXV. 34-40; Luke VIII. 21; XIII. 6-7; XIV. 13-14; XIX. 9; John V.29

It is noticeable how that Paul after his splendid account of the Resurrection, and of the change that would take place in the risen body, was unable to refrain his finger from striking a jarring note "The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the Law, ["] which throws the whole passage out of tune.

S. Paul could speak many a comfortable word when he liked; he was also capable of uttering very unpleasing opinions, that grate on the heart, even when desiring to instruct.²⁸

²⁶ A saying unrecorded in any of the Gospels.

²⁷ "It (the Law) is done away in Christ." Done away is predicated, not of the Veil, but of the Covenant. Conybeare and Howson, ed. 1863, II. p.104.

²⁸ The startling notion of God having promulgated the Law in order to make man sinful never entered into other

And on the Basis of Morality.

Another instance of apparent divergence from Christ's doctrine, relates to moral guilt. Our Lord in the Sermon on the Mount had taught that this consisted in the evil desire felt even though not carried into execution. Paul apparently was of another opinion. Moral guilt, according to him, is not incurred by a man who commits illicit acts, so long as mentally he admits that his conduct merits reproach. "We know that the Law is spiritual; but for me, I am carnal, a slave sold into captivity of sin. What I do I approve not, because I do not that which I would, but that which I hate. But if my will is opposed to my deeds, I thereby acknowledge the goodness of the Law. And now, it is no more I myself who do the evil, but it is the sin which dwells in me. For I know that in me, that is, in my flesh, good abides not, for to will is present with me, but to do the right is absent; the good that I would, I do not, but the evil which I would not, that I do. Now, if my own will be opposed to my deeds, it is no more I myself who do them, but the sin that dwelleth in me. I find then this Law, that though my will is to do good, yet evil is present with me; for I gladly approve of the Law of God in my inner man, but I behold another Law in my members, warring against the Law of my mind, and making me captive to the Law of sin which is in my members. O wretched man that I am! Who shall deliver me from the body of death? I thank God (for my emancipation) through Jesus Christ our Lord. So then, in myself, though I am subject in my mind to the Law of God, yet, in my flesh I am subject to the Law of sin. Now, therefore, there is no condemnation to those who are in Christ Jesus (for their illicit acts) for the Law of the Spirit of Life in Christ Jesus has freed me from the Law of sin and of death." (Rom. VII.14 --VIII.2)

Adopted by Luther.

It was precisely this doctrine which induced Luther to advise 'Pecca fortiter' [*translation: sin strongly*] Sin and sin boldly, yet, the more firmly, believe.²⁹

The Spirit as opposed to the Law.

Paul was led into contradictions by his speculations. Allied with his doctrine that no sin adhered to man so long as he did not sensibly approve of his immoral acts, the Apostle set up the Spirit of God in conflict with the Law. He did not dare to say that the Moral Law was not given by the Almighty, but at the same time he made it of none effect to such as were led by the Spirit. According to Paul, God's Spirit is opposed to the Law, although the Law is, as he professes it to be – spiritual. He says: "If ye are led by the Spirit, ye are not under the Law." [*Gal 5:18*] Or, again, "The letter (which is equivalent to the Law) kills; the Spirit giveth life." [*2 Cor 3:6*] Or, again the Law spells bondage; but "where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty." [*2 Cor 3:17*] There was none of this in the teaching of Jesus Christ. It was upon such obiter dicta [*Translation: a legal term referring to an opinion which a judge expresses in his judgement but which is not the main point of law dealt with in that judgement*] as these, that

Jewish conception. Dr. Montefiore says: "We cannot by any means adopt the Pauline conception of the Law. We judge it very differently. We make no violent antithesis between works and faith, and we certainly do not accept the strange idea of the Law's purpose being the strengthening and sharpening of sin." The Old Testament and After, 1923, p. 229.

²⁹ So also Angelo; "Condemn the fault, and not the actor of it?
Why, every fault's condemned ere it be done.
Mine were the very cipher of a function,
To find the fault . . . and let go by the actor."

the Antinomian sects from Marcion down to Martin Luther have built up their systems of Justification by Faith only without the Works of the Law.

It is difficult, as far as I can see, to bring this doctrine into harmony with that of Our Blessed Lord as disclosed to us in the Gospels, and to maintain Morality of Conduct. It resolves morality into mere sentiment.

Paul made a mistake from the beginning of his Apostleship in not discriminating between moral responsibilities that cannot be discarded and the obligations of ceremonialism that are of fleeting nature, and may be dispensed with when no longer required. Like many another reformer he began to teach when he ought to have first been a learner. As Dr. Montefiore has said, his ideas tumbled one over another; they jostled, they clashed; in them was no well thought out system. But he was wise enough to eat his leek and modify his extravagancies, when he came to know what had really been the doctrine of the Divine Master. The Church readily condoned his early errors and vacillations for the sake of the splendid work he effected in his missionary tours, and when he fell into line with the first constituted Apostles, and accordingly modified his doctrine to accordance with theirs. His early teaching as given in the Epistles to the Galatians and to the Romans was like a mixture of alkali and acid, mutually antagonistic elements. Having repudiated the Law, he had no basis on which to found Principle. He desired earnestly to inculcate Morality, but did not know on what grounds to rest it. He entertained the delusive idea that any man who was one of his converts and had professed his adhesion to Christianity, would follow the moral doctrine of Christ, before he knew what that doctrine was; or else who would be endowed with an instinct or spiritual guidance which would direct him infallibly how to rule his conduct, irrespective of any law inscribed upon tables of stone. Experience, however, soon taught him how fallacious was such a hope, and how prone the human heart was to self-deception, and to self-condonation of moral lapses.

After an alkali and an acid have been mixed, effervescence ensues, and the generation of much heat. But finally the fusion settles down into the placid formation of a salt. It was much like this with Paul's teaching; and the sober tone of the Pastoral Epistles is the salt that ensued after the effervescence of his conflicting ideas had subsided. The Antinomian element has shown its activity at several consequent periods, leading to schism, but the precious particles dispersed through Paul's Writings have been preserved and have been given their full value in the Church, supported as they have been by sound Common Sense.

How Paul was led astray.

Paul was probably led into the depreciation of the Law by his too implicit reliance on the Old Testament Apocrypha.

Not only do these exhibit a covert depreciation of the Law, but in one instance its authority is openly assailed. This apparently influenced Paul's judgment, and caused him to regard the Law as uninspired.

It has been supposed that he derived his "Gospel" by divine revelation, that it came down to him from above complete like the image of Diana of Ephesus. But recently the source of his ideas has been discovered; and we ascertain that they were nearly all to be found in the uncanonical Apocrypha; not, perhaps, all fully perfected and applied, but as the unfolded petals of a flower wrapped together and only awaiting the sun of June to expand in perfection.

Debt due to Paul.

The Church owes a great debt to Paul. Although his arguments may be of small value, owing to his Semitic incompetence to conduct one logically and convincingly, yet his writings abound in glittering passages, on which the reader eagerly fastens. His epistles resemble boxes of many coloured beads; the string on which they were threaded is hopelessly tangled, so that critics contend to deduce something logical from his writings, but must put into them first of all their own ideas; and each critic finds a different solution. The sparkles sprinkled over the text are like salt dredged over food, and conserve to the text its nutritive character,³⁰ and neutralise what is unwholesome.

It is wholly inconceivable that S. Paul should have used such disrespectful language relative to the Law, as that it was a curse from which his "Gospel" freed men; that it was the occasion of sin in the world, (for there existed no moral transgression till it was promulgated); that it was a pack of "weak and beggarly elements" [*Gal 4:9*] --- had he thought and believed that the Law was given by God from Sinai. We can only explain such disparagement on the plea that he did not believe that the Law was given by God, through Moses. And to this conviction he was brought, probably, by an old Rabbinic tradition which is recorded, in the Salathiel-Ezra Apocalypse (2 Esdras XIV). In that, we are informed how that Ezra sitting under an oak heard God's voice calling to him "out of a bush", commanding him to comfort and instruct the people of the Jews.

Ezra replied that he was quite willing so to do, but that he did not know how to set about the task, for that upon the destruction of the Temple when Jerusalem was taken by the Babylonians, the Book of the Law had been burnt.

Then Ezra himself proposed the recomposition of the Law by himself, as far as might be, from memory. He was commanded to prepare many box tablets, and to associate with himself five scribes who could write swiftly, and so to recompose the Pentateuch. This was accomplished in forty days. The result was a congeries of precepts, some remembered, some conjectured, some added as deemed expedient. But the whole was without the Divine authority of Him Who spake on Sinai, and of Moses who promulgated the original law.

Only on a supposition that Paul believed this tradition can we excuse him for the use of very unseemly expressions with regard to the Law.

The story as given in Esdras is apocryphal. Nevertheless it served its purpose. It is now made quite certain that the Law, as recorded in the Pentateuch, is made up of at least three independent collections, and that not one of those concerning ceremonial was ordered by God; but that the accumulations of priestly, ceremonial, social, and sanatory [*of healing*] laws were composed or rather put together by the scribes in Babylon, from recollection of the regulations which had been made, from time to time, as was found needful: and, as none knew when, and by whom, all this mass of rules had been made, they were indiscriminately

³⁰ Of the Apostle's teaching Dr. Montefiore says: "Paul's thoughts and conceptions tumble over one another; they are not always consistent; they are present in an archaic and unacceptable form; but out of the form there emerges an idea of a personality set towards evil or towards good." *The Old Testament and After*, 1923, p. 222. And again: "There is something elevating and sublime in many of Paul's expressions; his phrases stick in the memory, even when we may not wholly agree with them, they stimulate thought." *Ibid.* p. 273.

attributed to Moses, and therefore ultimately to God. Consequently, whether through reliance on the Ezra legend, or as due to his own critical acumen, Paul was not unjustified in calling this farrago of legislation “weak and beggarly elements,” and he justified his emancipating the Jews from obligation to it. As to Our Lord's words of ratification of the Law, Paul had assuredly no knowledge. But that which he failed fully to do, was to distinguish the moral law - so brief that it could be retained in a child's memory, from the heap of ceremonial ordinances.

This lack of discrimination led Paul into difficulties. He was fain to seek for some other theory on which to base his Law of Morality. He suggested two. The First, that the Jew, by baptism, in descending into the water, died to the Law, and that, as he rose from it, he emerged in newness of life, admitted into the liberty of the Gospel. His other theory was that, the Law being assumed to be dead, man was freed from attachment to it, and was at liberty to form a new attachment, and that to the Gospel. Neither theory quite answered his purpose, and accordingly he fell back as a *pis aller* [*Translation: Either ‘makeshift’ or more probably in this context ‘last resort’*] upon Predestination and Election.

Gnosticism and S. Paul.

The Antinomian Gnostics hailed Paul as the one sole true exponent of Christianity.

This they could not fail to do, as, apparently so much of his teaching, as of the antagonism of the Law to the Gospel, and the emancipation of the spirit from disciplinary control of the acts of the body, were so very akin to their own doctrine.

“When we consider,” says Baur, “the position which the Apostle assigns to the Law, and the terms he employs to describe its distinctive character, we see that the Law is here degraded from its absolute value, and reduced to the rank of a subordinate stage. Thus we can easily understand how that the Gnostics of the most pronounced Antinomianism appealed to the Apostle Paul as the authority for their tenets.”

It is well worth while to read S. Chrysostom's homilies on the Epistle to the Romans, preached at Antioch, about the year 385. In his introduction he expressed in beautiful words his admiration of and love for S. Paul. But when we come to what he has to say relative to the Apostle's theories as to the Law and Free Justification, he slides over the critical passages with scarce a notice.

A Popular Movement.

What has not till recently become known, was that during two hundred years a ferment was agitating the whole Jewish world from Jerusalem to Alexandria and to Rome. The restrictions of the so-called Mosaic dispensation, but really that of Ezra, were felt to be intolerable. The absolute severance between the Hebrew and the Greek was impracticable, as it interfered with business. Impatience was felt at the poverty and pettiness of the outlook presented to the Jew by the supposed author, confining all hope to temporal prosperity, and this had been disappointed by experience.

Paul heads the party of discontent with the Law.

The agitation was profound and wide-spread. Inevitably, a prophet must arise to give direction to the common craving, and therewith prospect of satisfying it. This was the function of Paul. He summed up, clarified, and enforced the doctrines of the Apocryphists, and, purposely, kept himself for fourteen years independent of Christian tradition, till he had

formulated his own religious system out of the writings of the Apocalyptists, and his own conjectures; and then, only, would he maintain friendly terms with the Twelve, if allowed unobstructed to publish everywhere his own Gospel.

It was true that “not many wise, not many mighty, not many noble” [1 Cor 1:26] responded to Paul’s emancipatory call; these had their interests engaged in the maintenance in statu quo. But the working and thinking classes had realised by practical experience the impossibility of retaining the old system. They had already been saturated with Apocalyptic doctrine, all that was needed was an Apostle of the New Movement, and, with him, a reasonable motive for release.

This large, wealthy, and liberal-minded fraction of Jewdom, spread throughout Asia Minor and Egypt, sought an excuse for shaking off the shackles of the Mosaic Law so far as it interfered with their business, and hindered social intercourse with the cultured Greeks and practical Romans. Paul was able to supply them with the excuse they needed to ease their consciences. Christ was the Messiah and He had abrogated the Law. Such was the sum of his teaching, and it was all that this class of Jews required. They were ready to look upon Christianity with toleration, although perhaps not disposed to allow themselves to be called disciples.

This, however, was something gained. It formed a split in the Jewish Community, and when a split occurs, each side becomes more and increasingly more emphatic in what it holds and what it rejects.

The term Law.

The term Law is employed in S. Paul's Epistles in a wide and comprehensive sense, and was not restricted to ceremonialism. The word embraces all rule, both moral, ceremonial and sanitary. Anything like distinction was absent from the Apostle’s thoughts. He excluded every form of law from possessing inherent efficacy to impart salvation, whether in obedience to moral requirements or to those concerning ceremonial acts. S. Paul had no intent whatever to make the moral law ineffective. This is showed [sic] in several of his Epistles, especially in that to the Colossians (III. 5 - 15) “Mortify your members which are upon the earth; fornication, uncleanness, inordinate affection, evil concupiscence, coveteousness, [sic] which is idolatry &c. &c.”

But why? After the abolition of the Law, letter spirit, these injunctions reposed on nothing more solid than the advice of a self-esteemed Apostle.

No Gospel had been published to supercede [sic] the Mosaic law - to expand or to qualify it. On what was a Gentile Christian to rule his life, to control his passions and to exhibit self-sacrifice? On the advice of a bald-headed Jew, who could give him no guarantee that this would in any degree profit him.

Earliest Testimony to the Faith of the Church.

A debt we owe to S. Paul is that in I. Cor. XV. 1-11 he laid down the main facts upon which Christianity reposes, as being generally accepted in the Church. Such was the unhesitating conviction of the Church, many years before any Gospels were published. Paul testifies that such was the general belief, based upon the testimony of numerous witnesses. It has been supposed that the Christian religion rests upon four books of uncertain origin. Paul shows us that the Four Gospels were the product and sum of Christian faith, not Christian faith the

produce of conviction in the records of these four Books – the Death and Resurrection of Jesus Christ, several years before the earliest Gospel was written. He does not indeed specify the Incarnation; but it is implied. His great authorities the Apocalyptists, insisted, not only on the eternity and co-equality of the Messiah with Jehovah, but also on His being the Son of Man; and this inevitably implies an Incarnation.

The Composition of the Gospel of S. Luke due to S. Paul

It has been suspected, and not without good reason, that it was during Paul's captivity at Caesarea, lasting three years, that he induced his scribe and companion Luke to compile the third of the synoptic Gospels.

With the exception of the strained association with S. Mark at Antioch, and during the journey to Cyprus, this was the sole occasion upon which S. Paul had been able to enter into familiar converse with those who had seen and heard Christ, and the Apostle probably seized upon the opportunity of thus presenting Christ in an aspect favourable to his own opinions.

S. Mark's Gospel was not as yet in circulation, but the materials were not only in the mouths of all the faithful, but already "many" had "taken in hand to set forth in order a declaration of those things which are most surely believed among us" (Luke 1. 1). But presumably [*sic*] all these favoured the idea that the Law was a permanent institution, only somewhat extended by Christ in its application as given in the Sermon on the Mount. John the Baptist was the forerunner of the Messiah, but was not one to close the Law, and throw away the key. On the contrary those who recorded their reminiscences of Christ were emphatic in repeating His words, wherein He declared that He had not come to repeal the Law. But this was not what Paul wanted. He needed a sentence spoken by Christ, abolishing the authority of the Law. Whilst in prison in Caesarea, visited by Jew converts, he was undoubtedly furnished by them with the statement that the Law had not been abrogated, not superseded; it had rather been made more obligatory in a spiritual sense.

Accordingly Paul got Luke to insert in His Gospel the abolition of the Law, consequent on the appearance of the Baptist. "The Law and the Prophets were until John; since that time the Kingdom of God is preached, and every man presseth into it. But it is easier for heaven and earth to pass than one tittle of the Law to fail." (Luke XVI. 16, 17). It was not possible in the face of the general assurance that the Lord had uttered the last paragraph, to omit it altogether, but he qualified it by the supposition that this unalterability of the Law was to last only till the appearance of the Baptist, and his preaching of the opening of the Kingdom of Heaven to all believers.

The force of Christ's Words is turned to the enunciation of the closure of the Law as authoritative. Neither S. Mark nor S. Matthew have given this passage. On the contrary, they represent Christ's doctrine as one of development, not of subversion of the Law after the coming of the Baptist.

It is not in the least admissible that Paul falsified the sentence of Christ. That which really took place was that among the various versions of Our Lord's sentence this one was recorded uncurtailed, and that most of the other reporters gave a shortened account of the Lord's saying. Naturally Paul adopted the version most in accordance with his own views.

The custody to which Paul was subjected was easy. He was probably suffered to reside in a private house, under the charge of a soldier, and Felix allowed Paul's friends to have free

access to him, so that for the first time in his life he was enabled to learn what were the real acts and words of Him Whom hitherto he had only seen through the glass darkly of the Apocrypha.

Luke must have possessed a defective report of the Sermon on the Mount, as recorded by the first Evangelist. According to this latter the Discourse was divided into well-marked sections. The third of these (V. 17-4' *[sic]*) concerns the relation of the Christian to the Old Law. The Christian is taught that he is not released from the obligations of the Mosaic Law, but rather is placed under still heavier responsibilities. All this section is omitted by Luke. As we cannot suppose that this excision was purposely committed, We are forced to the conclusion that for his version of the Sermon (Luke VI) he either had an imperfect transcript under his eyes, or that having two versions of the same, he adopted that one which was more consonant with the Pauline doctrine of depreciation of the Law than was the other.³¹

SS. John and Paul.

It has been conjectured that Paul's speculations largely influenced S. John. This however, is more than improbable. S. Paul's ideas were never well defined and systematically stated. Something like a thousand commentators, English, Scottish, American and German, have tried their hands on the tangle of Paul's dissertation in the first chapters of the Epistle to the Romans, and their unravellings have led to different conclusions. On the other hand, S. John in the Introduction to his Gospel in his record of the addresses and prayer of Christ, in his first Epistle, presents us with a clear and intelligible theological scheme.

It is possible that S. John may have met and learned something from S. Paul, when the latter was at Ephesus; but it is more probable that the contrary was what actually took place.

Characteristic Differences.

The calm and systematically theological character of the doctrine of the Fourth Evangelist is totally unlike that of the Apostle to the Gentiles. S. John's writings remind me of a placid lake over which play the soft breezes of Spring, without producing a ruffle, whereas those of S. Paul are like a chopping sea, answering to every bluster of passion, subject to cross currents, recoils, tides; casting up much wreckage, but constructing little that is complete, enduring and coherent, only supplying abundant material for anyone who liked to build up out of his words the most opposed moral and doctrinal systems. The effect of the Apostle John upon that versatile and impulsive soul may have been sedative, soothing and regulative. The subapostolic Church became Johannine, not Pauline.

Protest.

The Church of England, by a significant interpolation has expressed her disapproval of the advanced and misinterpreted Pauline doctrine introduced by the Reformers from abroad. On the 11th Sunday after Trinity she has made her protest. Whereas, in the Sarum, [*Sarum rite*] the Gelasian and the Gregorian Collect for the day, the prayer runs: "Multiplica super nos gratiam tuam, ut, ad tua promissa currentes, coelestium bonorum facias esse consortes."

³¹ In 1906 Dr. R. J. Knowling published a huge volume on The Testimony of St. Paul to Christ. It consisted of three series of Boyle lectures to the number of twenty-four, and stretches through 528 pages. But it is not till we reach p. 203 that the author attempts to show that the Apostle knew anything further of the acts of Christ than the Institution of the Holy Eucharist, His Death and Resurrection. He knows, too, some of the details of Our Lord's earthly life, that He was born under the Law; he knew of the impression which Our Lord's Character had made upon man" --- that is all.

[translation: Multiply upon us thy grace, so that, as we run to thy promises, Thou wouldst make us sharers in the good things of Heaven.] The compilers of our Liturgy deemed it necessary, under the circumstances, to add “that we, running the way of thy commandments, may obtain thy gracious promises, etc.” This interpolation does not occur in the Latin Prayer-book of Queen Elizabeth. It was obviously inserted as a protest against the imported heresy which taught how that the promises were not conditional upon the observance of God’s laws, but were given unconditionally to such as pretended the possession of a self-delusive, self-satisfying faith. A more emphatic disclaimer could not have been conceived than by making of it a plea for the accordance of Divine Grace and a heavenly reward, due to conduct and not to sentiment.

Let us now consider those classes Paul was called on to conciliate.

S. Paul and the Book of Wisdom.

For some time attention has been directed to the fact of S. Paul’s acquaintance with and indebtedness to that Apocryphal work, the Book of Wisdom.

This influence is not to be wondered at, for the work in question in certain particulars is in agreement with the Palestinian Apocalyptists.

In the first place the Wisdom school was Universalist. It did not limit Revelation of Truth to the Hebrew nation, nor confine it as if exclusively contained in the Scriptures held in such high esteem by the Jews. Wisdom, with this school was not the peculiar possession of their own race, it was generally diffused like the atmosphere, that embraces the round world, and is inhaled by all lungs; it is not the sole prerogative of a little people occupying a strip of land between the desert and the sea. Egypt, Babylon, Tyre, Greece and Rome were partakers in this diffused Wisdom, although not all to the same extent as the Chosen People. King Lemuel (Prov. XXXI. 1, 4) may have lived beyond the borders of Israel; Balaam, the prophet, who foretold the extension of the migrating sons of Abraham; Job, as well, were non-Israelite.

S. Paul and the Sceptics

Koheleth and the son of Sirach had travelled and seen the world. These men possessed a wider outlook upon life than did the Prophets; and what is more, they perceived, guided by their instincts and their experience how very inadequate was the Mosaic system to meet the requirements of the human soul. The Book of Ecclesiastes has been supposed, due to its conflicting tenets, to have been written by a sceptic, and to have been edited and interpolated by an orthodox Believer. But surely Koheleth is the pathetic revelation of the swaying to and for [*sic*] of a troubled mind, now filled with aversion from the current legalistic theology of orthodox Judaism, and the pettiness of the Mosaic ceremonial and dietary rules, contradicting, as many of them did, facts of everyday human experience, and he was at a loss to discover any meaning in the apparent lack of moral order in the world. But a sway of the conscience ensued, and in spite of all his cynical pessimism he felt that somehow and in some way, God would justify His conduct with regard to men. He was well aware of the riddle of existence. Mosaism did not solve it, where was the solution to be found?

There were, there cannot have failed to be, thousands of Jews in Palestine but mainly in the Dispersion, who felt as did Koheleth, oscillating between scepticism and innate sense of God and trust in His Justice. To meet this rocking condition of mind, swinging between atheism and a hope, but not belief, Paul sought to furnish the very clue to the problem, and that clue was to be found in Christ.

S. Paul and the Apocalyptists.

Of S. Paul and the vast body of Jews who were not strict in their adhesion to the Law as taught in the Rabbinic Schools, to wit, the Common People, I have spoken. It was mainly from the Apocryphal Books that he derived his doctrine; and, all that he had to insist on was to supplement their teaching, and to show that the promised Messiah had actually come, that He was regnant in the heavens, that in and through Him, resurrection of the Body was assured, as was also a Judgment to come, and a future triumph over the whole world; all this was found in the Apocrypha in promise. Paul showed how that in fact it was in process of fulfilment there and then in the future.

S. Paul and the Wisdom School.

A largely diffused School of thought, having its roots in Palestine, but reaching its full development as far as the sap in it was capable of producing a flower, was that of Wisdom, already mentioned. According to the Wise Men whose main seat was in Alexandria, Wisdom is described as eternal, as ever present with the Most High. It was by Wisdom that the world was made, and that it is governed and preserved. Wisdom is both human and divine, personal and yet impersonal. It is not only the directing principle of the universe, but also of man in his conscience. In the Book of Wisdom God is represented as the Saviour of Men; His friendship is open to all; knowing as He does the frailty of man, it is said "Even if we sin, we are thine." (Wisd. XV. 2)

But Wisdom is a property and not a personality. It is vague and abstract, to be apprehended by the intellect, not loved by the heart. Here Paul was able to meet the Wise men of Egypt, as he did the Apocalyptists of Palestine. He showed how that Christ was "the power of God, and the Wisdom of God," (1. Cor. 1. 24). According to him the Alexandrian Hokmah, or Wisdom, was identical with the Messiah of the Prophets and Apocalyptists, and consequently both found their conciliation and realisation in the Person of Christ.

Vague and vaporous was the speculative doctrine relative to Wisdom. As Watt sat watching the spout of steam issuing from his mother's kettle, intangible and useless, so did Paul contemplate the utterances of the School of Alexandrian Wisdom. It possessed possibilities but as yet had not been arrested and condensed. This was his task, and in this he succeeded. The fusion of the Egyptian doctrinaire theories with the promises of the Apocalyptists was the step needful for bringing both to practical realisation in the Gospel.

Fusion.

Thus, S. Paul, by the providence of God, with consciousness as to his mission, proved to have been of divine service. He showed that Jesus Christ was the great Reconciler of the dispersed and even conflicting aspirations and speculations of the Hebrew mind. The great reconciliation had to be effected first in the Jewish nation, between the Sceptics, the Apocalyptists, the Commercialists, the Sages who advocated Wisdom, and finally the Twelve, by inducing Judaic Christianity to become Universalist. The further expansion of this doctrine was to be the work of the organised Catholic Church in the future.

Extension of the Call.

We may conclude that S. Paul, although till late ignorant of the teaching of Christ, was made use of by the Holy Ghost to fill out the plan of Salvation, by extending the call, begun by

Christ to the Jews, by carrying the message of acceptance to those who had been afar off, but were now made near by the Blood of the Lamb.

A SUMMARY

Finally I add a Summary, actually a Recapitulation in short of what has already been said:-

I remember to have seen an ancient stained-glass window that had been put together by some ignorant country glazier without consideration of the subject or subjects it represented. A leg was here, detached from the body, spurning a cloud. A head was reversed. A crown was on the ground covered by a cherub's broken wing, and a rose sprouted out of emptiness. The window was committed to an artist for reconstruction. What he did was to bring together into their proper places all the fragments, piecing the disparted scraps together. The window by this treatment was converted into a beautiful, orderly and consistent whole, that told its own tale.

What this man achieved with the fragmentary and scattered glass, that Paul succeeded in effecting with the particles of Truth dispersed throughout the world.

Divine truth had been revealed to the Sons of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob: but it had been distorted and its character changed by the Scribes and Pharisees.

Among the Israelites probably the majority broke away from Rabbinism. They did not send their sons to the schools of the Scribes, and their own attendance at the Synagogues was but casual. The teaching of the orthodox was not to their taste. It was too formal, and was wholly unspiritual. Nevertheless they were by no means irreligious. They crossed the Jordan in crowds to hear John the Baptist. It was to such as these that the Sermon on the Mount was addressed, and the dwellers on the Western shore of the Sea of Tiberias seized upon every available boat to carry them across to the further side where they could hang upon the lips of One Who taught with authority, and not as the Scribes.

There were many of like nature scattered through Syria, Asia and Macedonia, and to them Paul carried the simple spiritual verities that he had realised as forming the substance of the Christian message.

The more intelligent of the Independents who studied the Palestinian Apocrypha were at once ready to accept Paul's doctrine, and he was able to show to them, that the Messiah for whom they had been waiting was identical with the Wisdom acclaimed by the Sages of Alexandria. To these latter he was in a position to give form and substance to their hazy, undefined ideas.

In much the same way he converted the Greek philosophy into doctrine of practical ethics.

Paul and Greek Philosophy.

Among the philosophers of Greece, notably the Stoics was a splinter of the truth. They recognised that Conscience was a waft of the Godhead given to man to teach him to distinguish the good from the bad, the true from the false. But this teaching led no further than to puff up a professor with self-esteem. Paul could furnish the Stoic with a motive for self-control and a promise of reward for its exercise.

Paul and Mysticism.

Paul recognised the mystic element so prevalent among men in the East, a craving after union with God, yet combined with ignorance how to approach and find Him. This he was able to

teach the Oriental mystic and to show him as well how to avoid the impending danger of making aspiration after the Deity a sort of spiritual selfishness, independent of Charity towards his fellows; how that as St. John said: "He that loveth God must love his brother also." [1 John 4:21]

Paul and the Sanctity of the Body.

Paul was well aware that the heathen Greeks despised the body and scorned the idea of its resurrection, but that they held tenaciously to spiritual immortality. On the other hand the Hebrew had little or no conception of soul, and he limited his hopes for the future to a resuscitation of the flesh. The Apostle was able to conciliate both, by showing how that at the Last Day soul and body would be reunited.

Paul and Anthromorphism. [Anthropomorphism?]

Moses had emphatically impressed on the Children of Israel, that God was a spirit, and was not to be thought of and represented as possessed of bodily form and parts and passions. Nevertheless, even the inspired prophets spoke of Jehovah as having hands, feet, eyes, ears; as angry and jealous, as riding upon the cherubim, and as walking upon the wings of the wind.

Not among the Jews only but with all mankind, anthropomorphism was an ineradicable [*irresistible?*] tendency. Speech, prayer, praise, all tended to foster it. True was it, that the wise and even the ignorant admitted that there was one God, and that he was infinite, spiritual and almighty: nevertheless, the tendency to give to God human parts and passions proved irresistible. [*irresistible?*] Paul, by preaching the doctrine of the Incarnation, exhibited the loving kindness of the Almighty in meeting this need. Christ was at once God, but also a human personality, to be loved and worshipped.

Paul and Atonement for Sin.

Paul saw that men very generally, moved by conscience were distressed in thinking that they had offended God, either by ritual neglect, or by moral turpitude. They sought for reconciliation by sacrifice. Howbeit, they felt the inadequacy of the oblation. Paul was able to point to Calvary and to show that in Christ, and in Him alone, was atonement to be found.

Paul the Conciliator.

Out of all this confusion, and these variances, S. Paul was able to produce unity. His great work was the conciliation of scattered truths, and the satisfaction of various cravings.

The window restorer pointed out to me his work when it was complete, and lo! there was no longer disorder. Upon me beamed the figure of Jesus Christ crowned with many crowns, showing His pierced hands and feet and side, beckoning as saying: "In Me you will find joy and rest and satisfaction."

Paul was the conciliator, and conciliation was his achievement.

Note to Chapter III

The very interesting work by Dr. Claude G. Montefiore entitled The Old Testament and After, 1923, deserves attention in connexion with what has been advanced in this chapter. Dr. Montefiore is the mouthpiece of Modern Liberal Judaism.

He traces the liberal movement inherent in the Prophets, which was resisted or ignored by the Rabbis. He admits that “the Old Testament is imperfect. Such is the doctrine of Liberal Judaism.” He is quite ready to acknowledge Our Lord to have been a Prophet, but he denies that He was universalist in His view of a Call of God to humanity. That was reserved for S. Paul. The universalism which we acknowledge as so prominent a feature in the teaching of the Apostle is far ahead of the Gospel. “It is not clearly to be found in the teachings of Jesus. There are hints and adumbrations in the Prophets and the Psalms, but no more . . . Jesus never fully and openly declares that all men, be their race or beliefs what they may, stand on a footing of equality before God. He never categorically asserts that all men alike are His children. Why may not Paul have his own glory. Jesus has enough.”

What Dr. Montefiore has failed to see, which is visible to us Christians, is that the Revelation of Our Lord is a whole. It had to be made first of all, and by Himself in person to the Jew; and that the extension of the call to admission into the Universal Kingdom was part of the entire plan, but must ensue, after the offer had been made to the Jew and had been rejected by him. The Apocalyptic doctrine that had been taught so widely and had been accepted so generally by the Common People had been to a large extent accepted and confirmed by Christ. Paul went on, according to the plan of Gospel revelation, to affirm other teaching, fuller and more far-extending than had been made by Christ, but that was according to Divine prevision and ordination.

One portion of the Apocalyptic teaching, that which was concerned with the Last Things, and the fate of the Temple, Jesus accepted and confirmed authoritatively. The ensuing portion of the same apocalyptic doctrine, relative to the universal call, to the resurrection of the flesh and to the Eternal Kingdom of Christ as Messiah, that Paul emphatically insisted upon. That in the economy of the Revelation of Jesus Christ was the portion specially committed to him, but he had derived it, not from the teaching of Christ, of which he was mainly ignorant, but from the Palestinian Apocrypha, which he held to be inspired.

THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS

Chapter IV

PAULINISM AND CALVINISM

Chapter IV

PAULINISM AND CALVINISM

Predestination, baldly stated, is the doctrine that from all eternity the Almighty had ordained that certain men whom He would create should be foreordained to eternal damnation, irrespective of their conduct, and that also certain individuals whom He would call into being would be elect to Eternal Blessedness, also irrespective of their conduct. This doctrine involved the Denial of Free Will in man, which accordingly was repudiated.

I had an uncle, a Vicar at Wolverhampton, who was an ardent Calvinist and from him I learned what were the doctrines of this sect, for sect it was, though screening itself under cover of Evangelicalism.

The Scottish Presbyterian Kirk, the French Huguenots, the Swiss and Dutch Protestants, and the faith formerly professed in Hesse, Katzenellenbogen, Nassau, the Palatinates, Baden, Wurtemberg, [*sic*] before the nondescript Evangelical Church founded by Frederick William III. of Prussia was imposed on the people, was the doctrine of Calvin, though, as it appeared to me, most members regarded its special tenets with disregard or indifference, and men ruled their lives not by the Heidelberg or Westminster Catechisms, but by Common Sense.

The basis of Calvin's System.

Calvin based his whole system upon the conception that Scripture was plenary inspired, was in fact the infallible Word of God; and the Protestant reformers followed him, in maintaining a mechanical theory of Inspiration, in regarding the writers as having been mere typewriting-machines recording the revelation of Almighty God, in every word and phrase to be found in the Bible; even the order and grammatical connexion of such words and sentences was held to be due to the utterance of the Holy Ghost, who dictated what the scribes wrote. Calvin in Chapter VII. of Book I. of his *Institutes* says: "When that which professes to be the Word of God is acknowledged to be so, no person, unless devoid of common sense and the feelings of a man, will have the desperate hardihood to refuse credit to the speaker. But since no daily responses are given from heaven, and the Scriptures are the only records in which God has been pleased to consign his truth to perpetual remembrance, the full authority which they ought to possess with the faithful is not recognised, unless they are believed to have come from heaven, as directly as if God had been heard giving utterance to them." On this hypothesis Calvin based his entire system; and there are passages in S. Paul's Epistle to the Romans that warranted his deduction thence of Predestination and Election. [*Romans 9. 9-24*] That there existed other passages of an opposite tendency, he explained away, or treated as irrelevant. It was necessary to get behind Paul the Apostle to Saul the persecutor in order to discover the teaching he had received in the most impressionable period of his life; with full knowledge of the fact that no man is able wholly to divest himself in after life of such impressions; and to enquire whether some of the words and statements of S. Paul may not be traced back to his early Rabbinic training, which he had not been able wholly to shed.

And in thus discussing his teaching, we must, as a preliminary, form an opinion as to the meaning and manner of Inspiration, and as to its scope and limitations. The old mechanical theory could not stand the test of close examination. The strongest evidence against it has been supplied by the Bible itself; and each additional discovery in the criticism of the Greek

or Hebrew texts confirms anew the conclusion that the doctrine of the infallibility of Holy Scripture can no longer rely upon such a principle of defence.

Intuitions.

To every man made in the image of God is accorded a discriminating faculty to enable him to distinguish between Good and Bad, between Truth and Falsehood. This faculty may be obscured, and at times be faulty in its conclusions, yet generally the intuition is sound and reliable. This intuitive faculty has as well a power of imagination, of conceiving the possibility of there being existing facts and laws beyond present experience.

Occasionally this faculty undergoes an exceptional accession of strength, illumination and perceptivity. As by a flash-light it sees what it had previously hardly suspected as being in existence, or possible of attainment; and such flash-lights are the starting points of intellectual and spiritual progress.

It is as though one who has seen imperfectly has been couched, and has acquired complete vision, so that thenceforth he can walk unassisted, and can plant his feet directly and firmly without hesitation and stumbling.

Inspiration.

This, I take it, is Inspiration, an incandescence of an Idea, and is to be met with in every department of mental life.

All civilization is due to starts forward made by individuals, and in these individuals is due to the flare of an Idea, the discernment of hitherto unsuspected powers of Nature, and of their application to the service of mankind; or the discovery of the merits of new combinations, as the invention of bronze, which lifted humanity out of the copper age, to be again superceded [*sic*] by another inspired discovery, that of iron.

Columbus was inspired when he sailed West in quest of a New World; Copernicus and Galileo when they revolutionised the old astronomical system held alike by Greek and Hebrew; Harvey when he discovered the circulation of the blood. It was an inspiration that led Guido to formulate musical notation, and to discover counterpoint. So, again, was it an inspiration which led Newton to conclude the law of Gravitation, from observing the fall of an apple, It was inspiration which led Van Eyck to employ oil in place of white of egg as a medium in painting; so also with regard to Gutenberg, when he cast metal types; Mozart, Handel and Beethoven when they composed their concertos; so also Marconi, when he discovered wireless telegraphy. Nor is Inspiration limited to discoveries in physics and matters scientific and mechanical. It is found in art and literature. Lady Ritchie tells us how it was with her father. There was a wood near Berne, into which Thackeray one day strayed, and there it was “that the story of the Newcomes was actually revealed to him.”

Limitations.

Inspiration is not however such a flare as is lightning, illumining the whole prospect and every particular therein. It is rather the ray cast by a bull's eye-lantern, directed upon a single object, striking in a single well-defined direction, leaving in obscurity all outside its radius.

If there occur these inspiration-flashes in every branch of mentality, it happens as well that the illumining and discovering ray is accorded to the spirit of man as well; the prophets of the Old Testament, and the Apostles of the New, were alike morally and spiritually inspired

beyond other men of their time, within the ring of religious illumination, not necessarily outside of that.

Ne Sutor ultra Crepidam.

[translation: A proverbial phrase from Pliny usually rendered 'let the cobbler stick to his last']

We have no right to assume that those spiritually endowed should observe and record truths beyond the circle of their special illumination, any more than that we should expect special spiritual and moral enlightenment from a mechanical inventor. Accordingly, it is unreasonable to look for revelations as to geological, astronomical, historical facts, from those spiritually inspired. We do not expect a coach-builder to inform us what is the pressure of the air per inch upon us, nor do we anticipate enlightenment on spiritual matters from Mr. H. G. Wells, nor from Marie Corelli to receive moral illumination.

Early Influences.

To understand S. Paul it is absolutely essential to know to what influences he had been subjected in his early days.

Previous to his Conversion Saul had been swayed by two currents of thought, the one Rabbinism, the other the teaching of the Maccabaeian and Herodian Apocrypha, as also by the Hellenistic Wisdom literature; the early part of which latter was a continuation and enlargement of the canonical prophecies of the school of Daniel, initiated by Ezekiel and continued by Zechariah and Joel.

Ignorance of Christ's Teaching.

It must be considered that the future Apostle knew next to nothing of Christ's teaching, which at that time had not been committed to writing.³² "I certify you, brethren," he wrote to the Galatians, "that the Gospel which was preached of me is not after man. For I neither received it of man, neither was I taught it, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ" (Gal. I.II, 12).

In my former chapter I have dealt somewhat fully with the subject of Saul's studied independence of the tradition of Christ's teaching. He gave the cold shoulder to its authorised exponents. The Christ that he resolved on bringing before the Gentiles, and forcing upon the Jewish believers, was to be one shaped after his own devices. But these devices were not original, they were culled from the Jewish Apocalyptic, and moulded by him into shape. He remained in Tarsus, brooding over his theories, Outside of the current of Christian tradition, till the year 43, when Barnabas fetched him thence, and brought him to Antioch. He did not revisit Jerusalem till the winter of 45-46, and then it was not for the purpose of learning anything, but of communicating his own ideas to the elder Apostles. "Then, fourteen years

³² It is significant how profoundly ignorant S. Paul shows himself to have been concerning the life of Our Lord previous to the Crucifixion and the Resurrection. To that he makes no reference. 'A peculiarity of the Pastorals is that they evince more acquaintance with the Gospel story than Paul had previously shown. 1 Tim. V. 18; VI. 17-19; Titus I. 15 seem reminiscences of Luke, and other passages suggest that the author was acquainted with Mark and even with Matthew. It is probable that by this time Luke had begun his collection of the logia, and had brought some of them under Paul's notice. Similarly, Mark may have been written in Paul's life-time, or some of his and some of Matthew's sources of information may well have come under Paul's notice. Here we see that the change (i.e. in tone) would naturally come late. A new stress is certainly laid on 'the words of our Lord Jesus Christ' (1 Tim. VI. 3); but this is natural if the Gospel narrative had only recently come under Paul's notice." Symes (J. E.), The Evolution of the New Testament, 1921, p. 157.

after I went up again to Jerusalem with Barnabas . . . and I went up by revelation, and communicated unto them that Gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately to them which were of reputation.” (II.1-2).

S. Paul’s Revelations.

It is to be regretted that we know so little about the “Revelations” to which the Apostle makes frequent appeal to supply the deficiency of his knowledge of what had been the teaching of Jesus Christ, whom he had never seen in the days of His Ministry, nor had he much conception as to what Christ had taught. The only one of these revelations concerning which he affords us particulars is that described in 2 Cor. XII. “I knew a man in Christ above fourteen years ago (whether in the body, I can not tell; God knoweth); such an one caught up to the third heaven. And I knew such a man (whether in the body, or out of the body, I can not tell; God knoweth) How that he was caught up into Paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for me to utter. Of such an one will I glory.”

Upon this occasion, S. Paul did not receive the communication of his “Gospel;” for what he heard, or supposed that he had heard, he tells us it was not lawful for him to report.

Apparently the Apostle could remember very little about his trance, for when he described it, he was obliged to have recourse to the apocryphal Book of the Secrets of Enoch, a work written in the Maccabaeian period, to help him out of his difficulty. It was from this book that he learned the distinction of stages in the heavens, and that it was in the third heaven that a vision of Paradise was to be obtained. The first heaven is that which closely envelops the terrestrial globe; the second is inhabited by “the Watchers,” the angels under their head Azrael, “the Prince of the Power of the Air,” of whom Paul speaks elsewhere.³³ These Watchers were the Sons of God who had cohabited with the Daughters of men; and it would seem that the Apostle, dreading a recurrence of such an event, required women when attending Christian worship to be veiled, “because of the Angels” (1 Cor. XI. 10); and it is these Watchers whom S. Paul counts on judging at the Last Day (1 Cor. VI.3). If the Apostle in his trance had heard any words, he probably forgot them, had he not Enoch to freshen up his memory, for the Patriarch is said to have soared to the Seventh Heaven, after a mere pause in the Third, in which he received no communication.

As S. Paul had not had the opportunity of seeing and hearing Christ, and as he, at least at first, rather prided himself on his aloofness from those who had, and flattered himself on his independence, the question has arisen, whence did he acquire the system which he had excogitated out of the accepted facts that Jesus Christ was the Messiah who had been crucified, and had risen again?

We have dealt with this question already, and have shown how largely he was a disciple of the Jewish Apocalyptic School. But some reminiscences of Rabbinism may well have adhered to him in his progress through life, as burs, that will not be shaken off. Such was his retention of the doctrine of Predestination. And he entertained no scruples about this retention, as it formed part and parcel of the Apocalyptic doctrine, in which he was steeped.

Illogical Argument.

In one particular Paul was very ill equipped for disputation with instructed and philosophical Greeks; but, apparently, he did not venture to exchange thrusts with them. In an argument, as

³³ Eph. II. 2.

to anything like logical deduction from a premiss, [*sic*] of that the Rabbis were incapable and so remained S. Paul. M. Renan has said, and he was qualified to say it:- “The Semitic races cannot reason. Their languages are almost incapable of expressing abstract ideas. All their notions are concrete. Though the book of Job is controversial, there is no argument in it. Each interlocutor contents himself with assertions and denials. All Semitic moral works are mere strings of sentences without order, and without consistency.”³⁴ Anyone who has entered into discussion with a clown will know that the sole conception of an argument by an individual of this description consists in reassertion of his preconceived opinion, from which he is incapable of detaching himself. It was so with Job and Job’s friends. There is not a fibre of reasoning in their discourses; and we must not expect much logic from the apostle. We may well look to meet with scraps of argument in S. Paul’s writings that savour of his old class-room, but we must not expect to find in his reasonings anything that would satisfy a Greek disputant.

Reminiscences of Rabbinism.

That Paul should have so completely lost all that had been impressed on him in early life as not to show reversions in mind to old teaching, is scarcely credible. In the far-fetched allegory of Agar and Sarah he quoted what he had heard in his class-room from Gamaliel, for this very allegory reveals itself as a loan.³⁵

I have seen in the Eastern counties of England deposits of chalk that have come on ice rafts from the glaciers of the Gogmagog hills, when these were Alpine heights. Masses of stone had been borne on sheets of ice to the east, till these latter tilted and shed what they carried upon tertiary and alluvial soil.

It was something like this with the Apostle. And such a mass of Pharisaic detritus dropped into the Epistle to the Romans may be due to his recollection of what he had been taught by Gamaliel. Josephus informs us that Predestination was held by the Pharisees, but was strongly resisted by the Sadducees.³⁶

It would indeed be incredible of S. Paul, who borrowed so voluminously from the Apocryphal writers of the period of two centuries before Christ, had he not retained and reproduced in his writings some fag-ends of his Rabbinical and Pharisaic teaching, absorbed by him before he became acquainted with the Hebrew and Hellenistic pseudepigrapha.³⁷

Genesis of the doctrine of Predestination.

The Genesis of the doctrine of Predestination among the Jews can be ascertained, and its development can be traced with nicety. The Genesis of the doctrine is clear enough. After the return from Babylon, the great aim and labour of the Scribes and Doctors was to make the Jewish people believe that they constituted an elect race, distinct from all other nations, were under the special protection of the Almighty, whom they alone knew and alone worshipped

³⁴ Senior (Nassau) *Conversations with distinguished persons*, II. 132-3.

³⁵ The Talmuds were written later than S. Paul, but it is inconceivable that the Rabbis should have borrowed from him.

³⁶ *Ant.* XIII. 5, 9; *B. J.* II. 8

³⁷ Mr. J. Elliotson Symes has said in his book *The Evolution of the New Testament*, 1921, “It is right to notice that Paul's conception of Predestination, Free-will, Original Sin, Justification and the like, were greatly influenced by his Rabbinical education. Even when his conclusions differ from those of the Rabbis, his method, and his choice of problems are often borrowed from them.”(p. 99)

suitably. And this conception was enforced especially during the persecution of Antiochus Epiphanes, when the people were taught to see in the successful revolt of the Maccabees, an evidence of God's special favour towards them.

Progress of the doctrine.

At the outset it was held that the Hebrew nation was privileged and predestined to triumph over all humanity. The doctrine did not concern the individual. This was the first stage. The living descendants of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob were the Elect en masse.

But then ensued the alienation of the Ten Tribes and the formation of the Kingdom of Israel, and later the fusion of Israelite blood with that of the Canaanites, and the formation of the Samaritan race. The mutual hatred between the Jews and Samaritans, ever since the secession of Sanballat, had kept the two races not merely distinct, but opposed to each other with fanatical hostility. Then ensued a contraction in the idea of Election. The descendants of the Patriarchs were predestined to reign over the earth, minus the Samaritans.

At the beginning of the second century before Christ Hellenic culture, in the interest of which Alexander the Great had undertaken his world-wide campaigns, had laid hold upon Palestine, and the Upper Classes along with the priestly aristocracy had become enthusiastically Greek in dress, in disregard of the Food-law, in habits of thought, and affectation of speech. This produced a recoil: Many felt that they could not adopt foreign fashions, without becoming traitors to the national faith. And when Antiochus Epiphanes (B.C.175-164) occupied the Syrian throne, and waged a savage persecution against those Jews who would not accept Hellenism, and when he had put to death 40,000 in Jerusalem, and had pillaged the Temple, then it was that the reactionary feeling became bitter against such of the race as had complied with the requirements of the King. Thus the idea of Predestination entered upon a third stage. The Elect were esteemed to be the Orthodox minus the Samaritans, and minus the Hellenists.

The doctrine underwent a further shrinkage. Under Alexander Jannaeus (B.C.104-78), the Sadducees rose into predominance; and the Reactionaries, i.e. the Scribes and Pharisees, had to endure a further persecution. Jannaeus massacred six thousand of them in revenge for a personal slight; and later, had eight hundred crucified, and their wives and children butchered before their eyes, as they hung nailed to their crosses.

Under these circumstances, the rigorist Pharisees still further reduced the number of the Elect, by excluding from it every Sadducee.

The Election now consisted of the Orthodox minus the Samaritans, minus the Hellenists, and minus the Sadducees.

It passed into a further stage. The Scribes and Pharisees regarded the Common People, the Amhaârez, as excluded from all hopes of resurrection to Eternal life, as being "slackers," not because they rejected the Law, but because they did not attend the Rabbinic Schools, and "knew not the Law."

Consequently, the orthodox regarded the number of the Predestined as shrunk to small dimensions out of the issue of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The Scribes and Pharisees who alone observed every jot and tittle of the Law were the sole elect.

The number of the Predestined now consisted of the Orthodox, minus the Samaritans, minus the Hellenists, minus the Sadducees, and minus the Common People.

If we take a long stride, and step into the midst of Calvinistic Christianity, we find that a further shrinkage has been reached; for it has arrived at this point, that every self-confident Presbyterian can say: "The Elect is made up of Myself and such of my acquaintance as think with me." Dr. Lewis Du Moulin (d. 1680) reckoned that out of a thousand professing Christians, only one would be saved. An Evangelical Vicar in Cornwall to my knowledge stated in the pulpit that to his certain assurance, in his parish comprising 5,000 souls, only three would be saved, himself, his wife and their cook. This estimate was lower even than that of Du Moulin.

If we suppose that the passage in question relative to Predestination and Election in the Epistle to the Romans is a stray reminiscence of an old lecture by Gamaliel, and that the Apostle employed it, shifting the privilege of Election from the Pharisee to the believing Gentile, alors, il avait changé d'assiette, voilà tout. [*Translation: So he had changed his stance, that was all*]

It is however possible to bring this stray block of drift Pharisaism into accord with Apostolic Christianity. When Paul said that Jehovah loved Jacob and hated Esau, all depends upon the when. According to Calvin, before time was, the Almighty had formed the resolve of favouring the mean-spirited and lying Jacob, and of hating, the manly and frank Esau. But we may rather assume that God's favour would be accorded to Jacob after the rejection of his birth-right by Esau. Acceptance or refusal was optional.

A father predestinates his son to be a soldier, but the son declines to pursue the course marked out for him, and elects another, more consonant to his tastes, to strut the stage, or to occupy a stool in a lawyer's office.

It was so with the Hebrew nation. It had been predestined to lead Gentiledom out of idolatry and polytheism into the worship of the One God; but it had neglected to execute its mission, and had assumed an attitude of rebellion.

On the other hand, the Gentiles, to whom the offer had not been made, and who had not been called to discharge such a mission, accepted that which was rejected by the Jew, and in consequence became the People of God in place of the disobedient Hebrew.

And that which is true of a nation is applicable to every individual.

This, after all, may be S. Paul's meaning. But let him be his own interpreter, when able to shake off the influence of early teaching.

At Antioch in Pisidia he and Barnabas taught in the Synagogue, whereupon ensued an uproar. "Then Paul and Barnabas waxed bold and said, It was necessary that the Word of God should have been spoken to you; but seeing ye put it from you, and judge yourselves unworthy of everlasting life, lo! we turn to the Gentiles." (Acts XIII.46)

THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS

Chapter V

PAULINISM and LUTHERANISM

Chapter V

PAULINISM and LUTHERANISM

Justification by Faith.

The doctrine of Justification by Faith alone without the works of the Law, or, as was taught by not a few, independent of Conduct, had been the grand discovery of Martin Luther. Of this doctrine I knew little when I was a boy, but from what I observed in watching those who professed it, the impression was made on me that the doctrine of Free Justification was calculated to produce among them a religious Pecksniffianism. I assuredly never observed in them the smallest trace of the humility and meekness of Tom Pinch. There was apparent much of the self-glorification and censoriousness of the Pharisee, but none of the self-abasement (save in words) of the Publican.

Early Impressions.

Later, when abroad among German Lutherans, I became aware that they had practically rejected the Lutheran doctrine, and were content to mould their lives upon the maxims of moral conscientiousness implanted in them by Nature.

I never came across the so-called Pietists or Muckers; German Protestantism struck me as being a religion without religiousness, as I knew that term in the English church, as pervading and governing the whole life, sweetening it to boot, and drawing it on to Worship, and Commune with God.

It struck me as providing a very easy way of getting to heaven, without effort, and without compunction for acts a little off the square of justice and morality.

Immoral Tendency.

I did not then know, what I have ascertained since, that the promulgation of Luther's doctrine, according to the almost unanimous admission of the Reformers themselves had led to an outburst of immorality, and that where it did not lead to this result it had wrought deadness of the conscience.³⁸ In fact the sexual morality of German Protestants fell below the level at which it had stood in heathen times, as recorded by Tacitus.

Nor did I know how that the same result had followed the proclamation of the same doctrine in England in the reign of Edward VI., so as to compel the Reformers in our land to introduce the Ten Commandments into the Liturgy, and to require the Congregation to respond: "Incline our hearts to keep this law;" and "Write all these Thy laws in our hearts, we beseech Thee." Furthermore to arrest the desolating moral blight brought in by Free Justification, it was ordered that the Decalogue should be written up and placed at the East end of every church. So also, as a condition of admission into the family of God, it was exacted that every child should promise by his sureties till he took it on himself to renew the vow, that he would keep and steadfastly observe the Ten Commandments.

³⁸ See *passim* Dr. Dölinger's Die Reformation, 3 vols., 1848. There is a French translation by Em. Perrot also in 3 vols. published simultaneously, 1848.

Lutheranism, and its modern representative, Methodism, is the religion of Emotionalism versus Conduct.

As I understand it, as taught in the Church, the work of the Holy Spirit is to enable man to become righteous, whereas the Lutheran's substitute is that which induces him to feel himself, to esteem himself, and to posture before his fellows, as righteous. All this is due to an hysterical convulsion superinducing an abiding hallucination, bred of selfcomplacency.

An Ancient Phenomenon.

This is a phenomenon very old and very general. In Phrygian Orgiasm the worship of Cybele produced its Converts. The votaries – mainly females of a highly excitable temperament – wrought themselves into a state of holy phrenzy, [*sic*] which greatly impressed the vulgar, and made those who had undergone the paroxysm believe themselves to be the elect, and to be inspired by the Goddess.

When Asia Minor became Christianised, and the Cybele-worship declined in favour, the same phenomenon reappeared in Montanism. In it the sectarian, the exclusive, spirit was at its height in the third century, as it was in England, under Wesley in the eighteenth. This claim to Assurance of Salvation, to superior perfection, secludes its votaries from the vulgar herd of Christians who are content to live in Love, Fear and Obedience. It is, in fact, a substitution of Make-believe for Reality.

The question arises – what did S. Paul mean by the expression Justification by Faith?

The Rabbinic Doctrine of Justification.

About two hundred years before the Christian era, the opinions of Pharisaic Judaism as to the relations of God towards man had crystallised into a system. It was held and taught in all the Rabbinic schools that through the Fall of Adam the whole human race was under condemnation, and was disqualified for salvation. Because of his sin, all his descendants came under God's penal statute. At the period of persecution by Antiochus Epiphanes, the Pharisees and Doctors of the Law arrived at the conviction that there was to be a Resurrection of the Dead; but to partake in this resurrection the natural man was not qualified. However, in His infinite mercy, Jehovah had revealed a way whereby a Jew might escape out of this condition of disqualification and qualify himself to enter into favour with the Almighty, and to apply to himself the promises of God, including that of eternal life. The Pharisees believed, and the Doctors taught, that the revealed way of becoming qualified was the observance of the Law, moral and ceremonial. Consequently the strict Pharisee who had "kept all these things from his youth up" was quite confident that he would inherit Eternal Life. Man won Eternal Life through Obedience.

What Justification did mean.

Justification did not mean making a man masquerade as a saint, when he was nothing of the sort, clothing himself in a righteousness that was not his own; but it meant putting him in such a position as would enable him to become righteous, and this was to be achieved by entering into covenant with God; man's part of the Covenant being the keeping of the Law.

The Jewish view of Justification.

Every Jewish child knew and understood this Law of Conditionalism as surely as does a child who has been taught the Catechism in an English Sunday School.

What S. Paul probably intended to teach was that by Faith man passed out of the obligation to observe the precepts of the Ceremonial Law, but that he was still bound to discharge the duties imposed on him by the Moral Law, but he lacked the faculty of discrimination, so as to make himself comprehensible.

The writers of the Palestinian Apocrypha were far more liberal in their views than were the Pharisees, for they included the Gentiles who led good and innocent lives among those who would be saved when Messiah came in judgment. And with this view Our Lord agreed (Luke XII.48)

What S. Paul did not teach.

The Apostle had no intention whatever to teach that faith made a man to be esteemed and to esteem himself righteous when he was not so; but that by passing out of the servitude of Moses he entered the service of Christ, where the duties were lighter and were intelligible. He was by no means emancipated from obligation.

Wherever the word δικαιοσύνη [*diaiosunē* = *righteousness or justification*] is employed by the Apostle, or by the writers of the Septuagint, or by those who composed the Pseudepigrapha, it almost invariably means “Qualified to become righteous.” One who is δίκαιος [*dikaios* = *righteous or just*] is the man eligible, not he who has become, though unqualified, one to esteem himself righteous. Justification is not attained by a fiction that is no better than a fraud.

Words change their meaning in time and in place; and, although the words in Attic Greek are translated in our English version as “Justified” and “Justification,” they must not be understood in the Classic sense, but in that in which they were employed by one born in Tarsus and educated at Jerusalem.³⁹ Moreover this sense given to the Apostle’s terms conforms his teaching to that of the books to which he was so largely indebted for his doctrine.

Misunderstanding.

Paul’s teaching of Justification, i.e. of becoming qualified, would be perfectly intelligible to every Jew who heard him, or to whom he wrote; but to the Greek and Anatolian, who knew nothing about the Pharisaic system of eligibility; his words were mystifying, and were capable of being misunderstood; they were even calculated to make Christianity among his Gentile converts degenerate into a religion of mere emotionalism, conducive to laxity of conduct. Excited feeling might very readily lead to self-confidence and to the supposition that Justification had nothing whatever to do with conduct.

It would seem as if S. Paul was himself rendered uneasy at the manner in which his teaching had been perverted; for, towards the close of his Epistle to the Galatians, he wrote:- “Brethren, ye have been called unto liberty; only use not liberty for an occasion of the flesh.” Then he proceeds to enumerate the Works of the Flesh, “I tell you before, as I have told you in the past, that they which do such things shall not inherit the kingdom of God.” [*Gal 5:13*] He allows that his converts have a certain amount of liberty conceded to them, but it is a

³⁹ See this fully worked out in S. Paul’s Doctrine of Justification by J. Watson Williams, 1912

limited, it is not a plenary liberty. He forbids under another name those sins that were condemned by the Law of Moses.

What the Jew understood, but the Gentile misunderstood.

To the Jew Paul's doctrine meant that man by faith in Christ passed into a relaxed conditional position; that was all. The Covenant remained in force, but did not oblige to so much as it did under Moses.

To the self-indulgent Pagan it had a different meaning. It was taken to signify total emancipation from every obligation, moral as well as ceremonial, of which latter he knew nothing; and he was put in a false position, so that by Imputed Righteousness he might deceive the sagacity of the Lord of all the Earth; or perhaps manage to release himself from duty through His tacit connivance with an imposture.

The heathen recalled the fable of the escape of Ulysses from the cave of Polyphemus. They related the method of evasion adopted by the hero, of concealing himself under the belly of a ram, so that the blinded Cyclops, feeling the fleece of his flock as they issued from the cave in which they had been penned, allowed the sheep under which Ulysses was secreted to pass into emancipation along with the rest. Thus has Justification by Faith been distorted in modern times by Luther as of old by certain Gnostic sects, enabling man to pass himself off as something other than that which he is indeed.

The misunderstanding of Paul's doctrine of Free Justification spread from Anatolia to Rome, where no insignificant party of Paulites adopted it, as licensing all manner of wantonness and lawlessness. The alarmed Apostle wrote to the Roman Christians who thus brought scandal on the Church, "Through you is the name of God blasphemed among the Gentiles" (Rom. II. 24). At the same time he rebuked the sober disciples for describing his version of Christianity as immoral, by summing it up in the form "Let us continue in sin that grace may abound," (Rom. III.8). S. Paul broke into a paroxysm of anger when he heard of this travesty of his teaching, and declared that those who said it had incurred a "just damnation." But assuredly this was unreasonable, as his unqualified language had provoked it.

Aristotle lays down the maxim that he only is to be accounted just who acts justly. Consequently there can be no acceptance of a claim to be righteous or just in one who by a subterfuge appropriates to himself the righteousness of another, when it is not intrinsic in himself.

Luther revives the Galatian Misconception.

The Catholic Church, from the time of the Apostles, had understood Justification in the Jewish sense, assuming that Paul so meant it, as a means whereby Faith led to Righteousness through Obedience. But Martin Luther after the lapse of so many centuries, reverted to the blundering misinterpretation of Paul's teaching which had been adopted by the Galatians and other Gentile converts causing the Apostle vast trouble.

Luther wrote two commentaries on the Epistle to the Galatians, which he was able to manipulate so as to substantiate his views. One was in the first and the other in the twelfth volume of his works, published in 1559-67. In both he teaches the complete abrogation of the Law, not ceremonial only, but moral as well. "Christ," wrote he, "is no lawgiver, but He is one Who has fulfilled the Law . . . I consider that the Apostle does not speak (of discharge)

from the obligation of the law of scripture, but of all laws. . . . The Righteous are indeed such as have sinned in the flesh, but no sin is imputed to, or recorded against them, because of the Faith that is found in them.”⁴⁰

Luther points out how that for social order Police regulations are necessary, but he adds that the Justified by Faith need not concern their consciences about transgressions of the moral law, – it does not touch and affect them, unless they be found out.

In the Commentary on Galatians in the First Volume of his Works, when he deals with Chapter III. 13, he wrote; “All the prophets saw by inspiration, that Christ of all men would be the greatest robber, murderer, adulterer, thief, profane person, blasphemer, etc., than whom none greater ever existed in the world, because He Who becomes a sacrifice for the sins of the whole world is no longer to be esteemed an innocent person, without sin. He is not the Son of God in His Holiness, but is a sinner, Who bears the sin of Paul, who at one time was a blasphemer, a prosecutor most violent; also of Peter who denied Christ; of David, who was an adulterer and a murderer. . . in sum, He has borne and does bear all the sins of men in His own body, because that He took them, though committed by us, upon His own body, so as to make satisfaction for them by His own Blood.”⁴¹

He says further:- “If the sins of the whole world are laid upon that one Man, Jesus Christ, then they are removed from the world, Christ Himself is made guilty of all the sins which we have committed, and we are absolved of them.”

Obviously, this doctrine is of very dangerous import. If all our sins, and not they only, by the consequences entailed by them, be removed, and “puffed away,” as Luther expresses it, there is no more need for concern for the past, or anxiety for the future.

The idea entertained by Luther and his followers is that the Eternal Father is supreme in Justice, and that Justice exacts a penalty corresponding to the crime, so as to out-balance it.

At the present day, the idea of the literal punishment of the Son of God as counterbalancing the sins of mankind is unthinkable. So is the doctrine of vicarious punishment. It is felt that an injustice was committed when Edward VI. as Prince of Wales, when he committed a fault, should have a "whipping-boy" who was thrashed in his stead. It is utterly repulsive to our moral sense to imagine that the Justice of God makes no distinction between the innocent and the guilty, and that the sufferings of Christ can in any proper sense be spoken of as penal.

The doctrine that Christ was our Substitute was not heard of till the 16th century. As Archdeacon Norris has said in his Rudiments of Theology, “The idea that Christ bore the penalty of sin, and thereby saved us from bearing it, leads to a dilemma which, if not fatal to it, is difficult to answer- For what is sin’s penalty? If temporal death, then, as a matter of fact, we are not saved from it; if eternal death, then, assuredly, Christ did not bear it.” The dispute is as old as Plato between εἶναι (to be) and γινέσθαι (to become), in the Protagoras. "To be" with the Lutheran is not to become, but is to put on an appearance.

The total tendency of Christ's religion was and is to reform and to purify and vivify man from within; and not to glaze over with an external and extraneous lacquer that which in reality is

⁴⁰ Vol. XII. pp. 22-24.

⁴¹ Werke I. pp.152-3.

rotten, mean and faulty. Yet this is precisely what is taught by those who hold the doctrine of Imputation of Merits. A base metal coin is not calculated to pass muster as a sovereign when overlaid with a film of gold-leaf.

The Doctrine as recently taught.

But let us see how completely the system of Christ dying for man's restoration has been falsified by Luther and his followers in England.

Justification as taught by Archbishop Sumner.

John Bird Sumner, Bishop of Chester, and afterwards, for his demerits, created Archbishop of Canterbury, voiced the then prevalent Protestant doctrine of Justification, in the preface to his Practical Exposition of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans, 1843. He wrote relative to man's restoration from a fallen condition:- "Is it to be effected by an intrinsic process, or to proceed from some foreign and external source? Is it to depend on what man is to do in his own person, or on what is wrought for him by another? Further, when David and Manasseh repented and humbled themselves, they were forgiven, and received into Divine favour. They were healed like Naaman for what they did, and without vicarious process. The Gospel, however, takes a different line," i.e. from that of requiring repentance and obedience. "The deliverance which it proclaims is altogether extrinsic, not dependent upon what man has done, or is to do; but is already wrought; and is to be received, not gained; freely conferred, not wrought out by repentance and obedience."

The Bishop then enquires as to what are the means whereby deliverance is to be secured to the parties for whom it is designed. Bishop Sumner replies to this, "The benefit is to be obtained by a personal appropriation of the Sacrifice to ourselves. Faith being the secret instrument This is to be justified by Faith." Which Faith again "is not a work of obedience, nor an act of duty, but a simple trust."

Archbishop Sumner was a man of mediocre intelligence, and he merely echoed what he had heard trumpeted from Wittenberg. But one might have supposed that he had a conscience, which would have forbidden his teaching the exact contrary to that of the Church which favoured him with a palace, a barony, and many thousands of pounds per annum. Moreover his words teach the precise contrary to those of Scripture.

And Cowper.

Cowper, the Poet, in a letter to the Rev. John Newton, dated June 25, 1785 expressed the Lutheran view of Justification in a neat form. "The forgiveness of God is large and absolute; so large that though in general He calls for confession of our sins, He sometimes dispenses with that preliminary, and will not suffer even the delinquent himself to mention his transgression. He has so forgiven it, that He seems to have forgotten it too, and will have the sinner to forget it also." This makes of the Almighty One who is indifferent to sin, and of man also one who is insensible to what is evil.

The poor heathen slave Aesop knew better the Law of God's dealings with man, than did John Bird Sumner, Doctor of Divinity though he was, for he told how that the carter when his vehicle was stuck in the clay called on Hercules to extricate it, and the god replied:- "Put your shoulder to the wheel. The gods help only those who exert themselves."

Dean Stanley has said with great truth, "There are no sins so great, but that in Christianity they may find forgiveness." Such was the answer made to Constantine by Hosius or

Sylvester, when he was overwhelmed with remorse at the murder, by his orders, of his son Crispus. “This,” says Stanley, “is a doctrine, which, according to the manner in which it is presented to us, is indeed the worst corruption or the noblest boast of the Christian religion. ‘In Christianity there is forgiveness for every sin.’ This may be the hateful Antinomianism which, in the Protestant Church, has taken shelter under the Lutheran doctrine of ‘Justification by Faith only’; in the Roman Church under the Scholastic doctrine of Priestly Absolution.⁴² But it may also be the true message of the Gospel; the reception of the prodigal son, of the woman who was a sinner; and of the thief on the cross; the doctrine that the Divine forgiveness is ever at hand as soon as man turns to be forgiven.”⁴³

God’s Order never reversed.

God never reverses His procedure, it is never one thing to-day, and another thing on the morrow, and yet the doctrine of Luther, of Sumner and of John Wesley, exacts a total revulsion in system. In Our Lord’s teaching there is no token of this. “Go, sin no more lest a worse thing come unto thee.” To the adulterous woman He said: “Go, sin no more.” When the lawyer asked what he should do to be saved, Christ bade him do that which was written in the Law. In the Beatitudes, no allusion is made to Justification by Emotionalism. In the account of the Last Judgment we are assured that only those are received as the Blessed of the Father who have done works of mercy. The foundations of the Spiritual life are laid in Repentance and Obedience, and are carried out in execution of God’s Law; clean contrary to what Dr. Sumner held and expounded.

S. Paul’s First Missionary Journey.

The first Missionary Journey of S. Paul conducted him to Pisidian Antioch, and his preaching in Southern Galatia, in A.D. 47 to the early spring of A.D.49. It was then that he enunciated his Gospel with the least restraint. He had already contended at Syrian Antioch for the release of the Gentile converts from the obligation to be circumcised, and from other ceremonial restrictions, but we cannot be sure that there he had declared openly what seemed to be the total emancipation of the Christian from the observance of the whole law, and of justification by faith alone.

S. Paul had no intention of abrogating the Moral Law.

There can exist no doubt whatever that the Apostle, in his own mind, never contemplated the abrogation of the Moral Law, but he failed to make his doctrine clear to his hearers, or at all events to a good many of them. Every speaker, especially if vehement, is liable to be misunderstood, and he is often incapable of comprehending the dulness of his hearers which leads them to misapprehend his teaching.

To certain Commentators it has seemed as though S. Paul were like the Traveller in the Satyr’s cave, blowing hot and cold with the same mouth. But this was not really the case. He had to deal with two distinct classes of converts, each disposed to understand his doctrine in a way very different from what he purposed, and he was constrained to thrust alternately to the left and then to the right, and to rebuke each in succession as occasion offered – to check the

⁴² Alas, to the writer’s certain knowledge, absolution is very often and very freely accorded in the Roman Church where there is no genuine token of contrition and purpose of amendment; two qualifications which doctrinally are exacted. For Pardon is conditional.

⁴³ Stanley, Lectures on the Eastern Church, 1869, p.204.

Jewish believer when considering himself still bound by the Ceremonial Law, and the Greek convert when boasting that by Faith he was emancipated from the Moral Law.

The Apostle discovered to his surprise that there were many Anatolian and Greek converts who were quite ready to accept and acquiesce in the tenets of his "Gospel"; but who had neither the will nor the intention to act up to its duties.

Paul's doctrine unsystematic.

Paul's Epistles formulated no system. They were written to correct abuses as they started up. In this case, he had to deal with Jewish adherents, who persisted in relying on old familiar forms of which they had become fond, and to which they attached a fictitious value; and as such, his words are of use at the present day in cautioning against a formal religion to which there is a tendency in the Roman Communion, and, from which members of the English Church are not wholly free. And with regard to the Macedonian and Anatolian body of converts, he was constrained to draw the rein when they were plunging into anomia. [*Lawlessness*] Here also Paul's warning is of value at the present day, as addressed to Protestants, cautioning them against smug self-satisfaction as induced by the doctrine of free Justification by Faith alone.

It would appear as if the Apostle himself were uneasy lest his Macedonian and Oriental Greek converts should suppose that they had already "attained," should hug themselves in "Assurance," and consequently should desist from further effort, from "striving against sin," to the overcoming of moral infirmities. It was because conscious of this tendency in them, that he instanced his own condition as not one of assurance (Phil. III. 2). And he employed the illustrations of the soldier in war ever on the alert, ever on guard, and of the runner in a race, to exemplify the need of continuous effort. S. Peter also uses the simile of a caravan in the desert, where there must be constant watch maintained against the devil who "as a roaring lion, walketh about seeking whom he may devour" (1 Peter V.8).

It was precisely because the Saxons under Harold were over-confident, due to a first repulse of the Normans, that they were routed in the battle of Senlach (Hastings). The Day of Judgment will be like Senlach to many a self-confident Evangelical, puffed up with Assurance. In like manner, in a race, there must be no assurance, after having expended the first wind, that the goal has been reached (1 Cor. IX.24; 1 Tim. VI.12). The fire must be quickened with fresh fuel in the camp, if the wild beasts are to be kept at a distance.

It stands to reason that, if a man is "sure" of his salvation, he will relax his efforts to progress in holiness and the fear of the Lord; and be content to stagnate. But if he be uncertain, yet reliant on divine help, he will use his best endeavour without relaxation of effort (1 Cor. IX.27)

Misapprehension.

It falls to the experience of every man to have what he has said misconceived, and to find that his words have been twisted to condone acts which he was earnest to deprecate. I can recall the great meeting in S. James's Hall on the Bulgarian Atrocities (Dec. 9, 1876), when Professor Freeman spoke, and exclaimed: "Perish our dominion in India rather than that we should strike one blow, or speak one word on behalf of the wrong against the right." I was on the platform and heard the words. They were, however, laid hold of by the Conservative Press, and twisted into a meaning foreign to what he had intended, as a denunciation of our

rule in India. That he implied anything of the sort was frequently denied, and his original words were quoted, but partisan bitterness prevailed to set aside all disclaimers. And S. Paul was now to discover how he could be misunderstood.

The Psalms.

To those who in ignorance or in wilfulness, misapprehended S. Paul, he seemed to have laid an axe at the root of all that piety which had found expression in the Psalter. Hitherto the godly had been distinguished from the ungodly above all by their observance of the Law. To stand in a right relationship to the Divine Will was a vital concern of all who were animated by a righteous fear, and as the Law was the revelation of God's Will, obedience to its precepts was necessarily a leading article of piety. The whole of the Psalm CXIX. is one shout of exultation over the privilege of possession of the Law, and over earnest resolve to be faithful to its observance.⁴⁴ The pious man treasured the Law of God in his heart as his most precious possession;⁴⁵ and meditated upon it day and night.⁴⁶ His one aim was to walk according to its precepts,⁴⁷ for God's mercy and truth are peculiarly vouchsafed to such as keep His covenant and are mindful of His commandments.⁴⁸ The fulfilling of the Law is the *raison d'être* of all God's goodness to Israel.⁴⁹

Cause of Misunderstanding.

There is no sounding the depth of human stupidity, no measuring the extent of human perversity. Possibly enough, S. Paul may not have been sufficiently explicit in his teaching. But it was an Oriental habit to over state whatever a speaker desired to impress on his audience. He took for granted that they would exercise common sense and clip off any extravagances in which he had indulged. But the Galatians were no Semites, and were accustomed to take every statement made to them as literally true, with no qualifications; and for this matter-of-fact mental condition Paul was not prepared. When he poured forth his disparagement of the Law as the cause of all sin in the world, the crass Anatolian seized on the broad principle of abrogation of the Law, without regarding the refinements not expressed but intended to be supplied, and by them the Psalms of David were held to be deserving of scorn, as no longer applicable to themselves, emancipated from every obligation.

Many a preacher has to learn by experience, how ready certain persons are to take advantage of his admissions and to ignore his limitations.

The Apostle had to learn this, and that he did learn it we judge from his epistle to the Romans, but above all, from the Pastoral letters. Il était sage, il savait reculer. [*Translation: He was wise. He knew how to draw back.*]

How understood by the Jew.

The Jewish convert said, "I understand what is Paul's doctrine. It is but the enlargement of what we have been taught from childhood, that the promises of God are conditional. If from the heart we believe in Christ and accept His law; then we are placed in a position to become just, through living a life of obedience and faith."

⁴⁴ Ps. CXIX. 4-8, 10, 12-16, 18-24, 26, 27-32, 35-40, 44-48, 54-56, 57, 60-64, 66-72, 73, 77-78, 83, 86, 92-95, 96-104, 105-112, 113-117, 124-128, 129-136, 138-144, 145, 152, 153, 159, 166-168, 171-175.

⁴⁵ Ps. XXXVI.11.

⁴⁶ Ps. 1.2.

⁴⁷ Ps. LXXXVI.11.

⁴⁸ Ps. CIII.18; XXV.10.

⁴⁹ Ps. CV.45.

How by the Greek.

But the Greek and Asiatic convert would say, "I understand what is Paul's doctrine. It is one of complete emancipation from all restraint. Moreover it relieves us from anxiety as to the future. It frees us from effort after righteousness. Having experienced an emotional agitation whilst he was speaking, which we take to be Justification by Faith, we know that we are not required to become just, honest, truthful and pure, in a word, righteous, but are already made so, without any effort of our own. We may sell with short weights, send in our bills two or three times over, after that they have been paid, may adulterate our sugar with sand – or the equivalent at that period, – make solemn promises, with no intention to keep them, be untrue to our wives; but none of this matters. We are freely justified by Faith only."

This is no exaggeration, it is a description of what the Paulinian heretics in the Apostolic and sub-apostolic times taught, and which is practically the result of the same misinterpretation of the Apostle's words at the present day. It is the outcome of Archbishop Sumner's teaching.

The Galatian Revolt.

There was much more in the revolt of the Galatians against Paul's Solifidianism than meets the eye. The condition of women in Anatolia was sadly debasing. Not only were sins of the flesh condoned, but they were eulogised and elevated into religious duties. The result was that a considerable number of Anatolians disgusted with the prevalent paganism, and desirous of keeping their families pure, their wives and daughters screened from the prevailing demoralisation, became proselytes to the Jewish religion. Thenceforth they were able to say:- "We have embraced the law of Jehovah, that was proclaimed on Sinai, and written by the finger of God upon tables of stone. He forbade adultery, which the worshippers of Artemis elevate into a religious obligation. I have received circumcision as a sign and seal that I and my house have elected to serve the living God, and that we will obey His laws,"

Its reason.

Now, when Paul declaimed with such vehemence against the Law, and declared that Christians were emancipated from its restraints, and were justified by Faith alone, these Anatolian converts were thrown into great perplexity. They considered that Paul had cut away the ground from under their feet on which they had reckoned for rearing their families in purity and the fear of the Lord. They had not the Gospels to refer to, showing that Christ had ratified the moral law, for the Epistle to the Galatians was written in A.D.55, and the earliest Gospel, that of S. Matthew, not till between A.D. 60 and 70.⁵⁰ The Apostle was as much in the dark as to the sayings of Christ as were they. These Galatians took S. Paul's words as authorising the breaking of the Tables of the Commandments. Nor were they much relieved by his calling them the Sons of Abraham, who believed the promise of God made to him four hundred and thirty years before that the Law had been promulgated. As Abraham lived in polygamy – or at least digamy – why not they also, his sons? They were his sons by faith and were not bound in any way by the Law that was given four centuries and a half after his time, and did not apply to them one jot.

Reckless Words.

⁵⁰ According to Irenaeus shortly before 70 when Peter and Paul were preaching in Rome.

“We conclude,” said the Apostle, “that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the Law.” “To him that worketh not (i.e. does not keep the Commandments), but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly his faith is counted for righteousness.” “The law worketh wrath. For where no law is, there is no transgression.” The Anatolian quite understood this as granting plenary indulgence for the future, and plenary absolution for the past. “As by one man’s disobedience many were made sinners, so, by the obedience of one, shall many be made righteous. Moreover the Law entered that the offence might abound. But where sin abounded, grace did much more abound.” “Sin is not imputed where there is no law.” If then the Christian is emancipated from the Law, none of his acts, whatever they may be, will be regarded as sinful. “Ye are not under the law, but under grace.” “There is therefore now no condemnation for them that are in Christ Jesus.”⁵¹ “The law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus hath made me free from the law of sin and death.”

Conceive the perplexity of the Galatian father of a family, when he heard this preached. “I am put in a quandary,” he would exclaim. “According to the law of God, if my wife were to prove unfaithful, she would be sentenced to death. But now, as Paul tells us, we are absolutely released from the law, if my wife hear this and elects to act upon it, she will run away from home, following the advice of her heathen relatives, and as a religious duty lead the vagrant, degrading life of a Hetaira, [*In ancient Greece, a prostitute or courtesan of a superior class.*] for one, two, three months, and then return home, wipe her mouth and offer me a kiss, and she will tell me, ‘I am justified by Faith; we are not under the law, but under grace. Where no law is, there is no transgression.’”

Alarm at the Misapprehension.

Inevitably, after a while, S. Paul became conscious that the promulgation of his Gospel had its drawbacks, and that whether he liked it or not, he must moderate his expressions and qualify his doctrine. He was brought to feel that the Galatian proselytes had an excuse for their revolt against his indiscriminate denunciation of the Law, and his unqualified laudation of Free Justification. He learned also from the moral disorders in the Church of Corinth, where the “faithful” were “puffed up” because there was among them not fornication only, but incest as well. They regarded such conduct as magnificently illustrating their freedom from the Law of Moses.

He was informed as well that there existed a considerable fringe of professing Christians, who repudiated the teaching not of the Old Law only, but also of the Twelve Apostles of Christ, and proclaimed him as the sole exponent of the Will of God.

Obligation or Expediency.

By his neophytes Paul was taken to require not the peeling off the old rind of Ceremonial observance which had enclosed and sheltered the Moral germ of the Law, but to place Morality on a new footing, that of Expediency in place of Obligation. If the Convert by Baptism had risen with Christ, he is expected to seek those things which be above; if he has put on the New Man, it is proper that he should shuffle off the Old Adam and his deeds, and assume those of the New.⁵²

⁵¹ But here he was constrained to qualify his assertion by adding, “who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.” Had he thus modified his doctrine to the Galatians he would have saved himself from being misapprehended so egregiously. Clearly at one time Paul thought that Morality could stand on its own feet, without the support of the Law. He learned his mistake.

⁵² As Touchstone well said, “There is much virtue in if.” [*As You Like It, Act 5, scene 4*]

This was not what S. Paul had purposed teaching, but what men in the perversity of human nature supposed that he had taught. It was as though a miner in the Gold-fields, when he had found a nugget, were bidden put off his soiled corduroys, hold back his tongue from obscene talk and blasphemous oaths, reject his old black pipe, smoke Havannah [*sic*] cigars, discuss art and science, quote a text or two and warble snatches of Watt's hymns. Now that he is a gentleman, he is expected to comport himself like a gentleman. This was the position assumed by Paul's Corinthian Converts. It is one that has been assumed by very many from that day to this. These say in effect: "We accept release from the iron fetters of the Law, but we have no intention whatever to submit to the silver shackles of Expediency." "All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient," wrote S. Paul. He made no qualification, and such as desire to make the best of both worlds have at all times made "All things" to comprehend any and every thing to which they had a liking. As to the expediency of their acts, of that they consider themselves to be the best judges. We, with the ethic-teaching of the Church behind us during nineteen centuries, know very well what was the meaning of the Apostle when he used these words. But it is in human nature for a man to adapt an expression to assume a sense which will serve his purpose to licence self-indulgence.

Alarmed at the interpretation put on his words, Paul sought to blunt them. "God," wrote he, "will render to every man according to his deeds." This was the reverse of what he had previously taught: as "We conclude that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law." "Let not sin reign in your mortal body," he now wrote, "that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof. Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin; but yield yourselves unto God as those that are alive from the dead, and your members as instruments of righteousness unto God." He changed his key when he wrote this.

Correctives.

S. Paul's teaching had been so distorted from what he had intended, but had not been sufficiently guarded to express, that S. James was compelled to utter a disclaimer.⁵³ "What doth it profit, my brethren, though a man say he hath faith, and have not works? Can faith save him? . . . By works a man is justified, and not by faith only." [*James 2:14-18*]

S. Peter also, or a disciple, who wrote the Second Epistle bearing the name of the Prince of the Apostles, also gave a caution to the Faithful. "Our brother Paul, according to the wisdom given unto him, hath written unto you: as also in all his epistles, speaking in them of these things; in which are some things hard to be understood, which they that are unlearned and unstable wrest, as they do other scriptures, unto their own destruction."⁵⁴ [*2 Peter 3: 15-16*]

Doubtless S. Paul had thought:-

"It were an easy leap
To dive into the bottom of the deep,
Where fathom-line could never touch the ground,

⁵³ The Epistle of S. James is a comparatively late composition. It exhibits the misunderstood Paulinian doctrine of Justification by Faith already exercising a pernicious moral effect.

⁵⁴ Observe that even in the Apostolic age, it is an admitted fact that Pauline teaching had conduced to heresy; indeed Valentine professed that he had acquired his doctrine from a learned Rabbi who had been intimate with S. Paul. This Rabbi had been misled by the vehement and unqualified denunciations of the Law made by the Apostle.

And pluck up drown'd morality by the locks." [A somewhat inaccurate quote from *King Henry IV, Act I, scene iii*]

But he found that this was not so easy as he imagined. Unquestionably the elder apostles took occasion gently to advise caution, and he, taught by bitter experience, was in a humbled mood, and willing to adopt a more subdued tone.

It was not possible for him to shut his eyes to the moral disorders, sheltering under his authority, that had already begun to ravage the Church, and which were calculated to become more rampant after his decease. He could hardly, in human nature, be expected to repudiate what was supposed to be his favourite dogma, but he added modifications, which divested it of its immoral tendencies. Among the heathen the most scandalous stories circulated as to the licentious character of the Christians, but this was due to the conduct of the sectaries who claimed Paul as their authority.

Exclusion of the extreme Paulinians from the Church.

When, in the Second Century, the Church had organised herself, and had established her moral code, all such as had misinterpreted the Apostle's teaching as emancipating them from the Law, fell away, and under Marcion, Valentine, Mark and the Ophites, became camp followers to the compact army of the Church

Fluctuation of S. Paul's Views as to the Law.

The Apostle had urged that the Law was ordained by God to bring man to a consciousness of sin. At first he taught that the Law was given as a barrier to prevent the Jew from falling into such corruption of life as existed among the heathen. But subsequently he threw away this explanation of the function of the Law, and declared that it was an ordinance given by God not to restrain man from sin, but to convince him that he was sinful and was incapable of avoiding sin. Regulations were multiplied to increase transgression, and torture man with a sense of his impotence. The Law, he said, is holy, just and good, but it is powerless to do good. It has but one object, the multiplication of sin. It holds man fast, like a jailer, in the bondage of sin. The law shows man what God's righteousness is, but in no way helps him to attain it. Its function is to carry sin to the highest maturity. In this sense it is "the power of sin" (1 Cor. XV.56). Till the Law came there was no consciousness of sin, and where no consciousness is, there no sin exists. But there was something so repulsive in his view of God creating a law for the sake of torturing man, and one cannot be surprised that it led to consequences he had never anticipated.

Paul and Gnosticism

Be it so, said the Gnostics. The Law is sin. It produced sin in the world, where, without the Law, there would have been no sin, as sin has no positive existence, and is found only where there is consciousness of transgression. Does not this imply, said these Gnostics, that God is the author of sin? Consequently the giver of the Law is a malignant deity. And then, they added, as they held Matter to be Evil, that the Creator of the World, who was also the Giver of the Law, was in constant antagonism with the supreme and good God, the Father of those who believe.

Paul did not originate Gnosticism. It existed as a philosophy of the conflict between Good and Evil, between Spirit and Matter, before he was born; but he supplied it with a handle which the Gnostics were ready enough to lay hold of.

“When we consider,” says Baur, “the Position which the Apostle assigns to the Law, and the terms he employs to describe its distinctive character, we see that the Law is here degraded from its absolute value, and reduced to the rank of a subordinate stage. Thus we can easily understand how that the Gnostics of the most pronounced Antinomianism appealed to the Apostle Paul as the authority for their tenets.”

It is well worth while to read S. Chrysostom’s homilies on the Epistle to the Romans, preached at Antioch, about the year 385. In his introduction he expressed in beautiful words his admiration of and love for S. Paul. But when we come to what he has to say relative to the Apostle’s theories as to the Law and Free Justification, he slides over the critical passages with scarce a notice. Moreover, Paul’s estimate of the Law was in flat contradiction to the teaching of Our Lord; so much so, that we are driven to the supposition that this had never been reported to him.

Carpocrates a Gnostic.

It was by Carpocrates, generally reckoned as a Gnostic, that the Pauline diatribes against the Law were accepted unreservedly and formed the basis of his doctrine. Carpocrates had been “alive without the Law once,” and deliberately pronounced life without the Law, or failing that, in defiance of the Law, to be the only life worth living. Like all extremists, he exaggerated a truth. Instead of proclaiming the Law to be imperfect, he taught that it was unholy, that Justification was to be sought and found in defiance of the Law, and that men who were to benefit by Christ's Redemption must defy it. They must violate every one of the Commandments of the Giver of that Law, now in this present life, or else they would not be justified and set free in the world to come.

Paulinianism among the Valentinians.

S. Irenaeus, in his description of the Valentinian heretics and schismatics, says:- “They hold that they shall be wholly and undoubtedly saved, not on account of Conduct, but because of their natural Spirituality. For, just as it is impossible that matter should partake of salvation, so is it impossible that Spirituality should ever come under the power of corruption, in whatever sort of actions they indulged. For even as gold, when dipped in filth, does not lose its beauty, but retains its native qualities, so they affirm that they cannot in any measure suffer hurt, or lose their spirituality, in whatever gross actions they may be involved. Wherefore it falls out that the ‘most perfect’ addict themselves without scruple to all kinds of forbidden deeds ,... imagining that in this way they contract no defilement.”⁵⁵ This was written in the second century and not in the nineteenth or twentieth. Verily it applies, and has applied, to certain modern classes of religionists, who build upon their feelings of Assurance, and scout Conduct.

These and other instances that might be quoted show how perilous, indeed, how fatal, it is to run away with a single truth to the disparagement of others that are complementary and corrective.

The Apostle was very far from entertaining any desire to make of Christianity an immoral religion, but in his excitable moods he let slip expressions which led to Anomia. This was a well authenticated fact. The Ophites and certain Gnostic licentious sects claimed S. Paul as their founder and the authoriser of their dissolute lives. The judgment of the Church proved

⁵⁵ Irenaeus, Adv. Haeres, I. VI. 2 ,3

sufficient to suppress such outbursts of religious licence till the Reformation, when ultra-Paulinism again manifested itself.

Pseudo-Paulinianism in England in the 17th Century.

Marcion wrote his Antithesis, formulating into a system Paul's doctrine of repudiation of the Law, and of Free Justification, as understood by an Asiatic. This book, unhappily is lost; but in 1642 John Eaton did the same thing in his Honeycomb of Justification, and Tobias Crisp in his Discourses, published after his death, but which in subsequent editions underwent revision on account of their pronounced antinomianism.

So wide-spread was this revolt against the Moral Law in England, under the Commonwealth, that the Presbyterian Ministers of London deemed it advisable to assemble in Sion House and there draw up a table of the errors most prevalent, and anathematise them. This was done in thirteen articles, and the ministers were named who were the most frank in their propagation of immoral doctrines. Of these articles I quote two.

2. "That God is the author and instigator of sin, and that responsibility for sinning rests on God rather than on man. The teaching of Tobias Crisp, John Eaton and Saltmarsh."

9. "That the Moral Law is not to be taken as the rule of life; but that Believers are as clean from sin as is Christ Himself; that Believers have no occasion to pray for pardon for sin, because God sees no sin in His Elect, and never chastises them for their acts. The doctrine of Randal and John Simpson." We might add, that of William Cowper as well, already quoted.

Among the Germans.

Later ensued a notable outbreak of ultra-Paulinism at Konigsberg in East Prussia, under the Lutheran pastors Ebel and Diestel, which led to a trial and exposure in 1835, the deprivation of both ministers, and the retention of the latter in a house of Correction, in 1842.

These Muckers as they were termed, formed a Female Church, in which the most beautiful and fascinating of both sexes were the chief ministers. Contrary to the usual experience of such phenomena, the movement commenced in a class which is ordinarily too much under the influence of conventional restraint to allow itself to be betrayed into any exhibition of spiritual emotion. Of the rise and fall of Muckerism, the scandals to which the spiritual intimacies of the votaries gave rise, and the appearance of the whole question in the law-courts, we must refer the reader to Mr. Hepworth Dixon's Spiritual Wives.

In the United States.

Scarcely had Muckerism died out in East Prussia, before it burst forth in a perfect orgy of profligacy linked up with Religion, and Pauline Free Justification in the United States of America, in the organised Free Love Perfectionists. The whole story is too revolting for description. Anyone who would like to see how that in our own times a condition of affairs arose such as was dreaded by the Galatian proselytes when they heard S. Paul proclaim emancipation from the restraints of the Law, and the absolute freedom of the Christian who is justified by Faith alone, must look for the account of it given by Mr. Dixon in the aforementioned work.

Bible Communism.

Another – not so much a caricature of Paul’s doctrine, as a distortion, in the States, is Bible Communism. Based on S. Paul's words “The Law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and disobedient, for the ungodly and sinners . . . according to the glorious gospel of the blessed God which was committed to my trust” (1 Tim. I.8-11); based on this the Bible Communist professes himself to be emancipated from all law, both that which was pronounced on Sinai, and that which is administered at Washington. Whatever he desires to do, that he does, calling it “a life under grace.” Laws are for sinners, he is a saint, justified freely. The distinctive dogma is that, not only is all property common, but that wives and children are common property as well. The practice of Communism carries these doctrines to their extremest limits, but under a veil of secrecy so as to evade the interference of the police. Marriage as a rite has been abolished for ever. It would appear that those who take up with Free Justification by Faith, in the Lutheran and Wesleyan distortion of the Pauline doctrine sont sur une pente ou on ne peut pas se cramponer. [*Translation: are on a slope on which it is impossible to dig in and stand firm.*]

Sentiment v. Conduct.

Sir A. Quiller-Couch, a Methodist, in his Hetty Wesley writes: “Mehetabel had been wicked. She craved to be good . . . For her the way back to forgiveness lay through conduct – always through conduct; and for her the road stretched long, for not until death could she reach Assurance. Of a way of forgiveness through Faith she scarcely thought, still less of a way through Faith to instant Assurance.”

Marcion and Valentine would have used similar words. So would have done Pastors Ebel and Diestel, when living in promiscuous intercourse with their female disciples. So might have spoken Noyes, the founder of “The Free Love Perfectionists” of America. So also Prince, the founder of the Agapemone.⁵⁶

1st Ep. of Paul to Timothy.

Critics have disputed the genuineness of the First Epistle of Paul to Timothy on the ground that it insists on Duty being performed, as the characteristic of the Christian, and no longer upon an ebullition of hysterical sentiment. But to me this is indicative of a sobered spirit, recognising that mistakes had been made. But, whether by S. Paul or by some other writer of the Apostolic age, it exhibits plainly enough what was the feeling of the Church, and what was its teaching at the time. It had met with rough weather and had been driven out of its course, but was steady under the guidance of the Divine Spirit.

It became more and ever more Johannite, and less Paulinian. Paulinianism was well enough in its way, but needed seasoning with the salt of the Gospel; it was, through misapprehension the parent of immoral heresies in the Primitive age, of fantastic sects in the Medieval period, and at the present day lingers on in the extinction of that lowly, sweet and retiring piety which is only to be found in the Catholic Church, like the scent of violets, withdrawn from sight. And this mischief has been due to Greek and Latin misconception of the meaning of Paul’s term Justification. Where he meant “qualified to become just” they supposed, some

⁵⁶ Zoe, one of Prince’s spiritual wives, who had become a mother by him, exhibited in her radiant face the serenity of a soul assured of Salvation by being Justified by Faith combined with the Works of the Flesh. The expression of her countenance was that of “Peace, perfect Peace.”

purposely, some ignorantly, that he said “ye are become just.” And such as are “become just” are naturally relieved from obligation to strive after attainment.

Misinterpretation of S. Paul still prevalent.

Unhappily during over a century of late the same misinterpretation of S. Paul’s words has been very rife, especially among the dissenting communities in our land, but mainly among the uneducated but emotional lower classes in Wales, Cornwall, Lincolnshire, etc.

Conditions.

A noteworthy divergence, or rather radical opposition exists between the moral teaching of the Universal church and Protestantism, Calvinistic, Zwinglian and Lutheran. It is a difference that touches the whole spiritual life of man. The discipline of life from childhood to old age depends on acceptance of one or other view of the relations between God and man.

According to the former teaching from Apostolic times, God’s dealings with man are conditional. Predestination, whether to life or to death, is conditioned according to man’s conduct here.

Justification is conditional to the exercise of a living faith.

Pardon for sin is conditional to sincerity of purpose, and resolve on amendment of life.

Answer to Prayer is conditional on fervour, faith, perseverance.

It is unnecessary to show how this doctrine is insisted upon in the Gospels. It forms the very basis of instruction in the Catholic Church.

In the Baptismal Service, the sponsors are exhorted to teach the child, as he grows up, what a solemn vow he has made; to call upon him to hear sermons; but chiefly to learn the Creed, the Lord’s Prayer, and the Ten Commandments; that is to say Doctrine, Prayer and Duty are to be the foundations of his spiritual edifice.

In like manner, in the “Visitation of the Sick,” “forasmuch as after this life there is an account to be given,” the sick person is examined, first, whether he believes the Articles of the Creed, which is then and there rehearsed; and next, whether he “repent him truly of his sins,” i.e. his breaches of the Commandments.

What is a child instructed to say in the Catechism, and to lay to heart, as concerning that state of Salvation to which he is called, other than this? – To renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh. That is the first condition. The second is, to believe all the articles of the Christian Faith; and the third is, to keep God’s holy will and commandments, and to walk in the same all the days of his life. Upon these Conditions being complied with, he is made and remains a child of God, and an inheritor of the Kingdom of Heaven.

Here Obedience and Faith form the basis upon which the Christian character is built up. In no other way than by the habit of strict and anxious conscientiousness, can that character be acquired, so well-pleasing to God, and so respected among men. From first to last the

Churchman has these responsibilities weighing upon him.⁵⁷

In direct and radical opposition to this is the doctrine of Imputed Righteousness as introduced from Wittenberg. In place of a transformation of the inner man, it teaches a hiding of it, with its blemishes and corruption by an outward disguise.

The difference between the Church and Protestantism in its various forms is not so seriously Theological and Ecclesiastical as it is Ethical.

Protestants for the most part profess to believe the main articles of the Christian faith, although that relative to the holy, Catholic and Apostolic Church with them has no definite outline, like a pictured object in a Japanese painting. But, in respect to God's dealings with man it is quite other. It is an unconditional Sanctification, or conditioned only on consciousness of an ebullition of sentiment having been experienced, that entails no further responsibilities.

Unquestionably many, if not most, Nonconformists, English and continental, who hold themselves to be unconditionally predestined to life, justified, pardoned, assured of Salvation, do lead godly lives, and in many cases better lives than do those who have been taught otherwise. But, with them, this is optional not obligatory. Common sound sense and a healthy Conscience not as yet deadened, serve to counteract the poison that has been imbibed.

Modern pastors have learned by experience how that the doctrine of Free Justification is like cocaine deadening the conscientious nerve; and they have become wary of the doctrine, and deal with it gingerly, except among the emotional and ignorant; just as in Calvinistic congregations the dogma of Predestination and denial of Free Will have to a large extent been detected as mischievous and have been tossed overboard.

Whether any heresy has ever infested the Church so hateful and fatal in its results as the Lutheran doctrine of Free Justification, it is perhaps not necessary to determine, none certainly has ever prevailed so subtle and extensively poisonous. It cuts and maims the very first and essential principles of the Gospel, casts into the dust-bin its essential truths, and kills endeavour. We must not forget how miserably this same doctrine has crippled and enchained the religious instinct of its victims, and prevented them from making progress in the acquisition of self-knowledge and humility.

Probably at Ephesus, Paul came in contact with S. John, and from him learned what had actually been the teaching of the Master whose Apostle he professed himself to be, and was fain to assume a more subdued tone. The change observable in the Pastoral Epistles are [*sic*] precisely what one might anticipate would take place in one who was not above taking lessons by experience. What man who is not eaten up by self-conceit, does not modify his opinions? In the later Epistles of Paul, as that to the Colossians, a different tone is perceptible. The antithesis of faith and the Law is dropped. Paul had learned by bitter experience the mischief he had done by the opposition. Now love as a bond of perfection, and good works are insisted on. Emphasis also is laid on Knowledge or Wisdom. Paul changed his tone, and so do the Nonconformist teachers of today.

⁵⁷ In Chapter III, I have pointed out how solemnly the Church of England in the Collect for the Eleventh Sunday after Trinity has repudiated the Lutheran doctrine of Free Justification without Observance of the Law. It would not be possible to do so more emphatically, than by the introduction of the clause in question into a prayer addressed to the Almighty.

The old state of affairs with us is now passing away. Owing to the sedulous education of the people, far less ignorance prevails, none, in fact, of that grossness which did exist and which made men and women an easy prey to preachers of Free Justification. They have acquired a self-respect they did not formerly possess, but, above all, they have obtained an ability to judge of doctrines by their moral or immoral effect on life. Dogmas as well as persons must be accepted or rejected by their fruits.

Solifidianism practically dead.

The consequence has been that the doctrine of Free Justification, as proclaimed by Luther and by John Wesley, by Eaton and Tobias Crisp, quartered with Assurance, is now hung up in Church and Chapel as a symbol and as nothing more, much as gentlemen flourish their heraldic coats-of-arms on their plate, their harness, their coachmen's buttons, but never dream of donning emblazoned armour; and this to show that they pertain, or like to pretend to pertain, to a certain class in the land, above the medium.

Very few pastors now would venture to insist on that which Luther deemed to be the Gospel, par excellence.

Their experience has taught them that dogmas are very much like the agarici; that, whereas the common mushroom is wholesome, another⁵⁸ which is very similar in appearance, grows in the same pasture, and at the same time, and is only distinguished from the edible Agaricus Campestris by its smell, is a deadly poison. And, if I am not vastly mistaken, the noses of Dissenting Ministers have been quickened by experience to distinguish the Agaricus Pseudopaulinus from the wholesome Agaricus Paulinus; of the former of which generation after generation has eaten and has perished. Unhappily Methodism is committed formally to the Lutheran heresy.

Haeret lateri lethalis arundo. [*translation: the death dealing arrow sticks into his side*]

⁵⁸ Agaricus Valutinus or Agaricus Fastibilis.

THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS

Chapter VI

THE ATONEMENT

Chapter VI

THE ATONEMENT

There is perhaps no fact lying at the root of Christianity that has provoked more conjecture as to the cause, purpose, and effect of the death of Christ upon Calvary than has that tragic event.

The Caesarean and Jerusalem Creeds that formed the basis of the symbol promulgated at Nicaea mention the fact of Christ's death, but deduce no doctrine from it. Nor is a hint given in the Nicene-Constantinopolitan Creed that any fundamental doctrine was derivable therefrom.

The Resurrection not the Death mainly considered.

The thoughts of the Apostles, at first, were concentrated upon the fact of the Resurrection of Christ from the dead, of which they had been witnesses, as had been also five hundred brethren, and on this they grounded their argument that He was the promised Messiah. They treated the Death as an incident leading up to the Resurrection, but, in itself, of minor theological import.

They had been steeped from infancy in the current belief fostered by the Maccabaeen Apocryphal books, that the Deliverer was about to appear, the Restorer of all things, the Judge of all men; and the burden of their addresses was that He had actually come, and in evidence that it was so they appealed to the Empty Tomb.

In the Sermon on the day of Pentecost, S. Peter confined himself to this theme. The same occupied his speech after the healing of the lame man at the Beautiful Gate of the Temple; [*Acts 3: 1-26*] it was the same in his address to Cornelius at Joppa. [*Acts 10: 1-48*]

Redemption.

At a later period it occurred to S. Peter that the Death did possess a significance not hitherto attributed to it. Passing daily through the slave-market, he saw the captives knocked down to purchasers for a sum of money, and he took occasion to quote this transaction as applicable to the redemption effected by Christ.

Peter had been taught in the Rabbinic schools that, by the Fall, all mankind had passed into bondage to the Devil, and the idea struck him that, possibly enough, if the Rabbinic doctrine were true, redemption through Christ might be illustrated by the transfer of slaves that took place in a market. "Ye know that ye were not redeemed with corruptible things, as silver and gold, but with the precious blood of Christ" (1 Peter I. 18); and S. Paul glanced at the same illustration, "Ye are bought with a price" (1 Cor. VI. 20). The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews used another illustration, making of the blood of Christ a lustration from dead works. "If the blood of bulls and goats . . . sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ purge your conscience." (Heb. IX.13, 14).

Similes are dangerous helps to an argument if pressed too far, and this was proved in the case of the redemption of slaves, for in the fourth century, Origen, commenting on the words of S.

Peter, pertinently asked, “To whom was the Blood, the purchase-money paid, in order to obtain man’s release or transfer?” Obviously it was paid to the proprietor of the slave, that is to say, to Satan.

Rejection.

This solution was, however, too repulsive to be widely entertained, and Gregory Nazianzen, for instance, repudiated it indignantly.⁵⁹

S. Paul did, indeed, found some of his teaching upon the Passion; but in general the Early Fathers made no attempts to explain its significance; they accepted and spoke of it as a display to mankind of the Love of God: “God so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life. For God sent not his Son into the world to condemn the world; but that the world through him might be saved” (John III. 16, 17).

Manifestation of Divine Love.

The Incarnation and the Passion together served a purpose in Divine Providence, and that purpose was the restoration of man. That thought sufficed. In the Eucharistic prayer of the Liturgy of S. James we read: “Holy art Thou, Almighty God, all-powerful, yet long-suffering and of great compassion towards Thy creatures; Thou didst make man from the earth after Thine image and likeness, and didst give him the bliss of Paradise; but when he transgressed Thy commandment and fell, Thou didst not thereupon leave him desolate; nay, rather, as a tender Father didst Thou correct him; calling him, and, finally, sending into the world Thine only-begotten Son, Jesus Christ, our Lord, that He might renew and restore man in Thine image.”

The Cross.

The Cross did not pre-eminently occupy the minds of the Early Christians in the Catacombs, as a symbol of Atonement. Had they been engrossed in the belief that through it they obtained remission of their sins, it would assuredly have largely figured in their paintings and engravings on glass. But it did not. They looked to recuperation of lost graces and restoration to be sons of God as the great work of Christ. The scene on Calvary was no full stop in the story of Redemption, it was a paragraph only in one long sentence.

Restoration.

What the Early Fathers held was “that the main object of the work of Christ was not forgiveness, but rather restoration and development.”⁶⁰ He placed man in a position which enabled him to attain to that holiness which he had forfeited, and even more than that, to elevate him to a higher standard of perfection than any to which he had as yet attained. By the favour of God, the faculty of deliverance from the power of sin is given to man, through the implanting in him of the germ of a higher, a spiritual life.⁶¹ This is what Our Lord taught Nicodemus, “Except a man be born again,” that is to say, Unless he have the germ of a new and higher life introduced into him, “he cannot enter into the kingdom of heaven.” S. John

⁵⁹ “It is clear that many of these early (Christian) writers, whose attention was taken up with the true theory of the Incarnation of Christ, had not dwelt much upon the difficulties and mysteries connected with His death. Some had jumped to a hasty and unsatisfactory conclusion on the subject, and others had given it scarcely any consideration at all. And so things remained till the days of . . . Anselm, on whose mind the difficulty pressed so much that he wrote a treatise to clear it up.” Lias (J. J.) The Atonement, 1888, p. 49.

⁶⁰ Lias (J. J.), The Nicene Creed, 1910, p.166.

⁶¹ Ibid, p.167.

repeats this lesson in his own words when he says that “as many as received” the Eternal Word, “to them gave He the power to become the children of God.”⁶² S. Athanasius in his treatise on the Incarnation places the idea of restoration as that which induced the Son of God to take on Him our flesh; not that of paying a penalty for the remission of our sin.

A novel Theory.

It was not indeed till the 12th Century that a theory was broached of extreme novelty, to explain the Mystery of the Passion. It was a conjecture, nothing more. It did not spring out of the teaching of the Church in early days. It was solely a speculation of an active mind. Nevertheless it revolutionised theology in the West, bred many abuses, and led to grievous misconception as to the nature of the Eternal Father, and as to His attitude towards mankind.

Anselm.

This daring theoriser was Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury (1033-1109).

In his treatise Cur Deus homo [*Why {did} God {become} man.*] Anselm argued that Justice was a supreme attribute of God; that sin was an outrage against His Majesty; that, as such, it demanded condign punishment. The Justice of God could not be allayed till the due penalty had been paid. Mankind, being incapable of offering the requisite expiation, would have been damned to eternal fires in bulk, had not the Second Person of the Trinity intervened, and had Himself undertaken to suffer the penalty in lieu of the actual offenders. The Death of Christ upon the Cross was accordingly Vicarious.

Abelard.

This solution was repudiated by Abelard. He protested that the Death of Christ was a crowning manifestation of the love of God. It was not what Anselm represented it, the placating of a remorseless and exacting Tyrant jealous of his dignity. It was a token of God's overflowing compassion revealed in order that mankind, attracted by it, might return into the way of righteousness in response to this appeal.

Objections.

The theory proposed by Anselm was open to two objections. It entirely reversed the primitive notion that God was Love, and desired not the death of a sinner. It converted Him into a harsh judge, exacting and remorseless, as well. In the second place, vicarious suffering if consented to by the Judge, is to commit an intolerable injustice.

The doctrine that Christ was Man's Substitute, that by dying on the Cross – and Calvin contended by also enduring the agonies of Hell-fire – He removed from the shoulders of His Elect all the punishment for sin which mankind has deserved, and in its place has loaded them with His superabundant merits, has not only been a source of difficulty to many, but it has also led a large number of people to reject the Christian religion altogether.⁶³

⁶² S. John I.12. So also S. James speaks of the “Engrafted Word,” I.21

⁶³ At the beginning of last Century a certain Mr. Asgill, M.P. published a book in which he showed that as death was the punishment inflicted on mankind because of the Fall, and as Christ by His death completely atoned for man's sin; and as it cannot be conceived as possible that, vicariously for man, He suffered the sufferings of Hell fire, that consequently, as the result of His Sacrifice, He released mankind - or at all events all Believers - from physical death. This was a strictly logical conclusion. But then, since actually no man escapes death, it follows also logically that there neither are nor ever were any true believers. As Christ failed, through man's persistent lack of justifying faith to escape physical death, it becomes necessary to hold, with Calvin, that He did suffer in man's stead the pains of Hell, and further, that He is still in Hell enduring its torments. Mr. Asgill shrank from this conclusion, but it is one that follows inexorably.

Again, this Substitution theory makes Satisfaction to Eternal Justice for man's guilt the object of Christ's Incarnation and Death. By His expiation of Sin, man is discharged of all responsibility for his transgressions; this was not the view held in the Primitive Church.

I have taken but a single aspect of the Death on the Cross, but I by no means would have it supposed that I have insisted on Reconciliation with God being synonymous with Atonement as the sole Mystery connected with Bethlehem and Golgotha. On the contrary there are others, some so profound that the mind of man cannot sound them; all that I contend for is that Reconciliation of Man with God, and Restoration, where there has been lapse, and Quickening where there has been inertness, was the main principle involved. Reconciliation is repeatedly spoken of by S. Paul as synonymous with Atonement (1 Cor. V.18; 2 Cor. V.20; Eph. II.15; Col. II.21; Heb. II.17 etc.).

It is, I hold, we who are reconciled to God; not He, as an angry and offended Judge, who is reconciled to us. And we are drawn to this reconciliation through the exhibition of the Love of God manifested in the Crib of Bethlehem, in the Garden of Gethsemane, and on the Cross on Calvary.

Anselm wrote in the language of his time, and with his mind formed on the conception of Roman Law, which was one of rigid Justice, and with the Judge regarding the accused as criminal unless he were able to demonstrate his innocence. As the harsh Judge, unflagging in his sense of obligation to do that which was just, so Anselm pictured the Almighty. Nay, not as Judge only, but as Executioner as well.

But we must not overlook the fact that at the present day in the reaction against Calvinism, men are prone to disregard the truth that God hateth iniquity, and satisfy themselves with the supposition that He is all mercy without justice.

Willing He is to forgive, but only on condition that man has abandoned sin, possessed by a sincere repentance, accompanied by a broken and contrite heart, and with resolution of amendment.

Merits.

Anselm's thesis was laid hold on and developed by the Schoolmen. They deduced from it the dogma that the merits of Christ by His vicarious death were so enormous, that they furnished an inexhaustible fund in the treasury of the Church, into which His vicar might dip his hand at pleasure, to furnish largesses of merit in Absolutions, Dispensations and Indulgences.

The Papacy found in Anselm's doctrine a convenient plea for its exactions; but the Protestant Reformers were not behind-hand in out-bidding the Pope. They exaggerated Anselm's scheme, and made remission of sin in the past, and assurance for the future, accessible to every man who could flatter himself that he had experienced a spasm of conviction which would not cost him a ha'penny, whereas a Papal Absolution could not be procured under a groat.

When Oliver Cromwell lay a-dying, he was sensible of some twinges of conscience, and turning to his chaplain Sterry, he enquired: "Tell me, is it possible to fall from Grace?" "It is

not possible,” replied the Calvinistic minister. “Then,” exclaimed the dying man, “I am safe; as I know that I was once in Grace.”⁶⁴

Sacrifice.

Scattered about in S. Paul’s Epistles are suggestive passages implying that the Death of Christ was in one sense a sacrifice, not merely an oblation, and that it actually did blot out the handwriting against sinful man; moreover the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, in the text already quoted, used the argument that If the blood of bulls and goats put away sin, how much rather would that of Christ. But no intelligent and instructed Jew who was acquainted with the Psalms and the prophetic writings held such an opinion. It was a superstition entertained only by the vulgar.

Sacrifice was a practice of Pagans and Jews alike; and it was one that to the Hebrew passed through a variety of significations.

On Sacrifice.

The history of Sacrifice from its rise, through its development, to its final transformation, is well deserving of consideration. And for this purpose the Bible affords us an unique record. Nowhere else can we follow it as we can in the sacred volume. We have to lay aside the erroneous conceptions we had imbibed in youth of the Patriarchs as men inspired, to whom God had revealed Himself in some fulness, and have to view them as men much on a level in mind and morals with their fellows, the Canaanites, Moabites, Perizzites, Syrians; yet as emerging from this condition, by the guidance of God, and by illumination accorded as they were able to bear the light.

The First Stage.

In its primary stage, among men in the rudest condition of mentality, the idea of God was that of a special protector of a family, who had to be kept in good temper by gifts. He was possessed of appetites and humours similar to those of his clients. He suffered from hunger and thirst, and had periodically to be fed and given drink. He was liable to somnolence, and had to be roused, when his assistance was specially in request. He had a fancy for a wife, and, accordingly, in most primitive religions, women were dedicated to him to be his consorts.

The earliest sacrifices were no other than meals provided for the family god. He was exacting, and demanded the First-born of the family, for he specially relished human flesh. So also he must be given the firstlings of every domesticated beast, and the first sheaf of corn from the field.

At a later period, when the family had expanded into the tribe, the same conception remained, and the same tribute was paid to him who had become the Tribal Deity. Aristophanes in Plutus represents Jupiter, Mercury, and the rest of the gods of Olympus, in sore distress for want of nutriment. On the God of Wealth recovering his eyesight, the devout and the necessitous had flocked to his altars, and the larders and cellars of the Superior Gods were left unsupplied.

Long subsequent to this, in fact in the Second Century after Christ, Lucian wrote:- “mortals offer to the gods (their gifts), and these latter snuff up the fumes of the sacrifice, and gulp

⁶⁴ According to another account it was Goodwin who gave this assurance.

down that which is offered, with the same avidity as is displayed by flies hovering about the blood that is sprinkled round the altars.”

We have no reason whatever to suppose that the primitive Patriarchs entertained different ideas from those of their neighbours. In fact, later laws than those promulgated by Moses retain traces of the primitive crude conception of the deity, and of the manner in which he is to be served. The first three chapters of Leviticus show this. The dominant idea entertained is “to make a sweet savour unto the Lord” of roast meat. The fat was especially grateful to Jehovah (III. 17). [*Leviticus III. 16*]

When Noah quitted the Ark, he took of every clean beast, and of every clean fowl, and offered burnt offerings on the altar. “And the Lord smelled a sweet savour and the Lord said in his heart, I will not again curse the ground any more for man’s sake,” (Gen. VIII.20, 21). Even in a later code, the same idea remains. An oblation is ordered to be made to Jehovah “when ye be come into the land of your habitations, which I give unto you,” of meal and oil, a large draught of wine, and a ram, “for a sweet savour unto the Lord.” And for a peace offering “a bullock, three tenth deals of flour mingled with half an hin of oil. [*Hin: a liquid measure of about 4-6 quarts*] And thou shalt bring for a drink offering half an hin of wine, for an offering made by fire, of a sweet savour unto the Lord,” (Numb. XV. 3-10).

No perceptible difference exists between the conception of the God of Israel and how He is to be placated from that of Aristophanes and of Lucian.

A Second Stage.

At this time however there was associated with sacrifice the notion of bribery. Noah bribed the Almighty not to curse the ground. This was a second stage of ideas attaching to sacrifice, that some advantage would accrue to those who made the oblation. The sacrifice was offered to obtain a return.

So Lucian wrote:- “Apparently the gods give nothing gratis. They sell their favours. A calf has to be paid by a solicitor to enable him to enjoy robust health. For the acquisition of riches it is requisite to offer four oxen. To secure a kingdom a whole hecatomb must be expended. In order to reach home with a dry skin, the Argives [*inhabitants of the ancient Greek city of Argos*] were constrained to sacrifice nine steers. A propitious crossing from Aulis to Troy exacted the sacrifice of a royal damsel. Hecuba was constrained to buy of Minerva a reprieve in the capture of Troy at the cost of a dozen oxen and a smart petticoat. In fact, many things may be purchased of the gods at a small price - a cock, a garland, even a pinch of incense.” There would seem to have been no thought of atonement in this stage.

In the instance of Abraham preparing to sacrifice Isaac, it does not appear that a suspicion of expiation or reparation for sin entered into the patriarch’s mind in connexion with the oblation. He simply conformed to the custom of the Canaanites, who offered their first-born to Baal, and he expected in return to induce Jehovah to multiply his seed and enlarge his borders.

The story is of remarkable interest, for it presents us with sacrifice entering upon a second stage, where there is substitution of an animal, a goat, for a human victim. Ever after, among the Hebrews, the idea remained inrooted [*sic*] that the First-born was consecrated for sacrifice, but might be redeemed by the oblation of a kid, or of a pair of turtle-doves.

Among the codes contained in the Pentateuch, the first is that promulgated by Moses, and is moral. It consists of the Decalogue, and in it are laid down those primary laws that bind society together.⁶⁵ The books of Leviticus, Numbers and Deuteronomy are composite productions. They carry on the story of the wanderings of the Children of Israel during the forty years in the desert, to the death of Moses; but interspersed with this historical record are legislative scraps of later origin, introduced without much order. The Code in Deuteronomy is of still later origin than that in Leviticus. In Deuteronomy we notice a more enlarged spirit, showing greater culture, civilization, a softening of manners, and purer and more spiritual ideas of religion. In the other books little of the inward devotion of the heart to Jehovah is inculcated. More stress is laid upon formal observance of the precepts of the Law. Gratitude and love to Him are but glanced at, whereas outward conformity to laws and institutes is sternly insisted on. But in Deuteronomy great prominence is given to the state of the heart in relation to God. He is to be loved and obeyed with all the heart and soul.⁶⁶ Here we see God's dealing with His chosen people, humanising, spiritualising, elevating, not all at once, but by degrees. The compilers of the two later Codes put together the regulations that experience had shown necessary or advisable, and which were little by little adopted and engrafted upon the original Code. There existed no record as to when and by whom these additions were made, and the editors attributed them all to Moses, as was perhaps natural. Except in the case of Deuteronomy there existed no purpose to deceive. Their insertions were redactions of traditional rules, and no man knew when these had been imposed. But these Books of the Pentateuch are to us a precious record of the method of God's dealing, not with the chosen people alone, but with all mankind and, indeed, with every individual soul, enlightening, leading, as the capacity comes for reception of light.

The Third Stage.

The novel regulations concern sanitary matters, social intercourse, diet, the relations of the sexes, and religious ceremonial. One great object aimed at was by restrictions to isolate the Hebrew from the Canaanites who were in the land, lest by intercourse and intermarriage, they should learn the ways of the heathen, and relapse from the advanced stage to which Jehovah had brought them.

Were we to be without the later books of the Pentateuch, we should be deprived of the key to unlock the story of God's further dealings with His chosen people. The sequence would be interrupted.

⁶⁵ Exod. XX. 1-17: Recapitulated in Deut. V.6-21. The book Deuteronomy was apparently composed in the reign of Jotham for a special purpose. Hitherto the Israelites had worshiped on high places. Wherever they chose, but the Levites connected with the temple at Jerusalem sought to concentrate there the devotions of the race. For this purpose, they forged the Book of Deuteronomy, embodying in it old traditions. The time was propitious; the King was young, and amenable to persuasion. He accordingly set to work to destroy the high places. But his reform was short-lived. In, or about, B.C. 621, the high-priest Hilkiah, and Shaphan the Scribe made a further attempt to enforce the changes. They produced the Book of Deuteronomy, which they pretended to have discovered, and persuaded the amiable Josiah to enforce its regulations. It was too important a document to be set aside later, and it was maintained as authorising the centralisation of Worship for all Israel at Jerusalem and the work to give it authority was attributed to Moses, as its author. The composition of the Book, and its production as a genuine work by Moses was undoubtedly well-intended, nevertheless it was a fraud. So long as the Children of Israel were associated with the Canaanites in Worship at their High Places, it was impossible to isolate them, and to counteract Pagan influences. Sec. Driver, (S. R.) A Critical Commentary on Deuteronomy. 1902; Kennett (R. H.) The Date of Deuteronomy, 1906, and Others.

⁶⁶ * Davidson (S.) Introd. to the Old Test., 1862, I. 369.

Men are generally more ready to observe formal rules, than to enter into their spirit. This was the case with the Hebrews; and we notice in their subsequent history two tendencies, the one to rigid legal conformity, and to find satisfaction therein; the other to spiritual elevation and emancipation from outer restraints. The Rabbis and Scribes represented the former tendency. The Prophets were the oracles of the latter.

At first, and indeed very generally, there would appear to have been little conception of the nature of sin, as a moral blemish, and a violation of God's law, and the rigorists thought themselves to be blameworthy, and to require pardon and reconciliation, in the event of through misadventure, thoughtlessness or distraction, their having failed to comply with the legal regulations, the tithing of mint, anise and cummin. To such, Sacrifice was held to be the allotted means of reconciliation with God, of placating His anger, and of covering over – as Atonement means – the transgression.

The Rabbinical tendency to outward conformity was reactionary, whereas the Prophetic conception of Atonement was progressive. The former sought to propitiate a God resenting oversights and slights, the latter sought to reconcile man with God by conformity to His Will, and by the exercise of Love, and the practice of devotional intercourse.

Anselm and Calvin viewed the Atonement in the former light, in contravention to that entertained by the early Fathers of the Church.

But to return to the history of the development of Sacrifice, and of the Moral sense in the chosen race, disengaging itself from formalities.

In the Old Testament the word Atonement occurs frequently, and there was instituted a Day of Atonement, there were also a Sin Offering and a Trespass Offering. But the term Atonement is vague and nowhere defined. Nevertheless, we can gather from the context that it meant Reconciliation.

But we make a vast mistake if we attribute to the conception of Sin and Trespass the moral ideas that we, nowadays, as Christians entertain. What it consisted in originally we can pretty well gather from the Priestly Code,⁶⁷ and from the prophet Ezekiel. With the exception of some fraudulent dealing with a neighbour, unwittingly committed, the sins and trespasses, to be atoned for, consisted in neglecting to put a parapet to his roof, also in stewing and eating an eel; in not washing the hands before partaking of a meal; in not making payment to the priests; in lending money upon usury; in eating upon the mountains – a sort of religious picnic, to which the people had been addicted before the Captivity; in wearing wool and linen interwoven in their garments – these were on a level with, nay were esteemed as deserving expiation rather than were moral offences, and must be atoned for by offering to Jehovah a couple of kidneys and the fat about them from a slaughtered beast.

As Our Lord Himself pointed out, it was these transgressions of the law which weighed heaviest on the consciences of the scrupulous Jews (Matt. XXIII. 23; Luke XI. 42).

As Mr. W. F. Lofthouse has said: “We may well doubt whether the word (atonement) had for priests or for people, any distinct connotation. Theological and ritual terms, especially when

⁶⁷ Found in the latter part of Exodus, the earlier half of Leviticus, and in large sections of Numbers.

they become traditional, easily pass into algebraical symbols We must not be misled by the nomenclature (of Sin and Trespass offerings). The manual shows clearly what it means by 'sin.' What it has in view is not sin in our sense of the word at all; in fact, the sin-offerings are to be offered, if any one shall sin through error, in any of the things that Jehovah hath commanded should not be done, and shall do any one of them. Later on, the cases for which sin and guilt offerings are specified – contact with an unclean animal or some other kind of defilement; the discovery of the omission to carry out the terms of an oath uttered carelessly or rashly. . . . It is clear that the majority at least of these 'sins' do not need any atonement in our sense of the word.”⁶⁸

On the Day of Atonement the priest would have to recite over the head of the scape-goat, the sin of So-and-so, who had eaten some mutton fat; of another, who had touched a dead beetle; of one who had picked up a horseshoe and had retained it, without having advertised to find the owner; of one who had yoked together ass and ox to his plough; of one who had committed the all-but unpardonable sin of picking up a stick for his fire on the sabbath; [*sic*] or another who had forgotten to stitch a bit of blue ribbon into the fringes of his gabardine. All these would be accounted more grievous transgressions than such as to our minds would be counted as mortal sins. Yet all these iniquities would have to be imposed on the head of the scape-goat on the Day of the Atonement.

It must be borne in mind that the Pentateuch contains three distinct codes, the composition at various periods, and that the first, the Covenant Code Exod. XX.-XXIII.19 is of a very superior character to the Priestly code, drawn up and forced upon the returned Jews from Babylon, by Ezra, about the year 445 B.C.

“The Code knew how to secure purification after leprosy; it was silent as to purification from lewdness. It knew nothing of penitence or of forgiveness, in our sense of the word, for it knew nothing of the sins that need the one and the other.”⁶⁹ In fact the later codes concern ritual errors and omissions, and blur over the “weightier matters of the Law” – the moral duties laid down in the Decalogue. It was but slowly and haltingly that the moral conscience of the Hebrews awoke, and it was due to the Prophets, and not to Priests and Rabbis that this arousing took place. Actually, the two schools stood face to face at variance at the closing of the Canon.

We can hardly adduce the prayer of Solomon at the dedication of the Temple that he had built as expressive of spirituality and consciousness of moral obliquity, for it is obviously by a subsequent hand, as we have it in the First Book of Kings. In it is a reference to the Babylonish Captivity (1 Kings VIII.46-51), and could not have proceeded from Solomon himself. [*See endnote: Babylonish Captivity*] But it does show that the writer had little opinion of the value of Sacrifice. Although the King sacrificed “sheep and oxen, that could not be told nor numbered for multitude,” yet the object was to provide good roast beef and mutton for the crowds who came to the dedication and were entertained by the King during fourteen days.

The writer of the prayer, probably an amplification of a brief early notice, does make the King plead for pardon for Israel when it has sinned, but neither specifies in what the sins consisted, nor does he refer to the slaughter of the beasts as a sacrifice inducing Jehovah to

⁶⁸ Altar, Cross and Community, 1921, p. 112.

⁶⁹ Lofthouse, op. cit. p. 120.

forgiveness; rather he teaches that the atonement is achieved by the people themselves, through repentance, and return to God in heart and in conduct.

The Fourth Stage.

With the apparition of the Prophets, coincident with a spiritual uprising in the consciences of the Chosen People, we enter upon the Fourth stage. Although this was more apparent in Israel than in Judah, it was present in both. The Reactionary party had their seat in Jerusalem and in the Temple, whereas the Prophetic and Progressive party had no fixed centre.

Final Stage.

Both the Psalmists and the Prophets pour scorn upon those who lean on sacrifice as a substitute for righteousness, and who hang back and still harbour the primeval notion of feeding the deity with blood, fat, and fine flour. "Will the Lord be pleased with thousands of rams, or with thousands of rivers of oil? Shall I give my first-born for my transgression, the fruit of my body for the sin of my soul? He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God." (Mich. VI.7, 8). Similar repudiations are too numerous for quotation. They suffice to show a complete change of opinion with regard to the bloody sacrifices upon the altar in the Temple court. These had already, in the time of the Kings, lost almost all moral import. The Temple had become the great slaughter-house whence the citizens of Jerusalem, and the visitors at the feasts, drew their supplies of wholesome meat, warranted sound, and drained of blood.

If sacrifice retained any religious meaning at all, it was as a token of sincerity, in itself worthless, valuable only as a pledge of a new life, a symbol of self-surrender., "Thou desirest no sacrifice," said David, "else would I give it Thee; but Thou delightest not in burnt offering. The sacrifice of God is a troubled spirit; a broken and contrite heart, O God, shalt Thou not despise;" and the Psalmist proceeds, "Then shalt Thou be pleased with the sacrifice of righteousness, with burnt offerings and oblations; then shall they offer young bullocks upon Thine altar." [*Psalm 51:16*] He would not break with tradition, although he knew how empty are these rites save as symbols denoting before God and the congregation that henceforth he would serve the Lord sincerely.

Oblation and Consumption.

Properly a sacrifice consists of two parts:- the Oblation and the Consumption of the Oblat. When the weeping mother brought her first-born to the Valley of Hinom, and delivered him to the priest, she made her oblation, but the Sacrifice was not consummated till the shrieking babe had been placed in the red-hot hands of the brazen Moloch, and was shrivelled to a cinder whilst the trumpets and rams' horns brayed to drown the screams of the victim.

By no means infrequently the term "Sacrifice" is improperly employed to express the Oblation alone, – the part for the whole and this would especially be the case when the idea of feeding or cajoling the deity was outworn and had been abandoned.

In what does Sin consist?

In order to obtain a sound comprehension as to the nature of the Atonement, as to what it does mean, and as to what it does not mean, it is necessary to know precisely in what sin does consist.

The existence of Evil is universally acknowledged, and attempts have been made in various quarters to explain the fact of its existence.

The Origin of Evil.

The first among Western philosophers to solve this problem was Hesiod, who exemplified his doctrine by the myth of Pandora and her casket. Zeus, the Supreme Father, sent her to Prometheus (Forethought) and Epimetheus (Afterthought) with a box containing all evils, hatred, wrath, strife, emulation, murder, etc. Prometheus cautioned his brother against acceptance of a gift of any description from the All Father; but Epimetheus allowed his curiosity to overcome his prudence. He opened the casket, and let loose among men all the evils wherewith mankind has since been afflicted.

In a word:- According to Hesiod, God is the Author of Evil.

This, however, was not the Oriental solution of the Riddle. There, two explanations were attempted.

The Magian Theory.

The Magian solution was that there existed two rival Powers in the Universe, Ormuzd and Ahriman, Light and Darkness, Good and Evil, Soundness and Sickness, Life and Death. It was anticipated that eventually Good would prevail.

The Manichaeon Theory.

There was, however, another theory, very prevalent. It was this:- Spirit was good and divine, but Matter was evil; and the body, as material, was the part of man prone to everything that is Bad; and, as warring against the Spirit, necessitates restraint unremittingly exercised. Asceticism, accordingly, is supreme virtue, for it aims at the complete subjugation of the body and the extinction of its appetites. This doctrine is that of Manichaeism. The efforts of Ascetics, Christian, Hindu, Buddhist, and the like, have been directed so completely to master the Flesh as to emancipate the soul from its thralldom, so as to enable it to soar to celestial ecstasies.

Duality in Man.

That there does exist a duality in the nature of man is obvious to every human being, and did not escape the notice of S. Paul; but according to Christian teaching as derived from the Incarnation, the material body – the Flesh, is not evil, it is good, as the Soul is good. The Evil comes in when an antagonism springs up between Flesh and Spirit.

Man possesses, along with the beast of the field, the fowl of the air, and the fish of the water, a physical system prone to seek the satisfaction of its requirements, and even to transgress the limits of what is needed. Moreover, there is in him a spiritual element that acknowledges the obligations of morality, justice and truth, and which, more or less, aspires after an ideal of perfection.

Men are differently constituted. In some, the spiritual flame is ever burning and diffusing light and heat. But in others it is but the phosphorescent glimmer of rotten wood, that will neither kindle a match, nor emit sufficient heat to raise the mercury in a thermometer one-tenth of an inch.

One day at Innsbruck I watched an old woman raking over the refuse that had been discharged into the river. "What do you expect to find?" I asked. "I cannot say," was her reply; "One day I recovered a diamond ring; on another a silver egg-spoon. Today I fear I shall find only cinders." It is so in human society, sometimes, but rarely, a diamond ring repays search, occasionally it is good fortune to meet with an egg-spoon, usually only cinders are found from which not only has every spark disappeared, but even warmth has departed.

Sift the experiences of the past day, the talk of last dinner-party. We rake among our fellows. Now and then we light on a spirited pearl, sometimes on a glimmer of Intellect, more generally upon trash.

It would appear that the Creator had designed man to be self-educative, by progressive steps. His morals, his social and political progress, are insisted on by association. His acquisitions in the sciences, from the rude stone weapon upwards have been due to the spur of Necessity. Artistic progress is made on account of the gratification afforded to eyes, ears, and palate; but there is no conspicuous good to urge man on to the cultivation of the Spirit, and through neglect of this inducement; the eye that should look into Infinity and Ideality suffers from cataract and becomes finally entirely blind. Consequently development is incomplete and lop-sided.

Imperfect Development.

The man of supreme intellectual culture, of scientific research, of political capacity, of literary or of artistic refinement, is as imperfect a being if destitute of religious aspirations as is a monk or hermit whose life is devoted to spiritual aspiration, and who makes no attempt after the culture of his intellect, or the achievement of some great artistic or poetic masterpiece.

A Motive for Perfection.

The object of the Incarnation and the Passion is to supply that motive which is so little felt and is disregarded, for the perfecting of man, by inducing him to cultivate his spiritual nature, so as to produce equilibrium.

A Motive needed.

Man, having been given Free Will, may not be compelled to this course, but he may be induced to adopt it, if he be shown a motive that appeals to his understanding and to his affections.

And what is that motive? S. John answered the question, and the Early Church was content to abide by what he taught. "God so loved the world, that He gave His only-begotten Son, that the world through Him might be saved." The Incarnation and the Passion were the supreme manifestation of the love of God, appealing to man's heart, to what remained in him of spirituality, to submit to remodelling so that he might become, not merely an intelligent, cultured man in all the arts and sciences, but also that he should develop spiritually, and become a religious man.

What the Atonement is not.

The Atonement is not reconciliation of an offended and angry God with neglectful or guilty man; it is the reconciliation of man with a loving Father. This is clearly shown in the parable of the Prodigal Son.

Directly that he had become nauseated with the husks that the swine did eat, and was aware that he had wasted his patrimony in riotous living – directly that he turned his back on the drinking saloon and the gaming hell, and directed his face homewards, the work of Atonement was begun. The love of the Father which had never chilled, drew the son towards home; his was the act of return, and the motive was trust in the undying love of the parent.

In David Copperfield Dickens tells us how that Peggotty's loved daughter, "little Emily," strayed from home and from innocence. The old fisherman put a lamp in the small window of the upturned vessel that served him as a home, and kept it burning there every night, sending a ray over the dreary Yarmouth mud-flats. Time passed. Whether there were twilight, star shimmer, moonlight or pitch darkness, the little pencil of light streaked the wet strand, as a pathway of recall and restitution. For long there was no response. Finally, there sounded one night on the old door a timorous rap, then a tremulous movement of the latch, followed by a wan and wasted face peering questioningly in; and in another instant, a sobbing, repentant child in the arms, pressed to the heart, of an ever-loving father.

What that Lamp was to "little Emily" that the cross of Christ is, wherever seen, on the National flag, on the church spire, on the yard-arms of a ship, wherever in our villages and towns a war memorial has been raised, there is proclaimed to all who can read the appeal, "God so loved the world that He gave His only-begotten Son that the world through Him might be saved."

What it is.

The Atonement accordingly is the reconciliation of man with God, through a voluntary exercise of the will in the right direction in response to the marvellous exhibition of His Love, and desire for the restoration of man.

Consequences not to be escaped.

But this is not the aspect in which it has come to be regarded through the guess-work of Anselm and the dogmatic insistence of Calvin. It has been represented as a remission of sin and discharge of responsibility for guilt. Yet even were it to do that, it could not free from the consequences of past transgression. A man may be reclaimed from drunkenness, but that does not recover him of his shattered constitution. A friend of mine at College, now no more, was shown a money-box by a choirboy, in which was being collected alms toward an object of which my friend disapproved. He recommended the lad to break open the box and appropriate its contents.

Bitterly, in after life, did this man regret the advice he had so inconsiderately given, inducing the boy to take the first step in a downward course of dishonesty. He may have been forgiven, but are the consequences finally ended? Many an innocent soul has been led astray from a blameless life by a seductive companion, initiating ruin in this world and loss in the next. Individually the seducer may obtain pardon through poignant repentance, but he can never obliterate the fact of the ruin he has caused, and estimate its consequences. This is not a point ever considered and weighed in cases of Spasmodic Conversion, which conduces to self-congratulation without other considerations than personal satisfaction.

Volumes ponderous and innumerable have been issued from the press upon the theme of the Atonement, the London Library reckons over thirty-three. Dr. M'Leod Campbell's treatise stretches wearily through 410 pages, and all more or less lead to embrouiller la tête, [*Translation: getting muddled up.*] no wise to clearing the comprehension. Yet how simple

God's truth is! so that even a child can understand it.⁷⁰ It may be grasped if the following propositions be accepted:

1. Sin consists in the domination of the animal in man – the nature he shares with the earth-worm and the baboon, and the spiritual which aspires to God.
2. Forgiveness of sin is freely accorded to man personally, if he be repentant, so that the balance of parts may be attained, and each may progress harmoniously and infinitely.
3. The motive employed by God to call man to exertion in the recuperative work is Love, and this love was exhibited in the Incarnation and Passion.
4. The Atonement consists in the acceptance by man of this appeal to his best feelings, and in his acting upon it.

At the Council of Nicaea, according to Socrates the Ecclesiastical historian, the theologians and philosophers wrangled over the subject of the Nature of Christ. In the midst of the hubbub of words and the clash of arguments, a simple-minded layman, whose sightless eye and crippled limb proclaimed him to have been a Confessor in persecution, thrust his way into the midst of the disputants, and shouted: "Christ and His Apostles left to us, not a system of logic, but plain truth, to be guarded by faith and good works." Whereupon a silence fell on the controversialists, and they retired speechless.

"There has been," said Bishop Kaye in recording this story, "hardly an age of the Church in which its members have not required to be reminded of this lesson."

Plato on the Fall.

Plato in his *Phaedrus* gives us the doctrine of the philosopher Socrates relative to the human soul. The soul of man is uncreate, it is an emanation from God, possessed of His holiness, justice, love, beauty, purity and truth, and in Him has resided in ineffable glory.

But in the revolution of the spheres, the souls are shed, and fall to earth to enter into, and become incarnate in human, even in bestial bodies. As they fall they lose, some more, some less, of their original attributes – their plumage, as Socrates calls it. But, however fallen, souls retain reminiscences of their pristine condition, and hence possess the senses of justice, truth, love of beauty and virtue, in more or less degree. The lesson of life is to grow our plumes again, that is to say to return as far as may be to the exalted condition in which we once were, and to recover all those lost excellencies shed in falling. But this process is not to be undergone without pain, i.e. self-denial. According to this doctrine there are here souls so devoid of divine and spiritual aspiration, that they are like barn-door fowls, not employing their wings for other purpose than to speed them on their quest after grubs, grain, earth-worms and gravel for their crops; whereas others possessing the mounting spirit rise over the tree tops, and even soar and sing above the clouds, like the lark. In this teaching, in its mythical form, we recognise a great truth.

The Motive lacking.

⁷⁰ The second of the XXXIX. Articles states that the object of the death of Christ was to reconcile the Father to us. This is true enough as the consequence of man's return to God.

But – where is the motive for mounting in soul and spirit above the vapours, and of despising the grit and grain of earth? It is absent. Philosophy cannot supply it. That and that alone, Christianity can give.

In vain did the teachers of youth urge to the conquest of the animal nature and the cultivation of that which is spiritual. They could offer no effective inducement, and, with a sigh may be, the great teacher of morality was obliged to admit that such as indulged in the lusts of the flesh, and the pride of life, if doing so in moderation, would eventually attain to supernal glory and spiritual perfection.⁷¹ But what a weak motive, a hope, that is all, a poor inducement. On the other hand is Christ, dying on the Cross with arms extended to embrace the whole world.

Zeus, according to Plato, manifests no interest in the recovery of the soul, in its resumption of former perfection. He exhibits a chill indifference. But according to the Christian system Christ lifted up and dying for man, draws hearts to Him and supplies that overpowering motive of answering Love, which will impel man to strive after the attainment of that to which, without a motive, he would be indifferent.

In traversing a gloomy forest, at intervals arrows of brilliant sunshine burst through the foliage and reveal the flowers and herbs that clothe the soil, so is it with the overgrowth of the old philosophy. Amidst much that is conjecture, profitless and dark, we come on gleams of light.

Speech of Aristion.

Such was the speech of Aristion in the Symposium of Plato, which possibly may have inspired S. Paul's eloquent description of Charity.

The speech may be briefly summed up as follows:- Among the many and jarring elements in the world, the only bond holding all in order and harmony, is Divine Love. Life is full of storms and tempests, but the same Love hushes the blustering winds, stills the billows and produces calm; discord, strife, war abound and drench the earth with blood, and strew destruction; Love alone intervenes to reconcile and produce peace. "Love divests us of all hostility entertained by one against another; it fills vacant hearts with overflowing sympathy. Love is yearned after by the sick, the sorrowful, the bereaved; and it crowns the happiness of the prosperous." Love showers benignity upon the world, and in its presence harsh passions fall away and disappear. It is the destroyer of ungentle thoughts, "merciful, mild, the parent of grace, delicacy, gentleness; the cherisher of all good, the destroyer of all evil."

Now mark the conclusion of Aristion's harangue. He declares that what he has declaimed is all guess-work, "partly composed of thoughtless and playful fancies, and partly of such as be serious, which are at my command."

No hope of enlightenment is expressed; no thought of Grace accorded to enable Man to take a part in the great symphony of Love.

⁷¹ Phaedrus 256, cf. Symposium 184. The numeration follows that adopted by Dr. Jowett.

Four hundred years elapsed, and then came the Revelation by God, of His nature, His will, and man's duties. Then, and not till then, could an Evangelist and Apostle write with absolute confidence: - "God is Love; and he that loveth God will love his brother also."

Development of Anselm's Theory.

Anselm's daring speculation – it was not more than a theory – was never accepted by the Eastern Church. The nearest approach to it was, perhaps, to be found in the heresy of Soterichus Pantugenus which was condemned by the Council of Constantinople in 1156. Anselm's speculation was taken up and employed to serve its own purposes by the Papacy, but only so far as furnished an excuse to justify indulgences.

Calvin, however, laid hold of it, and of it constituted one of the foundations of his newly invented religion. As such, in its crudest and most repulsive form, it was preached in ten thousand Presbyterian pulpits and even found its way into hymnody.

When we consider the words of Our Lord, "The Father Himself loveth you," [*John XVI, 27*] or those of S. John, "In this was manifested the love of God, because that God sent His only begotten Son into the world, that we might live through Him;" [*1 John IV, 9*] then we see how antichristian is Calvinist doctrine, which converts the death of Christ into a sacrifice to placate the wrath of a fire-breathing Moloch.

The word Atonement is synonymous [*sic*] with Reconciliation⁷² as employed by S. Paul; According to Calvin that reconciliation is regarded as wholly effected by Christ, Who slakes the rage of the Almighty by offering Himself as a victim in place of the offender. It was the infuriated [*sic*] God who was reconciled to peccant man.

But S. Paul taught a very different doctrine, when he said that the Death on the Cross reconciled Man to God, and when he urged, "God hath reconciled us to Himself; we pray you therefore be ye reconciled unto God."⁷³

We have stepped out of the Wood of Error, doubts and disputations, with its rare flickering lights, leaving behind only the few errant and stumbling Calvinists, to emerge into the broad, clear, and certain sunlight of divine Revelation, and to bask in all-pervading Love.

Need of Recourse to the History of Dogma.

The sources of the Danube are found in the elevated table-land of Donaueschingen, where a thousand springs of limpid water leap into light, combine, and form a river of such transparency that every pebble in the bed is rendered visible, as are the trout flashing through the water, as translucent as the atmosphere, so that in the sun not only is [*sic*] the fish visible but even the shadows they cast upon the white floor.

But shortly below Donauwörth it is joined by the Lech, muddy with the offscouring of the Algäu Alps. For a few miles the clear and the cloudy streams flow distinct but side by side, in the same channel, and then the polluted current claims pre-eminence, and thenceforth the Danube is a turbid stream, rolling down mud.

⁷² So Shakespeare uses the word 2 Henry IV. iv. 1 line 221

⁷³ cf. Col. I.20, 21; 2 Cor. V.18-20; Eph. II.16.

It has been said by Strauss that “the true criticism of a dogma is its history.” We have but to trace up the course of a doctrine to its source to show how that it has changed its form and complexion from age to age. And of none is this more true than of the doctrine of Redemption. “The history of change in these intellectual forms is a legitimate and necessary occasion of criticism. We can tell the very time when a particular mode of thought first arose, and we are obliged to consider whether it is a normal development of the conception of the New Testament.”⁷⁴

By the almost unanimous admission of all historians of Christian doctrine, there was scarce a trace to be found in the writings of the Primitive Fathers, of the doctrine of the Atonement which was propounded by Anselm in his treatise *Cur Deus Homo*, published in 1098. This treatise adopts a line wholly distinct from the mind of the Early Church. Many of the Fathers never in any form raised the question, How did Christ redeem us? They accepted the fact, but formed no philosophical theory of Redemption. Neander says of the primitive doctors of the Church, “Of a satisfaction paid by the sufferings of Christ to the Divine Justice not the slightest mention is as yet to be found.”⁷⁵

Origen.

It was with Origen that the first suggestion was made that later was developed by Anselm and Calvin. But he threw out his thoughts on the subject without any attempt to systematise them. They were derived, partly from the Pagan conception of the purpose of Sacrifice, and partly from Gnosticism through the speculations of the heretic Marcion. And Origen was repudiated, as no Doctor of the Church.

It was not till 1098 that the speculative Lech flowed into the Spiritual Danube, and polluted it with the offscourings and washings of diverse soil.

Dean Church wrote of Anselm’s tract, “This famous dialogue, in which, seeking the rational ground of the Incarnation, the writer lays down a profound and original theory of the Atonement, which, whether accepted or impugned, has moulded the character of all Christian doctrine about it since.”⁷⁶

I shall conclude this chapter with a somewhat lengthy quotation from one of the ablest and most temperate writers upon this vital doctrine “It is certainly remarkable, that a theory which so lacked the power to commend itself to general acceptance should have contained so many ideas whose influence has persisted for eight centuries. Perhaps no other theological statement has been so universally rejected as a whole, but whose essential characteristics have so completely coloured subsequent thinking. To Anselm is due the displacement of the simple doctrine and fact that Christ ‘died for our sins,’ by a philosophy of the Atonement. Though the form of the theory has been strikingly changed, he has given popularity and continuance to an almost exclusively objective treatment of the Atonement, to the subordination of the Incarnation to a mere incidental means, to the thought of God as Sovereign rather than as Father, to the conception of the governmental administration of Divine law instead of the paternal, to the fiction that righteousness is more peremptory in its demands than love, to the preference of the legal word ‘Justice’ to ‘Righteousness’ as the nobler equivalent of the Scriptural term *δικαιοσύνη* He has substituted a legal and commercial

⁷⁴ Foley (G. C.), *Anselm's Theory of the Atonement*, 1909.

⁷⁵ *Church History*, II. 385

⁷⁶ *S. Anselm*, ed. 1888.

use of the figure of debt for the Scriptural use of the same figure and for other figures more frequently employed in the New Testament; and he has promoted the ambiguous description of the infinite guilt of sin and of the merely forensic value of the infinite merits of Christ.”⁷⁷

The Dobrudska is the fever and malaria-haunted district in which the polluted Danube sheds its load of adulterate matter. I believe that the Salvation Army is the depository of corrupted Christianity, in which Anselm’s doctrine has found its final lodgment.

⁷⁷ Foley (G. C.), op. cit., pp.253-5.

THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS

Chapter VII

ESCHATOLOGY

Chapter VII

ESCHATOLOGY

In the present chapter dealing with the Last Things it is my purpose to divide it under three heads. In the first place I will treat of the Sayings of Christ, that have a prophetic import, and which the Apostles and Evangelists understood in one way, whereas their real purport was not disclosed until later, and met with a fulfilment not hitherto anticipated as within the range of possibility.

In the second place I will treat of the question of Rewards and Punishments.

In the third division it will be my object to consider certain instincts lodged in human beings, that point to satisfaction in another life.

The three subjects are more or less intimately linked together.

I make no pretence to dogmatise on any of these points. I speak of them simply as I have worked them out in my own mind. Every truth has many aspects, and it is but a single one of these that the ordinary man can see. I make no claim to learning, scientific or theological, solely to a certain measure of common-sense applied to the solution of problems profoundly influencing life and its prospects of futurity. No subtleties avail; God has not hid the Truth under a bushel, but it enlightens all who chose to see, and do not play Blind-man's buff in the church of God, with wilfully bandaged eyes. It is not with the head, but with the heart that man believeth unto righteousness, and that he is enabled to lay hold on the truth.

I.

The Eschatological Teaching of Christ.

One of the most perplexing problems offered to the simple Christian to which to give a satisfactory answer is How to explain the teaching and prophecies of Christ relative to His Second Coming and to the setting up of His Kingdom, with the fact before him, that these promises have failed of literal accomplishment, and have to be explained away.

The popular persuasion.

The non-fulfilment has troubled many minds, and has strained the ingenuity of most apologists. The words of Christ agreed almost verbally with the apocalyptic promises made in the Palestinian Apocrypha, and apostles, evangelists, and the people generally assumed that those promises were to be taken literally. They were so steeped in these prepossessions that they could not divest themselves of them, and give to these revelations a totally new character. The "people's heart was waxed gross, and their ears dull of hearing, and their eyes were closed, so that they could not see with their eyes nor hear with their ears, nor understand with their hearts." [*Matthew 13:15*] Again and again had Christ to complain of the incapacity of His hearers to grasp His meaning. "Are ye yet without understanding?" [*Matthew 15:16*] "Do ye not yet understand?" [*John 8: 43*] "O faithless generation, how long shall I be with you? How long shall I suffer you?" [*Mark 9:19*] "Do ye now believe?" [*John 16:31*] "O fools and slow of heart to believe all that the prophets have spoken." [*Luke 24:25*] The Apostles were so dull of understanding that they had to question Christ as to the meaning of such a simple parable as that of the Sower. Their intellects were clouded with the prevalent

conviction that the Kingdom of the Messiah was about to be set up in power upon earth. It was in vain that our Lord told them that the Kingdom would not come with observation, that the Kingdom of God was within men. They persisted in asking, “Wilt thou at this time restore again the Kingdom to Israel?” and to quarrel among themselves as to their relative positions in the Kingdom, when set up. It is in vain to talk to a man in a language that he does not understand.

Opposed by Christ.

Christ was constrained to speak to His Apostles in the Apocalyptic phraseology of the day, and to leave them to discover at a subsequent period what had actually been the meaning, and what had been the mind of their Master when He couched His teaching in Apocalyptic language such as they at the time could alone understand. The presumption as to the nature of the Messianic revolution, fostered to infatuation by the popular apocryphal books that circulated so freely, and were believed in as implicitly as till recently was Zadkiel’s Almanack by the ignorant among ourselves – this presumption was too deeply rooted to be easily eradicated. Time, disillusioning and disappointment must be allowed to work its effects, and to bring to the comprehension of Christian people those verities which had been spoken in parables and veiled in symbols.

Summary of Christ’s Apocalyptic Promises.

Let me here sum up the eschatological pronouncements of Christ.

After the prophetic enunciation made by Him as to the coming destruction of Jerusalem, given with distinctness, so as to enable His disciples to take warning, and to escape from the doomed city, He went on to say:- “Immediately after the tribulation of those days shall the sun be darkened, and the moon shall not give her light, and the stars shall fall from heaven, and the powers of the heavens shall be shaken: and then shall appear the sign of the Son of Man in heaven: and then shall they see the Son of Man coming in the clouds of heaven, with power and great glory.” (Matt. XXIV.29-30.) To this He subjoined the promise: “Verily I say unto you, this generation shall not pass, till all these things be fulfilled. Heaven and earth shall pass away, but my words shall not pass away,” (34, 35). Obviously this was an announcement that the End of the World was to follow immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem. Yet it did not do so.

So also in the Judgment hall of the High Priest, Christ announced, “Ye shall see the Son of Man sitting on the right hand of power, coming in the clouds of heaven,” (Mark XIV.62). But neither Annas nor Caiaphas did see this.

Also, our Lord promised: “There be some standing here which shall in no wise taste of death till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom,” (Matt. XVI. 28). Immediately before the Transfiguration Christ said: “The Son of Man shall come in the glory of his Father with his angels, and then shall he reward every man according to his works.” [*Matthew 16:27*] And this was immediately followed by the assurance given above. Yet this was spoken in A.D.30 or 31, and the destruction of Jerusalem did not ensue till A.D.70. And after that occurred no phenomenal appearances in heaven, and no revolution upon earth.

Still earlier, when our Lord despatched the Twelve on their missionary excursion to the lost sheep of the House of Israel, He said: “Ye shall not have gone over the cities of Israel till the Son of Man is come,” (Matt. X.23). It is true that this verse is supposed to have suffered

displacement, but this supposition does not relieve the difficulty of explaining its non-fulfilment.

One point comes out with distinctness: the strict integrity of the Evangelists, who, with the consciousness that these promises of Christ had failed, yet did not shrink from recording them.

With regard to the promise that “this generation shall not pass away till all be fulfilled,” [Luke 21:32] I explained it at one time in a manner satisfactory to myself, in this way. Christ had spoken of the general débaclé in heaven and on earth at the parousia; [*the second coming of Christ*] when, turning round on the Twelve and pointing to them He said, in effect, “all the powers in heaven and earth will be shaken, and men’s hearts will be failing them for fear, but My Apostolic Commission will not fail, My Church will endure unshaken, My Ministry will continue to execute the task imposed on it, to teach the Faith, to encourage the timorous, to guide and to feed My flock – this is the generation that will not pass away till all be fulfilled. Heaven and earth may pass away, but not My Church, you have My word for that.”

I am not altogether sure but that this may have been one of the meanings of that promise, as it seems to rise by implication out of the words previously spoken.

Figurative Teaching.

But now let us see whether in the method of Christ’s teaching, the figurative was not largely employed. The parables afford us instances not only of conveyance of moral doctrine, but also of forecasts as to the future of the Church, as likewise concerning its Constitution, such as the Tares, the Drag-net, the Growth of the Seed, the Great Supper, the Leaven, the House built on the Rock, the New Wine in the Old Bottles. It was our Lord’s method of impressing truths on His hearers. It is not probable that there actually were such individuals as Dives and Lazarus, and those who heard the parable were required to take the lesson to heart without exacting that there should be conformity in particulars. In the parable of the Wicked Servant (Matt. XXIV. 47-51) we have a story borrowed from an Aramaic source, that of Ahikar, which has also found its way into the Arabian Nights.⁷⁸ But no one was expected to ask whether such a steward really existed, and was actually cut asunder. The tale was in fact a fable conveying a moral.

It must be well considered that Oriental methods of instruction are and were figurative, and that the hearers were not expected to be too nice in requiring exact conformity between the statement and the moral. And we are justified in so dealing with the apocalyptic discourses of our Lord; they had a prophetic meaning, but not that which lay upon the surface, and which alone His hearers were capable at the time of apprehending and applying.

We must endeavour to discover what was in the mind of Christ when He made His prophetic announcements, and not cling to the letter and insist on the verification of every word therein. It is possible that His meaning was wholly at variance with that which His hearers derived from His words, and that this was due to their incapacity to understand that which He desired to afford to them; that consequently He was compelled to adapt His teaching to their comprehension.

⁷⁸ A papyrus containing this story, earlier by several centuries than the Christian era, has been recovered at Elephantiné. Ungnad, Aramäische Papyrus aus Elephantiné, (1920), PP.62-82.

Historical Interpretation.

To discover Christ's hidden meaning, we must read history backward as unfurled, like a Hebrew scroll. As we contemplate the Christian world to-day, we see that society has been revolutionised. Governments are completely changed in character and in purpose. They are no longer Despotisms; in place of existing for the exaltation and glorification of one man, or one class of men, they have become Constitutional, and aim at the administration of equal justice to all, of ameliorating the condition of such as are poor; of emancipating individuality from restraints; of the extension [*sic*] of education to all alike; of caring for the sanitary condition of every house, poor as well as rich; and the cultivation of health in every class. The rule of life set by the Gospel before all men, and acquiesced in reluctantly by some, yet silently, is not the pursuit of power so as to oppress our fellows, but to assist those who need help. "Jesus, knowing that the Father had given all things into his hands . . . he riseth from supper, and laid aside his garments; and took a towel and girded himself. After that he poureth water into a bason, [*sic*] and began to wash the disciples' feet, and to wipe them with the towel wherewith he was girded. . . . So, after he had washed their feet, and had taken his garments and was sat down again, he said unto them, Know ye what I have done to you? Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well; for so I am. If I then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet: ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you." (John XIII.3-15)

The act was symbolical. It was prophetic, showing what form the revolution was to assume when the kingdom of Heaven was established on Earth. "The kings of the Gentiles exercise Lordship over them; and they that exercise authority upon them are called Benefactors. But ye shall not be so; but he that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve," (Luke XXII. 25-26). Christ had emphatically taught that His kingdom was not of this world, that it was spiritual, lodged in the heart of man, where His law was written, not on frangible tables of stone. It was to be carried out by the dictates of that Law of Love.

The parables of the Mustard seed and of the Leaven show that Christ anticipated that the work of His Church would be slow, the seed would take long to thrust up into the light and to become a mighty tree; and the leaven to be diffused through the whole lump. Nor were men to anticipate that the conversion of the world would be complete; this He showed by the parable of the Tares.

As Dr. Hamilton Baynes has well said in reference to the apocalyptic teaching of our Lord:- "We ought to give full weight to the evidence of subsequent history. Christianity has had a profound and enduring effect; it has changed the whole face of the world. Great effects imply great causes. The more wonderful is the transformation caused by Christianity, the more wonderful is its Founder, Jesus Christ. And we are on the safest lines if we interpret doubtful or ambiguous words of His in the light of what actually followed."⁷⁹

Christian civilization is unquestionably due to the working of the principles of Justice and Love brought into the world, to become principles of action, so that the most self-seeking and self-absorbed, is fain to simulate a feeling which he does not possess.

Fulfilment.

⁷⁹ C. Q. R. April 17, 1916, p. 134 [*Church Quarterly Review*]

Consequently looking back through the centuries to the great Founder, and ascertaining what actually was in His Mind when He spoke parabolically as to the future, I feel satisfied that His words have come true. The seed sown by Him sprouted at Pentecost, and when the overshadowing temple was destroyed, and Judaism lost all its hopes, then it began to spread with vigour and with vernal force. It is growing still, it has not yet filled the whole earth, and it harbours earwigs and grubs of various descriptions among its leaves. The leaven which Christ introduced into the dough of humanity began to raise it on that first Whit-sunday, and it is raising it and lightening it more and more daily. The clouds are being dissipated, the messengers are being multiplied, and, in spite of some charlock, and some blasted ears, the harvest fields are whitening for the sickle, and for filling to overflow the granaries of God, for the coming joyous Harvest-home.

Aristotle.

That which Aristotle dreamt of and theorised upon, Christ is in process of accomplishing. According to the Greek philosopher, the end of all action, individual and collective, is the greatest happiness of the greatest number. The best and happiest life for the individual is that which the State should enable him to prosecute in full liberty, revealing to him the value of new objects of desire and pursuit, and facilitating him in the achievement of the same.

That which could be looked for by the pagan philosopher was incapable of achievement in a pagan land, where all sought their own ends, and none regarded the general welfare. But from the moment that the Gospel was declared, what was impossible under heathenism became possible under Christianity; and the history of the State under Christian principles gradually advancing to perfection, shows us the ideal to which Aristotle pointed, seeing what might be, but unseeing how it might be attained. A complete Revolution has been achieved, or is in the process of achievement.

I have been in many parts of Europe, and everywhere, in great cities and country hamlets, among all classes, – aye – everywhere, the leaven of the Gospel is working, and is apparent, in sweet, simple lives, in ready and cheerful self-devotion, in a fragrance of humility, and this is not a rarity, it is found everywhere except among the rich and self-indulgent, who lounge through life, of no good in their generation to anyone. The most beautiful Christian lives are strewn thick as daisies over every lowly pasture and field of the Old World, wherever the Gospel has been received as a rule of life; and everywhere is little regarded, and ruthlessly mown down mechanically by the home-grown upstart and invader from over the Ocean, blind to all beauty save that of the staring poppy and appreciating no herb that is not edible as a salad.

II Rewards and Punishments.

As in the teaching of our Lord, we expect to meet with words and expressions that are to be taken symbolically and never literally, so is it with regard to His words relative to the retribution that is to fall upon the ungodly, and the rewards that await the righteous.

They carry their character on their faces, but the dulness of men's minds has led them to accept the words literally. The Doom was a favourite representation at the East End of our Church naves, and on one side was represented Hell as a gaping Dragon swallowing accursed souls, and vomiting flames; on the other was a much walled and embattled city into which angels were conducting happy, beatified souls. Those who have accepted the Lutheran doctrine of Justification, and can claim to have been "accepted" look forward with confidence and without a shadow of doubt that they have secured the ticket of admission to this same Heavenly Jerusalem. But we shall see whether they are justified in this confidence.

Double Consequences of Sin.

There exists a consideration rarely, if ever, entertained by the "Assured," nevertheless very certain, that evil in act or in word is productive of a double effect, the one personal, the other touching other individuals. The first effect renders the perpetrator morally guilty; and guilt may be, and certainly will be pardoned, if pardon be sought in true repentance with contrite heart, attended by resolution against further lapse.

Responsibility.

But there is a second consequence, which not even the Almighty can make to be undone. This is the effect produced upon others. Every act done, and every word spoken, draw after them their consequences. The utmost that the Almighty in this case can do, is to modify the effects, by bringing others of a contrary character to bear upon them. And the utmost a man can do to redress the harm that he has done is for him to strive with all his powers to reduce the evil that has resulted from his bad example or evil words. He has incurred Responsibilities from which escape is impossible. Past Sin may be wiped out, but Responsibility still accruing [*sic*] is indelible.

Propositions.

I venture here to lay down certain propositions that can hardly be gainsaid.

- I. Every effect presupposes a cause
- II. Every effect resultant on an act or word in its turn becomes an efficient, but subsidiary cause, and so on, ad infinitum.
 - a. In an explosion of drunken wrath, a man inflicts a blow on his wife's breast. This produces cancer that will inevitably be fatal. And after the woman dies her young family, being left motherless, live in neglect and disorder.

The man may bitterly regret the rash blow, and thereby may obtain forgiveness from both his victim and from his Maker, but he can never evade the consequences.

- b. The inventor of Poison-gas is, and remains guilty of having exercised his talents and spent his time and thoughts upon devising and composing a torturing method of destroying human life.

Beside being personally guilty in this respect, he is likewise responsible for all the misery he has caused by his invention; the agonising gasping for breath into corroded lungs, for a death in agony; as well as for thousands of families reduced to bereavement and want.

- c. In the fable, a mother, through over-indulgence spoils her son, who grows up to become a thief and a murderer. On his way to the gallows, his mother pressed forward to kiss him. Whereupon he bit off her ear and exclaimed: "If you had taught me to love and fear God, I should not have come to this disgraceful and premature end." The woman was guilty of neglect of a duty and also of responsibility for the crimes of her son.

III. It is not possible for us to estimate either for how long or how far may extend the results of an act or word. Generation after generation may pass, without the effect expiring. It may spread on all sides. "I say unto you," was the sentence of Christ, "that every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of Judgment." (Matt. XII.36). This is also matter of experience. Results must follow causes; and with the results, responsibilities.

A Supposition.

(Here let a conjecture be admitted, to the effect that the spirit of man when disembodied acquires powers which it lacked previously; such as the faculty of being capable of realising Responsibility, of seeing in full nakedness the results of acts committed, and of words spoken or of duties neglected during life. If this be allowed, then, although personal guilt may have been wiped away by contrition, yet nevertheless the sense of responsibility remains unaffected, and effects may go on engendering after effects through many centuries, of all which the soul will be conscious.)

III. (continued). As said, it is not possible to estimate for how long, and how wide, the effects of act or word or neglect of duty may continue in operation. A stone cast into a pond produces enlarging circular ripples, so do our deeds and words. For causing the wavelets to be formed on the surface of the pool, the boy who cast the stone is responsible. An act done or a word spoken may be pardoned but cannot be undone or unsaid. The consequences remain, in an enlarging area, and therewith concurs [*sic*] extending responsibility.

Granted consciousness being accorded to the soul when it has shuffled off this mortal coil, the sense of responsibility remains, and weighs on the conscience, at each recurrent evil result, causing acute anguish, and evoking ardent prayer for the extention [*sic*] of Divine Power to minimise or to counteract the evil result.

It appears to me as probable that a natural instinct in man has given occasion for the conception of Purgatory, not in its crude and vulgar expression of physical flames enveloping a natural body, but as internal anguish, endured by the soul upon witnessing every renewal of an evil result traceable back to a cause given in the days of life upon earth.

In total contradiction to any such idea is that entertained by the Methodists. In fact, among the ruder type, the ignorant, who are “converted,” boast of the sins that they committed before they were renewed by the Spirit of God.

I can recall a case in Horbury where I was curate in 1864-6, a converted collier preached a revival in the Primitive Methodist Meeting-house. In the pulpit he described his previous life, and waved above his head a pair of stout double-soled boots, wherewith, as he triumphantly declared, he had kicked his wife to death, previous to his conversion.

I do not, of course, suppose that anything so offensive would take place in an orderly Wesleyan chapel, but the acceptance of the doctrine of Assurance has, and must have, a deadening effect on the conscience, in that it induces total disregard of the responsibility weighing on man for past offences and neglects, from which he cannot escape, and which, if entertained, ought to superinduce lowliness of spirit and abounding humility.

The Supposition not unreasonable.

I have made one supposition – that the disembodied spirit acquires consciousness of responsibility for the consequences of acts and words and dereliction of duties, during life, of which it was previously deficient, but of the gravity of which it only now becomes aware. The shock must be startling and produce pangs of remorse. Nevertheless the same supposition brings with it the consoling thought that the many acts of kindness, done here, of duties cheerfully and exactly performed, of patience exhibited under provocation, will also all be remembered, and will weigh against faults and failings.

If for every idle word spoken man will have to give account, so will it also be for every idle hour spent in frivolity and self-indulgence. So also for every shilling squandered in a game of Bridge. God does not bind us too rigidly. Of the seven days of the week he demands but one, and as to our time and money, He requires the ready gift of a percentage, not exacting the Capital.

It has been said with truth, that a word spoken is beyond recall. The same may be said with equal truth of every act performed. For a word spoken, or an act done is an expenditure of Force, and Force is irrevocable.

Ether.

We are surrounded not solely by the atmosphere, which is set in vibration by the utterance of a sound, but by ether as well. This is an all-pervading subtle medium, which cannot be isolated, analysed, felt, weighed or detected in any direct manner, and which is only known to us by its effects. Light would not reach us from the sun and the stars without this tenuous and elastic medium. The phenomena of light are best explained as undulations; but undulations must be propagated through some medium. Heat, while passing through space, presents exactly the same undulatory character, and requires a medium for its propagation. It is so with all force, physical, psychic and moral – it must start and continue on its vibratory career through a medium, and that medium is ether, which appears to offer no frictional resistance to the motion of the heavenly bodies.

Ether permeates all matter, and extends in space to the remotest conceivable distance. Every word spoken produces waves in the atmosphere, that register themselves on the drum of the

ear. But, likewise, it puts the ether in oscillation. Every word, every act becomes an effective cause; and the effect or effects at once resolve themselves into causes generating further effects. I have already adduced the illustration of a stone thrown into water as productive of ripples in widening circles. I recur to the same illustration in relation to ether.

The stone cast into a placid sheet of water at once throws it into agitation and produces a widening series of concentric circular ripples, that become feebler as they become more and ever more distant from the centre of impulse, owing to the retarding pressure of the atmosphere. But, were there no atmosphere so to reduce their force, and no banks upon which to break, and exhaust their impulse, these wavelets would travel on through infinite space, for ever and for ever in continuously widening circles.

Indestructibility of Force.

The same may be said of every word spoken, every act done; each is an expenditure of force, and force may be transformed, as into light or heat, but remains indestructible.

Here, in this world, and in this life, we are made aware of what has been done or said, through physical receivers, auditory, visual, or tactical organs. Yet each such exhibition of force has set in motion waves of ether, for ever widening, and never ceasing to extend. Thus, may be, a thousand years hence, a word of good counsel, a pious ejaculation, an unseemly jest, a profane oath, the inane giggle of a society miss, may reach, – and, supposing the residents of that remote planet possess receptive faculties, be audible to the occupants of Neptune. Nor would these ripples be there arrested. They would continue their travels beyond, into limitless space, and journey on throughout eternity. Whether the Almighty, in His pity, has instituted a shore in remote infinity, upon which these ethereal wavelets will fall and be hushed to complete silence we do not know, and it is in vain for us to frame a conjecture.

Wireless Telegraphy.

In Wireless Telegraphy a certain portion of ether is captured, and by means of electricity, is given propulsion in waves that reach a more or less distant receiver, in which the ethereal vibrations are reconverted into acoustic sounds.

The contrivances for transmitting messages, and for receiving them, and translating them out of ethereal waves into sounds that strike upon the drums of our ears, are accommodations to our physical conditions.

There exists, however, no possible reason for supposing that in the spiritual world, the disembodied souls will need any such mechanical apparatus to enable them to view the acts of the past, and to hear every word that has been spoken, and what is more, possess at the same time the faculty of seeing with concern or with satisfaction, the consequences of such acts and such words as have affected their fellows, and in rendering themselves therefore responsible for them. This is a consideration calculated to give qualms to the self satisfied Christian as he thrusts himself, unabashed and without scruple, into the presence of the Most High, full of confidence that such is his proper situation, confident of acceptance, and wholly regardless of the consequences that have ensued from his example in the days of his probation on earth, so long as he can convince himself of justification for what has passed.

Eschatology. punishments.

One of the questions most seriously debated, within the bounds of Christendom is that relative to the future of mankind after death. On every side men are asking the question, What are we to believe regarding the final condition of humanity, not only of notorious evil-doers, but also of those who have spent life unprofitably, who are noted not as having done those things that they ought not to have done, but as those who have left undone those things that they ought to have done. There are strong, emphatic and startling descriptions of the woes of Hell, of the Lake of Fire, prepared for sinners, and for the defective in acts of Love (Matt. XXV.), in one word for the Selfish.

Hell-fire.

But it must be borne in mind that the words in which the chastisement of the ungodly are described are figurative, and figurative only, as a little thought will show. The fire spoken of in Scripture so persistently implies not that the fire is literally to be so taken; its analogue is to be understood, as giving real pain to the conscience, through sense of impotence to redress the wrong,⁸⁰ not to a physical body that has ceased to exist. The conscience throbs with remorse, and such remorse is the unquenchable flame.

Yet the expressions have been accepted literally, and in the coarsest manner, both in medieval times and at the present period. Thus in one of Spurgeon's sermons, preached in 1855, he said:- "Only conceive that poor wretch in the flames, who is saying, 'Oh for one drop of water to cool my parched tongue!' See how his tongue hangs from between his blistered lips! How it excoriates and burns the roof of his mouth, as if it were a firebrand! Behold him crying for a drop of water! I will not picture the scene. Suffice it for me to close up, by saying, that the hell of hells will be to thee, poor sinner, the thought that it is to be for ever. Thou wilt look up there on the Throne of God, and on it shall be written 'For ever!' When the damned jingle the burning irons of their torments they shall say 'For ever!' When they howl, echo cries, 'For ever!'"

'For ever' is written on their racks;
'For ever,' on their chains;
'For ever' burneth in the fire,
'For ever' ever reigns.

Doleful thought! 'If I could but get out, then I should be happy! If there were a hope of deliverance, then I might be peaceful; but here I am for ever.'"

Of such stuff as this are the rousing, scaring addresses made at Revivals, producing convulsions, screams and spasms of terror, very seldom productive of good.

But it cannot be sufficiently insisted on that the words concerning Hell and hell-fire, are symbolical, and represent the suffering that the soul of the unrighteous will have to endure, through spasms of self-reproach for responsibilities neglected, and not at all on account of any physical torture.

⁸⁰ To think upon my pomp shall be my hell." 2 Pt. K. Henry VI., Act. II. Sc.4.

Popular Misconceptions.

The doctrine of Everlasting Damnation for all save the elect, proclaimed by Calvin has been very extensively preached, and has been traditionally accepted, as though it were a Divine Revelation.

A reaction was inevitable. It was said in opposition, that this doctrine was contradictory to elementary conceptions of the Justice, and of the Goodness of God; that the punishments inflicted were out of all proportion to the offences committed. Why, it was asked, did God create man, when He foresaw that he would be subjected throughout eternity to be roasted in fires that emit no light, in the outer darkness, and where the undying worm eternally gnaws at his vitals? Even the pagan Aeschylus allowed a term to the sufferings of Prometheus, chained to the rock, with a vulture tearing at his liver; and the mediaeval divines set hope before the sufferers in the purifying fires of Purgatory. Only Calvin portrayed Jehovah as implacable and remorseless in His dealings with the sinner. It was asked, Why was not man afforded a fair chance? If man's nature be utterly corrupt, so that in him is no good element, a tenet contradicted by daily association with fellow men, then God is unjust in demanding of him, what he is incapable of rendering. At any rate, said the questioners, either we must disbelieve in the goodness of God, or we must cease to believe in eternal burning.

In the revulsion of feeling, either annihilation or a promiscuous gaol-delivery was assumed.

It appears to me, reasoning upon rational grounds, that limitation is only to be found in cessation of consequences: – That the solution of the problem so perplexing is to be sought in the nature of the case. I cannot do other than surmise that in the exhaustion, or extinction of responsibility, the solution may be found. There must for long be felt an under-toll of sad reflexion upon wrong acts done, opportunities neglected, duties evaded, yet there will be the recoil wave twinkling with gladness and thanksgiving, that out of evil and fault, God in His infinite mercy has wrought good. We can well conceive how that the pardoned sinner, in his sorrow over the past will plead earnestly and incessantly for the mitigation of the fatal consequence of his errors and neglects, causing untold shame and sorrow, till they wear themselves out; and find happiness in intercession, and in seeing bad results overridden by healing influences. Finality suffering will be determined by cessation of responsibility.

And further, what refreshing balm to the soul will accrue from the consciousness of love shown to God and to man, by such as have fed the hungry, given drink to the thirsty, have housed the stranger, clothed the naked, visited the sick and the imprisoned, have instructed the ignorant, have guided the wanderer, strengthened the irresolute, have consoled the sorrowful, have quietly and unostentatiously discharged their homely duties, have been forbearing under provocation, forgiving of injuries; how great, how lasting, will be the satisfaction in realising the fruitfulness of what has been done and said in love. And, the meeting with such as have been in any way profited by us, known and unknown! It will roll over the happy soul, like the flood of the Nile overflowing its banks, and according fertility.

As I write these words, there has reached me an appeal from the Church Penitentiary Association at the Church House, Westminster, to this effect: "It is difficult to imagine greater spiritual distress than that experienced by poor young children and girls, some as young as 7 or 8 years, who have become victims of the criminal machinations of immoral men. Some of the cases that are dealt with by the Association are too awful to be told. These poor lambs, and they form a goodly proportion of the 10,000 poor creatures rescued yearly,

are recovered materially and spiritually, and are brought up to be God-fearing women and useful citizens.”

Now consider how matters will stand, say a hundred years hence. Where will be those evil men and seducers? Conceivably some may have been converted, have acquired Assurance, and have chirped their Hallelujahs, but – as for the consequences of their guilty acts, for these they remain responsible, and conceive, if we can, the agony of their remorse. On the other hand, let us picture to ourselves those holy and self-devoted women who have laboured to rescue these waifs and strays. Picture them, a century hence, surrounded by those they have been the means of saving, clinging to them in overflowing love and gratitude, and some showing their children whom they have been able to bring up in unsullied innocence, through the care, the love, the pity, the attention bestowed upon them by holy Christian women. Will not the joy of these last be full? And will it not serve to assuage the self-reproach of the repentant sinner, to become aware that there has ensued redress for the wrong that he had done, Recovery from the moral injuries inflicted?

Lasting suffering due to continuing responsibility.

May it not be the case that those who have deliberately fought against God, such as the apostate Jews and infidels forming the Soviet in Russia, who have closed the Churches, massacred over 1,400 bishops and priests, and cast none can tell how many more to rot in unwholesome cells, on insufficient food; who have systematically laboured to corrupt the minds and debauch the bodies of the young, boys and girls, in order to kill the germs of conscience, lest they should turn to God, – may it not be that, in the future, when they see that the reign of Antichrist is waning, and that their hostility to God has served to intensify and to purify faith; – may it not be that in disappointed ambition, they should become possessed with implacable rage against God and His Church, so that, the more they see defeat looming before them, their disappointed hate will grow, rendering them incapable for ever of turning in repentance and humiliation to acknowledgment of error? No passion in man is so inextinguishable as Pride; none more regardless, if persisted in, of consequences self-torturing.

Caesarius of Heisterbach, in 1250, wrote a story as to how Satan on one occasion went to Confession. I turned the tale into rhyme.⁸¹

After that the Evil One had poured forth a horrible record of his sins, he sought Absolution and therewith a Penance. Then said the Confessor:-

“As thou didst fall through thy unbounded pride,
Bow to the figure of the Crucified,
But once, and utter with a broken sigh,
I am not worthy to look up to Heaven;
Oh, be free pardon to the rebel given!”

“What,” said the Devil, with an angry cry,
“Hah! when another twist of Fortune’s wheel
Would have sent me up, and cast Him below!
Hah! to the Son of Mary shall I bow?”
And with a curse, he turned upon his heel.

⁸¹ The Silver Store, Skeffington & Co.

III Aspirations

I have already indicated the presence in almost every man of faculties undeveloped, and that demand a continuance of existence in which to expand and find satisfaction. And I have said how that, to me, the presence in men of these germs seem to be premonitions of future expansion. I will now speak of one insatiable longing in the heart, that very frequently fails to find satisfaction here.

The Homing Instinct.

There is an instinct lodged in beasts, birds, and many insects, such as the bee and the ant, which is also deep-seated in the soul of men. It is entitled the Homing instinct. The bee having laden its thighs with honey from the flowers speeds to the hive to discharge its burden for the common store in waxen cells; and the ant does much the same with the grains that it collects. At the first breath of Spring, the rooks, who have been wintering, God knows where, return to the deserted nests of arid twigs on the tops of the familiar Scotch pines. Presently the swallows will be seen and heard, in quest of their mud cabins. There was abundance of slime on the marge of the lakes at the sources of the Nile, where they spent their winters, but it was not like the dear old home-clay. And soon after will be heard the "wandering voice" of the cuckoo. It has as well been absent. It has no nest in England. Nevertheless it is sensible of homesickness for the green valleys and the furze-blazing moors. Accordingly it loves and returns to them.

Home, Sweet Home.

I have a cousin. Many years ago he went out sheep-farming to the wild west of the American States. His mother was a widow, and she accompanied him, so as to keep a home for him in that bleak and lonely region. Into their log cabin she managed to have conveyed a piano; and besides she had a large map of England hung up against one of the walls. Every Sunday evening, the ranchers, who were nearly all young fellows from Britain, were accustomed at her invitation to assemble in this hut. And there they would go to the map and point out where were their dear old homes, and where lived their fathers and mothers and brothers and sisters; and they would talk over the pranks they had played there as children, and the happy frolics they had had in the fields. When they were about to depart, my cousin's mother was wont to sit down to the piano and play "Home, sweet home," and all the young ranchers sang with lusty lungs, till every now and then a voice broke with a gulp, and some went out hastily to hide the tears that had filled their eyes and were trickling down their cheeks.

I can recall a case of two little children in the Black Forest. Their parents had died of cholera, when they were too young to understand what death signified. The boy was taken in charge by a kindly cobbler, the girl by a worthy, hard-working charwoman. Never did these little ones escape, without meeting at the forlorn, crumbling and locked-up cottage in which they had been born. They would then tap at the door and call, "Daddy, Mammy, we want to be at home," There ensued no answer, and they were to be found by their guardians sitting weeping on the door-step, sobbing out: "We want to be at our true home."

Home-sickness.

There be those who have no homes to which to be drawn, but there are few who do not strive, and make it the object of their lives, to acquire a home for the rest of their days. There are, we

are well aware, many whose lives have been apparent failures, who have never been able to secure to themselves a home, who have been driven from pillar to post, who have, as the Apostle says, “no continuing city” – or home here. But the yearning is never extinguished – it must have its object accessible, if not in this world, then in that to come. God never lodged an irrepressible instinct in the human heart, without providing for its ultimate satisfaction. Faith is needed to hold to this Verity.

It cannot be that the Father of Spirits Who gave to the bee its longing for the hive, can have graven deep in the heart a passion destined to be frustrated. The gift of a faculty carries with it a promise of its exercise and of its satisfaction. If there have been disappointments in life, such as have been disappointed need not be discouraged. Let them lay down their wearied heads in confidence of a certain realisation. “Turn you to the strong hold, ye prisoners of hope: even to-day do I declare that I will render double unto thee.” (Zech. IX. 12.)

Socrates.

Socrates entertained this home-sickness, instinctively implanted in him. He did not find satisfaction alongside of Xantippe in his humble lodging, but he carried with him a conviction that he had another home to look to, eternal in the heavens.

S. Paul.

The Apostle of the Gentiles felt much the same home-sickness when he said: “Here have we no continuing city, but we seek one to come;” [*Hebrews 13:14*] and when he expressed his desire, the struggles and discouragements of life ended, to be dissolved and find his rest in Christ.

In the desert of central Iceland are thousands of small lakes, mostly land-locked. Each in spring is occupied by a pair of swans. According to the conviction of the natives, the same couple returns annually to the same tarn. They are absent during the winter at the sources of the Nile, amidst abundant herbage and unfailing supplies of food. But at the first throb of Spring, there leaps up in the hearts of these dreaming birds the memory of the blue, chill pools in the far North, set in a leafless desert of grey volcanic ash, frowned down upon from the South by glacier enshrouded mountains as an icy wall which they have to over-wing. After one quiver of their pinions, they soar, and with unerring instinct seek their home beneath the pole.

I have seen a swan on its homeward flight, battling against a hostile gale, repulsed at every stroke of its wide-stretched pinions, yet never losing heart, and finally defeating the forces of the repellent storm, and I have seen in it a picture of many a Christian soul, strong in faith. But I have also seen a vagrant migratory bird that has lost its bearings, flitting hither and thither uttering plaintive cries, and finally sinking with broken feathers and exhausted powers to die where it has fallen. I have seen such pictures in human life, where Faith has failed.

Revelation is but the confirmation of an implanted instinct. Where instinct fails to sustain, there revelation comes in to add strength and encourage perseverance. Alas for such as have lost even the intuition of future satisfaction.

Despondency.

We hear occasionally of some man of wealth and power, who has had everything that the world could supply, yet, satiated with its luxuries and pleasures and power, retires into the bathroom and cuts his throat. We hear more often of the eclipse of some professional beauty,

who, for a few seasons has been the focus of social admiration. The pearly lustre of her cheek has dulled, the sparkle has deserted her eye, her conversational wit has lost its pungency. Crow's-feet begin to be traced below the temples. She sees more of the back-buttons than of the shirtfronts of her former admirers. She is conscious of desertion on the fields of her former conquests, – the dinner-table, the ball-room, the opera-box. Then, in the consciousness that no art can recover, none disguise, the general and growing failure, the curtain is rung down upon the tragi-comedy of life, as she swallows an over-dose of cocaine. It is the case of the bruised, despondent swan.

But, consider the tens of thousands of all ages and degrees, the stricken in health or in circumstances, the disappointed in efforts, the disillusioned in hopes, the broken by age, who still harbour the heimweh [*German for Homesickness.*] felt by Socrates and Paul, and therein find rest for the soul, and an aspiration full of confidence, of satisfaction in the end.

With which would we cast our lot?

Unsatisfied Faculties.

Let me revert briefly to unsatisfied faculties.

No gardener, no farmer, no cottager even, sows his plot of ground with seed destined not to spring up and fructify; but to lie torpid, rot and die.

And is God one who will act otherwise? Is He one to mock His creatures by giving them aspirations that can never be satisfied?

I know the case of a Seedsman who fell into difficulties and became bankrupt. The creditors seized his stock in trade. But, before they acquired it, he had boiled the seeds and had extinguished the life that was in them. God never boils his seeds.

I look into my own self. I know what I longed to acquire, pursuits I craved to follow. But either the opportunity or the capability has been denied me. I have seen the same in thousands of others. And the existence of these undeveloped strainings and yearnings and powers, is to me a most certain assurance that the Opportunity will come, though not in this life.

Prospects.

Sadness of heart is produced and continued so long as life lasts, when there is possession of this knowledge, and yet therewith disability of exercising it. In my own case the desire, yearnings have ever been present, without the power of expression. Yet I am as certain as I am that I am alive, that the gift, the passion after everything that is beautiful in Nature and in Art, will find its powers released from the chains that now hold it down. The tongue that is tied will be unloosed, and the eyes that see but dimly will lose these scales, and the stiff fingers will become flexible to perform what the soul desires to utter. I do not for one moment conceive the possibility of the future life being one of inertia, rather it will be one of "up and be doing" that which it was hindered from performing previously; not only so, but it will be one of progress, and that progress indefinite.

Assuredly, along with released power of expression will come emancipation of the Idea of God in each one of us, undeveloped through the stress of various causes, an advancement in the beauty and perfection of the body and all its faculties. Personality will be punctuated.

Life is short, and in its little span it is not possible to mature all the abilities that reside in us, divinely implanted, and sown in order to grow to perfection. Progress implies a certain amount of change of condition; and it will alone be possible when we have come to the knowledge of our neglect of opportunities, and regret for our negligence, as also will our shortcomings become manifest to ourselves

Surely at death

The soul in contemplation
Utters earnest prayers and deep,
Watching as the streaks of daylight
Nearer creep.

Eye untrain'd to gaze on glory,
Dimm'd and feeble, short of sight,
Now is growing stronger, straining
T'wards the light.

Thoughts that trail'd on earth as flowers
Sodden with the soil and rain,
Now are lifting, spreading, shaking
Off their stain.

Powers that dormant lay, unquicken'd,
Crushed by daily toil and strife –
Needs now over – wake, develop,
Gather life.

Conscience contemplates perfection
What God is, and where man fails,
Hungers anguished, faints yet stretches,
Hopes, yet quails.

Self-assurance dies in torture,
Writhing on a bed of flame;
Whilst from out its ashes riseth
Holy Shame.

Earth's horizon slowly fading
Wider grows the heavenly span –
Care assumes another centre;
God, not man.

Transformation in the furnace!
Dross is driven from the ore,
Sordid passion, human meanness,
Vex no more.

Fancies yield to great ideas,
Thoughts are travailing to the birth;

Deep the plough-share seeks the harvest
In the earth.

Bird-tides.

To the ordinary man life is made up of three epochs, the first of growth, the second of ripening, the third of decay.

On the East Coast of Essex it is popularly held that God restrains the tides from over-flowing the marshes during the nesting season of the water fowl. When the young are matured, the flood again overflows the flats. To ripe manhood comes the period of Bird-tides, when he has to consider, cherish, and discipline his young for their venture in full life.

Decline.

Then ensues the age of Decline.

Those of us who have surpassed the age of sixty become aware that for us the season of Bird-tides is past, the time for mental and moral culture of our children is over. There is opening to us a new phase in our lives, entailing fresh duties.

The Shadow. [*See Endnote: The Shadow*]

From my window I can see the shadow of a gable that projects from the main part, or body, of the house to the South, steal up the wall and sloping roof of the corresponding Northern side of the quadrangle. As from day to day it mounts, it measures the decline of the year. Upon one day it will reach the ridge-tile, that terminates in a little horseman in terra-cotta, brandishing a spear. That day will be December 21st.

I know full well that, from the very moment when the shadow has touched that line, it will begin to recede. In a few months it will not longer stain the slates, it will darken the wall, and will finally lodge on the green sward.

Accordingly I can look cheerfully on the climbing shadow, because, if it presages increase of darkness and brevity of day, it promises as well a future of growing light and length of sunshine.

In life there is impatience at retrogression. One longs to see the shadow continue to mount, aware as we are of unaccomplished desires. As the German peasant sings:

Jetzt kauf' i' mir fünt Leitern,
Bind's an einander auf,
Und wann's mich unt'nimer g'freut
Steig'i' oben hinauf.

Translation:

*Now I buy myself five ladders
Tie them one to the other
And whenever I don't like it any more down here
I'll climb up there.*

The craving is ever present to reach and to ascend the sixth and subsequent ladders.

The Indian Summer.

In the autumn of life, there ensues, at least to some who started full of sanguine hopes, a growing despondency at the failure of hopes, the decay of faculties, the laming of physical and mental powers; there ensues as well, sooner or later, an Indian summer, with sunshine unclouded, balmy airs, a hazy prospect full of mellowness, of scarlet rowan berries in the hedges, and prospect of primroses in the bank, a promise of the return of Spring.

The Early and Latter Rains.

The prophet Joel says: "Be glad, ye children of Zion, and rejoice in the Lord your God, for He hath given you the former rain moderately, and he will cause to come down for you the rain, the former rain and the latter rain in the first month. And the floors shall be full of wheat, and the vats shall overflow with wine and oil." [Joel 2:23]

He is referring to the early spring showers that bring forth May flowers. After that first outpour ensues a dry season. And it is at the close of this, that the latter rain is shed, causing the vats to overflow with wine and oil.

The former rain with us, is that which produced the gladness of life, hope in the future, expectation of success, the jubilation of a spirit full of song, of which we are conscious in childhood, and which turns the light tread into a dance. Thus watered we start on life's course without fears, with a confidence in the future hardly to be assuaged by repeated disappointments. But the arid summer of Middle Life with its discouragements and disillusionings, comes to dry up the wells. We see frustrated ambitions, slaked fervour; and Hope in place of taking the lead, drops into the rear.

It is then, when most despondent, that ensues the outpour of the latter rain, affording renewed joy in anticipation of rejuvenescence, and perfection of arrested powers, the satisfaction of balked aspirations, the assurance that all the gifts of mind and body will be afforded full scope for unlimited expansion.

"This is so plainly man's condition in life," writes a correspondent to Addison in the Spectator for October 21, 1711, "that there is no one who has observed anything, but may observe, that as fast as his time wears away, his appetite for something future remains. The use, therefore, that I would make of it is this, that since Nature does nothing in vain, or, to speak properly, since the Author of our being has planted no desire in us which has not its object, futurity is the proper object of the passion so constantly exercised about it, and this restlessness in the present, this assigning ourselves over to further stages of duration, this successive grasping at somewhat still to come, appears to me as a kind of instinct or natural symptom which the mind of man has of its own immateriality."

No Arrest.

A thought that must force itself upon us, as we look upon the advance of intelligence and of faculties, from the polypus up to man, is: That progress may be checked but not totally arrested, that it cannot be snapped short and brought to finality in man. If God be infinite, there must be no limit to His Creative Plan. Locke has pointed out that, as the scale of being rises by a regular process so high as man, we may, be [*sic. 'by' intended?*] a parity of reason, suppose that it still proceeds gradually through other beings as high above man as man is about the earth-worm.

But to my mind, the fact that we possess in ourselves, capabilities and talents that in this life have been hindered by various circumstances from developing, that are in abeyance, is one which affords us reason for the conviction in us of the certainty of such capabilities and talents being afforded room for expansion and satisfaction in ourselves in the future.

How often do we lament the cutting short of a life “so full of promise”. But we are all, without exception children of promise, the fulfilment is checked by death, but not frustrated. Even Charles Lamb, who had no ear, who never could learn the tune “God Save the King”, who preferred the noises in the Strand to the best Beethoven concert, could say: “I am not without suspicion that I have an undeveloped faculty of music in me.”

To such as have maintained their trust, the Indian summer will come of a surety, and they will sit in the sun like aged Greenwich pensioners, and dream of past conflicts and hard-won battles, in the pervading light that gilds the prospect, in the tender haze that softens all asperities of outline, and harmonises the most discordant colours. In the air warm as new-drawn milk, the sorrows cease that once rung the heart. Such as rest in this After-Summer, although aware that ere long they themselves will be required to drop as surely and as noiselessly as the faded leaf, yet will they contemplate this without fear, sustained by confidence in Him Who summoned them into being, and with the assured hope that in His own good time He will accomplish His purpose in them.

I will express my feelings in a couple of stanza:

LIFE'S RENEWAL

All hail to the copper and golden leaf,
 All hail to the dwindling sun!
 To the arrish field and the garnered sheaf,
 To the season's labour done!
 The frost has sharpened the morning's breath,
 On the chilled herb hangs the tear.
 For the summer is over; in cometh Death
 Decease of the worn out year.
 But the wheel of life will turn, will turn,
 And what though fate seem cruel?
 The Sun that is shorn, shall again be born,
 For in Death is life's renewal.

All hail to the leaf that is wrinkled and sere,
 When the bud behind it swells;
 Youth leaps from decay, and the short'ned day
 Of the coming spring-tide tells.
 And the ploughshare gleams, and the furrow steams
 When the Earth has dealt her spoil,
 And the winter's rain falls never in vain,
 It blesses the farmer's toil.
 Oh! the wheel of life will turn, will turn,
 And what though fate seem cruel?
 The Sun that is shorn, will again be born,
 For in Death is Life's renewal.

THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS

Chapter VIII

PAPALISM

PREFATORY

At Cambridge, in London, and at Brighton,⁸² [1853-1864] the Roman question was much in the air. It was so as well in Exeter and Plymouth, but with the condition of affairs there I was not much acquainted. There occurred numerous defections from the Anglican Church, and much crowing on the part of the Papists. Mistrust was generally diffused. There was uneasiness among the English stalwarts, and even in every pious family. Unripe girls were shed by the scores from the Anglican Tree, as small apples drop from the parent bough. Boys acted in the same manner. Husbands could not trust their wives. Many an incumbent's wife seceded, with the result of estrangement at home, and of sowing distrust in her husband's parish. There were cases in which the adult children left for the Italian Church, and who, at meal-time, and in presence of visitors, threw out slighting remarks relative to the Church of their parents, whose bread they were eating, and whom they took a relish in wounding.

Aspects of the Religious World.

The religious world in England at the time somewhat resembled an old fair, in which rival booths had been set up, and the air rang with the shouts of the several showmen extolling the values of their wares, and the wonders of their exhibitions.

I chanced to be present in town at a private supper given mainly to artists; discussion turned upon religious experiences. Some had been in the Anglican booth, and had found it uninspiring. One had put his head into the Latitudinarian van, but had hastily withdrawn it, offended at the savour. Three had been seduced into the Irvingite Tabernacle, had heard prophecies that were never fulfilled, and seen miracles attempted that invariably failed, and had left and stepped into the Roman show. Of these one had shortly quitted it. "Quand on a tiré son vin, il faut bien le boire," [*Translation: When you have poured your wine, you have to drink it.*] said he. "But that was not quite my case with the highly spiced and much fortified Roman wine. I took a sip and threw the rest away."

Rival Pictures.

The picture of the Anglican Communion as unfurled by Manning was one of a House divided against itself, contrasting with a representation of the Roman show where would be seen harmony and uniformity. Therein, we were assured, the belief of all the inmates was the same. One infallible shepherd led the way, and the sheep followed in docility, faintly bleating.

But to every picture there is a reverse. When I was a child, my parents took me to Vauxhall Gardens to see a grand display of scenery and fireworks representative of the Siege of Algiers. It was very fine, dazzling, and deafening. But letting go my father's hand I slipped away, and succeeded in pushing to the rear of the scenery, where I saw only canvas, stretchers, and workmen in dirty jackets letting off squibs and discharging Roman candles. It is sometimes instructive to get behind the scenes.

To the man possessing any acquaintance with Church history, there was something in the Roman picture not altogether reassuring, and one felt inclined to get at the back of it. One was haunted by memories of conflict between Realists and Nominalists, between Thomists and Scottists, between Jesuits and Jansenists, between Popes and Councils, and uniformity

⁸² Near which I was during 8 years after taking my degree and before my ordination.

had too often been acquired by means of the firebrand and the sword. Objectors can always be silenced by cutting out their tongues, when arguments fail to convince.

Controversial pamphlets flew about on every wind, and fluttered down before one's feet whenever taking a walk abroad.

I read all I could lay hold of. One book, however, impressed me more than all the controversial tracts and treatises, and that was Dean Milman's History of Latin Christianity, 1854-5.

On consideration I felt that I must work out the problem for myself, and in my own way, and this was not to be done all at once, but done persistently in one direction. We are not justified in supposing that, although God has revealed to us certain facts, recorded in the Gospels, and although the Church has deduced therefrom certain doctrines, that we are thereby discharged from the obligation of testing and verifying these records and deductions. God has not given to us our eyes that we should close our eyelids, and walk in blindness, guided by another hand; nor has He granted to us reasoning minds, in order that we should not exercise them in those concerns which belong to our peace.

The controversial field is so wide and so beset with barbed wire entanglements that I felt my incapacity to cut my way through them all, and, on consideration, I resolved, finally, to attempt to break my way to a conclusion at three points only:-

- I. Our Lord made certain definite undertakings with regard to the Church which He founded. Were these undertakings systematically fulfilled in the Roman Church? If not, then the promises did not apply to her.
- II. Our Lord conferred pastoral commission upon S. Peter. Have the Bishops of the Church of Rome acted in accordance with the pastoral qualification?
- III. Is the appointment of the Pope of Rome, as universal and infallible head of the entire Church, invested with viceregency, in accordance with the method of transmission of Mission and Authority that is of universal obligation and practice in the Catholic church? If not, then the Sovereign Pontiff has had none of the assumed prerogatives conferred upon him.

The result at which I arrived satisfied me in my green and budding period of life, and it contents me equally now, when every sear leaf is falling about my whitened head.

THE ROMAN CONTROVERSY

On entering S. Peter's Church at Rome, the eye is immediately struck by the inscription carried round the interior of the dome, in huge letters of purple-blue mosaic upon a golden ground: TU ES PETRUS, ET SUPER HANC PETRAM AEDIFICABO ECCLESIAM MEAM; ET TIBI DABO CLAVES REGNI COELORUM. [*translation: Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church, and to thee do I give the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven*] A very imposing superstructure has been erected upon this as well as on a few subsidiary texts; and these words have been regarded as conferring a charter on the See of Rome, authorising her to exercise her claims to supremacy over the whole Church of Christ.

I do not purpose to touch on the Faith professed by the Roman Church; as, except for a few additions made to the Catholic Symbol of the Faith, it is identical with that professed by the Eastern Churches and that of England. Nor, again, have I anything to say relative to the Worship of the Church of Rome, for it is practically the same as that of the Eastern Churches, and is that aimed at by the Church of England, and which now after a period of slackness is rapidly returning to the ideal of Christian Worship, never lost in the Roman and Oriental Churches, but totally lost elsewhere, preaching being substituted for adoration of God and the pouring forth of praise to Him and to the Saviour of the World.

Nor will I do more than touch on the question of the interpretation of the text quoted above, as to whether it was addressed to Peter as a restoration to him personally of a prerogative possessed equally with the other Apostles, but which had been forfeited by him through his triple denial, or whether it was intended to apply and confer precedence on his successors in the Apostolic throne.

Let us then consider the Promises made by Christ to His Church, and see whether they were fulfilled in the Papal patriarchate.

I. The First Point: The Promise.

Our Lord made a solemn promise to His Church, that the Gates of Hell should not prevail against it. The term is figurative, but it undoubtedly signifies that the Powers of Evil, producing Declension from the Faith, Pornocracy, and Lying, should not prevail against His Church, the Citadel of Brotherly Love, Truth and Purity, and that it guaranteed likeness to the type of Christ's Kingdom as prefigured by Himself. If that promise had been made to the Church of Rome, then it failed repeatedly. If made to the Universal church, it has not failed; as is clear from the existence full of zeal of the Oriental, as well as of the Anglican Church.

a. Failure in the matter of Faith

I need do no more than mention the cases of the Popes Liberius, Honorius, and Vigilius who fell into heresy. Honorius was anathematised by a General Council, and his name was struck out of the Diptychs. Nor need I refer to the vacillating and equivocal conduct of Zosimus in relation to Pelagianism, nor to Innocent I. and Gelasius I., who both declared it to be so indispensable for infants to receive Communion, that those children who die without it would inevitably go straight to hell. A thousand years later the Council of Trent anathematized this doctrine, and in so doing condemned the two Popes. Consequently the promise of Infallibility

made by Christ to His Church was not verified in the Church of Rome. It was falsified within a few centuries, from A.D.360.⁸³

b. Failure in the field of morality.

Still more conspicuous was the failure of fulfilment of the promise in the field of Morality, if applied to the Papal Church.

In the 15th Century Boccaccio published a story relative to a Jew, who, being pressed to embrace Christianity, declared his intention of visiting Rome and judging of the Catholic religion by what he there saw in the lives of the Vicar of Christ, his Court, and prelates. His Christian friends were horrified, knowing that the spectacle of the sensuality, avarice and Simony which tainted the ecclesiastical world at Rome, from the least to the greatest, was better calculated to make a Christian turn Jew, than induce a Jew to become a Christian. But the Hebrew visitor, on his return, presented himself for baptism, declaring himself convinced of the divinity of a religion which could survive a condition so scandalous and vicious as that which was exhibited by the lives of its chief ministers, at its headquarters by the Tiber.

Actually, the Roman apologist Cardinal Baronius adopted the same argument to prop up the Papacy at an earlier period. He commenced his account of the Tenth Century as follows – “A new age begins, which from its asperity and barrenness of good, has been wont to be called the Iron Age; and from the deformity of its overflowing wickedness, more suitably the Leaden Age; and from its paucity of writers, the Dark Age. Standing on its threshold, we have deemed it necessary to premise something, lest the weak-minded should be scandalized when he beheld the abomination of desolation set up in the Temple.” Thereupon he proceeds to argue like Boccaccio’s Jew that the Christianity of the Papacy must have perished but for the protection of the Most High.

Sampling.

When a farmer is purchasing wheat, he puts his hand at random into the sack that is offered for sale, fills his palm with the grains, and judges of the quality of the wheat by the sample.

If we thrust our hand into the historical records of the Papacy, again, and yet again, although now and then we pick up many sound grains, yet as often do we draw out blighted wheat. I have no space in which to animadvert on more than one pinch, when sampling the Papacy, and to lay aside those who were virtuous.

Pornocracy of the Holy See in the 10th Cent.

An entire series of Popes, eleven in number, were appointed to the Apostolic throne by two infamous women, Theodora, her daughter Marozia, and by Alberic the son of one of these vile creatures.⁸⁴

Theodora, generally held to have been the Mistress of Pope Sergius III., rose to power and authority in the Roman Church during his tenure of the Papacy (904-911). Upon the death of her lover Sergius, she handed the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven to Anastasius III., and shortly after to John X. Paramour of her daughter of the same name as herself, and wife of the

⁸³ If we could credit the story of the Council of Sinuessa given in the Roman Breviary, the lapse began with the Apostasy of Marcellinus in 303.

⁸⁴ Liutprand describes Marozia as ‘Ebria Venus.’.

Consul Gratian. John was surpassed in infamy only later by Alexander VI.⁸⁵ The elder Theodora was all powerful in the Church of Rome from 890 to 920, during thirty years. The appointment to the chair of S. Peter was in her hands, till it was snatched from her by her daughter Marozia, who retained the appointment of the Vicars of Christ till 936. This Marozia arrested and imprisoned John X. and had him smothered under a pillow, whereupon she conferred the power to bind and to loose in heaven as on earth upon Leo VI. who lived to enjoy it for no longer than six months. Then she gave the same divine authority to Stephen VIII. who held the papacy for two years and one month. These men had been warming-pans put in by Marozia till her son John XI. by intercourse with Pope Sergius III., as gossip said, was old enough to be created Pope. As it happened he was little over twenty years old when in 931, his mother put the keys of heaven and hell into his hands. However, Alberic the eldest son of Marozia, seized on his mother and his whole or half-brother, the Pope, and flung them both into prison, from which John XI never issued alive. He is conjectured to have died in 956. After that, Alberic disposed of the Vicariat of Christ to insignificant men, Leo, Stephen, Marinus and Agapetus; and when the last died, he bequeathed the chair of S. Peter to his son Octavian, or as he called himself John XII. He was consecrated in 956, when aged nineteen. This boy-pope led a life so indescribably vicious, that he was called to order by the Emperor Otho; for now a waft of fresh air from the North blew over Rome, if possible to purify its malarial vapours. John was summoned to answer for his crimes before a Council assembled in Rome, 963. He replied by the production of the fable of the fall of Pope Marcellinus; moreover he retaliated by excommunicating all his adversaries. The Council however regarded neither the fable nor the ban, tried and deposed him. Leo VIII. was elected in his room.

I have no space to tell how that Pope John XXIII. escaped being burnt at the stake for his unmentionable crimes, by order of the Council of Constance (1410) – only escaping by an opportune flight. Nor have I space to write of the Paganising of the Court of the Vatican at the Renaissance, nor of the unutterable wickedness of Alexander VI.

John de Clemangis.

In 1414 John de Clemangis, Rector of the University of Paris, Secretary to Benedict XIII., wrote a book, *Liber de corrupto Ecclesiae statu*, [*translation: Book about the corrupt state of the Church*] which recorded the crimes of the Popes, the vices and venality of the Papal Court, and the foul lives of the Cardinals – so terrible was the indictment that the Council of Trent ordered the Works of Clemangis to be put on the *Index*, “donec corrigantur.” [*translation: until they be corrected*] But none have been found who have had the hardihood or effrontery to deny his charges. His book was published in London in 1606.

The vices of the Popes, and the general demoralisation of clergy and people of Rome, became notorious everywhere. Sylvester II. admitted as much, when he wrote “Romanorum mores mundus perhorrescit;” [*translation: The world is horrified by the morals of the Romans*] and at a synod held at Rheims in 991, Arnold, Bishop of Orleans protested relative to the Popes: “Where stands it written that the innumerable priests of God, over the surface of the entire globe, ought to be subject to such monsters, the scandal of the whole world, and destitute of learning, divine and human?”

⁸⁵ It was to this wretch that appeal was made by the Dalmatian Church relative to the use or suppression of the Slavonic Mass. Bishop Gregory of Nona in the Council of Spalato, held about 910, stood up almost alone against his brethren, in defence of the vernacular rite. Appeal was made to John X. who of course confirmed the majority in their decision in favour of the Latin Mass. His stupid letter is in existence.

Let it not be supposed that bad examples were rare in the annals of the Papacy. They abound in every age. The chair of Peter was besmirched with cruelty, licentiousness, turpitude of every description, down to the Renaissance and the life of that climax of wickedness, Alexander VI. The throne of Augustine of Canterbury shines in comparison with that of Peter of Rome in all but an unsullied brilliancy.

The promise did not apply to the See of Rome.

Our Lord promised to His Church "The Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it." Did they not prevail over and over again against the Papacy in the matter of Morality? If they did, and it is demonstrable that they did so, then Christ's promise did not apply to the Roman Church. Compare Canterbury with Rome. When did the former ever produce such a crop of debauched pontiffs as has Rome?

c. The Test as to the Truth.

Once again. Truth is sacred as well as is Morality. In fact it is one of the aspects of Morality.

Rome has been the office for the falsification of history, the publication of spurious documents to an enormous extent, so as to deceive the nations of the West. As if unsatisfied with the forgery of title-deeds, the subservient creatures of the Papacy proceeded further to the falsification of the writings of the Primitive Fathers, to serve the same ends, till finally Roman quotations became a byword among scholars. An edition of the works of S. Cyprian, for instance, was not suffered at Rome to be issued from the press, till it had been falsified (1563).

It was in the middle of the ninth century that the process of falsification of history and the production of fictitious charters proceeded most merrily. "Like the successive strata of the earth covering one another, so layer after layer of forgeries and fabrications were piled up in the Church."⁸⁶

The Decretals recognised as forgeries

At the present day there is probably not a Roman controversialist to be found who would venture to affirm that these documents are not spurious. They reluctantly allow the scaffolding to be pulled down now that the building erected by their aid is complete.⁸⁷

Under Urban IV a series of forged extracts from Greek Councils was issued, Urban had it translated into Latin; and Aquinas; who knew no Greek, accepting all the false documents it contained as true, upon the authority of the Pope, at once introduced the doctrine of the Pope and his Infallibility into his great theological treatise, and thus poisoned the wells, wherever his Summa was read and taught, and that was in every school and seminary of Latin Christianity. As Josiah subverted the religio-political system of Judaism by the production of the Book of Deuteronomy, composed with a devout purpose but not genuine, so did Hildebrand now revolutionise the Church in the West, and his work was favoured by the publication of the False Decretals and other forgeries deceiving the Occidental nations.

⁸⁶ Janus (Döllinger and Friedrich) The Pope and the Council, 1869, p.117. See editor's endnote 'Pope and the Council, The'

⁸⁷ Gratian's Decretum in the middle of the 12th century added fresh forgeries.

An architect at Lagado, as we are informed by Lemuel Gulliver, undertook to construct a mansion, beginning at the ridge-piece, and building downwards on the chance, by hook or by crook, of finding some foundation for his superstructure. The theologians of Rome belong to the Lagadoan School of Architects.

Accordingly, we do not see that the Promise of Christ found its fulfilment in the Papacy as Guardian of the Faith, of Morality and of the Truth. We will pass on to the next point.

II. The Second Point: Is there Correspondence?

We know from Our Lord's words what was to be the character of the Church He founded, and which was to be His Kingdom on Earth.

The question arises: Does the Roman Church correspond with the description of His Church as given by Christ? This is the Second Point to be considered.

Twice did Our Lord impress on Peter the obligation to Feed His Sheep, and once to Feed His Lambs.

How has the Pastoral Office been discharged by Peter's successors?

The answer could be drawn out in full, to show how that so far from the Papacy nourishing the flock of Christ in morality and faith, it has been the fruitful parent of abuses that would have utterly killed Christianity, had not the Chief Shepherd of souls intervened. Take but one instance: the wide diffusion of licences to sin, distributed throughout Europe by the Papal accredited agents, for the sake of money.

I will but quote the words of Gascoigne, descriptive of the sort of food provided for the flock of Christ in England in the fifteenth Century. Gascoigne was four times Chancellor of the University of Oxford and was a man of his time in high repute.

Gascoigne.

Extracts from Gascoigne's book, existing in a single MS. Entitled The Book of Truths,⁸⁸ have been printed and edited by W. J. E. T. Rogers. The charges Gascoigne makes are amply borne out by the protest of the University of Oxford, the declamations of Bishop Hallam at the Council of Constance, the very severe strictures of Archbishop Bourchier, in 1455, and the constitution of Nevil, Archbishop of York in 1466.

"In the year 1440 Pope Eugenius IV. conceded great Indulgences through all the Kingdoms of Christendom; and the collector of the Pope then in England who received the money for the Letters of Indulgence was Master Peter de Monte, Master of Arts, and Doctor of Laws At that time in England certain persons used to buy letters of Indulgence and the power of absolving in all cases for two pence, and some for a pot of ale, and some for a foul act of sin; and some had baskets full of letters of Indulgence, to sell them over the country to any who wished to buy; and when any had bought them, they caused their names to be inscribed on the letters, and people used to say, 'Now is Rome come to our doors;' and people did not use to care about doing any evil things, thinking that they could with the greatest ease obtain pardon and grace by the concession of the Pope; so that Alfonso, King of Aragon said to Eugenius: 'The Roman Church is now indeed a harlot, in as much as she is ready to grant any man her

⁸⁸ Rogers (W. J. E. T.) Loci e libro Veritatum, 1881.

favours for money.’ . . . I know as a fact that certain persons had sealed letters of Indulgence of Eugenius the Pope from Peter de Monte as a payment for acts of carnal uncleanness, and as stakes won at a game of ball, and I know that people carried round the country baskets full of these Indulgences for sale.”⁸⁹

Wherever and whenever an effort was made for reform of gross abuses, the Pope put down his foot to prevent remedies.

Thus far as to feeding the sheep and lambs of the flock of Christ, in the matter of moral nourishment, by the chief pastor at Rome.

Persecution.

If we sought to know, in the next place, how the Papacy has dealt with the lives of the flock, whether as a shepherd or as a butcher, we have but to turn over the pages of history, to be confronted with a continuous and sickening record of massacres, tortures, burnings at the stake, and hecatombs of desolate cities and blazing churches. The history is too lengthy, too monotonous in its account of callousness to justice and mercy to be dealt with here.

When Arthur Orton, the butcher, set up to be the lost heir of the Tichbornes, one question mooted was: Did he resemble the lost Roger Tichborne, in features, in manners, in speech?

When Christ stood before Pilate, He said:- “My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight . . . but now is my kingdom not from hence.” (John XVIII. 36).

When Our Lord sent His Apostles forth to preach the Gospel of the Kingdom, James and John, disappointed at the non-reception of their mission in a village of the Samaritans, said: “Lord, wilt thou that we command fire to come down from heaven and consume them, even as Elias did? And he turned and rebuked them, and said, Ye know not of what spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men’s lives but to save them.” (Luke IX. 54-6). Observe this – the condemnation of the use of fire against the unbelievers.

In 1115, the Countess Matilda made over her territories to the Papacy, she thus dowered it with a fatal legacy. Who that reads the dreary records of the Middle Ages, fails to see the Popes, one after another, immersed in the temporal interests of the States of the Church, making treaties, and forthwith breaking them, levying troops, and as often as not heading them in person or by a Cardinal, suborning assassins, making dynastic or family wars, setting up kinsmen, and as was surmised, their own bastards, in dukedoms; - who, I say, that reads the history of the Papacy during six hundred years can fail to see that the Papacy had become an institution totally unlike that which Christ had ordained for the shepherding of His sheep. Romanist Ecclesiastical historians have had a hard task to fulfil, to disguise or to apologise for facts it is impossible to deny. When Dryden published ‘The Hind and the Panther,’ everyone who knew anything of the story of the Papal church was convulsed with laughter. The Church of Rome represented as the snow-white Hind! – when its very breath sickens with the reek of an auto-da-fé, [*auto-da-fé: The name given to the public declaration of a judgement passed on heresy by the Inquisition and also to the public burning which followed*] and its every foot-print is a dab of Christian gore. The so-called Vicars of Christ, Innocent III., Julius II., Pius V., and in fact every Pope from Gregory IX. In 1233 till

⁸⁹ Loci e libro Veritatum, p.124

comparatively modern times, when possible, have employed the sword and the firebrand to the extermination of the enemies of the Papacy.

In the parable of the Tares and the Wheat, “the Servants of the householder came and said unto him, sir, didst not thou sow good seed in any field? From whence hath it tares? He said unto them, An enemy hath done this. The servants said unto him, Wilt thou then that we go and gather them up? But he said, Nay, lest while ye gather up the tares, ye root up also the wheat with them. Let both grow together until the harvest.” (Matt. XIII.27-30.) A distinct command to avoid persecution.

When the multitude with swords and staves came from the high priests and elders of the people, to take Christ, then “When they which were about him saw what would follow, they said unto him, Lord, shall we smite with the sword? And one of them smote the servant of the high priest, and cut off his right ear. And Jesus answered and said, Suffer ye thus far. And he touched his ear and healed him.” (Luke XXII.49-51.) That one who used the sword was Simon Peter, and to him said Christ, “Put up thy sword into the sheath.” (John XVIII. 10-11.)

A clear condemnation of the use of the sword against the enemies of the Gospel.

Simony.

One point more. S. Peter went to Samaria and encountered Simon the Sorcerer, “When Simon saw that through laying on of the apostles’ hands the Holy Ghost was given, he offered them money, saying Give me also this power, that on whomsoever I lay hands, he may receive the Holy Ghost. But Peter said unto him, Thy money perish with thee, because thou hast thought that the gift of God may be purchased with money. Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter; for thy heart is not right in the sight of God.” (Acts VIII.18-21). If there be one characteristic above another marking the Papacy, it has been Greed after Money. Everything was saleable, sacraments, holy Orders, release from the consequences of sin. This simony was notorious, nothing was to be had at Rome without money payment: – Not even the canonization of a saint.

It would appear that the successors of Peter the Apostle had assumed the character and had inherited the practice of Simon Magus as well as that of Cain, and had persisted in it; as such, the condemnation struck each of them, “Thou hast neither part nor lot in this matter,” as well as the doom pronounced on Cain, “The voice of thy brother’s blood crieth unto me from the ground, and thou art cursed from the earth.”

Simony become systematic.

To give an instance of the venality of the Popes, I will quote but a single instance, and will take the words of Mr. Hemans, a Roman Catholic. He is speaking of the Pontificate of Boniface IX. (1389-1404).

“The last extreme of scandal was given when persons of the worst, or basest antecedents, contrived to obtain the venal mitres procurable at the centre of corruptions; and we are told that pantomime actors, buffoons, frequenters of taverns, etc. were allowed thus to degrade the episcopal dignity. The atmosphere around the Papal throne became what such influences naturally made it. The ‘Curiales’ [*Members of the Papal Court.*] learned the trick from their master: all, from highest to lowest, were versed in the ways of simony and usury. That the Pope should err in such matters, was now a byword among these courtiers of the Vatican.

Even the sanctuary was profaned by the dominant spirit of worldliness; and, while prelates were celebrating High Mass before the Pope, his Holiness used to call his secretaries around his throne for inquiring on the subject uppermost in his mind, the receipts into his coffers. The last insult against the majesty of Ritual, was thus exemplified by the Head of the Church! An anecdote of Boniface's death-bed is sufficiently characteristic to be credible; being asked how he felt, he answered, 'I should be quite well if I had money!'"⁹⁰

A German layman, Wolfius, in 1600 published his Memorabilia in two folio volumes. He gives inter alia woodcut engravings of the Life and Acts of Christ, and contrasting therewith, the lives and acts of the Popes of Rome. The series is entitled Antitheses. The first represents Christ in the Manger, there being no place for Him in the inn, for His kingdom was not to be of this world. The Antithesis represents the Pope marshalling an army to wage war for the advancement of his kingdom. One woodcut represents the Good Shepherd laying the lost sheep on His shoulder, the antithesis shows up the Pope as a wolf assisted by S. Dominic who is holding the flames of a pyre. One shows us Christ driving the buyers and sellers out of the Temple. The antithesis figures the Pope selling bulls, indulgences, pardons, grants, bishoprics, for money raked together from all parts.

The contrasts are undeniable, patent to all eyes, acknowledged even by advocates of the Petrine claims. "Look on this picture and on that," said Wolfius, "and maintain if you can that the disparity is not radical."

There is more of the butcher Orton in the claimant than of the harmless Roger Tichborne.

Christ spoke this parable: "What man of you, having an hundred sheep, if he lose one of them, doth not leave the ninety and nine in the wilderness, and go after that which is lost, until he find it? And when he hath found it, he layeth it on his shoulder, rejoicing. And when he cometh home, he calleth together his friends and neighbours, saying unto them, Rejoice with me; for I have found my sheep which was lost." (Luke XV.4-6.)

On the other hand, his Holiness of Rome may be esteemed to have said: "I – the Vicar of Christ, having several million sheep committed to my care, should I miss a few thousand, I call together all the butchers at my command and send them forth, largely remunerated, to torture, slaughter, flay and burn those that have strayed. Then I, the representative of the All Merciful, will call my conclave together, and say unto it, Rejoice with me, I have massacred my strayed sheep and lambs, and see with what satisfaction I dip my hands in their blood, and stir it with my forefinger."

In what consists the Vitality of the R. C. Church.

The Vitality, the strength and persistence of the Roman Catholic Church have been due to this, that it has upheld the Catholic faith and Catholic worship. But so also has the Holy Eastern Church in all its branches, with consistency, and so, at times hesitatingly, has the Anglican Church.

It is quite true that the Roman pontiff can no longer torture, butcher and burn those who disallow his claims, not because he has voluntarily surrendered the power, and perhaps the inclination so to do, but because it has been wrenched from him.

⁹⁰ Hemans (C. I.) A History of Mediaeval Christianity and Sacred Art, 1872, II. P. 96

It is true that no fresh forgeries of charters etc. have been put in circulation of late years, but the reason is that at the present day a forgery is detected at once as such, and would no longer deceive.

That the Anglican Church bears scars, we cannot deny; but we can never forget that the brand of Cain is indelibly marked on the Papacy. With Rome we hold the Catholic Faith, but with the Oriental Churches we repudiate a constitution subverted by palpable fraud.

Misuse of Scripture.

Driven to desperation to square their system with Scripture, the Latin controversialists have committed strange capers. I have heard the text from Genesis: "Go" "to Joseph" employed as a justification of the worship of the foster-father of Christ; in order to advocate the cult of images the words of the Author of the Epistle to the Hebrews are quoted, which say that Jacob in dying "leaned upon the top of his staff." This has been manipulated into his leaning in worship before the top of his staff, on which presumedly [*sic*] was a dog's head or a bust of Anubis.

We are well aware of the pranks played with Scripture by the Protestants, but never to such grotesque and unreasonable extent as by the Roman controversialists, in their endeavour to obtain a hold in the Sacred Text for their novelties and errors.

The Wise Men of Gotham on one occasion set to work to build for themselves a townhall. [*sic*] When the undertaking was accomplished, it was discovered that the architect and builders had forgotten to supply it with windows. Accordingly the Mayor and aldermen of Gotham went out into the fields, and set mouse-traps in which to catch rays of sunlight which they might discharge into their obscure townhall.

It is not only at Gotham that mouse-traps are set to catch daylight.

III. Devolution of Mission.

In the third place, we have to consider the question whether the elevation of a candidate to the Triple crown and to Supremacy, is in accordance with the vital principle of delegation of power, and of mission, as is, and has been, the system and the practice of the Catholic Church from Apostolic times. The law is: None can communicate authority which they have not themselves received, and this law is fundamental. We arrive then at the question respecting the devolution of Mission, How has the peculiar and unique prerogative of Supremacy devolved upon the occupant of the Episcopal throne of Rome?

Definition of Terms.

Before proceeding, let us define terms.

A Sacrament is an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual Grace, ordained by Christ Himself, as generally (in genere) necessary to salvation.

Character.

According to the Constitution of the Christian Church, each member of the same receives on him a spiritual mark impressed, which distinguishes him from every other of mankind; sealing him as a member of Christ's Kingdom in this world, and constituting him a child in

the family of God. This mark is indelible, but the privileges acquired are liable to forfeiture. This mark in Ecclesiastical terminology is entitled character.

Holy Orders.

In Ordination and Consecration, the former to the Priesthood, the latter to the Episcopate, there exists a sacramental act, consisting in an outward and visible sign, ordained by Christ Himself or by His Apostles, acting by commission from Him, and with His Authority. The purpose is the extension of the ministry or official constitution of the Church that Our Lord had founded, to last through all time, and to expand throughout the entire world. By means of this Sacramental rite, that consists in the Laying on of Hands, and the verbal utterance of certain words, there is conveyed to the Ordinand, not only Grace to enable him to execute suitably the functions for which he is set apart, but also, Mission and Jurisdiction.

Mission.

Mission is the sending of an envoy, representative, a commissioner, to whom is confided a special trust. Vocation is the calling to execute a special function.

Mission is the communication of Spiritual authority, to enable the recipient to fulfil his Commission. It is the power given to bishops and priests by devolution from Christ to perform their several functions. It is thus, in origin, inseparable from the sacerdotal [*priestly*] character, and is in every case accorded when Order is conferred.

Jurisdiction.

Jurisdiction is the exercise of the powers conferred by Mission within circumscribed bounds. It is practically a limitation of functional activity voluntarily accepted. Christ said to His Apostles, "Go ye into all the world and preach the Gospel to every creature." Such was the commission.

But such a theoretical basis of world-wide jurisdiction had necessarily to endure some limitations as the Church became fully organized. The Primitive Church regarded Jurisdiction as being conveyed simultaneously with consecration; and the Episcopal commission was held to be such as essentially conveyed it. The assignment to the newly consecrated bishop of a particular sphere for its exercise was not something superadded to the original commission, but was a limitation of it within bounds, for the sake of ecclesiastical order. Every bishop submitted, at his consecration, to this definite circumscription of his activity, which rendered that local which was originally universal; and, under the altered conditions of the Church, substituted the command to bear rule and to labour within certain limits, for the original commission given to the Apostles of world-wide Jurisdiction. The missionary among the heathen exercises the plenitude of powers conferred on him. But when the church is organised, limitation has ever been resorted to, and accepted. This was found necessary so as to prevent intrusion on the field of another man's operations, the vexations and strife that might ensue thereby, as also to prevent the existence of strolling unattached bishops provoking schisms, or, as being under no discipline, occasioning scandals.

Subversion of Order.

But little by little, by slow and crafty advances, the See of Rome sought to alter, and in the West succeeded in subverting the parochial system of Government, under which the whole Church had up to that time been ruled, and of concentrating world-wide jurisdiction in itself alone.

Originally the consecration of bishops and of Metropolitans took place without the smallest reference to the See of Rome, or demand of confirmation with grant of mission and jurisdiction. In the East and in Africa, they were confirmed and consecrated by the Patriarch; in the West, by the other bishops of the province.

But, as we shall be able shortly to show, the See of Rome by stealthy encroachments altered all this, and subverted the whole doctrine of jurisdiction. At present the object of the approved Roman writers is to depress the Episcopate into being but a portion of the Presbyterate, [*In Episcopal churches, the office of presbyter, a minister between a bishop and a deacon.*] and the three Orders are said to consist of the Pope, the Priesthood (including the Episcopate) and the Diaconate. The Pope is proclaimed as the sole and universal Bishop, as the sole source whence flow mission and Jurisdiction, and the diocesan bishops are reduced to be his local delegates, clothed by him with a scanty portion of his authority, and held in abject servility by the system of the "Faculties," which renders their Episcopal powers revocable at pleasure, and limits the exercise of their functions to a term of years, seven or ten, to be extended if they prove docile.

Nomination.

Originally, in the Church, clergy and laity together elected a candidate to be their bishop; they then submitted his name to the other bishops of the Province, and on their approval, he was consecrated by the Archbishop of the Province. But a certain vagueness, at first, exists as to Nomination. The story is well known how that, on the death of Auxentius, Bishop of Milan, the Emperor Valentinian ordered the Governor of Liguria, named Ambrose to summon the people to vote for a successor. This he did, and in the crowded assembly of electors, a little child perched on his father's shoulders, during a pause in the hubbub of voices, exclaimed, "Ambrose is Bishop!" This was at once seized on as an inspiration, and Ambrose was elected, although not merely a layman, but unbaptized. In this case the Nominator was a child.

The constitutional system was carried still lower. The people of a parish, or a congregation, elected their future pastor, and presented him to the bishop for confirmation and ordination.

Patronage.

This primitive and long continued system has fallen into abeyance; and patronage has been its destruction. At the present day the lay or clerical patron, or a Society, nominates to a cure of souls, and the flock can do no more than accept their proposed Pastor, possibly enough against their will.

Election.

Neither in mediaeval times, nor in those which were primitive, neither in East nor West was Election supposed to confer Mission or Jurisdiction. Election could do no more in either a parish or in a diocese than choose whom it desired should reign over it in spiritual matters.

In the Established Church in the case of a bishop, the Crown nominates, and the Election follows, by the Chapter, which is supposed to represent the clergy of the diocese. As to the laity they are no longer consulted in the matter. This was not always so. It is so no longer in the allied churches of Scotland, the United States of America, and the Colonies. Experience shows that the system acts admirably.

An Election confers no Grace, not a waft of Mission, not a thread of Jurisdiction. It has in it no sacramental character whatsoever.

In the case of the nomination to the Primacy, or to a Patriarchate, no election preceded installation. Tacit consent is supposed to suffice.

In the English Established Church, the Crown nominates to a vacant bishopric. Then, as said above, follows the election by the Chapter of the Cathedral.

Consecration.

The dean and Chapter having elected, acting as virtual representatives of the diocesan clergy, the next procedure consists in the presentation of the elected candidate for consecration by three bishops, representatives of the Archbishop of the Province, and the fellow prelates therein.

The election has conferred nothing further than expressed acquiescence in the nomination submitted to the electors. It conveys neither Grace nor Mission. The Consecration confers that which neither nomination nor election could give – Sacramental Character. It is the virtual welding on of a fresh link to the Apostolic chain.

We might suppose that in the case of elevation to the Papacy, the procedure would be analogous to that of the appointment of a Bishop to his see, and consist in Nomination, Election, Confirmation and sacramental Consecration. But such is not the case.

Procedure in the appointment of a Pope.

Let us consider the course of procedure in the elevation of a Pope to be the infallible Head of the Church, and let us see whether that procedure is consonant with the sequence observed in the installation of a Bishop.

At first, and as far back as our records extend, we learn that on the death of a Bishop of Rome, the people proposed a candidate, whom the clergy accepted; and his candidature was agreed to by the Prince and the Magistracy. As Mr. Cartwright observes, “For centuries, athwart the many political vicissitudes which, with frightful rapidity, came tumbling over Rome in wild confusion, the election of its bishop remained fixedly lodged in a joint action of the whole community, as falling into the three classes, of civil authorities, people, and clergy. Amidst the endless influx of change and counter-change, it never occurred to make the nomination of the Pope independent of the civil power, still less to lodge it in the hands of a select body of ecclesiastics, whose choice should be entitled to exact the homage of clergy and people, until the middle of the eleventh century”⁹¹

Encroachments, however, occurred. Thus, we have seen, as many as eleven popes had conferred on them the keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, by two abandoned women, Theodora and Marozia, and by Alberic the son of the latter, who even disposed of the Papal throne to his son by will. The electors, whether Christian or Pagan, both acting indiscriminately, obsequiously ratified the nomination. The scandal caused by the profligacy of the boy-pope, John XII. caused the German Emperors to assume the appointment to the Apostolic throne, but the candidate proposed was invariably submitted to popular election. By so doing they followed precedent. Pope Felix (526) was imposed upon the Church by the Arian Gothic

⁹¹ Cartwright (W. C.) On Papal Conclaves, 1868, p.9.

King, Theodoric, and, with reluctance, was accepted by the clergy and magistracy of the Eternal City. So also was Sylverius (536), the nominee of another Gothic king and heretic, Theodotus. Vigilius (537) was imposed by the Byzantine Emperor, Justinian. Thenceforth, down to Gregory III. (631) no election was regarded as valid, till ratified by the Emperor and by his Exarch [*Byzantine provincial governor, particularly in Italy.*] at Ravenna. After Gregory, there did ensue freedom of election for a century.

The wealth of the occupant of the throne of S. Peter was prodigious, and a great inducement for ambitious men to form rival parties for securing the vacant seat. From Sicily and Calabria a revenue of three and a half gold talents per annum flowed into the Papal exchequer, a sum, taking the gold talent at the antique Attic standard, as amounting to about fifty million pounds sterling. That riots, faction fights, massacres, should be the result is not to be wondered at. That there should start up anti-popes was certain to ensue. And this condition of affairs may excuse, but cannot justify the total subversion of the Order of the Church initiated in 1059.

Revolution.

At certain epochs of the Church, when discipline has fallen into disorder, and the rule of Faith, and the principles of Morality have been obscured, men have arisen, self-confident, headstrong, and of indomitable persistence, who have conceived schemes of their own devising for rectifying the confusion prevalent, regardless of the order appointed by the Great Head of the Church. Such, in after times, were Calvin and Luther. Such in the eleventh Century was the monk Hildebrand, who rose to be a Cardinal Bishop, and finally to be Pope, under the title of Gregory VII.

At this time, the Church of Rome was suffering under the scandal of having three Popes regnant in the Eternal City, each claiming to be the representative of S. Peter. One resided in the Vatican, another in the Lateran, a third in the Liberian Palace. Benedict VIII. (1012) who occupied the Lateran has come to be regarded by the Church of Rome as the veritable Pope. He was a boy aged twelve, who, in turpitude, equalled the infamous John XII.

A contemporary writer who was in Rome about this time says:- "All three were abandoned alike to a disgraceful and corrupt life."

Great evils call for drastic remedies, and the monk Hildebrand conceived himself to be called to effect the necessary cure by a revolution of his own devising.

Hildebrand's Scheme.

Our Lord, in founding the Catholic Church, had given co-equal commission and jurisdiction to all the eleven Apostles. But Hildebrand devised the expedient of limiting this concession to one alone, and that S. Peter, who was to be solely entitled to transmit mission and jurisdiction to his successors in the Episcopal chair of Rome, constituting them the source of all spiritual authority; the other ten and their successors were to be reduced to subserviency or, in default, to impotence. To achieve this revolution certain measures had to be adopted and systematically carried out.

- I. The subversion of the Electorate, by the elimination from the Papal Election of that popular element hitherto deemed necessary to its validity, and in accord with the Apostolic system, which required the consent of the flock to the appointment of their pastor. This was achieved by the issue of a Bull by Nicolas II. In 1059.

- II. a. The falsification of history, by the authoritative issue of the Forged Decretals from Clement downwards. This coincided with the transformation of the Electorate.
- b. The production of forged Greek canons in recognition of the Spiritual supremacy of the chair of S. Peter. Their spuriousness was at once detected by the Eastern Church, but, when translated into Latin and transmitted to the Bishops and theologians of the West, upon the word of Urban IV. They were accepted as genuine.
- III. The supercession [*sic*] of Coronation over and above Consecration to the Episcopate. The imposition of the Tiara and the recitation of certain words accompanying it were the device of Hildebrand. He, although not in priest's orders even, had the effrontery thus to commission the Pope to exercise universal Jurisdiction.⁹²
- IV. The disassociation of the clergy from family and national life by enforced celibacy; thus constituting a kingdom within a kingdom, an empire within an empire, owing superior obedience to the Vicar of Christ to what they owed to their temporal rulers.
- V. The initiation of the War of Investitures; this was the putting into effect the claim to Supremacy over the Temporal Powers outlined in the ceremony of Coronation.

The Coronation, by outward and visible sign, accompanied by words conveying special mission and jurisdiction over the Universal Church, unquestionably was designed to acquire a sacramental character. It had not been instituted by Christ. What evidence had Hildebrand to produce to show that Our Lord had conferred upon him authority to institute so novel a rite? One, that was to give to the Church a new constitution? He assumed motu proprio [*translation: Of his own accord without consultation*] a right that had never been conferred on him.

The Bugenhagen Succession.

At the Reformation in Denmark, King Christian III. desired to institute Episcopacy in his realm. As no bishops were available to consecrate his candidates, he called to his aid a Professor Bugenhagen, a Lutheran pastor, not in priestly orders, any more than had been Hildebrand, to consecrate the new hierarchy. Consequently the Danish episcopate derives no mission from Christ and His Apostles, but is simply and solely Bugenhagenian.

The Hildebrandine Sequence.

So also now, as Christ did not institute Archdeacon Hildebrand to be the vehicle for the conference of Mission and Jurisdiction of a novel cast, the Papacy derives its sovereignty and supremacy from Hildebrand alone as truly as Danish episcopacy derives from Herr Professor Bugenhagen.

The outward and visible sign was devised by this deacon, so were the words that were to convey Jurisdiction and authority. The Papacy as Papacy dates from 1059, not a year earlier.

⁹² To rivet the Episcopate to the new Order, Paschal II. imposed on all bishops an oath exacting absolute allegiance to the See of Peter. Unless they conformed, they were denied confirmation and suffered excommunication.

Hildebrand aimed at, and partially achieved his plan of a political revolution, converting the kings and princes into potentates subsidiary to the throne of Peter. In virtue of this assumption, he did not scruple to induce a son to rebel against his father (Henry IV.), and subjects against their sovereign; and to achieve this he deluged the soil with Christian blood. He so far succeeded in that he brought the Emperor to the humiliation of Canossa. By virtue of this claim, Nicolas II. gave England to William the Bastard, with a consecrated banner; urging him to the conquest; Adrian IV. made a present of the kingdom of Ireland to Henry II. Of England; and Urban IV. gave the kingdom of the Two Sicilies to Charles of Anjou.

For five hundred years the Christian European Powers that acknowledged Papal supremacy tossed impatiently under the yoke, till they cast it off finally, never to be submitted to again; and now the Successor in Peter's chair is suffered with indifference to occupy the Vatican palace and possess a villa in the mountains, to which, if so inclined, he may resort in summer heats; from either of which he may fulminate his Bulls, to be noticed in a casual paragraph in the daily papers alongside of an account of a meeting of harriers and announcement of the production of a new Society novel.

The carrying out of Hildebrand's scheme rent the Universal Church asunder, and prepared the way for the alienation from the Catholic Church of the Kingdoms of Northern Europe.

A New Sacrament.

The Revolution effected by Hildebrand, later Gregory VII., and consolidated by Alexander III. and Gregory X. Was practically the introduction into the Church of a new sacrament, that conferred novel powers upon the Bishop of Rome.

In what did the Sacramental Act consist? In the Election or in the Coronation? Hildebrand undoubtedly intended that it should be found in the act of Coronation. This he himself performed. Hitherto, at all events for some years, Bishops had worn as mitres Phrygian caps surrounded by one gilt band. For this, Hildebrand substituted a tiara, on the lower rim of which was inscribed Corona de manu Dei, [*translation: A Crown from the Hand of God*] and above it Diadema Imperii de manu Dei. [*translation: A Diadem of Empire from the Hand of God*] This was imposed with the words: Accipe tiaram corona ornatam,⁹³ et scias te esse Patrem Principum et Regum, Rectorem orbis, in terra Vicarium Salvatoris nostri Jesu Christi, cui est honor et gloria in saecula Saeculorum. [*translation: Receive a tiara adorned with a crown, that thou mayest know thyself to be Father of Princes and Kings. Ruler of the round world, and on earth Vicar of our Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom is honour and glory, world without end*]

The imposition was performed by Hildebrand, although not in priest's orders; in commemoration of which, to this day the Cardinal appointed to crown the new Pope is no more than the second Cardinal Deacon. [*Cardinal deacons are the lowest ranking cardinals. Cardinals elevated to the Diaconate are either officials of the Roman Curia or priests elevated after their 80th birthday*]

If, as is the case, Election is not assumed to confer extraordinary spiritual gifts, as Infallibility in matters of Faith and Morals, and also not as conferring jurisdiction over the Universal Church, then there is no escaping the conclusion that it must be ratified by an act that is of the nature of a Sacrament. As such this act must possess an outward and visible sign. By Bull,

⁹³ Altered later to Tribus coronis ornatam [*translation: Adorned with three crowns*]

Clement V. Abandoned the Coronation as an act of investiture outward and visible, with the requisite Sacramental effusion of Grace and lodged it in Election.

Sacramental Investiture.

There is but one ceremonial act that possesses sacramental character. So soon as the electoral votes have determined who is to be the future Pope, he is caught up in the arms of the unsuccessful candidates and is planted on the Sedes Stercoraria, [*This literally translates as a dung seat. Sabine clearly wanted to belittle the procedure though this blunt description of the ancient porphyry closed stool that was used*] where he is adored by the Cardinals, each in succession, while the rest chant Suscitat de pulvere egenum; et de stercore erigit pauperem.⁹⁴ [*translation: He raises the needy from the dust, and lifts up the poor man from the dung.*]

I have said, [*sic*] that a sacrament must have had its outward and visible sign instituted by Christ Himself, or by His Apostles, acting on His commission. But the ceremonial of placing the newly-elected Pope upon the Porphyry close-stool with perforated seat does not even date from 1059. It was apparently introduced in the 12th century, when the fable of Pope Joan had obtained universal credence, and the object aimed at was to enable the Cardinals to satisfy themselves as to the sex of the candidate they had elected to be their spiritual superior. This seat was evidently taken from the ruins of an old Roman bath-house.⁹⁵

There ensues a second adoration, when the Pope is carried, in another chair, to the high altar of S. Peter's, whereon a cushion has been laid. He is lifted on to it, and is there adored by the Cardinals and clergy, who kiss his feet and hands – This part of the ceremony reminds one of the prophecy of S. Paul (2 Thess. 11. 4). But this Second Adoration does not take place on the same day as the Election and Session on the close-stool. Usually it is deferred till the following Sunday.

If we enquire where, when, and by whom is Divine mission, jurisdiction, and infallibility granted to the occupant of the Apostolic throne, we can receive no satisfactory answer. We know who empowered Nicolas II. To transform the Electorate and to assume the tiara. The date was 1059. But who authorised Hildebrand to make this transformation? Echo answers Who!

All the ceremonial devised to give splendour to the elevation of a Bishop to be the head of the Universal Church is but filigree designed to disguise emptiness.

Perplexity among Canonists.

Canonists were alive to the fact that they were on slippery ground when they affirmed that Election alone availed to obtain the outpour of supernatural and extraordinary gifts, as Supremacy over the Church of God, and Infallibility, – some going so far as to add Impeccability – on the successful candidate. For such an affirmation was retrospective – it applied to the elections before the date of 1059 and the restriction of electoral powers to the conclave of cardinals. It was bound to assume that the early popular elections had the same divine guarantee, although the choice was gained through gross bribery, and often enough

⁹⁴ Precisely as a legal deed of conveyance of title becomes efficacious only after that it has been signed, sealed and delivered, so is it in the case of investiture with spiritual authority and power. The cases are strictly analogous. Election is preparatory, but the acquisition of the scheduled jurisdiction and rights is obtained only by sacramental confirmation, through an outward and visible sign. In the case of Consecration to the Episcopate, by imposition of hands, in the case of a Pope by elevation to and session upon a porphyry stercoreous stool.

⁹⁵ Kraus (F. K.) Real Encyclopedie d. Christ. Alterthümer, 1886, sub voce II. p.749.

through scenes of violence and bloodshed. It had to set aside a whole series of antipopes, whose claims were every whit as valid as those of him finally accounted as the successor of S. Peter, and whose claim was allowed by the Byzantine Emperor, the Exarch at Ravenna, an Arian Gothic King, or a German Emperor.

So alive were the canonists to the weakness of their position, that they were fain to obtain from Clement V. a Bull proclaiming the validity of Election as the vehicle for conferring all the Divine grants and graces supposed to devolve on the Pope Elect. Moreover the same Bull anathematised such as should dispute this decision.

If a papal conclave by Election could thus cause devolution of mission and Jurisdiction, then, assuredly, so would election by a chapter suffice for a bishop, without consecration. A violation of a main principle of Church Order.

But, it may be argued, the vote of the Cardinals having chosen one from among them to be the supreme head of the Church on Earth, there does follow a sacramental act, as it is imperatively necessary that one should; – and this consists in the elevation, and seating of the newly elected upon the Sedes stercoraria. It is only when thus seated that his former fellows prostrate themselves in adoration before him.

Importance of the Third Point.

This point established will explain the cause of many failures. The cause is that the assumed Delegation to the Bishop of Rome of Guardianship of the Truth and exhibition of the pattern of Christian Morality, as also of being the source of all Jurisdiction and Authority, is a mere human device, and as such, inevitably partakes of man's errancy and imperfection.

Summary.

As this point is of supreme importance, I venture in a few words to sum up the argument pursued above. Let me reduce the whole procedure to what would go into a nutshell.

- a. At, let us say, 10.45 a.m. the election has been completed, the number of votes having been counted; up to that minute, the elected has possessed no special privilege, no spiritual gift, no prerogative, no jurisdiction higher than any enjoyed by each other candidate.
- b. At 11 a.m. he is adored, upon their knees by the Cardinals constituting the Conclave, as the Viceregent of Christ, specially invested with supreme Jurisdiction over the Church of God, and with Infallibility in his judgments as to Faith and Morals.
- c. Therefore, this acquisition by him was obtained between 10.45 a.m. and 11 a.m., during fifteen minutes.
- d. That which occurred during the fifteen minutes which intervened was nothing other than the elevation to the sedes stercoraria by the hands of the other Cardinals.

QED. Consequently, this outward and visible sacramental act corresponds to the laying on of episcopal hands with invocation of the Holy Ghost in Ordination as well as to every other ecclesiastical office in the Catholic Church.

At this very moment, not subsequently in any subjoined ceremony, is the almost Pentecostal gift conferred, with no visible descent of fiery tongues, no sound of a mighty rushing wind, no shaking of the house where the Conclave is assembled, no evidence that this extraordinary action has received Divine Ratification.

Factors in Episcopal Constitution

- 1 Nomination in an Established Church by the Crown, as conferring temporalities. In an unestablished Church, there being no temporalities, by the Metropolitan.
- 2 Election in an Established Church by the Chapter. In a Church unestablished by the Houses of Clerics and Lay representatives.
- 3 Confirmation by the Metropolitan.
- 4 Oath of Obedience made to the Metropolitan.
- 5 Consecration by Metropolitan and assistant Bishops, conferring plenary jurisdiction and apostolic mission.
- 6 Mandate from the Crown in an Established Church to qualify to receive temporalities.
- 7 Instalment with mandate from the Metropolitan to exercise jurisdiction limited ordinarily within the restricted bounds of the diocese, and Enthronement.

Factors in Papal Constitution.

- 1 Nomination by Emperor, King or Viceroy, the nominator being in several instances a heretic, in some, a woman. Abrogated.
- 2 Election formerly by clergy and laity, but limited in 1059 to the College of Cardinals.
- 3 Confirmation by the Crown. Abrogated.
- 4 Oath of Obedience to the Crown as nominator. Abrogated.
- 5 Consecration altered into elevation onto the Sedes Stercoraria.⁹⁶
- 6 Limitation of Jurisdiction. Abrogated.
7. Enthronement and Coronation and Investment with plenary jurisdiction dates only from 1059, and is performed by a deacon in whom resides no authority so to invest a candidate. A deacon is incapable by ecclesiastical order of giving even nuptial benediction.⁹⁷

⁹⁶ In several cases the Popes were mere laymen and were never even consecrated to be Bishops.

⁹⁷ There is here a confusion of ideas. Either the elevation to the close-stool takes the place of Sacramental Consecration, or else that of enthronement. But if the former, then the adoration immediately succeeding implies that the candidate has by that session been invested with Viceregal powers. As to the subsequent enthronement and consecration, it lacks the Mandate from the Head of the Church conferring Supremacy, a mandate that a deacon is wholly incapable of giving.

Note to Chapter VIII.

Our Lord showed us, in Himself, the type of the Pastorate in His Church. “The son of Man hath come to save that which was lost. How think ye? If a man have an hundred sheep, and one of them is gone astray, doth he not leave the ninety and nine and goeth into the mountains, and seeketh that which is gone astray? And if so be that he find it, verily I say unto you, he rejoiceth more of that sheep, than of the ninety and nine which went not astray,” (Matt. XVIII. 11, 12). “I am the good shepherd; the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. . . . I am the good shepherd, and know my sheep, and am known of mine. As the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father; and I lay down my life for the sheep,” (John X.11,14, 15).

Now compare the conduct of such as set themselves up to be the Vicars of Christ, the shepherds to whom it is pretended that He has committed the pastorate of His flock.

I might fill pages with their wrong doings, of the butchery and the burnings not merely countenanced but instigated by them. But a couple of examples must suffice.

In the year 1308, Pope Clement V. In his ambition laid claim to Ferrara, and this was resisted by Venice. Thereupon Clement V. Published a Crusade against Venice and excommunicated all the Venetians, confiscating all their property, and exhorting all men wherever a Venetian could be found to reduce him or her to slavery. This Bull Muratori regards as “the most terrible and unjust ever heard of.” But his example was followed by Gregory XI. In 1376, when he placed Florence under an interdict, which was not withdrawn till 1378, when Urban VI. sold absolution to the Florentines for 250,000 florins, which he needed for the payment of the mercenaries he had called on to ravage the country. By this interdict of Gregory XI. All property of the Florentines was to be confiscated and their persons seized and sold into slavery. Not only so, but Genoa and Pisa were also laid under interdict for not expelling from their gates the refugee Florentines. The terrible John Hawkwood with his Free Companies, composed of the scum of England and France, was taken into the pay of the Papacy, and by him Faenza was ravaged. About 300 victims, mostly children, were put to the edge of the sword, 300 of the citizens were carried off into captivity, and eleven hundred more, of both sexes, were driven into exile. The city itself was delivered over to plunder. Gregory sent a horde of Cardinals and other officials to govern the states of the Church. “In 1375,” says Muratori in his Annals, “all those men were eager to devour the revenues of the Pontifical Camera, and to extort money by whatever means, whilst careless of administering justice. Thus did the Pastors of the church earn not only discredit, but disapproval and hatred from all – nor was there any remedy against the flood of disasters.” As the towns revolted, a horde of wild Bretons was summoned, and placed under the command of Cardinal Robert of Geneva, had their headquarters at Cessna. The brutalities of the Bretons roused the citizens against them, and about 300 were slain. The Cardinal then called Hawkwood and his English mercenaries to avenge this wrong, promising them remission of all their sins and placing all the spoils of Cessna at their disposal. A horrible scene of carnage was the result. No age, sex, nor condition was spared; infants were slain in the cradle; children dashed against the pavement; pregnant women horribly put to the sword; nuns subjected to brutal outrage in their convents. At least 3,000 citizens were massacred, more than a thousand children were the victims, and on the 25th of April, not a living citizen was left in the town.

Nor were the Popes more merciful to recalcitrant Cardinals and Bishops. One instance may be adduced. Urban VI. suspected several of his Cardinals to have been in league with the Antipope, and he had six of them arrested and put to the torture. Among these was the Archbishop of Corfu, the Archbishop of Tarento and two others who were bishops. They were cast into a close and fetid dungeon, and were subjected to horrible torture so that even two of the inquisitors were overcome to tears, and were reprimanded by the Pope for their womanish weakness. Theodoric of Niem, whom Urban had appointed to supervise the tortures, has left a record of them. Two of the Cardinals were subjected to torments which he describes with revolting minuteness. The Archbishop of Corfu was stripped nearly naked and hoisted on high by his hands to a pulley [*sic*] three times in succession, whilst the Pope's nephew laughed at his agonised cries; Meanwhile Urban VI. walked in the garden outside the torture chamber, listening to the shrieks of the sufferers, whilst reading his Breviary. Six were thus assassinated. Other bishops were made mysteriously to disappear. It was said that they were tied in sacks and cast into the sea, or were secretly despatched in their prisons.

These are but samples of crimes that might be multiplied indefinitely.

“Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me more than these? – Feed my lambs. He saith to him the second time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? – Feed my sheep. He saith to him the third time, Simon, son of Jonas, lovest thou me? – Feed my sheep.” [*John 21:15-17*]

The resemblance of his successors in Rome to Peter is not conspicuous. I fail to perceive a family likeness.

THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS CONVICTIONS

Chapter IX

MODERNISM

Chapter IX

MODERNISM

The Taxidermist School.

When I was a boy I had on me a temporary fit of taxidermy. The preparation of frogs was simple and efficient. No knife was required in the operation, there was no schism made in the skin. The whole interior with its vital organs was turned inside out through the mouth, like the inversion of a glove. Then the skin was reinverted, inflated, and, when dried, was varnished with copal. This, set up, although destitute of lungs, liver, heart and brain, bore a pleasing but delusive semblance of the living amphibian.⁹⁸

Such was the treatment to which the disciples of Arnold and Stanley wished to reduce the Church of England, and some such also is the treatment to which the Modernist school of the present day would subject her. Let there be internal emptiness, windy inflation, and external varnish.

It probably did not occur to the earlier school, nor does it to the Taxidermist School of the present day, that there exist large numbers of persons of every class in life, and of every age, who value the substance of Christianity, and are comparatively indifferent as to its exterior expression.

Another point not heeded by the Stanleyites of old, and by the present Modernists, is the fact that English people detest, and will not for long endure, shams. I set one of my inflated and glazed frog-skins on the hall floor. My father just looked at it, and seeing that it was motionless, took it up with the tongs, and threw it out of doors. Assuredly, if the English people be offered as the National Church a puffed-out skin with no substance internally, it will not be long before they discard it altogether.

An Indian Opinion on Modernists.

A native priest, Ethelred Judah of Ranchi, in India, wrote:- “The one thing that now puzzles the Oriental is that, while the Hindu priest or the Mussulman Maulvi, [*teacher of Islamic law*] would, upon relinquishing any part of his faith, cease to retain his office as priest or Maulvi, yet in the English Church, he finds these Modern Churchmen draw comfortable emoluments from a Church, the doctrines of which they maintain they cannot hold.”

The Gorham Judgment has guaranteed to any incumbent the retention of his benefice whilst evacuating of substance the Creeds, Worship and Sacraments of the Church, nay, would presumedly [*sic*] secure him in his position, were he to deny them in toto. This has demoralised clerical consciences. Secure of the tenure of their benefices, the Modernists have nothing to dread save Public Opinion: and their whole effort is directed to dust-throwing in the eyes of the public, and in themselves to cultivating the slipperiness of the eel.

⁹⁸ “Embowell’d will I see thee by and by.” 1st Pt. Henry IV. Act V. 4.

Whether the Public will allow itself to be deluded by this subterfuge remains to be seen.

Love.

There is one point in Christianity that seems to have escaped the notice of the old Latitudinarian, and of the Modernist; although patent to every observer, it is perplexing to the unsympathetic, and this is the burning, unquenchable love inspired by Jesus Christ in all ages, from the Magdalen whose sins though many were forgiven her, for she loved much, leading a mighty army of witnesses, gladly laying down their lives for Christ; mystics from John the Divine to S. Bernard, Thomas à Kempis, Teresa; from poets, Ambrose, Bernard of Morlaix, Francis Xavier, to Vaughan, Charles Wesley and John Keble.

The author of Ecce Homo [*Friedrich Nietzsche. See endnote: Ecce Homo*] wrote:

“It is common in human history to meet with those who have claimed some superiority over their fellows. Men have asserted a pre-eminence over their fellow-citizens, and become rulers of those who at first were their equals, but they dreamt of nothing greater than some partial control over the actions of others for the short space of a life-time. Few indeed are those to whom it has been given to influence future ages But these men gave a single impact, like that which is conceived to have first set the planets in motion; Christ claims to be a perpetual attractive power, like the sun which determines their orbit. They contributed to men some discovery and passed away; Christ’s discovery is Himself. To humanity struggling with its passions and its destiny He says: Cling to me, cling ever closer to me... He declared Himself King, Master, and Judge of men. He promised to give rest to all the weary and heavy-laden.”

It is impossible for any one to love and worship a Vacuum, or at best a Conjecture. The mind can cling to a theory but the heart needs a Person whom to love and in whom to confide. To attract the heart there must be personality and sympathy. When in sore trouble I have never felt a craving to pour out my soul to a sign-post that has lost its directing arms. Sympathy implies a likeness. “And God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him.” [*Genesis 1: 27*] There exists a relation, a reciprocation; and it is on this account that the soul can, and does, turn to God with love and in worship.

Hoi polloi generally are not originators of ideas, but accept readily enough those regraded to them by intermediaries between the few who do originate, and the many ready to be consumers.

Of recent years I have not been much in town, but I was there often in the sixties and seventies, and having many acquaintances there, I had opportunities of becoming observant of the outward ebb, as well as of the inflowing tide of Belief, among men of culture.

Excuses for retention of position in the ministry.

Professor Jowett did not scruple to admit that he attended chapel at Balliol as he was bound to do, being Master, yet with repugnance; which is not surprising, as he neither believed in the articles of the Creed, nor considered the Gospels as affording a true record of the sayings and doings of Christ.

Dr. Edwin Abbott.

For a plea to “justify” the attitude of these sceptics in the retention by them of their position as Ministers of the Church, we must look to the special pleading of the Rev. Doctor Edwin Abbott, author of The Kernel and the Husk, 1887; of Philochristus, 1878, and Onesimus, 1887. His answer to the question, Can one who believes in non-miraculous Christianity

remain in the ministry of the Church? Is as follows. He argues that among the Thirty Nine Articles, there be some, as for instance such as smack of Calvinism, that no one any longer believes, although he may sign them. Why not then sign the fourth Article though repudiating the doctrine of the Resurrection of Christ? The Prayer-Book certainly presents a difficulty, as it exacts the recitation of the Three Creeds, and the reading of the Bible wherein are things he does not believe to be true. Hence arises in the minister's mind an uneasy sense of a difference between himself and his congregation, and a fear that they may regard him as dishonest. While he reads, he conveys to his hearers an obvious meaning, and they think that he accepts it, which he does not. But this difficulty will disappear when he has reduced their level of belief to that of himself, and they can all use the words of the service without attaching serious meaning to them. Dr. Abbott felt no difficulty about reading the Athanasian Creed, as he was convinced that no one who heard him recite it believed it. It was a form of words, nothing more. However, he did entertain some scruples over the Apostles' Creed, because his hearers would be apt to suppose that he believed in the birth of our Lord of a Virgin, which he did not. And in like manner, I presume, the celebration of such festivals as Christmas, save as the Feast of Plum-Pudding, of Easter and Ascension was a difficulty when he disbelieved in Christ's corporal Resurrection and bodily Ascension. But these difficulties would dwindle to nothing, when his congregation came to understand the position he assumed. So also with regard to a candidate for ordination, a bishop would hardly reject him if he stated his disbelief in the ass of Balaam speaking with man's voice. [*Numbers 22:31*] If so, why should he be refused Ordination if he denied the miracles of the Gospel? But the Incarnation is a fundamental doctrine which the intelligible braying of Balaam's ass is not.

According to Dr. Abbott, the Gospel was to be shredded piecemeal of everything that made of it a Gospel, and reduced to a mere historical record more or less fabulous, and of questionable value as a source of strength, spiritual life; of faith, hope and love; for what is threatened is the elimination of everything in Christianity to which anyone can raise an objection; and yet to retain (for a while) the husk of Creeds and formularies, till people have learned to dispense with them, as nowadays with electric light they abandon tallow dips. I suspect that his brother Modernists will hardly thank him for his admissions.

Attacks on the Gospels.

The resolution of the Faith of Christendom into a Goodwin sand-bed engulfing all trust and conviction, was considered as being most easily achieved by the destruction of the credibility of the Four Gospels. I do not however suppose that the critics started on their work in this field with any purpose, other than such as might be supposed to be entertained by the captain and crew of a vessel, when they turned the prow upon the Goodwins with intent to probe their depth, and to map their extent. It was inevitable that the inquiring spirit which from the days of Erasmus had been exercised upon the Classic authors, should ultimately turn its attention to the works of the Evangelists. The attempt, however, provoked great alarm in the breasts of the Orthodox, who considered that were it shown that the Gospels were not the composition of the alleged authors, that they disagreed in minor particulars among themselves, as to events recorded, and gave discrepant accounts of the Sayings of Christ, then the whole Creed of Christendom, based upon these four Corner-stones would collapse, and nothing would be left of the Church Catholic but a pile of rubbish and a smell of stale mortar.

I am fain to admit that the labours of the critics engaged upon this work has led to very considerable results, both certain and indisputable. But at the same time I do not feel the alarm entertained by others at the result reached by these scholars, for, to my mind, there

exists a strong corrective dogma, checking the destructive forces, and building up a dam, with the proclamation “Thus far shalt thou go, but no further.”

Let us now consider some of the conclusions arrived at by the Critics, that we may regard as well established.

The Gospel of S. Mark.

Of the Three Synoptics, it is generally held that the Gospel of S. Mark is the oldest. Mark was the disciple of both Peter and Paul. According to an early tradition, he took down his Gospel from the recitation of the former. The character of the book bears out the trustworthiness of this tradition. It abounds in allusions that shew the narrative to have been dictated by an eye-witness. To take but a single instance: that of the storm on the Lake. S. Peter, in relating the incident, mentioned the fact that Jesus was asleep “upon the pillow” (ἐπί τό προσκεφάλιον). [*proskephalion*] What that cushion was, we are not told, but it was obviously one from Peter’s house with which both he and Mark were familiar. Mark informs us that “other boats were with him.” This was an admission that the squall was not so serious as the Apostles supposed, for these other boats apparently weathered the storm and crossed over without any casualties taking place. Matthew and Luke felt that this admission weakened the force of the incident and they drew their pens through it, when they borrowed the account of the storm from Mark’s Gospel.

This is but a single instance out of many, but it must suffice.

It is quite certain that the first and third of the Synoptics did borrow whole paragraphs from the Gospel of Mark, as also that they used their judgment in adapting their loans to suit the idiosyncracies [*sic*] of the classes whom they addressed. Luke polished and touched up his record to suit the taste of Gentile converts; and Matthew did the same to meet the “gust” of Jewish believers. Moreover Mark’s Gospel bears tokens of being a collection of scraps, taken down at various times, and put together without much order and with no literary skill. This the other two synoptic writers strove to rectify.

Other Sources.

Another point firmly established is that Matthew and Luke had access to another written collection of anecdota and logia of Christ which the Critics entitle Q., and which, in its entirety, has been lost.

Again, Luke apparently derived his two early chapters from the lips of the Virgin Mother, for he mentions as the reason of his recording the incidents, that Mary kept all these things and pondered on them in her heart. Matthew, on the other hand, drew the information contained in his two early chapters, if not from Joseph, then from some friend of the family to whom Joseph had confided his story.

There may have been, and there probably were, other reminiscences of sayings and of deeds of Christ, orally circulating, that the two Evangelists did not disdain to insert in their narratives.

So far I have referred to the synoptic Gospels alone. As to that of S. John, criticism is still engaged disputing over it, without arriving at any definite conclusion.

What does this amount to? Does this suffice to destroy the credibility of the story of the Life, Death, Resurrection and Ascension of Jesus Christ?

The Charter.

Every founder of a new Religion gives to his disciples a charter.

On the supposition that Our Lord Jesus Christ was what He professed to be, the Son of God, come into the world to regenerate it through the Spiritual Kingdom He purposed to found, obviously it would be His great concern to leave behind Him a thoroughly trustworthy record of His sayings and doings, His purposes and promises.

Without the Zendavesta where would Parseeism be? Without the Koran Islam would have crumbled to pieces upon the death of Mohammed. But for the Gospels, the Christian Church would hardly have survived the Destruction of Jerusalem; it would have melted into nothing in the second century, but vague and varying traditions.

To obviate such a result, the existence of a written record of the deeds and sayings of the Founder of the Church was essential.

Before that Christ left the world, He gave to the nascent Church the promise of the Holy Ghost, as a guide into all truth. This involved the authorisation of such a charter as is contained in the Gospels, and therewith the assurance that they are trustworthy.

The Guardians and Guarantees.

In the next place, it was needful to provide a reliable guardian and witness to the Charter.

When S. John had composed and written his Gospel, according to the Muratorian fragment, at the instigation of S. Andrew and S. Philip; then, as we judge by the conclusion of the appendix (John XXI. 24), the body of the presbyters and possibly also Andrew and Philip, added the guarantee: “This is the disciple which testifieth of these things, and wrote these things: and we know that his testimony is true.”

That assertion which the College of Presbyters at Ephesus wrote and appended to the Fourth Gospel, to assure of its genuineness those who should read, and those who should hear the Gospel read, as also to acquaint them with the occasion of its composition “that ye might believe,” so was it then, and so has it been ever since. The Four Gospels have been confided to the Universal Church, and by Divine authority she has been constituted their guardian, and Witness to the genuineness of their record.

Those who reject the authority of the Church are relegated to conjecture, and are handed over to the critics, to take or reject the Gospels at their good pleasure.

Discrepancies.

It is true enough that there exist small discrepancies in the narratives; it is also true that MS copies of the Gospels contain verbal differences; but these concern only minor matters, and in no way invalidate the broad facts related, nor the words employed by Christ. In the first place, no two witnesses of any incident furnish absolutely identical reports, and were we to know all the particulars, harmonisation would be feasible. As to the logia of Christ, are we to suppose that He invariably repeated His teaching in precisely the same words, and related the same parables without some variation in the particulars? Accordingly we accept the Gospel

records upon the authority of God Himself, Who cannot lie, and Who witnesses to their truth, through His oracle, the Catholic Church.

Conclusion.

I cannot see that one may not accept the critical results of exploration of the origin of the Gospels without losing faith in the veracity of their authors, and in their spiritual virtue, any more than one would be supposed to lose perception of the beauty, the form, the order, the fragrance of the herb, and its purpose and qualities, through acquaintance with its structure, and the purport of its several parts, and further of the processes it has undergone in growth.

Something more is required in dealing with the Revelation of God made to man, than the rude treatment of inquisitive and impatient science that flings it upon the anatomical table, to subject it, as an inanimate body, to be slashed, and probed by surgical knives, in exploration of its secrets. That which is requisite is the Spiritual faculty exercised in its study with reverential tact, that shrinks from the touch of Uzzah, applied to the Ark of God, even with good intention.

The Spirit can feel where the Intellect does no more than perceive.

Hermeneutics have undergone a vast change in recent times; and of the critical spirit it may be said as did Blepsidemus of Chremylus in Plautus: "How greatly has he altered from what he was of old, not even his glance has the same character." This is largely due to the change effected in early education, which ignores the spiritual side of man, and puts full pressure on the development of the rational side. The old home teaching, in which the child learned reverence, love of God, and trust in His Word, is a thing of the past, nor is it considered necessary to be impressed in school and university. Consequently the spiritual sense is numbed, and the critic sets to work to deal with the Gospels with as light a heart as his grandfather addressed himself to the study of the Comedies of Aristophanes.

There exists an old Moorish tale of a student of the Mysteries of Nature,⁹⁹ who eagerly sought to discover the Soul. He searched with scalpel. He found it not in the liver, nor in the gall. He quested for it in vain in the entrails, and even in the brain; but when he laid bare one of the cavities of the heart he liberated a small blue vapour which vanished as soon as it was perceived. It will be much the same with the Modern critic of the Gospels. The Spirit of Life will escape his research, and he will discover only the cavity it formerly occupied.

Once more, the Catholic Church is a correlative of the human body. It possesses outward visibility and filiation from Christ through the Apostolic ministry. It possesses as well an invisible, but vitalising soul, even the Holy Spirit, guiding into all Truths necessary to Salvation, guaranteeing against falling into insensibility and imbecility.

So long as we are members of the visible Church of Christ, we are assured of the tenure of the essential verities, and of the possession of the means of grace, whereby we maintain our spiritual union with the divine Head of the Church.

This conviction gives repose to the soul. It can trust the Church Universal, because it can trust the Word of Christ, and the active renovating and energising Spirit of Sacred Life. Apart from this we have only like Ibn Yokdhan, a carcass from which the Spirit has escaped.

⁹⁹ Ibn Yokdhan, translated in 1671 by Pocock into Latin.

Where the religious faculty in man has been suppressed but not extinguished there may be hope that he will attain to spiritual discernment before he quits this life.

A Parable.

Of all the wild flowers strewn by the hand of God upon mountain and moor, none have so appealed to my heart as has the common harebell. And yet for long it makes no display; it shows nothing but a slim stalk fine as a horsehair; and is leafless, swaying, stooping at every transient puff of air, unresisting, unpromising. But eventually, a little bud appears at the apex of the poor vegetable fibrous thread, and this speedily uncloses into an admirable blue, pendulous bell. [*See endnote: Harebell*]

It has struck me, perhaps in a review of my own life, but also in consideration of a thousand other lives, that seem to be commonplace, and unproductive, that they may, and in many cases will, resemble the campanula. Far away, out of sight, is the beginning of the career – the root upon which the future depends, nourished in childhood, at the mother's side, with all that conduces to health, physical, mental, moral, and spiritual; with a sense of the true, the just, the beautiful; and with spiritual aspiration after God encouraged. Then ensues growth, and with it a forgetfulness of first sowings in the heart by the mother's hand, and for long no token appears of any spiritual vitality. Nevertheless it is present, unperceived, in that lanky, upward-springing flexible life, that shows no capacity of resistance to untoward influences. At last, maybe, before the end of career is reached, the long hidden spiritual life reveals itself in the precious, the exquisite blossom of absolute trust, love and repose in God.

Woe to the gardener who “stubs” up the sleeping root, and woe to the mower who reaps down the unpromising upward channel of Divine life, slender as a thread of silk, so as to make sterility to be the doom of the plant in all that aspires towards heaven.

Above all, woe to the parents that do not sow the seeds of faith and love of God in the susceptible hearts of their children, smother early stirrings of the soul, and encourage indifference to the duty of worship; who leave their offspring to pick and choose in after life, (when the spiritual faculty has been left uncultivated) any religion that commends itself to their taste. This is one of the many blights that have been wafted to us across the Atlantic, and which is sapping the life-blood, and deforming the aspect of traditional English culture.

The Spiritual Faculty.

What said Paschal? “If man had been never corrupted, he would rejoice in truth and bliss with assurance. And if man had never been other than fallen, he would lack all the ideas of truth and felicity innate in him.” This was also Plato's doctrine. The Spiritual faculty is in every child, to grow and to blossom; but if it be stifled in childhood, or the thread of communication cut in after life – then nothing is left in prospect but extinction.

I knew one, the son of pious parents, who took pains to instil into his young soul the love of God and obedience to His Will, he, grew up, passed through school and university with credit, and entered holy Orders, but proceeded no further than the diaconate, nor would he ever engage in pastoral work. He had fully imbibed the principles of Christian morality, but thereat he halted. His life was blameless and upright, and his intelligence clear; yet the spiritual element seemed to have suffered an arrest.

After a valuable life, he lay upon his death-bed. There he rested from hour to hour in a condition of abstraction from all temporal concerns, engrossed in thought, craving to be left

alone. As he thus lay, silent, motionless, over his face, one of singular nobility, passed flickering lights and transient shadows, corresponding to the thoughts that traversed his brain. Then, suddenly one day, as his countenance became suffused with a light and joy inexpressible, with eyes straining upward, and with lifted hands he exclaimed: "Now, at last, I see it all – everything is made plain!" and so passed away.

It was the tardy flowering of the campanula.

Depravation of the Gospels.

At the Ecumenical Council of Nicaea, Constantine, the Emperor, refused to occupy the presidential throne placed for him, and in his stead was planted the Book of the Gospels, a position ever after accorded to it in the Councils of the church.

But what the Modernist Critic of to-day would do, before conforming to this tradition, would be to so manipulate the volume, as to excind [*sic*] every record of a miraculous event, every eschatalogical [*sic*] prophecy, every promise awaiting fulfilment, every theological assertion, and to leave so as to occupy the Presidential chair only a richly embossed and gilded book-cover, and within the few pages containing the Sermon on the Mount, and that supplemented with qualifying notes.

Sincerity of the Critics.

I have mentioned the case of my friend and his death, because he depicts a whole class, and that, by no means small, of men of sincere piety, informing their whole lives, and who exist and thrive upon the perfume of the flowers of Christianity, without being able to realise whence it comes. I would consider the late Dr. Abbott as typical of this class. No one for a moment could doubt his sincerity, or that of his class generally; there is and has been real zeal in the quest after Truth, and, as has been the case with the Tomb of the Pharaoh Tut-ankh-amen, there has been a vast accumulation of the rubbish of centuries to be removed, and stone walls to be broken down before the mummy – only the mummy of the Founder, is discovered, with the riches that surround it. Upon this work they concentrate their energies, and exhibit unflagging ardour.

A Buccaneer Story.

There is an old Buccaneer story, reproduced by Eliot Warburton in Darien. A Scottish surgeon on a pirate vessel got a chest as his share of the spoil of a capture; and when it was opened, within was found a mulatto boy concealed.

Says the surgeon to him:- "Ye need na' fear, friend; ye're fa'd into gude hands. I'll na kill ye, I'll only operate on ye."

Then he cut off the lad's fingers and toes. After a while, he amputated his hands and his feet. When the boy had sufficiently recovered from this treatment, the surgeon cut off his arms at the elbows, and the legs at the knees.

With kind consideration, the operator allowed sufficient time to his victim to recover from the last series of amputations before proceeding to remove the rest of the arms at the shoulders, and of the legs at the thighs – leaving of the lad naught save the trunk, looking like an animated potato.¹⁰⁰

¹⁰⁰ Warburton (E.) Darien, 1852, I. p.181.

This is the treatment to which the Modernist would wish ultimately to reduce the English Church. As each article of the Faith is removed, with smirks and soothing voice he would whisper:- “Ye need na’ fear, friend, I’ ll na kill ye, I’ ll only operate on ye.” Any interference on the part of one of the crew would be regarded as an impertinence, and a token of bigotry.

Have we another Creed to make?
 Another God to raise,
 Out of the phantom forms, which shake
 These melancholy days?

... ..

Better to join the silent dead,
 Than aimlessly live on
 With rayless heavens overhead,
 And faith for ever gone.

... ..

Still to the man of humble knee,
 For human fear and grief,
 The Church’s old and mystic tree
 Has healing in its leaf.¹⁰¹

Christianity played out.

Not long ago, I read an article in a certain periodical on the subject of “Christianity, as played out.” I do not suppose for a moment that one of the Clerical Modernists had written it, for it was too out spoken, too unambiguous to resemble their style; but it was obviously from the pen of one who had drunk at their Wells.

The Regraders.

The men who thus write are usually in very satisfactory circumstances, and live comfortable lives at their clubs, dine well, drink good wine, smoke many cigarettes, dress faultlessly – and why should they not? If they can afford it, by all means let them enjoy club-life, and write for Reviews and Magazines. But those who indulge in such lives of ease and luxury do not belong to the class to which the Gospel is precious. Why should they fret over sin? They have never made themselves amenable to the law. What could be more satisfactory than the life they lead, at their clubs, at the theatre, in fashionable salons? These are realities. As to the things of the future, they are possibilities, not even to be accounted probabilities. Let us eat and drink, for to-morrow we die. Why concern themselves over events recorded in Scripture as happening many centuries ago, that may have been true, or may not? The Times suffices for them, the record of present events. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

A few streets distant is a poor woman dying of cancer in her breast, roving in pain on her bed, having only a dry crust to gnaw. But she has one comfort amidst all her sufferings. Faith, that relies on the promises of the Gospel, Hope that ere long she will find rest in the Paradise of

¹⁰¹ Sir Fr. Doyle, Miscellaneous Verses, 1841.

God, where is no more sorrow, no more suffering, but instead a joyful prospect of resurrection to Eternal life in cloudless light. To her, the Gospel is not “played out.”

In another street is a widow with tear-sopped kerchief on her knees, rocking in the dreariness of her desolation, thinking of the husband and the only son, who both died in the last great war. To her there is but one hope, one consolation, and that is the prospect held out to her by the Gospel, of reunion with her loved ones in the Kingdom of the Resurrection. To her also, Christianity is not “played out.”

And what shall I say about the lads and girls going forth from their homes, launched into the world, to work in factories, in shops, in coal-mines, in fields, surrounded with temptations? I have known many of them, and have learned to love and admire them, for their heroic strength of purpose to lead godly and innocent lives; and this they have been able to do, through the assistance of Divine Grace, promised to them by the Gospel.

And when I see such beautiful lives unfurl before my eyes, I am well assured that to such as these Christianity has not been “played out.”

“To the poor,” said Christ, “the Gospel is preached,” and they welcome and receive it, for they need it. The doubters and disbelievers are those who have not felt the need of the Gospel.

Those to whom Christianity does appeal.

It was to the poor that the Gospel was preached, and not to the poor only, but to the suffering, the deserted, the bereaved, the fallen. “Lift up your hearts!” is the call of Christ’s priesthood, throughout the world, throughout the ages, and a mighty multitude responds as the voice of many waters, “We lift them up unto the Lord.”

Julian and his end.

It is perhaps not too much to think that present Modernism much resembles the reaction under the Emperor Julian (361-363); he desired to retain the morality of Christianity whilst rejecting its dogmas, casting aside belief in an historic Christ, and reliance upon Him as a present help in time of trouble. He would retain the outward display of religion whilst divesting it of purpose and significance.

Reared amidst the strife of contending factions in the Church, relative to subtleties of theologic speculation, he had arrived at the conviction that there was indeed a Divine Ruler over Mice and Men, but of whom, of whose rule, none knew anything; further, that persistence of life of the soul after death was matter of conjecture, as no reliance could be placed on Revelation.¹⁰²

Julian was encouraged by success. His revolt was popular. It even managed to introduce a couple of wenches into the temple of the Parthenon, there to act as priestesses and prophetesses. But Julian totally misconceived the power of Christianity, and was incapable of reading its influence on the soul. And to my mind, so is the Modernist of to-day.

¹⁰² He wrote: “I am not one of those who disbelieve in the immortality of the soul, but the gods alone can know; man can only conjecture that secret.” Jowett said much the same, so do many of the present Modernists.

Whilst tarrying at Antioch collecting a mighty army for war against Persia, Julian occupied himself with writing seven books against Christianity. And when he set forth at the head of the host, surrounded by soothsayers prophecying [*sic*] victory, it was with intent on his triumphal return entirely to stamp out the Faith of the Church. As in all his imperial splendour he rode forth, Libanius, the philosopher and chief apologist for Paganism, turned with a sneer to a Christian grammarian standing by, and said: "Hah! What now is your Carpenter's Son engaged upon?" He received the prompt reply, "He is making a coffin." After a reign of one year, eight months and twenty-three days, baffled and in retreat, Julian received a mortal wound from a Persian arrow. As he was dying, so it was reported, he filled his palm with blood, cast it towards heaven and exclaimed: "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!"

It is ill to prophecy, [*sic*] but one cannot fail to suspect that the Carpenter's Son is at present engaged upon making a coffin for the Modern Julian reactionists; and that the Galilean will ensure to them as brief a reign, as fruitless in results.

The Gospel and the Lepers.

A cousin of mine, a General who has long served in India, has been wont once every week to visit the hapless lepers interned to the number of seventy in a hospital for incurables. He has read to them passages from the Gospels, also the psalms, and has been wont to lead their harsh and husky voices in hymns. No hope in this world is before them, only the prospect of prurient rotting away. They are of various races and creeds, and yet the simple Christian Faith touches and thrills every one of their hearts. On leaving the district my cousin offered to obtain for them a gramophone, and enquired what tunes they would like – Strauss's waltzes, the airs of "The Tales of Hoffmann," passages from Gilbert and Sullivan's "Pirates of Penzance," perhaps? But no. All clamoured for hymn tunes and words, and above all for "Lead kindly light, Lead thou me on!" and the desire for this was unanimous.

What could the Latitudinarians offer that would comfort and give hope to poor wretches dropping piecemeal into their graves? Light? A kindly light? They have command of a Jack o' Lantern only that flickers above a morass, incessantly shifting quarters, and leading nowhere.

The Prospects before one who has lost Faith. A Parable.

I conclude this subject with a fable.

A man once buried his treasure in a field, and visited it every day. This having been observed, a servant stole it, and did not trouble to refill the excavation. The owner, in distress, wrung his hands and loudly bewailed his loss.

A neighbour enquired into the cause of his trouble, and was informed. "Never mind," observed the neighbour. "You have the hole where your treasure lay, and that will suffice for your consolation."

It is much like this with the Treasure of Gospel Truth, extracted and taken away by the Modernist. The hole is left, and the man who once believed in Christ as his Saviour, his present treasure, and final reward, is left to console himself with – a Void.

"Un vide, à la fois délicieux et cruel," [*Translation: A void, at the same time delicious and cruel.*] as Renan called it.

**THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS
CONVICTIONS**

Chapter X

PRESENT AND FUTURE

Chapter X

PRESENT AND FUTURE

The Church in the Thirties and Forties.

In January 1923 the writer of this little work entered on his ninetieth year. His life began six months after the first blast of the trumpet that called Churchmen to abandon lethargy, and arm themselves with the shield of the Faith, and the sword of the Spirit, to fight for the Kingdom of Christ in the land. Mr. J. H. Newman always reckoned the rise of the Oxford Movement to have dated from Keble's Assize Sermon on the National Apostacy upon July 14, 1833.

That trumpet peal converted a Pacific Ocean into a Mare Procellarum, [*translation: Sea of Storms*] by provoking a tempest of controversy.

The Living Waters.

Remembering, as the writer does, the former torpid condition of the Church during his childhood and early youth, when, significantly enough of the slatternliness of the Church from the reign of Elizabeth to that of Victoria, the Bishops were all en papillote, [*Translation: Literally 'in parchment'. A method of cooking.*] he could not fail to recall the vision of the living waters seen by the prophet Ezekiel. It has seemed to him that he has been much in the situation of the Prophet, as led by an angel, he has reached the bank, and measuring the stream – a thousand cubits found “the waters were to the ankles.” He has known it so – when he has had to walk three miles to a church where was daily prayer, and twenty-five to one in which the worship of God was conducted with beauty. “Again he measured a thousand, and brought me to the waters; and the waters were to the knees.” He has known that stage as well, when, at Cambridge, where, out of its twenty parish churches, although there were choirs and choral Evensong in three College Chapels, there was a Weekly Sunday Holy Communion in one church alone; and out of its seventeen College chapels, there was none in which it was celebrated more frequently than once a term.

Again he measured and brought me through, and the waters were to the loins. Wherever those waters have reached there has been healing and life, “there shall be a very great multitude of fish, because these waters shall come thither, for they shall be healed; and everything shall live whither the river cometh.” [*Ezekiel 47:1- 9*]

He has seen even more, when the Bishop in his official majesty ascends to the altar of God, the singers going before, and the minstrels following after, to the harmonious and thunderous acclaim of God's people, whose hearts have twinkled and danced with the light of love and worship of the King of Glory, when all the meandering streams of Sectarianism will clarify themselves, converge, and flow together into the River of God. It seems to him that he has been much in the situation of the Prophet as, led by an angel, he has reached the bank.

Discouragements.

Although there is much to encourage, and much to hope for in the future of the English Church, it appears to the writer that there are hindrances to her efficacy, some of old standing, others new. The principal of these he will enumerate. It is essential that these hindrances should be got rid of.

But before proceeding to this, it will be as well to lay down the programme of the Tractarians in their Revival, which produced such a storm in England, but which has ultimately received general acceptance.

The Tractarian Programme.

That which the Tractarians aimed at was the carrying out of such a programme of Reform as that unanimously laid down by the Bishops of the Church of England, in the reign of Henry VIII., in 1536, when they issued the Ten Articles, and filled these out for popular reading in The Institution of a Christian Man, 1537, and reasserted it in The Necessary Doctrine and Erudition of a Christian Man, 1543. With very few modifications this was the norm to which the new Reformers sought to recover the Church.¹⁰³

There ensued a sad deflection from the standard, under Edward VI. Owing to the swarm of foreigners invading England, and being provided with canonries in our cathedrals, benefices, professorships in our universities, where like “caterpillars innumerable, they did eat up all the grass in the land,” and left the ground where they had fed bare and poisoned with Lutheranism.

Again, under Elizabeth came “the Wolves,” as Bishop White of Winchester termed them, returned Marian exiles from Geneva, Zürich and Frankfort, very ravenous, and prepared to buy bishoprics and deaneries, of the Queen’s favourites, by the surrender to them of episcopal and decanal manors. These men, avaricious, unscrupulous, and sensual, filled the atmosphere with Calvinistic fumes.

Recurrence of call to First Principles.

The original principles of the Church were again asserted by the divines of the reigns of James I. and Charles I., and again, after the Great Rebellion, by those of the Restoration.

No sooner were the genuine familiar home doctrines of the Church proclaimed by the Oxford Tractarians, than an outcry was raised by the Evangelicals, as they called themselves; that is such as had adopted the outlandish theories of Luther and Calvin. At the call from Oxford men were roused, and it met with a ready response throughout the land. The old orthodox principles had lain latent, but now they were acknowledged as truly English and representative, whereupon they became vigorous and active.

The Evangelicals, to their consternation, found that their hitherto uncontested supremacy was jeopardised; their preaching failed to attract; their doctrine was detected as an importation from Germany and Switzerland, and that it harboured moral and spiritual blight.

The devout were seeking higher truths elsewhere. The Tartars furnish their guests with meat that they have chewed; – Christian people in England turned away from chewed Gospel, as offered them by these black-gowned preachers twanging foreign heresies. Gaps revealed themselves in Evangelical ranks; the pews were unlet, and the published sermons were unsold, and served for the wrapping up of butter-pats.

¹⁰³ See Note to this Chapter.

The Women of Lemnos.

The women of Lemnos having been afflicted by Venus with an evil smell, were deserted by their mates. Enfuriated [*sic*] at this abandonment, and not for one moment attributing the cause to themselves, these women fell upon and massacred their husbands.¹⁰⁴ The Evangelicals, finding that their savour was no longer relished, fell upon the Tractarians with the knives of the Privy Council, the Law Courts, Episcopal denunciations, the Press, Parliamentary legislation, the Prime Minister, and the Rabble, in fact with every available weapon on which they could lay their angry hands, with intent utterly to exterminate them.

But their success was not anything like as complete as that of the women of Lemnos, and they have been forced to retreat in bad odour to the churches of which the Simeonite Trustees, the Church Association, and other partisan societies hold the advowson.

Dissolution of the Evangelical Party.

Every available measure has been used by the Evangelical party against the rise of the old English orthodox spirit, and has failed. The party itself is undergoing dissolution or change. Practically Calvinism and Lutheranism have been discarded, and have few adherents in the Church. The old Evangelical party can never recover the position occupied by it in the reign of Queen Victoria., Not all the king's horses, nor all the king's men will put Humpty Dumpty on the wall again.

Herodotus tells us of the Psylli, a Lybian tribe, that resolved to make war upon the Wind. So they marched with bray of trumpets and swords brandished, till they reached the Sahara, when the South Wind puffed against them and buried them, man and horse, brazen trumpet, and flashing steel, under mounds of sand. It is in vain for men to strive against the Breath of God.

Hindrances.

We will now consider some of the main impediments that stand in the way of the Church of England exercising her full energies, adapting herself to circumstances and uttering her voice decisively in the declaration of Truths and uniformity of practice.

I. Nomination of Bishops.

I. Pre-eminent among these is the appointment of the Archbishops and Bishops nominally by the Crown, actually by the Prime Minister, who may be a Baptist, a Presbyterian, a Socinian, a Romanist, or a Jew, without the Church having power to oppose and veto an unsuitable appointment.¹⁰⁵ Not being a Churchman himself, the Prime Minister would not know what sort of man would be suitable for the vacant situation to which called to appoint, and, at the very best, he would look out for one who was "safe," i.e. colourless and deficient in back-bone; and of such a plentiful supply is to be found, growing thick as thistles, men intelligent, pious, shrewd, and, above all things, prudent. Such men make very tolerable prelates, till arises a crisis in the Church, when, if appealed to for an opinion, they will render one as valueless as a Delphic oracle, laboriously *zweideutig* as the Germans would say. [*Translation: ambiguous or equivocal*] Archbishops, especially, in the Victorian age were selected to serve in the Establishment, in the same capacity as that occupied by Mrs. General

¹⁰⁴ Scholiast on the *Hecuba* of Euripedes. Pindar refers to the same in the Pythian Ode IV. epode 11.

¹⁰⁵ The appointment has indeed to be referred to the Chapter (*Congé d'élire*). But the refusal of the nominee of the Crown can hardly be expected of a Chapter nominated by the Crown, and which if it rejected the proposed, would be liable to confiscation of goods, and imprisonment, by Act of Praemunire.

in the Dorrit family, with obligation to varnish the surface, and where there were many cracks to lay on three, or even four coats of copal. Another function the great prelate at Canterbury was required to discharge was, as far as possible, again like Mrs. General, to shape the mouths of the inferior clergy solemnly to pronounce "Potatoes, Poultry, Prunes and Prism," and to have no independent voices of their own.

But, as is more probable, when the Prime Minister is a Dissenter, and is sincere in his convictions, he will use his opportunity to appoint officers in the Army of the Church, who could not, or through timidity would not, be leaders, and those in whom the privates and petty officers could place no confidence. He would hardly resist the temptation so to act; at a time when the Church is gaining ground on Nonconformity.

Under such circumstances, it is astounding that the Church should retain vitality, that she should even gather strength. But let us remember, as has been already shown, that the appointment of eleven Popes to hold the keys of heaven and hell was made by two debauched women; that the elevation of S. Chrysostom to be Patriarch of Constantinople was due to an Eunuch; and that Christ Himself was transported to a pinnacle of the Temple, by the Devil; nevertheless the Church has survived.

Not long ago, in fact in 1919, the Prime Minister, being a Welsh Baptist, had the nomination to our Bishoprics, deaneries, most canonries, and to 285 Crown livings.¹⁰⁶ The Lord Chancellor, also a Dissenter, appointed to 608 livings. The Secretary of State for India had the Archbishopric and bishoprics of India at his disposal, but he, being a Jew, had the fine sense of the fitness of things, to ask Mr. Balfour, a Scottish Presbyterian, with an hereditary feeling hostile to Episcopacy, to act for him in this matter.

II. Advowsons. [*The right of presentation to a Church benefice.*]

II. The old abuse of lay-advowsons remains unaltered. A lay patron may thrust into a living an extreme Low Churchman only hovering above Nonconformity, as a flying-fish above the surface of its proper element; or a Latitudinarian, to damp down the Spiritual and religious flame of the parish; or vice versa, a Ritualist may be appointed to a church where the services hitherto have been few and far between, and there has been no sacramental teaching. The people have no redress, in either circumstance.

No Christian sect can exist and maintain itself, without enshrining some truth, or putting forward as justification for schism some important usage that has fallen into abeyance or has been overridden, in the Church.

The Independents, or Congregationalists, as they are now called, owe their vitality, their energy, their expansion, to the fact that they have reasserted a principle in the organisation of the Church, of which that sacred body had been deprived by the State.

The original Constitution of the Church was democratic; it was held to be an essential principle of her well-being, that every member should have a voice in the appointment of its ministers.

¹⁰⁶ But many of these are Crown and Bishop alternately. About a dozen are of personal nomination by the King.

The Church, however, was totally despoiled of this condition, essential to her health, by the Crown and by the Papacy. She can neither elect her chief pastors, nor her parochial clergy.

Let us take the case of parishes. A great number of these are in the position of having their incumbents nominated by the Crown or the Chancellor. What can a Prime Minister or Chancellor know of the requirements of the rustics, or gauge the spiritual qualifications and tactfulness of a man to be appointed to Sleepy-hollow? Other livings are in the hands of the Bishop or of the Chapter. If the Bishop does not thrust into these some ecclesiastical toadies, he is sure to plant in them "safe men" who will give him no trouble. As to the livings in the gift of the Chapter, I cannot tell much about them at the present time. I remember what Doctor Townsend of Durham (*circa* 1825) was wont to say: – "We (the Chapter) have three kinds of livings at our disposal; 1. Good. These we keep for ourselves. 2. Middling. These we give to our sons and sons-in-law. 3. Poor. These we bestow on the deserving clergy."

Is the Country Squire or the Noble Lord better qualified to judge, than is the Chancellor? His object is to see in the parsonage a gentleman, who can manage a gun, invest himself in flannels for a game of lawn-tennis, and, in the evening, take a hand at Bridge.

III. The Trusts.

III. One very cogent argument employed by Papists against the claims of the Church of England is that she is composed of three parties, mutually aggressive, the Catholic party, the so-called Evangelical party, and the Latitudinarians. From each of which an enquirer would receive a different answer to questions as to What is the Church? Are the Sacraments necessary for salvation? Is the Eucharist a Commemorative Sacrifice? What are the conditions for Forgiveness of Sins? The High Churchman would be prompt with his answer. The Low Churchman would give one hesitating and evasive. The Broad Churchman's reply would be, "Pon my soul, I don't know."

But ask a Roman Catholic priest any question relative to the Faith, whether he be in Paris or in Timbuctoo, and the answer is given directly and one answer is precisely like another. There is unity of teaching in the Latin Church. There is confusion and difference in the Anglican Communion.

This is quite true. How is it to be accounted for? The explanation is not far to seek. The English Church is so handicapped that she is incapable of speaking out her mind distinctly and unanimously. As we have seen, her prelates are nominated by the Prime Minister, whatever his religion may be, even if he have none. Not only so, but a vast number of cures of souls are in patronage, the patrons being usually laymen, of the most varied religious opinions, some with no religious opinions at all.

But the most serious impediment to unanimous speech, and unanimous action is to be found in the existence of over 800 Trusts for the propagation of partisan views, as the Simeonite Trustees, the Church Patronage Society, the Church Association, Pastoral Aid Society, Colonial and Continental Society, and many besides, engaged in buying up advowsons and thrusting into churches men whose heresy, Lutheran, Zwinglian, or Calvinistic, is but thinly veiled. Whole towns are held in their grip by these societies which never die out, nor change their principles. In a number of cases we do not even know the names of the Trustees, who, for aught we know to the contrary, may not be members of the Church at all.

These Trusts act towards the Church of England as do intestinal worms upon the human body, lowering the vitality, producing lassitude, a pallid complexion, vacuous look, and a staggering gait.

It is impossible for the Church to speak save with stammering lips, and to walk without reeling, until these entozoa have been expelled from her system.

The number of English applicants for the livings in the hands of these Protestant Societies is, we believe, small, and most who offer themselves are Irishmen who come over in considerable numbers along with bullocks for Smithfield and bed-linen from Belfast.

A recent article in the Record relative to a rumour that these Trusts were to be abolished, expressed alarm lest this should take place, and said: – “Evangelical patronage is the key to the Evangelical position; and we cannot lightly regard any proposals that would menace it.” A confession that, these lost, the rout would be complete. That the existence of the paralysing hands of these Societies should continue and be extended is a serious danger. The Church Association has plenty of funds, which it can no longer employ in litigation. After the war, owners of advowsons have been eager to sell, so seriously are they crippled in their incomes, and the Church Association is ready to snap up the advowsons as soon as they are put in the market. Nothing could suit the Romanists more thoroughly than the capture of a majority of livings by these Societies, for they render the churches to which they appoint ministers, impossible for Churchmen to attend, who have any sense of the dignity of Worship, and any love of the Catholic faith.

IV. The Romanisers.

There has sprung up among us a party of extremists that frankly hopes the time will come when will ensue union between our Church and that of Rome. No more impracticable and chimerical dream could be entertained. That England will ever re-submit to the papal yoke is an idea fit only for an inmate of Bedlam.

Sydney Smith in his day wrote: – “Tell me that the world will return again under the influence of small-pox; that anyone who has heard Lord Redesdale speak once will knowingly and willingly hear him again; that Lord Eldon has assented to the fact of two and two making four, without shedding tears; tell me any other thing absurd or incredible, but for the love of common sense let me hear no more of the danger to be apprehended from the general diffusion of Popery. It is too absurd to be reasoned upon; every man feels it is nonsense when he hears it stated, and so does every man while he is stating it.”

What Sydney Smith said then, is every jot as true now.

In the early days, and in the mid-career of the Catholic Revival, the party demanded no more than a reassertion of the entirety of the Faith, and a recovery of Worship in its dignity; in a word, the return to the platform of the Bishops in 1536-7, as given in the “Bishops’ Book” and later in the “King’s Book.” But more recently some extravagant zealots have gone a long way beyond that, and desire the introduction among us of Benediction, Rosaries, Mariolatry, Worship of the Sacred Heart, and such a folly as a pilgrimage to a site where four hundred years ago there had been a winking Virgin Mary.

Another mistake is to insist on private Confession as a general duty. Our Church wisely deals with it as purely voluntary and only as a last resort to an over-burdened conscience. Of its

value in such cases it is not possible to speak too highly. But it must not be forgotten that the Absolution pronounced in public in the Communion Service is perfectly valid when personally applied to a wounded and penitent soul.

The great work to be achieved is not to bring English people to accept these foreign cults, but to educate Labour – our future Master, to love and serve God in integrity and truth; to cleave to the Church, His Kingdom; and this can never be effected by the adoption of Romish childish superstitions which the robust common sense of our people will never accept.

That the Romanising party will obtain a large following is improbable, one may say absolutely impossible. But it may cause much mischief, by occasioning a reaction, through rousing once more the spirit of hostility to genuine Catholic teaching and practice. In a parish one of these Romanisers, by his impetuosity and lack of consideration for the feelings of his people, may throw back the forward movement that had been initiated by a predecessor, and was progressing steadily.

What is one of the last things considered by some of these men is – to take soundings, and never advance save in deep water; always to be scrupulous to carry his congregation with him, to be sensible and moderate in his aim and never to attempt to drive.

A man of common-sense when setting himself an aim seeks to make the Attainable his goal, never the Unattainable.

What is abundantly evident is, that it is quite feasible to bring great and increasing numbers of English men and women to the faith and worship of the Church as it existed in its best Days. We have but to look up and down throughout England to recognise how largely this has already been achieved, and our aim should be to quicken up the laggards, not to send on the foremost at a run and leave the main body in the lurch.

But to bring back this nation to Popery, to get it to accept the spiritual rule of the Bishop of Rome – Probably not one in a thousand among the Romanist clergy entertains the smallest expectation of being able to accomplish.

V. Godlessness of the Monied Classes.

One of the saddest and most discouraging features of the day is the Godlessness of the Monied Class, and the almost complete disappearance of Religion through that inundation which is now so much to the fore, and which has swamped our old aristocracy and flooded the country.

In the families belonging to this new upper bed of civilisation, religious training finds no place. In infancy the children are brought up on Brer Rabbit in place of the Bible. So long as their children are well fed, on the best of everything, well clothed, according to the fashion, their intellects are cultivated, and their teeth periodically submitted to a dentist, that is all about which the majority of modern parents with well-lined purses concern themselves. No regard whatever is paid to their children's souls. They are not taught the Catechism; they have never been told that they owe any duties to God, and as to duties to their fellow-men,

they are instructed to take the scale as to what is allowed or disallowed from Public Opinion.¹⁰⁷

Moreover there is almost no religious training in our public schools, far too little in our Universities, what there was is to be found in our modern Colleges, founded with a religious object. Formerly it was at the mother's knee that a child learned its prayers, that knee now never bends to God, and the child is not taught prayers at all, except perhaps by an old-fashioned nurse, unwittingly of the mother. Formerly also, it was considered obligatory to set an example to inferiors. In the manor-house in the country, the Squire, even if he were a drinking fox-hunter, punctually appeared in his pew on Sunday morning, to encourage his tenants to be regular in their devotions in the House of God. This is all gone; largely due to the rise of the Nouveaux Riches, who come from town to spend a week or two in the shooting season at their recently acquired country houses, much as comets make their periodical visits, without any diffusion of acceptable heat or light.

It may be the case that the old upper crust of soil is exhausted, and that a renewal of vegetable mould is needed. In Nature this is effected by the earth-worm. In the social soil a similar renovation may become necessary. But immediate results beneficial must not be anticipated.

Practically, at the present day, the sole relics of old English culture and grace of manner are to be found among our country-town shop-keepers, as also in our parsonages; the Church not having sufficient prizes to invite the New Barbarians into it, and the tone of mind, the duties imposed, are too unacquirable and too unattractive to encourage these foreigners or such as have risen from below, to seek a home and active work in it. Why go into the Church when we can do better for ourselves in the Stock Exchange? We guess there is no Money in it.

From more than one chaplain who has been with the army during the late great European war, has come the sorrowful admission that religion is not to be found among the officers. One who has been with a great camp in England for over two years, told the writer that, during that period, he had known of three officers only who had made their Communion, whereas from among the privates there were rarely fewer communicants on a Sunday morning than twenty.¹⁰⁸

Patricia et Plebeia.

On the Quirinal in ancient Rome grew two myrtle trees, entitled severally Patricia and Plebeia, which shared the fortunes of their respective orders. Thus, up to the fifth century, Patricia flourished and Plebeia pined; but from that time when the Plebeians gained the upper hand, Patricia withered away. There can be no doubt entertained that in this present century in England Plebeia is the robust and overmastering tree. And this the Church must

¹⁰⁷ The Interlude in "The Clouds" of Aristophanes applies almost without a single alteration to the present situation in England. In that is contrasted the difference between the Education and Culture of ancient Greece and what had been recently imported. The new system which has come in with a flood is having a sad deteriorating effect on the character of the rising generation, and of the England of the future. The old Culture, Conscientiousness, Reserve, and Self-restraint, with sense of Responsibility, is resolving into a welter of selfishness, lust of pleasure, and emancipation from all obligations due to God and Man.

¹⁰⁸ A Second-Lieutenant who has spent three years in the trenches in France and Belgium during the late War, says that he has known 200 Communicants at one time. The Communion Service was the only one that the soldiers cared for greatly, but they liked a religious "Sing-song." Rarely among the Communicants was found an officer.

recognise, and if Patricia or rather the Make-pretence, will not amend its ways, then the Church must allow it or its parody to shift as it may. We cannot alter, we cannot expect to alter, the Godlessness of our Monied Classes. They must stew in their own juice. If they forsake God, God will forsake them; but we can bring religion into the daily life, and devotion and worship into the hearts of the lowly, the tradesman, the artisan, the factory hand, the agricultural labourer; and, let it be borne in mind that it is with such, and not with the newly manufactured noble and the knighted mediocrity, that lies the future of our Nation and of our Church. If these should hold their peace, the stones would immediately cry out. Christ said it when Scribes and Pharisees, the Wealthy, the Politicians, the Scholars and Lawyers stood, nudging one another, with raised eyebrows and curled lips, sneering at the crowd of little children and poor peasants who went before and followed after the Saviour in lowly pomp riding on to die.

And the same is true still. Whereas the well-to-do and the professionals are motoring the country, playing at Bridge on the drawing-room table, wiping their lips after a morning snack of pale Sherry, whilst the bells of the church have sounded over their heads, unheeded, the poor and lowly are kneeling in the village church. He, before Whom the disciples spread their garments, and waved branches, knows that now as of old “not many wise men after the flesh, not many noble” [*1 Corinthians 1:26*] will unite in Hosannah to the Son of David, but, as these hold their peace, the scullery-maid, the typist girl, the whistling plough-boy, the shop-assistant, the lawyer’s clerk, the factory-hand, will be found, not perhaps in great numbers, but much in sincerity, to give Glory to God in the highest.

Psichari.

The sketch drawn by Psichari of himself describes the condition of tens of thousands of our young men of the monied class. He had been well educated in all matters save religion. “Son père avait nourri son esprit, mais non son âme. Les premiere troubles de la jeunesse la trouvèrent démunie, sans défense contre le mal, sans protection contre les sophismes et les piperies du monde. [*Translation: His father had nourished his spirit but not his soul. The first troubles of youth found him defenceless, without protection against evil, without defence against sophistry (fallacies) and the tricks of the world.*]

“A vingt ans, Maxence errait sans conviction dans les jardins empoisonnés du vice, mais en malade, et poursuivi par d’obscurs remords, chargé de l’affreuse dérision d’une vie engagée dans le désordre des pensées et des sentiments. Son père s’était trompé: Maxime avait une âme. Il était né pour croire, et pour aimer et pour espérer. . . Il ne pouvait se résoudre à ce que la Verité et la Pureté ne fussent que des vains mots, sans nul soutiens.”¹⁰⁹

[Translation: At twenty years of age, Maxence wandered about the corrupted gardens of depravity, without much conviction, but like a sick man and pursued by ill-defined remorse, burdened by the dreadful mockery of a life committed to confusion of both thought and feeling. His father was mistaken. Maxence did have a soul. He was born to believe and to love and hope. He could not make up his mind that Truth and Purity are but vain words without back-up of any kind.]

But among the tens of thousands of young English of the self-esteeming upper classes, male and female, educated as to their minds and to a superficial extent as to their manners, but

¹⁰⁹ Psichari (E.) *Le Voyage du Centurion*, 1916, pp.4-5. There is an English translation by Walker and Capes, *A Soldier’s Pilgrimage*, Lond., Melrose, 1917.

totally uncultured as to their souls, how very few there be who, like Maxence, come to realise the existence of this void. The faculty to live spiritually has been atrophied by the indifference of their parents, and is irrecoverable in this life.

Nil desperandum.

Nevertheless, in spite of every disadvantage there sounds through the heart the voice of hope, Nil desperandum.

The Church of England has gone through crisis after crisis, quite as serious, if not greater, than that of the present time, and like Antaeus, when beaten to the dust, it has been seen to rise with renewed vigour.

At the present day let us not lose our confidence, but be sure that in spite of hostile Prime Ministers, Modernist Professors, Profiteers *[sic]* oozing gold at every pore, and forgetting God, Prelates sometimes inclined to hedge rather than take a direct course, and timorous Evangelicals dragged along in the train of the Modernist, discrediting the Church as a pillar and ground of the Faith – a twisted pillar they would make it, – *Magna est Veritas, et in finem, praevalerebit. [translation: Great is the Truth, and in the end it will prevail]*

The Coming Revolution.

The Plebeia – our future masters! Inevitably, irresistibly, the day of social revolution is approaching. At present we see but the flicker of summer lightning, which is the prelude of a coming storm.

S. Paul wrote to the Thessalonians: “This we commanded you, that if any would not work, neither should he eat,” (2 Thess. III.10). The time is nearing when the injunction will be inexorably carried out, and the drones, male and female, unless physically or mentally incapable, will have to face extinction.

No man, no woman, was sent into the world to cumber the soil and not to till and enrich it. Each must do something to justify existence upon it. “The earth is the Lord’s and the fulness thereof.” *[Psalms 24:1-4]* It was not called into being and clothed with beauty for the sluggard to suck its marrow, and leave the gnawed and picked bone for the worker. Each who comes into the world must give a reason why there placed, or go under the earth to serve as manure.

Why should Sir Bully Rook (who bought his knighthood by contribution to his party’s funds – I take his name from Mine host of the Garter, occupying a richly furnished flat in Grosvenor Square, and who belongs to a luxurious club, line his inside with lobster mayonnaise, and wash it down with Glen Livet, who has never done a stroke of work to alleviate the sufferings of his brother Lazarus, full of sores, lying at his gate; or to help the feeble to stand upright? A man that, who will leave behind him not so much as a drop of saponaceous water, the relic of an exploded soap-bubble. He may not have produced a furrow of evil, but certainly not bequeathed to the world a trace of good. A nonentity, a peg, not even a pawn on the chess-board of life.

Why should the poor sempstress in a narrow garret in Shoreditch labour wearily from dawn till midnight, to the unflagging throb of her sewing-machine, with a lone heart pining for a gasp of clean air and a glimpse of green fields, whereas Mrs. Washington Selbstsucht *[German translation of selbstsucht: selfishness/egotism]* of New York is rushing over the

country in her Ford car, lolling on eiderdown cushions, sucking, one after another, chocolate creams from a half-guinea box, whilst glancing over the latest illustrated papers, languidly indifferent to the scenery of the Cornish Coast, the Lakes, the Scottish Moors she is visiting?

The Unprofitable Servant.

I do not for one moment deny that there are to be found many, very many exceptions; I am describing the prevalent and conspicuous type of Sir Bully Rook and Mrs. Washington Selbstsucht. The Lord knoweth His own and can pick them out of the mass of human rubbish. What said Christ? "Depart from Me, Unprofitable servant," – not the mere evil-doer, – "into outer darkness," (Matt. XXV.30). And the Common Sense of Mankind is echoing the sentence in imperious tones against the Unprofitable, who live only for themselves.

The living irrepressible Spring.

When the writer was a boy, the road-menders were met with periodical difficulties by the eruption of a spring in the midst of the highway, anciently termed *Via regia*, that led through Bratton Clovelly. Repeatedly were loads of stiff clay, hard stone and broken rubbish rolled and rammed over and into the source whence up gushed the liquid artery. For a period the road remained hard, level, dry. But presently a moist spot showed and spread. By degrees the water dislodged the stones and swept them away, and the clay was resolved into a trickle of mud that found its proper lodgment in the gutter. Thereupon that irrepressible spring strove to convert the macadamised highway into a watercourse. Eventually the *Via regia* had to be diverted to avoid the spring. The spring had defeated the road-menders and road-makers.

Many a time, when the Author was a hobble-de-hoy, [*a stripling, neither man nor boy*] did he ride along that Royal Highway to watch the progress of the conflict between the forces of Nature and the strivings of man; and even then, immature as were his convictions, he read in it a parable of the Spirit of God striving in the Church with perverse man, and finally prevailing.

Now, in his old age, he occasionally revisits the spot, but never without recalling what he had seen, and what had been his youthful thoughts thereon; and knowing further how that in the 19th Century he had seen the efforts of the state, the Parliament, the Privy Council, the Prelacy, and the Church Association, made to choke and quench the God-inspired life of the Church bubbling up, bounding into light, and how egregiously they had failed – then he raises his eyes to heaven and repeats the words of David: "Commit thy way unto the Lord, and put thy trust in him: and he will bring it to pass." [*Psalm 37:5*]

Recollections of past sorrows.

I know of few more pathetic hours spent than those passed by such an one as myself at my advanced age, as I sit on a winter's evening, reading the old periodicals of the Church party of my youth, The British Magazine born, as it chanced, in 1832, not two years before I first saw light, and was admitted by baptism into the Church Catholic. This was followed by The British Critic, and that by the long-lived Christian Remembrancer; and that, finally, by the extant and vigorous Church Quarterly Review. I happen to possess the entire series.

As I have read the aspirations, the sighs of discouragement, the sobs at the repeated smittings in the face by the Bishops and Primates, the chief Priests of the Church of England, the perversion of Justice by the Privy Council, the insults inflicted by the press, the hootings and blasphemies of the rabble, the social ostracism; as also the occasional and rare liftings of the cloud and a smile of the sun, visible only as preludes to deeper gloom, and heavier blasts of

persecution, then – as I recall the past, and remember the pangs and despondency of those times, the shame that covered the face at the abuse poured forth from Episcopal lips – and this lasting for well over half a century, it is to me as the hearing of far off bells, sad, subdued, yet full of comfort, though clanging and harsh when heard nearby, and I am filled with wonder as well as thankfulness.

Moths.

A man came to a Jewish clothier in quest of a warm winter overcoat. Said Samuel, “I have the very thing for you, one practically new. Try it on.” The would-be purchaser did so. It was buttoned down in front. “Admirable,” said the Hebrew. “Now let me look at the back. Ah! It fits perfectly. You shall have the overcoat dirt cheap at thirty shillings.” The money was paid. When the purchaser arrived at home he found that the garment was full of moths. Next day he went back with it to the clothier and complained. “What!” exclaimed the Jew. “Moths! Moths! For thirty bob, you cannot expect to have butterflies.”

Alas! The Established Church was full of moths, bred on the heresies of Wittenberg and Also Geneva, invading also from Scotland. Was it possible to renovate the old coat? We would try. Try we did. And we have succeeded. Happily none of the fibre had been corroded. But the moths were abundant. There are many with us still.

I can remember when, at S. Paul’s, the choir came slouching in, the choirmen with fluttering surplices, exposing check trousers and hands in their pockets, and the congregation amounted to about twenty, who came simply for the music. I can recall in my dear mother-church at Exeter, how that on Sunday the doors were locked lest those who had come to hear the anthem should escape when that was concluded. [*Sabine was referring to Exeter Cathedral. See Early Reminiscences, p. 243.*]

I can remember how that when preparing for my first Communion, I went into a stall in Exeter Cathedral, and a verger came to ask me if I were about to communicate, and when I denied such intent, he sought to expel me.

I can recall how that in England every church was locked throughout the week and admission entailed quest for the key and the expenditure of a sixpence to the cleaner.

My memory can carry me back to the surplice riots in Exeter, when the very lives of the clergy were menaced, and about what? The wearing of a surplice in the pulpit, as ordered by their bishop. So, as well, to the persecution of the clergy of S. Peter’s and the Sisters, ministering to the cholera-stricken victims in Plymouth and Devonport, when the mob were hounded on against them by the local Evangelical clergy, headed by Hatchard of S. Andrew’s. [*Parish church of Plymouth*]

I was present in person during the riots at S. George’s-in-the-East. I knew Father Lowder even before he cast in his lot for the Christianisation of the ungodly in the slums of London docks. I can recall his patience, his perseverance, his unsparing laboriousness, his burning love of souls, his intense loyalty to Christ. I can recall how that in September 1859 he barely escaped being flung into the docks by a mob elaborately lashed into fury, and how that his coffin in the September of 1880, was beset by crowds of weeping men pressing forward to get a touch of the pall that covered it.

I remember how that in the riots, he was spat upon – indeed, I have endured that indignity myself, and even worse. The disturbances were organised partly by the owners of houses of ill-fame, but also, if not frankly by the Church Association, then by men of money of the same persuasion, who lavished bribes among the roughs to turn S. George’s Church into a bear-garden; and a Puritan preacher was encouraged to fan the fury of the ignorant and lawless into a flame.

The Bishop of London at the time was the Scotsman Tait, who had been brought up as a Presbyterian, had never assimilated the historic theology of the Church; was intellectually and spiritually incapable of entering into the heart and spirit of the Church revival; he was, in fact, a mere Erastian; and all he did during this period of blasphemy and riot was to counsel concessions to the mob. Tait, as having no higher conception of the Episcopal office than as a State functionary, and as having conspicuously failed as Bishop of London, was elevated to be Archbishop of Canterbury, and Primate of all England.

What were our Cathedrals? Mere sleeping pens – exercising no spiritual influence in the cities above which they towered.

And how is it now? Consider whether S. Paul’s is not the heart of City religious life in London. Whether its Services be not conducted with reverence, devotion, and beauty? Whether large congregations do not gather under that mighty dome to praise God and to pray with swelling hearts? Verily, our cathedrals – with a rare exception where the moths still congregate, are the centres of spiritual life to the whole population of our cities. Verily, the transformation has been accomplished.

Exeter.

Last Christmas Day, 1922, I was in Exeter. At the Holy Communion the lights burned on the altar, the officiating clergy, celebrant, deacon and subdeacon, were in copes of gold brocade, the whole service in plain-song was sung, for the entire choir was present, and there were numerous communicants. And yet there had already been three celebrations of the Eucharist in the church that morning. In the evening, the nave of the cathedral was crowded by a reverend congregation, and there was not merely choral vespers, but a solemn procession as well headed by the great golden cross of the Cathedral, and with banners waving, and with the whole congregation thundering out the glorious hymn “Be present, ye faithful, joyful and triumphant etc.” It was more than I could bear; thinking of the past, and considering how mighty was the transformation. The old coat was indeed renewed.

It was not, however, the externals that so affected me, but the altered spirit of the congregation that was so impressive – In that vast crowd filling the nave, before the service began, there was a hush that none dreamt of disturbing, whereas formerly folk walked about and chatted whilst divine service was in progress. Men and women knelt, whereas formerly such as secured a seat, lounged. The atmosphere was charged with spiritual fervour, and hearts were linked to hearts with a common devotion. Where of old had been a savour of mildew was now a fragrance as of incense.

I can look back upon our villages in which the spiritual life was all but extinct, lingering on in a few old hearts, but imperceptible in the young. And now, there is hardly a country parish, not one in which is a zealous, a visiting incumbent, where the flame of devotion is not only burning but is kindling on every side where was formerly lukewarmness, and at present

young and old, from the little child to the grey-haired man bowed upon his stick, love and cling to their parish church.

It seems to me that the old, earnest, pious Evangelical party has been stricken by the hand of God, on account of its forming alliance with the World, the Flesh and the Devil, – the Privy Council, the Law, and the Rabble. It never was, save in bulk, anything of a Samson, but, such as it was it has lost its strength, the Lord has departed from it, since its alliance with Delilah.

Bradford.

Our late Prime Minister, being a Baptist, when a new diocese was constituted at Bradford in Yorkshire, where Evangelicalism had been rampant for nigh upon a century, nominated to be its first bishop a man whose religious opinions were in near conformity to his own, and who he presumed would be most acceptable to the Protestantism-saturated Bradfordians. There the Vicar was nominated by Simeon's Trustees and nearly all the other churches had their incumbents appointed by the Vicar, or by trustees of the same complexion as those of Simeon. One church, and one only was in the hands of the Orthodox, and I knew it well. It was crowded with worshippers, all zealous for good works; but, what was a little one among a thousand? One church faithful among twenty sold to heresy? To the astonishment and dismay of the new Bishop, he discovered that Evangelicalism was dead, or at all events moribund in Bradford, and that the Orthodox party was winning ground on all sides, and what is more, he had the courage to confess it. Grudgingly he and his Archdeacon paid a high tribute to the present activity of Catholic Churchmen.

The tribute was, it must be said, reluctant rather than gracious, for the occasion was a meeting of the local branch of the ultra Protestant Church Pastoral Aid Society, and the intention of the speakers was to stimulate their hearers into emulation of Anglo-Catholic good works. The Bishop said that in the Anglo-Catholic theological colleges there was no shortage of men training for the ministry, and no difficulty in finding money for them; and he told his hearers frankly that they ought to make far more effort to supply "proper" candidates for the ministry. His lordship, according to the report of the local paper, used a few phrases which suggested that Anglo-Catholics were slightly improper candidates for the ministry matters less than his testimony to their number. The Archdeacon was even more definite. In Anglo-Catholicism, he said, there was something which created sacrifice which they did not get in Evangelical religion. There were "hundreds of young fellows streaming out of High Church places," and if a post were advertised for a woman to work among fallen girls, for every two applications from Evangelical deaconesses they would get twelve from those trained on High Church lines. That is how the Bishop and the Archdeacon of Bradford see the position, and their words are a very welcome tribute from those who know enthusiasm when they see it, and whose work, alike in the foreign mission field and at home, has often been a challenge to us in the past.¹¹⁰

Perhaps it may provoke a smile to read of the Anglo-Catholic Conference of 1923 being held at Bradford, and the Bishop having, as was conjectured, to retreat to his closet from the sounds of jubilation of the thousands assembled to hail the triumph of the cause which he is incapable of understanding. His position may have been pitiable, but it was not without its humorous aspect. It was, moreover, instructive, even the Bradford Nonconformists could perceive how pathetic was his condition.

¹¹⁰ Church Times, Feb. 16, 1923.

Such relics of a past age remind one of Mrs. Gummidge in Peggotty's cottage. They are not yet extinct in the Northern province, wearing lawn sleeves in their stagnant dioceses, whereas other sees in proximity are sparkling with sunlight and rippling with fresh life, "My troubles has made me contrairy. I feel my troubles, and they make me contrairy. I wish I didn't feel 'em, but I do. I make the house uncomfortable. I don't wonder at it. I had better go into the (work) house and die. I'm a lone, lorn creetur', and had much better not make myself contrairy here. I'd better go into the house and die and be a riddance."

Situation in 1851.

In looking over old periodicals the other night I lit on the following paper in the Christian Remembrancer for 1851.

"It is quite true that appearances are formidable; the odds are against us; we are playing at this moment, we are well aware of it, a losing game; it has been so for some time, and things are not likely soon to mend. It is trying, very trying, not the least so to Englishmen, to be on the losing side. We must be content with it, however, we must make up our mind to it, if we will help to keep the English Church what she has been, the witness to England of the truth and continuity of the Catholic Faith. Those who cannot bear to be on the losing side had best not embark in her cause. We may not relish such additional trials of courage, constancy, steadiness of aim, and clearness of thought. But they prove nothing against the goodness of a cause; we had no right to expect exemption from them; and they will compensate for much sadness and many losses, if they make us more thoughtful and more true."

How often, over and over again had these desponding thoughts overflowed my heart.

After all, the original Tractarians were a very small knot of earnest unworldly men, while the hosts whom they dared to confront, and to whom they threw the gauntlet down, were overwhelming in numbers, overpowering in influence, and inexpugnable [*impregnable*] in prejudice. And to think that I have lived to see the change, which has been a privilege denied to so many whom I knew, and who fought at my side!

In a deep quarry pond near my house, in summer appear the raft-like leaves of golden and silver waterlilies, but for many months in the year no sign of their presence is given.

Many and many there be who have learned from the English church all that they know of God and of their duty to Him and to their fellow men. She gives to every member of her family all the nourishment needful, but does not pretend to furnish them with crumpets and mixed pickles. She instructs her children to walk straight forward with erect heads and eyes fixed on the goal, and does not feel that it is her vocation to instruct them how to trip in and out among moral and social nine-pins, with eyes on the ground to make sure that neither toe nor skirt shall upset a moral or social skittle. Look in every village and town in our land, and you are blind indeed if you fail to see Saints trained by that same Church in beautiful faith, meekness, humility and piety, and these in every class of life.

The English Gentleman and Lady.

Finally, what types of high-breeding, honour, truthfulness, justice and courtesy are, or rather were, the Christian English gentlemen. I have seen many courteous and honourable men in France and in Germany, but nowhere such a combination of manliness with integrity and nobility of character, as in the English country squire, the city merchant, and the retired military or naval officer; and as still recognisable among our tradesmen. The type of Bob

Acres has passed away out of recollection, if it ever existed; there is now none of the Branghton type (in Cecilia) [*see endnote: Branghton*] among our tradesmen; and there have been and there are, or till recently have been, among us such figures as Colonel Pendennis. It was my privilege to have had one such in my father, in whom the type was hereditary and not acquired.

And where in all the world can be found the equal to an English lady? As Thackeray has written: "I think it is not national prejudice which makes me believe that a high-bred English lady is the most complete of all Heaven's subjects in this world. In whom else do you see so much grace, and so much virtue; so much faith, and so much tenderness; with such a perfect refinement and chastity?" [*The History of Pendennis*] And such an one it was my privilege to have in my mother. And these are and have been, the product of the English Church. A tree is known by its fruit, grapes are not the product of thorns, nor figs of thistles.

Finally: to my mind never were the prospects of the Anglican Church more promising.

The other day the Vicar of a suburban extensive parish in one of our cities said to me, "A parish priest nowadays, if he is in earnest, a visitor among his people, sympathetic, and be definite in his teaching, has but to extend his palm, and he will gather in handfuls from Dissent, and some also from Popery. There be plenty of souls moreover, floundering in the Sea of Doubt, who are eager to get on board the life-boat. We have but to row to meet them, so as to haul them in."

APPENDIX to CHAPTER X

THE PROGRAMME OF REFORMATION 1536-1537

In 1536 (July 11) were issued Ten Articles that embodied the Claims of the English Church to reform herself. They were signed by Thomas Cromwell; Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury; Edward Lee, Archbishop of York; John Stokesley, bishop of London; Cuthbert Tunstall, bishop of Durham; John Longlands, bishop of Lincoln, who also signed as proxy for John Voysey, bishop of Exeter; John Clerk, bishop of Bath; Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester; John Hilsey, bishop of Rochester; Richard Sampson, bishop of Chichester; Thomas Goodrich, bishop of Ely; Rowland Lee, bishop of Coventry and Lichfield (by the Bishop of Lincoln, as his proxy); John Salcot, bishop of Bangor; Nicholas Shaxton, bishop of Salisbury; Edward Foxe, bishop of Hereford; William Ruge, bishop of Norwich; William Barlow, bishop of S. David's; Robert Wharton or Parfew, bishop of S. Asaph; also by 30 abbots and 11 priors; in the lower House of Convocation by 26 archdeacons, 7 deans, 19 procurators of the parochial clergy.

These Ten Articles deserve to be considered as the unanimous voice of the Church of England, the undoubted expression of its Faith, in 1536.

First. The people were instructed to believe and to defend "the whole body and canon of the Bible," and the Three Creeds. Heresies are condemned as contravening the doctrines laid down by the four first General Councils.

Secondly. The people were to be instructed that Baptism was instituted by Christ for the remission of Original Sin, and for the conferring of the Holy Ghost, whereby men become the sons of God. Those of ripe years, who are catechumens, [*Persons being taught the rudiments of Christianity.*] must approach the font, possessed of repentance and faith.

Thirdly. The Sacrament of Penance was instituted by Christ. Penance consists of three necessary parts: Contrition, Confession and Amendment of Life. True contrition manifests itself by external acts, arising out of shame and a broken and contrite heart. Confession is the appeal of the troubled soul to God, with the outpouring of acknowledgement of its transgressions. If possible, it should be made to a priest according to the institution of Christ, who committed the Power of the Keys to His Church. As to Amendment of Life, God requires of all men to bring forth fruits of repentance.

Fourthly. In the Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of bread and wine are really contained the selfsame Body and Blood of Christ, born of Mary, and suffering on the Cross. Nothing is said of Transubstantiation. All men are to receive the Holy Sacrament with reverence after having first tried and examined themselves.

Fifthly. Concerning Justification. This is defined as remission of sin and reconciliation with God; that is to say, it consists in our becoming new creatures in Christ. For the attainment of justification are needed Faith, Contrition and Charity. It may be observed that this is the line

adopted by myself in the chapter on Atonement. The motion towards reconciliation is initiated by man, and is confirmed by God.

The other Articles relate to the Rites and Ceremonies of the Church. The abuses of images are reprimanded, yet images are not to be altogether rejected for they may serve as presenting lessons advantageous to “virtue and good example.” But all censing, kneeling to, and making oblations to images is forbidden.

Concerning the honour due to Saints it was taught that no worship should be given to them, nor should they be asked to confer gifts such as God alone can give. But their prayers might be solicited so as to unite with ours in the same aims.

With regard to Purgatory, nothing was said as to its nature. It was frankly stated that God alone knew what was the state after death. The practice of Praying for the Dead was said to be coeval with Christianity; but all such abuses as had been called into existence under the pretence of alleviating the pains of Purgatory, such as pardons purchased from Rome, and masses said before privileged images and on special sites, ought to be abolished.

In the following year, 1537, the Ten Articles were followed by the publication of The Institution of a Christian Man, otherwise known as The Bishops’ Book. This had been compiled by Convocation three years before it was issued. It was signed unanimously by the bishops, by eight archdeacons, and seventeen doctors of divinity and professors of theology. It was a popular explanation of the principles of the English Church in accordance with, and in extension [*sic*] of the Ten Articles.

It taught that the Sacerdotal [*Priestly.*] Office was instituted by Christ Himself, and was distinct from the authority committed to Kings and Princes. The teaching and governing authority committed by Christ to His Church was imparted primarily to the Apostles, and by them was transmitted to Bishops and Priests by the Imposition of Hands.

The Supremacy of the Pope is shown to be an usurpation, and unknown to the Primitive Church. There was no disparity in the Apostolic office.

No more unanimous utterance of the mind of the Church of England has ever been uttered.¹¹¹ The judgment of the Savoy Conference in 1662 approaches nearer to it, but falls far short of it. And the platform of Faith and Practice adopted by the Church of England may well be regarded as that in the Ten Articles and the Bishops’ Book of 1536 and 1537, and be the same on which she still maintains herself.

So also, the Liturgy of 1549 was the expression of the English Convocation, that of 1552 was the mutilated Office manipulated by the three foreigners, Bucer, Martyr, and Calvin, whose domination Cranmer was unable to withstand, not knowing, from day to day what he believed and what he disbelieved. Neither that nor the service book of Elizabeth in 1559 was ratified by Convocation. The Queen and Council, aided by the Parliament, and opposed by the Spiritual Peers, gave it all the sanction which it ever possessed. The Service Book of 1662 received ratification.

¹¹¹ The Necessary Doctrine or King's Book, 1543, was practically a re-edition of the Bishops’ Book.

**THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS
CONVICTIONS**

EDITOR'S ENDNOTES

EDITOR'S ENDNOTES

Abbot, George, 1562-1633: Archbishop of Canterbury. Described as a conscientious prelate but narrow in his view. Took a hostile stance towards separatists and Roman Catholics. Fell out of favour with Charles I.

Abbott, Edwin, 1838-1926: Headmaster of the City of London School, a novelist and theologian with liberal inclinations.

Abélard, Pierre, 1079-1142: French philosopher and theologian who challenged and defeated the philosophy of Realism espoused by his rival, Anselm of Laon and replaced it with the philosophy of Conceptualism. It seems possible that, in this context, Sabine confused Saint Anselm of Canterbury with Anselm of Laon.

Acres, Bob: A cowardly character in *The Rivals*, a play by Richard Brinsley Sheridan, 1751-1816.

Adams, John Couch, 1819-1892: b. Laneat near Launceston, Cornwall. Although of lowly birth he attended a private school in Devonport run by his mother's cousin, the Rev. John Couch Gryll. Sabine's acquaintance probably comes through his known close connections with clerical members of the Gryll family.

Aerius of Pontus: A 4th century presbyter whose teachings were hostile to the Church of Rome and led to his being accused of being an Arian. He regarded the observance of Easter as a Jewish superstition, was opposed to fasting and saw praying for the dead as useless. Although he failed to attract many followers and his sect disappeared soon after his death, his views were to be used many years later in support of Protestantism.

Agabus, Saint: An early follower of Christ. Said to have been one of the 70 disciples appointed by Jesus (Luke, X. 1-24). According to Acts, I. 27-28, he came to Antioch as a prophet and prophesied a famine. In Acts, XXI. 10-12., he prophesied that Paul would be bound in Jerusalem. He is revered as a Saint by both the Roman Catholic and Eastern Churches. Traditionally said to have died a martyr in Antioch.

Agapemone: A Christian sect and community founded in 1846 by **the Rev. Henry Prince**, in the village of Spaxton, Somerset. He preached the imminent return of Jesus Christ, whilst his successor actually declared himself to be Jesus Christ, re-incarnate. The community mostly consisted of wealthy, single women. Both men took many so-called 'spiritual' brides from within the community. The liaisons were in reality physical rather than spiritual and sometimes resulted in offspring.

Alfonso V, 1396-1458: King of Aragon, Sicily and Naples: Politically active, he had a turbulent rule before finally being recognised as king by the Pope in 1443. He then settled in Naples where he proceeded to beautify the city and preside over an opulent court.

Ambrose, Saint, c.340-397: Ambrose is an anglicised version of his real name, Aurelius Ambrosius. Born into a Roman Christian family he was an administrator by training and profession, it was a combination of his great popularity as Governor of Aemillia-Liguria in Northern Italy and his rhetorical eloquence that led to his unexpected appointment as Bishop of Milan in 374 despite being an administrator rather than a priest, after he had defused a very

tense situation between the Catholics and Arians in that city. He remained popular as a bishop and latterly Archbishop and remained generally successful in his containment of Arianism and implacable and persuasive opposition to paganism. He is regarded as one of the four original doctors of the Church. His success is seen as due to his administrative ability and popularity rather than his theological knowledge.

Anomie, Anomia: A breakdown in the rules of conduct. Lawlessness.

Anselm of Canterbury, Saint, 1033-1109: Benedictine monk, philosopher and prelate. Archbishop of Canterbury.

Antaeus: In Greek mythology the son of Poseidon and Gaia. Challenged all-comers to a wrestling match and dispatched them all until he faced Heracles who discovered his secret and so, instead of being beaten to the dust, was able to crush Antaeus in a bear hug.

Antinomianism: A belief that Christians are emancipated by the gospel from the obligation to keep the moral law, faith alone being necessary.

Aphraates, c.270-345: A Syrian whose Syriac name was Aphrahat. Aphraates may have been of Pagan parentage but at some point he was converted to Christianity. He was an ascetic, celibate and may have been a 'Son of the Covenant.' He may also have been a Bishop. He was a prolific theological writer and his work throws light on the early Christian Church in Persia.

Antiochus Epiphanes: Greek tyrant of 2nd century BC.

Apocalyptic: Concerned with The Revelation of the Future or Last things with particular emphasis on the coming of the Messiah. Popular Apocryphal literature during the last two centuries B. C. was predominantly Apocalyptic.

Apocrypha: The popular religious literature of the Jewish people that appeared from 200 B.C. It was not formally acknowledged by the Jewish religious hierarchy but greatly influenced the thinking and beliefs of the common people.

Aristion, died 86 B C: Greek philosopher and later tyrant of Athens.

Aristotle, 384-322 BC: A Greek philosopher and polymath whose teaching was influential in many spheres and continues to be so to this day.

Arnold, Dr. Thomas, 1795-1842: Influential educator and historian. Headmaster of Rugby School. A Broadchurch Anglican and Erastian who was strongly opposed to the High Church movement.

Athanasius, Saint, c. 296-373: Archbishop of Alexandria. A renowned theologian and important Church father who defended the faith against Arianism and secular pressure from the emperors Constantine and Constantius.

Babylonish Captivity (1 Kings VIII.46-51): Sabine was incorrect in deducing that this prayer must have been written by a subsequent hand as the reference in 1 Kings is to the earlier exile in Egypt, not the Babylonian Captivity.

Baden Powell, 1796-1860: Oxford professor of Geometry. Mathematician and Anglican Priest. Advocate of the constant uniformity of the laws of the material world. Insisted that moral and physical phenomena were completely independent and denied the existence of miracles. Promoted evolutionary theory before Darwin.

Baring-Gould, Alexander, b. 1814: Sabine's Calvinist uncle who was a vicar at Wolverhampton.

Baronius, Caesar, 1538-1607: An Italian Cardinal renowned for his sanctity. Proclaimed Venerable by Pope Benedict XIV in 1745 and canonized in 2007.

Basil of Caesaria, also known as Saint Basil the Great, 329-379: Greek Bishop of Caesarea Mozaca in Cappadocia. An important theologian who upheld the Nicene Creed, opposed heresies and established guidelines for monastic life. He was known for his work with the poor.

Baur, Ferdinand Christian, 1792-1860: Influential German theologian.

Baynes, Arthur Hamilton, 1854-1942: Anglican priest, Bishop of Natal, occasional writer.

Bernard of Clairvaux, Saint, 1090-1153: French Abbot who founded Clairvaux Abbey and the Cistercian Order.

Bernard of Morlaix in Brittany (or Cluny) 1st half 12th century: Benedictine monk, poet, satirist and hymn writer.

Berthold, Auerbach: Author of *Scharzwald Dorfgeschichten*, 1843. The title translates as 'Black Forest Village Stories.' In this book, the author was writing about the memories and stories of his childhood.

Beza, Theodore, 1519-1605: French Protestant theologian who, as a close supporter of Calvin, was actively involved in the Reformation. He spent most of his life in Geneva.

Bible Communism: The philosophy of **John Humphrey Noyes**, 1811-1886, who was associated with the Oneida Community which involved communal living in the tradition of 'Christian Perfectionism.' This has been described as 'a community based on the union of religious enthusiasm and sexual passion.'
(David White. www.philosophynow.org/john_humphrey_noyes_philosopher)

Blepsidemus and Chremylus: Characters in *PLUTUS*, a comedy by Aristophanes. See also endnote 'Plutus.'

Book of Wisdom: One of the seven Sapiential books of the Septuagint Old Testament which also included Job, Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Song of Solomon and Sirach.

Bourchier, Thomas, c.1404-1486: A descendant of Edward III. Archbishop of Canterbury, briefly Lord Chancellor and a Cardinal. He crowned Edward IV, Richard III and Henry VII.

Branghtons, The: Sabine got this wrong. The Branghtons were a social climbing family in Fanny Burney's first novel *Evelina*, not her later novel, *Cecilia*.

Bucer, Martin, 1491-1551: A German Protestant reformer who left the Dominican Order under the influence of Martin Luther. He attempted to unite Protestants and Catholics to form a German National Church separate from Rome. While under persecution in 1549 he was invited to England by Thomas Cranmer and under Cranmer's influence became Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. He is said to have influenced the 1552 version of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Bugenhagen, Professor Johannes, 1485-1558: Born in Wolin, then in the Duchy of Pomerania, now Poland. Pastor to Martin Luther. Introduced the Protestant Reformation to Pomerania and to Denmark.

Bulgarian atrocities: In 1876, the Bulgarian uprising in the Ottoman Empire was suppressed with great brutality, leading to world-wide protest. Sabine is known to have protested to Gladstone against the failure of the Conservative government to react.

Bully Rook, Sir: *Merry Wives of Windsor*. Act 2, scene 1. Thus did the Host of *The Garter Inn* address other characters.

Bunsen, Christian Charles Johann von, 1791-1866: Despite his humble origins, Bunsen became a distinguished scholar in several fields. He was also an influential diplomat with contacts in high places in Prussia, and spent time at the Vatican. He had evangelical leanings and was later involved in efforts to bring about close links between the Roman Catholicism in the Prussian Dominions and the English Evangelical Anglican Church which he admired. He encountered hostility from both Lutherans and Anglo-Catholics. He spent the last 20 years of his life in England where he studied ancient texts including the Epistles of St. Ignatius.

Caesarius of Heisterbach, 1180-1240: Prior of the Cistercian Abbey of Heisterbach. Best known as a Hagiographer and cataloguer of Miracles.

Calvin, John: (Jean Cauvin) of Noyon, Picardy, France. 1509-1564. Founder of Calvinism. Wrote *The Institutes of Christian Religion*, 1536. He collaborated with Thomas Cranmer. After 1555, he sheltered Marian exiles from England in Geneva, including John Knox and William Whittingham, through whom his doctrines were carried back to England and Scotland. He preached the infallibility of the Scriptures as the word of God and the Doctrine of Predestination and Election.

Campbell, John Mcleod, 1800-1872: An influential theologian notable for his writing on the doctrine of Atonement. Quite where he stood is unclear, very much as Sabine concluded.

Canossa, The Humiliation of: In 1076 the Holy Roman Emperor, Henry IV, renounced Gregory VII as Pope. In response the Pope excommunicated and deposed Henry at the Lenten Synod of 1076. In the military manoeuvring that followed Henry was alarmed by the Pope's threat to make the excommunication permanent and sought to meet with the Pope. However, Gregory, fearing Henry would be accompanied by an army, met with Matilda, Countess of Tuscany, with whom he travelled to the fortress of Canossa. Henry arrived at Canossa on 25 January 1077 and waited outside the castle gates for 3 days during which he is said to have worn a hair shirt and fasted. On 28 January he was admitted. He knelt and

begged for forgiveness. This was granted by the Pope who rescinded the excommunication. Henry, Gregory and Matilda then took communion together.

Cartwright, William Cornwallis, 1825-1915: Art collector, author and Liberal MP. Studied medieval art and history. He wrote about the Jesuits as well as Papal Conclaves.

Carpocrates of Alexandria: Founder of an early Gnostic sect in 1st half of the 2nd century. Known only through the negative reports of the Church fathers, chiefly Irenaeus, who strongly condemned the licentiousness of the sect.

Charles, Robert Henry, 1855-1931. Biblical scholar and theologian. Translated apocryphal and pseudoepigraphical work, including *The Book of Enoch* and *The Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*. He also wrote *Fragments of a Zadokite Work*.

Chassidim: The extremely devout Jewish sects.

Church, Richard William commonly known as “Dean Church,” 1815-1890: Theologian and writer. Described as ‘Reluctant Dean of St. Paul’s.’ Close associate of J H Newman and allied to the Tractarian movement.

Chrysostom, Saint. AD 347-407: Archbishop of Constantinople. Early Church Father.

Conybeare, William John, 1815-1857: Anglican priest, theologian and novelist. **Howson, John Saul**, 1816-1885: Dean of Chester cathedral. Co-authors of *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*. An influential book on the life of St Paul originally published 1851. Sabine would seem to have been working with the 1863 edition.

Corelli, Marie, 1855-1924: Popular but eccentric British novelist. Religious themes such as re-incarnation featured in her books.

Cowper, William 1731-1800: English poet and hymnodist. A forerunner of the Romantic poets, admired by Coleridge and Wordsworth. A fervent Evangelist. Mary Unwin and John Newton were close associates.

Cranmer, Thomas 1489-1556: A leader of the Reformation in England. Archbishop of Canterbury during the reigns of Henry VIII and Edward VI. Enabled Henry’s divorce from Catherine of Aragon thus precipitating the separation of the English Church from the Church of Rome. During Edward’s reign Cranmer wrote the first two editions of the *Book of Common Prayer* in which he was influenced by continental reformers including Bucer and Martyr. After the accession of Mary I to the throne he was imprisoned for treason and heresy and eventually executed.

Crisp, Tobias, 1600-1643: An Antinomian who proved to be a divisive figure for the English Calvinists.

Cyprian, Saint: It is likely that Sabine was not referring to St Cyprian of Carthage but to St Cyprian of Antioch. Both lived in the 3rd century. It is also likely that Sabine was referring to what is known as the ‘Great Book of St Cyprian,’ a book concerning the occult, the first known edition of which emerged in the 19th century. It is unlikely that the book was written

by St. Cyprian and, given the dubious provenance, it is not surprising that the Church of Rome refused to publish it.

Cyril, Saint, of Jerusalem, ca. 313-386: Bishop of Jerusalem and distinguished theologian of the early Church who was influential in the establishment of the Nicene Creed. He emphasised the loving and forgiving nature of God, placing emphasis on the healing power of forgiveness and of the Holy Spirit.

Decalogue, The: The Ten Commandments.

Decretals: Letters of the Pope that formulate decisions in ecclesiastical law. One of the chief sources of legislation within the Church. Many letters in this complex collection are genuine but some are apocryphal, i.e.: documents which are forged, interpolated, wrongly attributed or otherwise defective. A collection of some ninety letters is undoubtedly false and, although purporting to be attributable to different historical periods, these letters were all written in the mid-ninth century by someone writing under the pseudonym Isadore Mercator.

Dixon, William Hepworth, 1821-1879: English historian, biographer, journalist and travel writer.

Doyle, Sir Francis Hastings, 1810-1888: A minor English poet.

Dryden, John, 1631-1700: A prominent poet during the Protectorate, he had no difficulty transferring his allegiances from the Commonwealth to the Restoration and quickly established himself as a leading poet and literary critic. See endnote: *Hind and the Panther*.

Eaton, John, c.1575-1641: An Antinomian none of whose writings were allowed to be published during his lifetime.

Ebel, Johann Wilhelm, 1784-1861 and **Georg Heinrich Diestel**, 1785-1854: founders of the Mucker Society. Persecuted for their beliefs.

Ecce Homo, The author of: Friedrich Nietzsche, 1844-1869: German philosopher, classical philologist. A critic of moral systems of his day, including that of Christianity.

Epiphanius of Salamis, Saint, 310-403: Bishop of Salamis, Cyprus. Regarded as a Saint by both Roman and Eastern Churches. He is remembered as a defender of the orthodox and put together a large collection of heresies. This collection included many full quotations and the only surviving fragments of otherwise suppressed documents.

Eschatology: The doctrine of the last or final matters, such as death and the state after death.

Esdras: Greco-Latin variation of the name Ezra.

Ether: A medium, not matter, which, in the 19th and early 20th century was assumed to occupy all space and to transmit electro-magnetic waves.

Eugenius IV, Pope, 1383-1447: Crowned Pope in 1431. The most notable features of his pontificate were the ugly and inconclusive struggles with the Councils of Basel and Constance.

Euthiopic: The editor has been unable to find any definition for *Euthiopic*. Sabine probably intended *Ethiopic*. In this context, pertaining to the Ethiopic language.

Evangelicalism: A Protestant Christian movement that arose in Great Britain in the 18th century. It emphasises the need to be born again; regard for the authority of the Bible; salvation through the death and resurrection of Jesus; active expression and sharing of the gospel.

Farel, Guillaume, 1489-1565: A French Evangelist who was a founder of the Reformed Church in Switzerland. Chiefly remembered for his closeness to Calvin and for persuading him to remain in Geneva in 1536 and, eventually, to return there in 1541.

Felix: 1st Century Roman governor of Judea.

Foley, George Cadwalader, 1851-1935: Professor of Homiletics and Pastoral Care in the Divinity School, Philadelphia.

Forged Sybelline Oracles: Although superficially purporting to be the oracles of the Sybils of Greek mythology, these consist of 12 or 14 books of varying dates, authorship and religious belief. Probably covering the period 2nd century BC to 5th century AD, they provide information on Classic mythology and early Jewish and Christian belief.

Frascati's: An elegant and fashionable restaurant in Oxford St., London, that opened in 1893, was at its peak in the 1920s and was destroyed by bombs in the 2nd World War.

Free love Perfectionism: A movement that emerged in Massachusetts and Rhode Island in the 1740s. It promoted the view that certain people were divinely destined to meet and share their love after receiving spiritual confirmation. **Spiritual Wifery** was the practice whereby communal mates were temporally assigned and reassigned either by personal preference or religious authority.

Freeman, Edward Augustus, 1823-1892: Regius Professor of Modern History, Oxford. Renowned for his work on the Norman Conquest.

Gamaliel: An eminent teacher of Jewish Law in 1st century Jerusalem.

Gascoigne, Thomas, 1404-1458: Vice-chancellor, Oxford University. Theologian.

Gehenna: In Jewish and Christian scripture, Gehenna is the destination of the wicked after death.

Geneva: The home of Calvinism.

Glycerius, c.374: A deacon in Cappadocia. Apart from the wild disordered behaviour as described by Sabine, little more is known about deacon Glycerius. He is not to be confused with Archbishop Glycerius of Milan, 434-438, or with the Western Roman Emperor Glycerius, 473-474.

Gnosticism: Belief in the redemption of the spirit from matter by spiritual knowledge. A philosophy of the conflict between good and evil and between the spirit and matter, matter being evil.

Gorham Judgement, 1850: A judicial committee of the Privy Council overturned the decision of Bishop Philpotts of Exeter not to institute George Cornelius Gorham to a parish, on the grounds that certain of his beliefs indicated that he was a Calvinist. This secular judgement on an important religious matter caused a serious rift in the Anglican Church and led to the succession to Rome of many clerics including Manning. This was clearly a significant event in the early religious development of Sabine Baring-Gould, who was then 16 years of age.

Gotham, The Wise men of: There is a tradition that the people of the Nottinghamshire village of Gotham, on hearing that King John intended to build a residence there, deterred him from doing so by feigning imbecility.

Gregory of Nazianzus the Elder, 276-374: Bishop of Nazianzus in Cappadocia. A wealthy pagan converted to Christianity by his wife, Nonna in 325. Best remembered as the patriarch of a family of eminent ecclesiastics.

Guido of Arezzo, c.991-1050: A Benedictine monk and medieval musical theorist who invented modern musical notation.

Gulliver, Lemuel: The fictitious narrator and main character in *Gulliver's Travels*. Written in 1726 by Jonathan Swift.

Hallam, Robert, d.1417: Bishop of Salisbury and English representative at the Council of Constance in 1414, where he advocated the superiority of the Council over the Popes. Again in 1417, as the ally of King Henry V, he supported the Emperor's attempt to reform the Church but died suddenly later that year.

Harebell: Sabine's love of the harebell is further chronicled in his *Early Reminiscences*, pp. 293-4. At the age of 17, when living with his parents in Bayonne he wrote a poem entitled *The Campanula*. It would seem Sabine's attraction towards this plant was lifelong. See www.nevercompletelysubmerged.co.uk Sabine Baring-Gould's Adolescent Notebook, p.72.

Hawkwood, Sir John, died 1394: An English illiterate mercenary whose very successful career, financially, as the leader of mercenary companies, began when his army service under either Edward III or the Black Prince ended after the Treaty of Brétigny in 1360. He then moved to Burgundy where for a while he was involved with small mercenary bands. He then joined the 'Great Company' of mercenaries that fought against Papal troops near Avignon before moving to Italy where he rose to command the mercenary 'White Company' that served various factions at different times. He often changed sides and fought both for and against the Popes. He eventually became the Commander-in-chief of the army of Florence, where he was regarded as the saviour of Florentine independence against Milanese expansion. He was given Florentine citizenship and a pension. When he died he was buried with state honours. At the request of King Richard II his body was returned to England. Posthumously he has gained a reputation for both brutality and chivalry.

Hecatomb: A great public sacrifice of a large number of victims.

Hemans, Charles Isadore 1817-1876: English antiquary. Settled in Rome where his main study was Roman history and archaeology.

Hesiod: Greek philosopher and poet, around 700 BC. In addition to mythology, the subjects of his writing included astronomy, agriculture and economics.

Hilary of Poitiers, Saint. C. 347-420: Born of Pagan parentage, his early studies including biblical texts. These studies led him to abandon Neo-Platonism and embrace Christianity. His popularity in his home town eventually led to his being elected Bishop of Poitiers. He was a determined and active opponent of Arianism. This eventually led to his exile to Phrygia for 4 years on the orders of the Emperor Constantius. He was a writer of influential theological work.

Hildebrand: Pope St Gregory VII, c.1015-1085. Born Hildebrand of Sovana, Tuscany. Acknowledged within the Roman Catholic Church as “one of the great reforming Popes.”

Hind and the Panther, The: A long allegorical poem by John Dryden, written in 1686 around the time of his conversion to Roman Catholicism on the accession to the throne of James II. It is said to show that his conversion was an act of conviction rather than political expedience. In the poem the Church of Rome was represented by a milk white hind, the Anglican Church by the panther, the Independent Church by a bear, the Presbyterian by a wolf, the Quaker by a hare, the Socinian by a fox, the Freethinkers by an ape and the Anabaptist by a boar!

Hooper, John. 1495-1555: Reforming Anglican Bishop of Gloucester and Worcester. An active supporter of Calvinism. Imprisoned and later executed when Mary Tudor came to the throne.

Hosius of Corduba, c. 257-359: Bishop of Cordova. The Emperor Constantine’s closest Christian adviser.

Ignatius of Antioch, Saint, c. 35 or 50 to between 98 and 117 AD: One of the Apostolic Church Fathers. He was the third Bishop of Antioch, and a student of John the Apostle. As a prisoner on the way to Rome, where he was to be martyred, he wrote a series of letters which contain the essence of early Christian theology and address such matters as the sacraments and the role of Bishops. Not to be confused with Ignatius of Loyola.

Imputation of Merits: The imputation of (the Lord’s) merit is the remission of sin after repentance.

Imputed Righteousness: The concept that the righteousness of Christ is imputed to believers as though it were theirs through faith. A Lutheran doctrine equivalent to Justification by faith.

Iphigenia in Aulis: The last play written by Euripides before his death in 406 B.C. The play concerns Agamemnon, the leader of the Greek coalition at the time of the Trojan War and his decision to sacrifice his daughter, Iphigenia, to appease the goddess Artemis.

Irenaeus, Saint, AD-c.202: Bishop of Lugdunum in Gaul. An early Church Father who was very influential in the development of Christian theology.

Irvingite Church: Otherwise known as the Catholic Apostolic Church: Founded by Edward Irving, 1792-1834. Irving was a larger than life preacher, influenced by the mystical philosophy of the poet S T Coleridge. He and his followers where convinced they possessed major prophetic powers. This led to his excommunication from the Church of Scotland.

James, The Liturgy of Saint.: Associated with James the Just, brother of Jesus. Thought to be the oldest surviving Liturgy dating from around 60 AD.

Jamnia, Council of: A hypothetical 1st Century council at which the canon of Hebrew bible may have been finalised.

Jannaeus, Alexander: King of Judea, 105 BC to 76 BC. Successful military leader who was supported by the Sadducees. There was a deep mutual antagonism with the Pharisees who were persecuted by him.

Jansenism: A Christian Theological movement originating in France in the 17th century. It emphasised original sin, human depravity and the necessity of divine grace and predestination. It was strongly opposed by the Jesuits.

Jerome, Saint, c. 347-420: A Roman priest, theologian and historian. Recognised as a Saint by the Roman, Anglican and Eastern Churches. He is particularly remembered for his translation of the Bible into Latin.

Jewel, John, 1522-1571: Bishop of Salisbury. Acted as a notary to Cranmer. He was a politically active proponent of the Protestant Reformation in the Anglican Church under Elizabeth I.

Joachim of Flora, (Fiore,) 1135-1202: He founded the monastic order of San Giovanni in Fiore. He was a popular mystic and theologian who purported to uncover hidden meanings in the scriptures, especially The Book of Revelations.

Joan, Pope: A legendary female Pope, said to have reigned for a few years in the Middle Ages. This story first appeared in the 13th century and is now considered to be a fictitious anti-papal satire.

John the Divine or John of Patmos: (Revelations 1:9) traditionally John the Apostle of Jesus and John the author of the 4th Gospel.

Jowett, Benjamin, 1817-1893: Master of Balliol, Oxford. Regius Professor of Greek. Translator of Plato. Theologian. Initially drawn to the Oxford movement but the lasting influence on him was the Broad Church School of A P Stanley and Thomas Arnold, to which Sabine was opposed. Wrote *The Epistles of Saint Paul*.

Judah, The Rev. Ethelred: Co-author, with E. Saunders of *Sundar Singh: the lion hearted warrior* published in 1923. Sundar Singh, 1889-1929, was a Sikh who converted to Christianity after a vision of Christ prevented him from committing suicide. He was a Sadhu who was said to have lived a Christ-like life. The editor has been unable to find any other references to Ethelred Judah.

Kaye, John, 1783-1853: Vice-chancellor of Cambridge University. Bishop of Lincoln. Antagonistic to the Tractarians.

Keble, John, 1798-1866: Fellow of Oriel College, Oxford. Poet and Theologian. A leading figure in the Oxford movement that had its origins in the Assize sermon he gave on 'national apostasy.'

Knowling, Canon Richard, 1851-1919: Professor of Divinity, Durham University. Canon, Durham Cathedral. Extensive theological writing especially on the Apostles.

Knox, John, 1514-1572: Ordained a Catholic priest in 1536, he was influenced by early Church reformers in Scotland. He became caught up in political and ecclesiastical events which eventually led to his exile to England in 1549. He became the Royal Chaplain to King Edward VI and exerted a reforming influence on the Book of Common Prayer. On accession to the throne of Mary Tudor he moved to Geneva where he came under the influence of Calvin. On his eventual return to Scotland he led the Protestant Reformation there. He admonished Mary Queen of Scots for supporting Catholic practices and when she was imprisoned called for her execution.

Koheleth: The name of the main speaker in the Book of Ecclesiastes.

Latitudinarian: A member of a school of liberal and philosophical 17th century theologians. Once said to be free from prejudice in religious and Church matters.

Lemnos, The Women of: In Greek mythology, Aphrodite, angered by the failure of the women of Lemnos to worship at her shrine, afflicted them with a foul bodily odour which led to their husbands deserting them and taking up with female slaves. In revenge the women killed the husbands. They later took up with Jason and his Argonauts.

Lever, Charles James, 1806-1872: Irish medical practitioner and novelist who for much of his life lived and worked in Europe. His works include *Davenport Dunn*, *A Man for our Day* (1859) and *Barrington*. (1863)

Libanius, c.314-394: Greek speaking teacher of rhetoric of the Sophist school. Friend of the Emperor Julian. He remained unconverted during the rise of Christianity in the Roman Empire.

Lloyd-George, David, 1863-1945: Liberal Prime Minister. A non-conformist Christian and active member of the Christ Chapel in Criccieth, Wales. Before entering parliament and as a practising solicitor, he won the right of non-conformists to be buried in Church grounds. As a member of parliament he campaigned for the Church of England to be disestablished and disendowed.

Locke, John, 1632-1704: English philosopher

Lofthouse, William Frederick, b.1871: Wrote *Ethics and Atonement*, published 1903.

Lourdes: Location of the apparition of the Blessed Virgin Mary to Bernadette Soubirous on 11 February 1885.

Lowder, Charles Fuges, 1820-1880: Leading priest in the Anglo-Catholic Revival. Founder of the Society of the Holy Cross. Associated with both the church of St Barnabas in Pimlico and the church of St Georges-in-the-East in the slums of Wapping. An important mentor in Sabine's spiritual and career development 1864 -7.

Lucian of Samosata, AD 125-180: A Syrian rhetorician and satirist who wrote solely in Greek. Although many works have been attributed to him little is known about his life.

Luther, Martin 1483-1546: German priest and professor of Theology at **Wittenburg** where he sowed the seeds of the Reformation. Opposed the sale of indulgences in the Church of Rome. Translated the Bible into the language of the people. Excommunicated by Pope Leo X in 1520. Condemned as an outlaw by the Holy Roman Emperor, Charles V at the Diet of Worms in 1521.

Maccabean Period: The Maccabees were a priestly Jewish family that, under Mattathias and his son Judas Maccabaeus, led the revolt that overthrew Antiochus Epiphanes in 167 BC, and reconsecrated the Temple in Jerusalem. Later attempts to rise against the Romans were unsuccessful and finally came to an end in 30 B C.

Magianism: The philosophy of the Magi, a class of ancient Persian priests.

Manichaeism: Relating to the beliefs of Manichaeus, c. 216-276 AD, a native of Ecbatana, capital of the Parthian kings in Persia. He taught that everything sprang from two chief principles: Light and darkness, or good and evil.

Manning, Henry Edward: An associate of J H Newman and leading figure in the Anglo-Catholic wing of the Church of England. Along with many others, he seceded to the Church of Rome in 1851 following the Gorham Judgement. He eventually became a Cardinal and Roman Catholic Archbishop of Westminster.

Marcion: c. 85-160 AD. A Bishop in the early Church. Claimed the Jewish Scriptures were false. Followed the early Antinomian leanings of St. Paul. Excommunicated.

Martyr, Peter, 1499-1562: An Italian theologian who was influenced by Bucer's writing. In 1541 he was persecuted and prohibited from preaching. He moved to Strasbourg. Here he became Professor of Divinity before, like Bucer, being invited to England by Thomas Cranmer. He became Regius Professor of Theology at Oxford but returned to his Chair in Strasbourg on the accession of Mary I to the English Throne. He is said to have greatly influenced the 1552 version of the *Book of Common Prayer*.

Matilda of Tuscany, Countess, 1046-1115: An Italian noblewoman of vast wealth and estates with which she supported the Papacy both militarily and financially in its wars with the German King, Henry IV. The belief that her estates passed to the Papacy on her death in 1115 remains unconfirmed.

Mead, George Robert Stowe, 1863-1933: English author, influential member of the Theosophical Society and founder of the Quest Society. Studied Mathematics and Classics. Drawn to the study of Eastern religions he gave up teaching to become the private secretary to Helena Petrovna Blavatsky and her Theosophical Society. He broke with this society after 25 years and founded the Quest Society whose membership included 150 other defectors

from the Philosophical Society. The Quest Society undertook an undogmatic approach to the study of religion, philosophy and science. His writings include several studies of Gnostics.

Methodius of Olympus, Saint, died c. 311: According to Saint Jerome, Methodius was Bishop of Olympus in Lycia and later of Tyre. An early Church Father, theologian and author. He opposed Origen's doctrine that a man's body at resurrection is not the same as in life. He was eventually martyred but the circumstances are unclear.

Milman, Henry Hart, 1791-1869: Brilliant historian, ecclesiastic, playwright and hymn writer. Dean of St. Paul's.

Milner, Joseph, 1744-1799: English Evangelical Divine. Headmaster of Hull Grammar School, and part-time lecturer at Holy Trinity Church, Hull. His main published work was the *History of the Church of Christ*.

Moabite: One of the people of the ancient Kingdom of Moab, East of the lower Jordan and the Dead Sea.

Moloch: A god to whom children were sacrificed.

Montagu, Edwin, 1879-1924: Secretary of State for India in 1919

Montanism: A 2nd century heresy founded in Phrygia by the 'prophet' Montanus. He and his two female colleagues, Prisca and Maximilla, claimed the inspiration of the Holy Spirit for their prophesies and spoke in ecstatic visions. This new cult of prophesy spread rapidly across the Christian world.

Montefiore, Claud, 1866-1950: A Jewish religious teacher who devoted much time to the study of Christianity. Controversial among Jewish scholars for the level of sympathy he displayed towards Jesus and St. Paul.

Mosheim, Johann Lorenz von, 1693-1755: German Lutheran Church Historian.

Monte, Peter de: Bishop of Brescia. 1440. Papal Nuncio and collector of papal camera [i.e. papal treasury] in England.

Moulin, Dr. Lewis Du, 1606-1680: French Huguenot physician, controversialist and Erastian. Settled in England and became the Camden Professor of History at Oxford University.

Mrs. General: A formidable female character in *Little Dorrit* by Charles Dickens.

Mrs Gummidge and Peggotty: Characters in Charles Dicken's *David Copperfield*.

Mucker: Derogatory nickname, implying hypocrisy, for a member of the German Königsberg sect of dualistic Theosophists.

Muratori, Ludovicio Antonio, 1672-1750: Distinguished Italian Scholar noted for his discovery of the Muratorian Fragment – the oldest known list of the books of the New

Testament in the form of 85 pages of a 7th century Latin codex found in Columban's monastery, Bobbio.

Natural Religion: One dictionary definition of Natural Religion or Natural Theology is: 'A religion derived from reasoned facts, not revelation.' In volume I of his book, *The Origin and Development of Religious Belief*, Sabine would seem to explore this philosophical concept, particularly in the chapters *Pantheism* and *The History of Theosophy*, without ever mentioning it by name. It is of interest that the book is actually dedicated to Sabine's father.

Neander, Joachim, 1659-1680: German Calvinist teacher, Theologian and hymn writer.

Neale, John Mason, The Rev., 1818-1866: Warden of Sackville College. A renowned theological scholar, he also wrote and translated many hymns. His writing was an important influence on Sabine's spiritual development. Indeed the 'Church History Tales' given him in his childhood by his Uncle the Rev. Charles Baring-Gould and which was the first significant influence on his spiritual development was almost certainly Neale's *A Mirror of Faith: Lays and Legends of the Church of England* published by Burns and Walters in 1845. For many years Neale was prohibited from preaching by Bishop Gilbert of Chichester because of his use of ritual and the Cross in services.

Neoplatonism: The term now used to describe a 3rd Century school of religious and mystical philosophy based on the teaching of Plato. The earliest contributor was Plotinus.

Newman, John Henry, 1801-1890: Oxford academic, priest, theologian and poet. A leading member of the Oxford Movement and renowned for the publication of the *Tracts for our Times*. He seceded to Rome after the hostile reception of his tracts and rose to become a Cardinal in the Roman Catholic Church.

Neville, George, c.1432-1476: Archbishop of York and Chancellor of England until he fell into disfavour with Edward V. Youngest son of Richard Neville, 5th Earl of Salisbury and brother of Richard Neville, 16th Earl of Warwick, "the Kingmaker." Deeply involved in the troubled politics of the period. Frequently changes allegiance according to which way the wind was blowing and was for some time in prison on a charge of treason. Nevertheless described as a respected scholar and benefactor of Oxford University.

Nicaea, The Ecumenical Council of, AD 325: Convened by the Emperor Constantine. The first attempt to attain consensus in the Church through an assembly of bishops representing all Christendom.

Nicene Creed, The: The Nicene Creed was adopted by the first Ecumenical Council which met in Nicaea in 325 AD. The Creed is the profession of faith used in the liturgy of most Christian Denominations.

Nicodemus, Saint: A Pharisee and member of the Sanhedrin who favoured Jesus and helped Joseph of Aramathea to prepare Jesus' body for burial. He may have been martyred in the 1st century and is venerated by both the Eastern Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches.

Nicolatans: Nicolatism, named after the deacon Nicholas, was an heretical early Christian sect in Ephesus and Pergamon. Little is known of the nature of the heresy. Irenaeus stated

“they lived lives of unrestrained indulgence.” Thomas Equinus thought they promoted polygamy.

Norris, Canon John Pilkington, 1842-1891: Author of *The Rudiments of Theology*, 1876. This was a first book for students of Theology.

Oesterley, William, 1866-1950: Anglican theologian. Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament, Kings College, London.

Ophites: A Gnostic sect of 2nd century AD. Various confusing descriptions are given but they seem to have worshipped the serpent of Genesis, which they somehow identified with Jesus.

Origen Adamantius, c.184-253: An important Church Fathers. An outstanding Alexandrian theologian, whose open mind was prepared to contemplate possibilities that sometimes invited criticism.

Paget, Francis Edward, 1806-1882: Anglo-Catholic Rector of Elford, Staffordshire. Clergyman and author of books such as *Tales of the Village* and *Tales of the Village Children*.

Parker, Theodore, 1810-1860: Transcendentalist and reforming minister of the Unitarian Church. Massachusetts.

Paschal: The editor has been unable to establish the identity of this writer with any certainty. It is however probable that Sabine was referring to **Blaise Pascal** (1623-62) a brilliant French mathematician who, following a conversion experience in 1654, devoted the rest of his life to philosophy and theology. Sabine referred to Pascal several times in his *Origin and Development of Religious Belief*.

Pecksniffianism: Hypocrisy, after the character Pecksniff in Charles Dickens' *Martin Chuzzlewit*.

Pelagianism: The doctrine of the 5th century British monk, Pelagian, who denied original sin.

Pendennis, Colonel: It can be presumed that Sabine was referring to a character in *The History of Pendennis* by W F Thackeray. But Pendennis is not a Colonel in this novel, only a major. Neither does he impress as *a true English gentleman* any more than does Colonel Altamont, another character in the novel.

Peregrinus Proteus, c. 95-165: Born in Parium he became a member of a Christian community in Palestine from which he was expelled for his behaviour. He became a wandering Cynic philosopher but would appear to have sought confrontations with authority. For some time he threatened to immolate himself at an Olympic games, and eventually carried out this threat at the Olympic Games of 165. This event was witnessed by Lucian the satirist of Samatosa who wrote a satire *The Death of Peregrinus*. The details of his life have been gleaned solely from this satire.

Perizzites: A conquered Canaanite tribe of farmers driven out of their land by Abraham.

Pharisaism: An interpretation of the Mosaic Law by an ancient Jewish sect involving an obsessive and self-righteous concern with the rules covering the detail of everyday life.

Pietist: Someone marked by a strong devotional feeling. Used, alongside *Mucker*, as a derogatory term for a member of the Konigsberg sect.

Pinch, Tom: A character in Charles Dickens' novel *Martin Chuzzlewit*.

Plutus: An ancient Greek comedy by Aristophanes, 5th century B C. A political satire featuring Plutus, the personified god of wealth. The play also features **Chremylus** and **Blepsidemus** both of whom are mentioned by Sabine in chapter 9. See endnote: Blepsidimus.

Pope and the Council, The: By Johannes Josef Ignaz von Dollinger (pseudonym: Janus) together with J N Huber and J Friedrich. Published 1869. A Repudiation of the Dogma of Papal Infallibility.

Pornocracy: The influence of courtesans over the Papal court in the 10th century.

Prophets of the Cevennes, also known as the Camisards: Huguenot refugees who escaped persecution in the late 17th Century by fleeing to the Cevennes where they became known for prophesy, healing and speaking in tongues.

Protagoras: A dialogue of Plato (c.434-348 BC) between the elderly Protagoras, a well-known Sophist, and Socrates. The dialogue concerned the nature of Sophism and the teachability of virtue. **Sophists**, in Ancient Greece, were teachers who used philosophy and rhetoric for the purpose of teaching excellence and virtue.

Psalms: Composers of the psalms. Prophets, who proclaimed the divine message. The psalmists and prophets promoted the spiritual nature of the Jewish religion as opposed to the superficial Pharasiac and Rabbinic pre-occupation with ritual and ceremonial trivia.

Pseudo-Barnabas of Alexandria: Author of the Epistle of Barnabas. Not to be confused with St. Barnabas who travelled with St Paul and founded the Cypriot Church.

Pseudepigrapha: Books ascribed to Old Testament characters but not judged genuine by scholars.

Psichari: Ioannis Psycharis (Jean Psichari) 1854-1929: Born in Odessa, became a French writer and philologist.

Quiller-Couch, Arthur, 1863-1944: Cornish writer and literary critic. Professor of English Literature, Cambridge University. Editor of the Oxford Book of English Verse. Wrote *Hetty Wesley* in 1903.

Quirinal: The tallest of the seven hills in Rome and the site of the Quirinal Palace, currently the residence of the President of the Republic of Italy.

Rabbinism: The doctrine of the teaching of the Jewish Rabbis, strictly according to the written, and predominantly ceremonial, laws.

Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa from 411-435: A pagan who converted to Christianity through contact with a miraculous healing event. He thereupon disposed of all his possessions, separated from wife and family and entered the life of an ascetic hermit until elected Bishop of Edessa. He was noted for his fierce opposition to all heresies. Not to be confused with the unknown writer of the 6th Century illuminated Rabbula Gospels

Ramsay, Sir William Mitchell. 1851-1939: Archaeologist and New Testament Scholar. Authority on St Paul's Missionary journeys and early Christianity in the Roman Empire. Author of *St. Paul the Traveller and the Roman Citizen* and *The Church of the Roman Empire before 170 A. D.*

Randall, Giles: Published his *Theologia* in the 1640s. An influential Antinomian, he was twice tried in the Star Chamber, the second time for heresy and in 1644 was removed from the ministry.

Realism and Nominalism: Realism was the medieval philosophical doctrine that general terms stand for real existence, whereas Nominalism is the doctrine that the objects to which general terms refer are related to one and other only by the terms. [*Readers will understand that this obscure philosophical definition passed from my eyes to my fingers without engaging my brain – rjw*]

Renan, Ernest of Brittany, 1823-1892: Philosopher, historian and writer. Studied Middle languages and culture. Wrote on early Christianity.

Retzch, Moritz: German artist 1779- 1857.

Richie, Anna Isabella, Lady, 1837-1919: Writer. Eldest daughter of W M Thackeray.

Robert of Geneva, 1342-1394: In 1378 elected by the French Cardinals as the first Antipope of the Great Schism under the name of Clement VII and in opposition to Pope Urban VI. As Papal legate to Italy in 1376-8, in the process of putting down a rebellion, he is said to have ordered the massacre of 4,000 people at Cesena.

Rundle: A Bridestowe tradesman. In *Early Reminiscences* p. 248, he was described by Sabine as a plumber, painter, glazier, builder and musician. Bridestowe is a village some 4 miles east of Lew Trenchard.

Sadducee: A member of the Jewish priestly and aristocratic party of traditionalists whose reactionary conservatism was opposed to the attitudes of the Pharisees. The Sadducees rejected the concept of the resurrection of the body.

Salathiel, otherwise known as **Ezra,** son of Jeconiah, was King of Judah. 6th century BC.

Salette, La: Location of the apparition of the Blessed Virgin Mary to two young children, Mélanie Calvat and Maximin Giraud on 19 September 1846.

Saltmarsh, John, d. 1647: Controversial writer and preacher. An Antinomian, he has been described as *that strange genius, part poet, part whirling dervish.*

Sanballat: A prominent Samaritan in 5th century BC at the time of Nehemiah, when the Hebrew nation had returned from Babylon and were rebuilding Jerusalem. He was a vociferous opponent of the Hebrews and his hostility and that of the Samaritan people was both verbal and physical. Sabine's reference to Sanballat is almost a straight lift from Henry Hart Milman's *The History of Christianity, from the birth of Christ to the abolition of paganism in the Roman Empire*.

Sanhedrin: Jewish Supreme Council and Court.

Sarum Rite: A variation of the Roman Rite used for the ordering of Christian Public Worship. Introduced by St Osmund, Bishop of Salisbury, 1078.

Savoy Conference 1662: The Savoy Conference of 1661, held after the restoration of Charles II, was an unsuccessful attempt to reconcile the liturgical divisions within the Church of England. It was followed by the Act of Uniformity of 1662 and the 'Great Rejection' by the majority of nonconformists.

Schiller, Friedrich, 1759-1805: German poet, philosopher and historian. A close associate of Goethe.

Schoolmen: Schoolmen (or scholastics) were the academics in medieval universities whose teaching was dominated by a method of critical thought known as scholasticism which was developed by, among others, Abelard, Anselm of Canterbury and Thomas Aquinas.

Scottists: Scotism, a form of Scholasticism, was founded by Duns Scotus, 1265-1308. He was a Scottish Franciscan theologian who greatly influenced Roman Catholic thinking. He was beatified in 1993.

Septuagint: An ancient Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible, made between the 3rd century BC and 132 BC.

Shadow, The: This anecdote confirms that Sabine did indeed spend his last years living and writing in the room above the kitchen that overlooked the courtyard and the north wing of Lew House.

Shekinah: In Judaism, the Divine Presence.

Sheol: An early concept of the afterlife in Hebrew scripture. Essentially the grave, pit or abyss. Equivalent to the Greek Hades.

Shepherd of Hermas, The: A Christian literary work of the 1st or 2nd Century. Irenaeus, among other Church fathers, regarded it as canonical scripture. At one time it was accepted as part of the New Testament, appearing between the Acts of the Apostles and the Acts of St. Paul.

Simeonite: A follower of Charles Simeon, 1759-1836. He was an Evangelical Clergyman and a founder of the Church Missionary Society.

Simony: The buying or selling of ecclesiastic benefices: After Simon Magus, Acts 8: 9-24.

Simpson, John, died 1662: Involved in the spread of Antinomianism amongst the Puritans.

Smith, F E (Frederick Edwin) 1st Earl of Birkenhead, 1872-1930: Lord Chancellor, 1919. He opposed the disestablishment of the Church of England.

Smith, Sydney 1771-1845: Anglican Cleric and writer. A popular preacher. His best known work, published anonymously, was *Peter Plymley's Letters* in which he wrote in favour of Catholic emancipation.

Socinianism: A Christian Doctrine developed in the Minor Reformed Church of Poland in 15th and 16th centuries and named after Faustus Socinus. Along with other unorthodox beliefs this was a Nontrinitarian Church.

Socrates of Constantinople, c.380-451 A D: An historian especially noted for being the first non-cleric to write Church History. Not to be confused with the Classical Greek Philosopher of the same name.

Solifidianism: The belief that only faith can bring redemption.

Soterichus Pantogenus, the Patriarch of Antioch elect: The spelling of the name is uncertain, probably Pantengenus. At the Council of Constantinople of 1156 he was accused of Arianism. Arius preached that God, the Son, was subordinate to God, the Father. For this he was pronounced a heretic.

S. P. G: The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. Founded in 1701.

Spurgeon, Charles Haddon, 1834-1892: An influential preacher who was described as the "Prince of Preachers." He was said to have preached to 10 million people in all. New Park Street Chapel, London and later the Metropolitan Tabernacle at the Elephant and Castle were popular venues. He became increasingly controversial and was eventually forced to leave the Baptist Union of Great Britain.

Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn, 1815-1881: Dean of Westminster. Theological writer. Educated at Rugby under Arnold, by whom he was influenced and whose biography he wrote in 1844. A Broad Church man. Nevertheless, unlike Arnold, he was sympathetic towards the Tractarians when they were being persecuted in the mid 19th century.

Stoicism: A popular school of Greek Philosophy founded in the 3rd Century by Zeno of Citium. It taught that destructive emotions caused errors of judgement and that a person of moral and intellectual perfection (i.e. a sage) would not suffer such emotions. Stoics were concerned with the relationship between Determinism and human freedom as well as the virtue of a will that is in accord with nature.

Strauss: Possibly **David Friedrich Strauss**, 1808-1874: A German Theologian and writer who was a pioneer in the historical investigation of Jesus but who denied the divine nature of Christ.

Sumner, John Bird, 1780-1862: Bishop of Chester, later Archbishop of Canterbury. Member of the Evangelical wing of the Church. He was criticised for his stance in the Gorham case. This would not have endeared him to Sabine.

Symes, John Elliotson 1847-1921: Author of *The Evolution of the New Testament*, 1921.

Synoptic Gospels: The Gospels of Matthew, Mark and Luke, all of which are written from the same point of view.

Tait, Archibald Campbell, 1811-1882: Archbishop of Canterbury. Confirmed in the Church of England during his time at Oxford University, but he was never sympathetic to the Oxford Movement.

Tartarus: A deep, dark abyss, far below the Greek Hades and a place of punishment for evil doers.

Taylor, Isaac, 1787-1865: English philosopher and historical writer. Also an artist and inventor.

Teresa of Avila, Saint, 1515-1582: Spanish mystic and Carmelite nun. Theologian and writer of the *Counter Reformation*.

Thackeray W M, 1811-1863: Novelist. His novel 'The Newcomes' was written in 1855.

Theophilus Anglicanus: A students' manual of the Anglican Church, with Anglo-Catholic leanings. Written by Bishop Christopher Wordsworth of Lincoln who was an Anglo-Catholic Theologian and hymn writer. The book was regarded by Sabine as an important factor in his own spiritual development. *Early Reminiscences*, p 197.

Thomas à Kempis, 1380-1471 (Thomas of Kempen, Germany): Medieval monk. Copyist, biographer and theological writer.

Thomists: Followers of the philosophical doctrines of Thomas Aquinas, c.1225-1274, a system that dominated scholasticism. Thomists emphasised the virtualities unlike the Scottists who made great use of formalities.

Tichborne, The Manor of, in Hampshire: Notorious for the claim in the 19th century, by Arthur Orton, an Australian, to be Roger Tichborne, the long lost heir to the estate.

Townsend, Doctor: Possibly George Townsend, 1788-1857, Prebendary of Durham. Writer and poet.

Tracking Satyrs, The: A 5th century BC play by the Athenian Sophocles.

Tractarianism: A name given to the Anglo-Catholic Revival, also known as the **Oxford Movement**. This had its beginnings in the publication, between 1833 and 1844 of *Tracts for the Times*, by, among others, John Henry Newman, John Keble and Edward Bouverie Pusey.

Universalism: The doctrine of the ultimate salvation of all mankind.

Uzzah: An Israelite whose death was associated with touching the Ark of the Covenant. II Samuel 6: 1-10.

Vaughan, Henry of Llangattock, Wales (possibly), 1621-1695: Physician and metaphysical poet.

Valentianianism: A Gnostic movement founded in 2nd century AD by Valentinus, who was born in Egypt and died in Alexandria. A widespread and influential Gnostic movement condemned by the Church Fathers, especially St. Irenaeus, as heretical.

Warburton, Bartholomew Elliott George, 1810-1852: Irish novelist and travel writer. *Darien* was a historical novel published in 1851, when it was probably first encountered by a 17 year old Sabine.

War of Investitures: In the 11th and 12th Centuries a series of Popes challenged the authority of European monarchies over clerical appointments. The main conflict, between Pope Gregory VII and Henry IV, Holy Roman Emperor, began in 1075. The conflict was finally resolved with the Concord of Worms in 1122.

Watts, Isaac, 1674-1748: An English theologian and prolific hymn writer, known to have written some 750 hymns, many of which are still sung today around the world.

Wesley, Charles, 1707-1798: Younger brother of John Wesley. A leading Methodist but best known as a prolific writer of well-known hymns.

Wesley, John, 1703-1791: Influential Evangelical cleric, and founder, along with his brother Charles, of Methodism, although he remained within the Church of England throughout his life. His theology was firmly grounded in sacramental theology and he promoted 'holiness of heart and life.'

White, John, 1510-1560: Bishop of Winchester, a Catholic deprived of his see and imprisoned by Elizabeth I in 1559.

Wittenburg: Where the Reformation began under the influence of Martin Luther.

Xavier, Francis of Spain, 1506-1552: A student of St. Ignatius of Loyola, a co-founder of the Society of Jesus and one of the first seven Jesuits. For most of his life a missionary in Asia.

Zadkiel: Zadkiel's Almanack was a popular astrological almanac founded by Richard J. Morrison, alias Zadkiel, in the early 19th century. It continued to be published well into the 20th century.

Zadocites: Possibly Sabine intended the Zadokites, a priestly dynasty descended from Zadok, the high priest who anointed King Solomon.

Zendavesta: The ancient sacred writings of the Parsees.

Zwingli, Huldrych, 1484-1531: An influential leader of the Reformation in Switzerland. Met with Martin Luther, but although they agreed on many doctrinal issues they disagreed over the presence of Christ in the Eucharist.

**THE GROWTH OF RELIGIOUS
CONVICTIONS**

EDITOR'S INDEX

EDITOR'S INDEX

- Aaron, 25, 45
 Abbot, Archbishop George, 20
 Abbott, The Rev. Dr. Edwin, 163, 164, 169, 194
 Abelard., 100
 Abraham, 6, 42, 53, 62, 65, 75, 87, 103, 208
 Acres, Bob, 189
 Adams, Professor John Couch, 35
 Adrian IV, Pope, 154
 Advowsons, xxv, 177, 178, 179
 Aerius of Pontus, 22, 194
 Aeschylus, 128
 Aesop, 83
 Agabus, Saint, 16, 194
 Agamemnon, 16, 202
 Agapae, the Love Feasts, 19
 Agapemone, 93, 194
 Ahikar, 120
 Alberic, son of Marozia, 142
 Alexander III, Pope, 154
 Alexander the Great, xxii, 46, 75, 142, 143, 196, 203
 Alexander VI, Pope, 142
 Alexandria, 58, 63, 65, 195, 198, 209, 214
 Ambrose, possibly Ambroise, 150, 163, 194
 Amhaarez, 46, 47
 Anastasius III, Pope, 141
 Anatolia, Anatolian 80, 81, 85, 86, 87, 88
 Andrew, Saint, 166, 185
 Anglican, xi, xv, xxiii, xxvi, 3, 7, 11, 138, 140, 147, 148, 178, 189, 195, 196, 197, 198, 201, 202, 203, 208, 212
 Annas, 119
 Anomia, 85
 Anselm, Saint of Canterbury, xx, 99, 100, 101, 105, 110, 113, 114, 115, 194, 195, 211
 Antaeus, 183, 195
 Anthropomorphism, 66
 Antinomian, Antinomianism, xv, 20, 56, 58, 84, 91, 195, 198, 199, 205, 210, 212
 Antioch, 14, 48, 52, 53, 58, 60, 72, 76, 84, 91, 172, 194, 198, 202, 212
 Antiochus Epiphanes, 42, 43, 75, 79, 195, 205
 Aphraates, 18, 195
 Apocalypse, 43, 57
 Apocalyptic, Apocalyptists, 37, 42, 43, 46, 47, 48, 49, 59, 60, 62, 63, 67, 72, 73, 119, 195
 Apocrypha, Apocryphal, Apocryphists xviii, 42, 44, 45, 47, 48, 49, 50, 56, 58, 61, 62, 63, 65, 67, 72, 74, 80, 98, 118, 195
 Apostolate, 11, 53
 Apostolic, xv, xviii, 8, 9, 11, 13, 17, 19, 20, 21, 22, 44, 48, 76, 87, 89, 93, 94, 95, 120, 140, 141, 148, 151, 152, 155, 167, 191, 202, 203
 Arabian Nights, 120
 Argives, 103
 Aristion, 112, 195
 Aristophanes, 102, 103, 167, 181, 196, 209
 Aristotle, 81, 122, 195
 Arnold, Bishop of Orleans, 142
 Artemis, 87
 Ascetic, 30, 108
 Assurance, 79, 85, 91, 93, 96, 125, 129
 Athanasian Creed, 164
 Athanasius, Saint, 100, 195
 Atonement, iii, xix, xx, 66, 99, 101, 103, 105, 106, 107, 109, 110, 111, 113, 114, 191, 197, 204
 Auerbach, Berthold, 19 C. German author, 27, 196
 Augustine of Canterbury, Saint, 143
 Auxentius, Bishop of Milan, 150
 Azrael, 73
 Baal, 103
 Babylonians, 57
 Babylonish Captivity, 106, 195
 Baden Powell, 25, 196
 Balaam, 62, 164
 Baptism, 12, 47, 58, 141, 184
 Baptizing for the dead, 17
 Baring-Gould, Alexander, the Rev., 70
 Baring-Gould, Charles, the Rev., 2
 Baring-Gould, Edward 'my father', 2, 138, 189
 Baring-Gould, Edward, Sabine's son, xxii
 Baring-Gould, Marian, Sabine's daughter-in-law, xiii, xxii
 Baring-Gould, Sophia, 'my mother', 2, 36, 51, 189

- Barnabas, Saint, 51, 52, 53, 72, 73, 76, 205, 209
- Baronius, Cardinal Caesar, 141, 196
- Basil, Saint, the Great, 19
- Baur, Ferdinand Christian, xxvii, 58, 91, 196
- Bayonne, xvi, 7, 15, 201
- Beethoven. Ludwig van, 71, 136
- Benedict VIII, Pope, 152
- Bernard of Clairvaux, Saint, 163
- Bernard of Morlaix, 163, 196
- Bethlehem, 101
- Beza, Theodore, 20, 196
- Bible Communism., 93
- Bird-tides, 134
- Bishop Gregory of Nona, 142
- Bishops' Book, the, 179, 191
- Blepsidemus, 167, 196, 209
- Boccaccio, Giovanni, 141
- Bond, Kate, xxvi
- Boniface IX, Pope, 146
- Book of Ecclesiastes, 62, 204
- Book of Truths, The. By Thomas Gascoigne, 144
- Book of Wisdom, 62, 63, 196
- Bourchier, Archbishop Thomas, 144, 196
- Bradford, diocese of, 187
- Branghtons, The, 189
- Bratton Clovelly, 184
- British Critic, The, 184
- British Magazine, The, 184
- Broad Churchman, 178
- Browning, Robert, 8
- Bucer, Martin, 20, 191, 197, 198, 205
- Buddhist, x, 30, 108
- Bugenhagen, Professor, 153, 197
- Bulgarian Atrocities, 85
- Bully Rook, Sir, 183, 184
- Bunsen, C C J von, 11, 197
- Caesarea, 52, 60
- Caesarius of Heisterbach, 129, 197
- Caiaphas, 119
- Calvary, 66, 98, 99, 101
- Calvin, John, xix, xx, 20, 70, 76, 100, 105, 110, 113, 114, 128, 152, 175, 191, 196, 197, 200, 204
- Calvinism, Calvinist, Calvinistic, iii, xvii, xix, xxv, 70, 76, 94, 95, 101, 102, 113, 164, 175, 176, 178, 196, 197, 200, 201, 207
- Campanula, harebell, xxiv, 168, 169
- Campbell, John McLeod, 110
- Canaanites, 42, 75, 102, 103, 104
- Canon, The, 43, 45, 106, 204, 208
- Canossa, 154, 197
- Carpocrates, 91, 198
- Cartwright, William Cornwallis, 151, 198
- Catechism, 80, 94, 180
- Ceremonial Law, 80, 85
- Cessna, 159
- Chancellor of the Exchequer, 144, 177, 178, 196, 207, 212
- Charles I, King, 175
- Charles of Anjou, 154
- Charles, Dr Henry Robert, 45
- Chassidim, 47, 198
- Chosen People, 42, 62, 107
- Chremylus, 167, 196, 209
- Christian III, King of Denmark, 153
- Christian Remembrancer, 184, 188
- Chrysostom, Saint, 13, 18, 58, 91, 177, 198
- Church Association, xxv, 176, 178, 179, 184, 186
- Church of Rome, 152
- Church Patronage Society, 178
- Church Quarterly Review, xi, 121, 184
- Church, Dean Richard William, 114, 198
- Church Revival, The, by S Baring-Gould, xxv
- Clement V, Pope, 155, 156, 159
- Colossians, Epistle to, 59, 95
- Columbus, Christopher, 71
- Congregationalists, 177
- Consecration, 149, 151, 153, 155, 158
- Constantine, 83, 169, 195, 202, 207
- Conybeare, William John, 52, 54, 198
- Copernicus, Nicolaus, 71
- Corelli Marie, 72
- Corinth, xvii, 10, 11, 12, 19, 48, 88
- Cornelius, 98, 201
- Coronation, Papal, 153, 154, 155, 158
- Council at Seleucia, 18
- Council of Constance, 142, 144, 201
- Council of Sinuessa, 141
- Council of Spalato, 142
- Council of Trent, 140, 142
- Council of Nicaea, 169
- Covenant, The, 54, 79, 81, 106, 213
- Cowper, William, 14, 83, 92, 198

- Cranmer, Thomas, 190, 197, 205
 Creation, 8, 27, 28, 38
 Creator, 12, 90, 109
 Creed, 7, 12, 14, 94, 98, 99, 163, 164, 170, 196, 199, 207
 Crisp, Tobias, 92, 96, 198
 Crispus, 84
 Cromwell, 190
 Cromwell, Oliver, 101
 Crown, the, 150, 151, 154, 158, 176, 177, 178
 Curiales, 146
 Cyprian, Saint, 143, 198, 199
 Damascus, 47, 48, 50, 51
 Danube, river, 113, 114, 115
 Darwin, Charles, xvi, 7, 9, 29, 196
 David, King, 37, 48, 82, 83, 86, 107, 110, 182, 184, 190, 196, 204, 206, 212
 Davidson, Samuel, 104
 de Clemangis, John, 142
 de Monte, Peter, 144, 145
 Decalogue, 78, 104, 106, 199
 Decretals, The, 143, 153
 Deuteronomy, 104, 143
 Devil, the, 98, 129, 177, 187
 Dickens, Charles, 110, 206, 208, 209
 Dickinson, Bickford, xiii
 Didache, 16
 Diestel, Georg Heinrich, 92, 93, 199
 Divine Discontent, viii, 34
 Divine Will, 86
 Dixon, William Hepworth, 92, 199
 Doyle, Sir Francis Hastings, 170
 Driver, Samuel Rolles, 104
 Dryden, John, 145, 199, 202
 Duine, l'abbé François, viii
 Early Communism, 13
 Eaton, John, 92, 96, 199
 Ebel, Johann Wilhelm, 92, 93, 199
 Ecce Homo, 163, 199
 Ecclesiastical Miracles, 39
 Edward VI, 78, 82, 175, 198
 Elect, the, 70, 74, 75, 79, 128, 178
 Election, 58, 70, 75, 76, 150, 151, 152, 154, 155, 156, 158, 197
 Elias, 145
 Elliotson Symes, John, 74
 Enoch, Book of, 44, 198
 Ephesus, xvii, 56, 61, 95, 166
 Epimetheus, 108
 Epiphanius, Bishop of Salamis, 18, 22, 199
 Episcopate, 9, 11, 13, 149, 150, 153, 155
 Epistle to the Galatians, 54, 80, 81, 87
 Epistle to the Hebrews, 44, 98, 102, 148
 Erasmus, 164
 Esau, 76
 Eschatology, iii, xiv, xx, xxi, 117, 118, 127, 199
 Esdras, 57, 199
 Essene, 30
 Ether, 125, 126
 Ethiopian Eunuch, 12
 Eucharist, 13, 19
 Eucharist, the, 53, 61, 178, 186, 214
 Eugenius IV, Pope, 144, 199
 Evangelical, Evangelicalism, Evangelists, xxiv, xxv, 70, 76, 85, 118, 120, 164, 165, 175, 176, 178, 179, 185, 187, 200, 211, 212, 214
 Everlasting Damnation, 128
 Evil, xix, 90, 108, 129, 140
 Evolution, Evolution, Law of, xv, xvi, xvii, xix, 9, 10, 13, 16, 17, 24, 27, 29, 30, 72, 74, 213
 Exarch at Ravenna, 152, 156
 Exeter Cathedral, xxvi, 185
 Ezekiel, 72, 105, 174
 Ezra, 57, 58, 106, 199, 210
 Faenza, 159
 Fairweather, William, 45
 Fall, The, xvi, 30, 32
 Farel, Guillaume, 20, 200
 Felix, Governor of Judea, 60, 200
 Felix, Pope, 151
 Ferrara, 159
 Florence, 159, 201
 Florentia, 18
 Foley, George Cadwalader, 114, 115, 200
 Frascati's restaurant, 27, 200
 Free Love Perfectionists, xix, 92, 93
 Free Will, 31, 70, 95, 109
 Freeman, Professor Edward Augustus, 85, 200
 Galatia, 84
 Galatian, 53, 81, 87, 88, 92
 Galatian epistle, 53
 Galileo, Galilei, 71
 Gamaliel, 50, 74, 76, 200
 Gamblers Children, The, 32

- Garden of Gethsemane, 101
 Gascoigne, Thomas, 144, 200
 Gehenna, 17, 200
 General, Mrs, 176, 177, 206
 Genesareth [Gennesaret] Sea of, 33, 52
 Geneva, 175, 185, 197, 200
 Genoa, 159
 Gentiles, xix, 43, 48, 49, 50, 61, 72, 76, 80, 81, 121, 131
 Gilbert and Sullivan, 172
 Glycerius, 19, 200
 Gnostic, Gnosticism, xix, 12, 58, 81, 90, 91, 114, 198, 201, 208, 214
 Gogmagog hills, 74
 Golgotha, 101
 Gorham Judgment, The, 162
 Gotham, Wise Men of, 148
 Grace, x, xiii, 51, 62, 101, 112, 148, 149, 151, 155, 171
 Gregory III, Pope, 152
 Gregory IX, Pope, 145
 Gregory VII, Pope, xxii, 152, 154, 197, 202, 214
 Gregory X, Pope, 154
 Gregory XI, Pope, 159
 Guido of Arezzo, 71, 201
 Gulliver, Lemuel, 144
 Gutenberg, Johannes, 71
 Hadow, W E, tutor, 2
 Haileybury College, 2
 Hallam, Bishop, 144
 Hamilton Baynes, Dr Arthur, 121
 Handel, George Frideric, 71
 Harold, King, 85
 Harvey, William, 71
 Hawkwood, John, 159, 201
 Hecatomb, 103
 Hell, 110, 127, 140, 142, 177
 Hellenism, 46, 75
 Hellenists, 75, 76
 Hemans, Charles Isadore, 146, 147, 202
 Henry II, King of England, 154
 Henry VIII, King, 42, 175, 198
 Hercules, 83
 Herodian Apocrypha, 72
 Herodotus, 176
 Hesiod, 108, 202
 Hetaira, 88
 High Churchman, 178
 Hilary, Saint, 18
 Hildebrand, Pope Gregory VII, xxii, xxiii, 143, 152, 153, 154, 155, 202
 Hilkiah the high priest, 104
 Hind and the Panther, The, 145
 Hinom, valley of, 107
 Hippisley Cox, Robert, 45
 Holy Orders, 149
 Home-sickness, 131
 Homing instinct, 130
 Hooper, Bishop John of Gloucester, 20, 202
 Hosius, Bishop of Corduba, 83, 202
 Howson, John Saul, 52, 54, 198
 Ibn Yokdhan, 167
 Ignatius of Antioch, Saint, 10, 17, 197, 202, 214
 Imputation of Merits, 83, 202
 Imputed Righteousness, 81, 95, 202
 Incarnation, x, xvi, xxii, 24, 60, 66, 99, 100, 101, 108, 109, 111, 114, 164
 Indian fakir, 30
 Indian summer, 135, 136
 Indulgences, xx, 101, 144, 145
 Innocent III, Pope, 145
 Innsbruck, 109
 Iphegenia in Aulis, 16
 Irenaeus, Saint, 87, 91, 198, 202, 214
 Irvingite Tabernacle, 138
 Irvingites, 10
 Islam, 166
 Israel, 37, 47, 48, 62, 66, 75, 103, 104, 106, 107, 119
 Jacob, 65, 75, 76, 148
 James I, King, 175
 James, Saint, 13, 20
 James, Saint, brother of Jesus, xi, xvii, 44, 51, 52, 53, 85, 89, 99, 100, 145, 202, 203
 Jamnia, Rabbinic synod of, 43, 203
 Jannaeus, Alexander, King of Judea, 75, 203
 Jannes and Jambres, 25
 Jansenists, 138
 Jehovah, 48, 60, 66, 76, 79, 87, 103, 104, 105, 106, 128
 Jerome, Saint, 18
 Jerusalem, 12, 13, 16, 37, 42, 43, 47, 48, 50, 51, 52, 53, 57, 58, 72, 75, 80, 98, 104, 107, 119, 123, 166, 194, 199, 200, 205, 211

- Jesuit, 138, 198, 203, 214
 Jewel, Bishop John of Salisbury, 20, 203
 Joachim of Floris, 10
 Joan, Pope, 155
 Johannite, 93
 John the Baptist, 43, 60, 65
 John the Divine, 163, 203
 John X, Pope, 141, 142, 159
 John XI, Pope, 142
 John XII, Pope, 142, 151, 152
 John XXIII, Pope, 142
 John, Saint, xix, 6, 14, 38, 61, 95, 99, 100, 109, 113, 165, 166
 Jotham, King, 104
 Jowett, Professor Benjamin, 42, 112, 163, 171, 203
 Judah, The Rev. Ethelred, 107, 162, 203, 210
 Judaism, 14, 43, 62, 67, 79, 122, 143, 211
 Jude, Saint, 13, 20, 21
 Julian, Emperor, 171, 172, 204
 Julius II, Pope, 145
 Jupiter, 9, 102
 Jurisdiction, 149, 150, 151, 153, 156, 158
 Justification, xviii, xix, xx, 56, 58, 74, 78, 79, 80, 81, 83, 84, 85, 87, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 123, 190, 202
 Justinian, Emperor, 27, 152
 Kaye, Bishop John, 111, 204
 Keble, John, 163, 174, 204, 213
 Kennett, 104
 King's College Chapel, Cambridge, 25
 Knowling, Canon Richard, 61, 204
 Knox, John, 20, 197
 Koheleth, 62, 204
 Koran, The, 166
 Lamb, Charles, 136
 Lateran, The, 152
 Latitudinarian, 138, 163, 177, 204
 Law of Morality, 58
 Law of Nature, 24, 26
 Law, The, xvi, xix, xxv, 24, 26, 29, 44, 47, 48, 50, 51, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 63, 75, 78, 79, 81, 83, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 95, 104, 106, 176, 187
 Lemnos, women of, xxv, 176, 204
 Leo VI, Pope, 142
 Leo VIII, Pope, 142
 Lepers, 172
 Lever, Charles, 3
 Levites, 104
 Leviticus, 103, 104, 105
 Lew Trenchard, xiii, 2, 3, 210
 Libanius, 172, 204
 Liberian Palace, 152
 Lloyd George, David. Liberal Prime Minister, 27, 34
 Locke, John, 135
 Lofthouse, William Frederick, 105, 106, 204
 Lourdes, 39, 204
 Low Churchman, 177, 178
 Lowder, Father Charles Fuges, 185, 205
 Lucian of Samatosa, 16, 102, 103, 205, 208
 Luke, Saint, 19, 25, 28, 53, 54, 60, 61, 72, 80, 105, 118, 120, 121, 145, 146, 147, 165, 213
 Luther, Martin, xix, xx, 55, 56, 78, 81, 82, 83, 84, 96, 152, 175, 197, 205, 214
 Lutheran, Lutheranism, iii, xvii, xix, xxv, 7, 20, 46, 78, 79, 82, 83, 84, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 123, 153, 175, 176, 178, 202
 Maccabaeian Apocrypha, 72, 73, 98, 205
 Maccabees, 75, 205
 Magian, 108
 Manasseh, 83
 Manichaeism, 108
 Manning, Henry Edward, 138, 201, 205
 Marcion, 56, 90, 92, 93, 114, 205
 Marconi, Guglielmo, 71
 Mark the Valentinian, 16
 Mark, Saint, 13, 50, 52, 53, 54, 60, 72, 90, 118, 119, 165, 213
 Marozia, daughter of Theodora, 141, 142, 151
 Martyr, Peter, 191, 198, 205
 Mary Magdalen, 38, 163
 Mary, Saint, iv, 38, 129, 165, 179, 190, 198, 204, 205, 210
 Matilda, Countess, 145
 Matthew, Saint, 60, 72, 87, 118, 119, 165, 213
 Maximilla, 10, 16, 206
 Messiah, 37, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 49, 59, 60, 63, 65, 67, 73, 80, 98, 119, 195
 Methodists, 125
 Methodius of Olympus, Saint, 18, 206
 Milman, Dean Henry Hart, 139, 206, 211
 Milner, Joseph, 11, 206

- Minerva, 9, 103
 Mission, x, 37, 139, 148, 149, 150, 151, 153
 Moabites, 102
 Modernists, xxiii, 162, 164, 170, 171
 Mohammed, 166
 Moloch, 107, 113, 206
 Monied Class, the, 180
 Montanus, 10, 16, 206
 Montefiore, Claud, 55, 56, 57, 67, 206
 Moral Law, 54, 55, 80, 84, 85, 92
 Mosaic Law, 59, 61, 209
 Moses, 45, 47, 57, 58, 66, 80, 81, 88, 103, 104
 Mosheim, Johann Lorenz von, 11
 Moulin, Dr Lewis Du, 76, 206
 Mozart, Amadeus, 71
 Muckers, Muckerism, xix, 78, 92
 Mulieres subintroductæ, 17
 Muratori, Ludovico Antonio, 159, 206
 Mystic, Christian, 30
 Naaman, 83
 Natural Religion, 2, 207
 Naziazan, Saint Gregory, 18
 Neale, John Mason, 2
 Neander, Joachim, 114, 207
 Neoplatonist, 30
 Newman, John Henry, 2, 174, 198, 205, 207, 213
 Newton, Isaac, 71, 83
 Newton, Rev. John, 14
 Nicaea, 98, 111, 207
 Nicholas, Deacon and Nicolaitans, 14
 Nicodemus, 99, 207
 Nicolas II, Pope, 152, 154, 155
 Noah, 103
 Nominalists, 138
 Norris, Canon John Pilkington, 82, 208
 Nouveaux Riches, the, 181
 Noyes, John Humphrey, 93, 196
 Numbers, 104, 105, 164
 Oesterley, William, 44, 46, 47, 208
 Ophites, 90, 91, 208
 Origin and Development of Religious Belief, The, by S Baring-Gould, ix, x, xi, xii, xv, xix
 Origen Adamantius, 98, 114, 208
 Origin of Species, 7
 Original Sin, 49, 74, 190
 Ormuzd and Ahriman, 108
 Orton. Arthur, 145, 213
 Otho, Emperor, 142
 Oxford Movement, 174, 207, 213
 Paganism, 14, 38, 172
 Paget, Francis, 2, 208
 Pamphylia, 53
 Pandora, 108
 Papacy, xi, xxii, xxiii, 14, 101, 113, 141, 143, 144, 145, 146, 148, 151, 153, 159, 178, 205
 Papal conclave, 156
 Papists, 138, 178
 Parables, xiii, 119, 120, 121, 166
 Parker, Theodore, 25
 Parousia, The, 120
 Parseeism, 166
 Parthenon, 171
 Pas seul, 6
 Paschal, probably Blaise Pascal intended, 153, 168, 208
 Passion, The, 99, 100, 109, 111
 Pastoral letters, Paul's, 86
 Patricia and Plebeia, 181
 Paul, Saint, xix, 9, 11, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 22, 30, 38, 42, 43, 44, 47, 48, 50, 52, 53, 54, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 66, 67, 70, 72, 73, 74, 76, 79, 80, 81, 84, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 98, 99, 101, 102, 108, 112, 113, 131, 155, 183, 185, 186
 Pauline Epistles, 11, 42
 Paulinian, Paulinism, iii, vi, xvii, xix, 42, 43, 87, 89, 92, 93
 Pecksniffianism, 78, 208
 Pegasus in Bonds, 31
 Peggotty, 110, 188, 206
 Pendennis, Colonel, 189, 208
 Pentateuch, the, 51, 57, 104, 106
 Pentecost, 98, 122
 Peregrinus Proteus, 16, 208
 Perizzites, 102, 208
 Peter, Saint, xvii, xxii, xxiii, 20, 37, 38, 51, 52, 53, 82, 85, 87, 89, 98, 99, 139, 140, 142, 143, 144, 146, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 160, 165, 185, 205, 206, 212
 Pharisaism, Pharisees, 42, 43, 44, 47, 51, 65, 74, 75, 76, 79, 80, 182, 203, 209, 210
 Philip, Saint, 166
 Phrygian caps, 154

- Pietists, 78
 Pilate, Pontius, 145
 Pinch, Tom, 78
 Pisa, 159
 Pius V, Pope, 145
 Plato, x, 30, 82, 111, 112, 168, 203, 207, 209
 Plautus, (Plutus by Aristophanes intended,) 167
 Plutus, 102, 196, 209
 Plymouth Brethren, 17
 Poitiers, 18, 202
 Pope, xxii, xxiii, 101, 139, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 159, 160, 191, 194, 196, 197, 199, 202, 203, 205, 210, 214
 Pornocracy, The, xxii, 140, 141, 209
 Porphyry close-stool, 155
 Post Medieval Preachers, by S Baring-Gould, xii
 Predestination, 58, 70, 73, 74, 75, 76, 94, 95, 197
 Presbyter, Presbyterate, 9, 150, 166
 Presbyterian, xx, 6, 22, 70, 76, 92, 113, 176, 177, 186, 202
 Priestly Code, 105
 Prime Minister, xi, xxv, 176, 177, 178, 187, 204
 Primitive Christianity, 11
 Primitive Methodist, 125
 Prince, The Rev. Henry, 37, 73, 82, 89, 93, 151, 194, 201, 212
 Prisca, 10, 16, 206
 Privy Council, the, xxv, 176, 184, 187, 201
 Prodigal Son, 109
 Prometheus, 108, 128
 Prophet,
 Prophets of the Cevennes, 10, 209
 Prophets, The, 16, 37, 42, 47, 54, 60, 62, 63, 67, 105, 106, 107, 174, 209
 Protestantism, xix, 7, 78, 94, 95, 187, 194
 Psalmists, 42, 46, 107, 209
 Pseudepigrapha, 43, 45, 74, 80, 209
 Pseudo-Barnabas, 44
 Psichari, 182, 209
 Purcell, W. E., xi, xii
 Punishments, 127, 128
 Purgatory, 124, 128, 191
 Quakers, 17
 Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur, 93, 209
 Quirinal, the, 181, 209
 Rabbinic, Rabbinical, 43, 49, 50, 57, 63, 70, 74, 75, 79, 98, 105, 209
 Rabbinism, 42, 65, 72, 73, 74, 209
 Rabbula, Bishop of Edessa, 18
 Ramsay, SirWilliam, 17
 Realists, 138
 Reconciliation, 101, 105, 113
 Redemption, 30, 91, 98, 99, 114, 201, 212
 Renan, Ernest, 74, 172, 210
 Resurrection, xx, xxiv, 12, 17, 24, 33, 37, 38, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52, 54, 60, 61, 72, 79, 98, 164, 166, 171
 Retzsch, Moritz, 31
 Revelation, xx, 49, 62, 67, 113, 128, 131, 167, 171, 195
 Ritchie, Lady Anna Isabella, 71
 Ritualist, 177
 Robert of Geneva, Cardinal, 159, 210
 Romanisers, 179, 180
 Romans, Epistle to the, 42, 46, 53, 54, 56, 58, 59, 61, 70, 74, 76, 83, 86, 91, 142, 205
 Rome, xx, xxiii, xxvi, 38, 44, 58, 62, 81, 87, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 154, 156, 160, 179, 180, 181, 191, 197, 198, 199, 201, 202, 205, 207, 209
 Rundle, plumber of Bridestowe, 35, 36, 210
 S. George's-in-the-East, Church of, 185
 Sacrament, 148, 154, 190
 Sacrifice, xix, 83, 100, 102, 105, 106, 107, 114, 178
 Sadducees, 51, 74, 75, 76, 203, 210
 Salathiel Ezra, 44
 Salette, La, 39
 Salvation, 24, 44, 63, 79, 93, 94, 95, 115, 167
 Samaria, 146
 Samaritan, 6, 75, 76, 145
 Sanballat, 75, 211
 Sanhedrin, 43, 207, 211
 Sarum rite, 61, 211
 Satyr's cave, The, 84
 Savoy Conference, 191, 211
 Scape-goat, 106
 Sceptics, 62, 63
 Schiller, Friedrich, 31, 211

- Sclavonic Mass, 142
 Scottists, 138, 211, 213
 Scribes, 43, 47, 65, 74, 75, 105, 182
 Sedes Stercoraria, 155, 158
 Semites, 86
 Senlach, 85
 Septuagint translation, 53, 80, 196, 211
 Sergius III, Pope, 141, 142
 Sermon on the Mount, xv, 6, 55, 60, 61, 65, 169
 Shaphan the scribe, 104
 Shekinah, 42, 211
 Sheol, 17, 45, 46, 211
 Shepherd of Hermas, 16, 211
 Sibylline oracles, The forged, 43, 44, 46
 Silas, Saint, 53
 Simeon, 48, 187, 211
 Simeonite Trustees, xxv, 176, 178
 Simon Magus, 146, 211
 Sinai, 57, 87, 93
 Silver Store, The, by S Baring-Gould, xii, xxviii, 129
 Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 7
 Socinian, Socinianism, 20, 176, 212
 Socrates of Constantinople, 111
 Socrates, the ancient Greek philosopher, 111
 Solifidianism, 87, 96, 212
 Solomon, 106, 196, 214
 Son of Man, 42, 47, 48, 50, 60, 119, 145
 Sons of the Covenant, 18
 Soterichus Pantengenus, 113
 Speakers in Unknown Tongues, 16
 Spurgeon, Charles Haddon, 127, 212
 Stanley, Arthur Penrhyn, Dean of Westminster, 21
 Stanley, Dean Arthur Penrhyn, xxiii, 83, 84, 162, 203, 212
 Stoics, 65, 212
 Strauss, David Friedrich (possibly), 36, 114, 172, 212
 Study of St Paul, by S Baring-Gould, xvii
 Subapostolic Church, xix, 19, 61
 Sumner, Bishop John Bird, 83, 84, 87, 212
 Superman, xvi, 28, 32, 33
 Supernatural, 26, 28
 Supremacy, Papal, 148, 153, 155, 158, 191
 Surplice riots, The, 185
 Swallow-tail, 14
 Swallow-tail butterfly, 20
 Sylverius, Pope, 152
 Sylvester, 84, 142
 Syrians, 102
 Tacitus, 78
 Tait, Archibald Cambell. Archbishop, 186, 213
 Tarsus, 52, 72, 80
 Tartarus, 45, 213
 Taylor, Isaac, 35
 Temple, The, 47, 48, 57, 67, 75, 98, 106, 107, 141, 147, 177, 205
 Ten Articles, The, 175, 190, 191
 Teresa of Avila, Saint, 163, 213
 Thackeray, William Makepeace, 71, 189, 208, 210, 213
 The Ring and the Book, by Robert Browning, 8
 The Shadow, 134
 Thekla, 18
 Theodora, mistress of Pope Sergius III and mother of Marozia, 141, 142, 151
 Theodoric of Niem, 160
 Theodoric, King, 152
 Theodotus. Vigilius, Pope, 152
 Theophilus Anglicanus, by Bishop C Wordsworth, 2
 Thomas à Kempis, 163, 213
 Thomas, Dylan, xiii
 Thomists, 138, 213
 Tiara, Papal, 154, 155
 Tiberias, Sea of, 65
 Tichborne, Roger, 145, 147, 213
 Timothy, Saint, 43, 93
 Townsend, Dr. of Durham, 178
 Tractarian, Tractarianism, xxv, 2, 175, 198, 213
 Ulysses, 81
 Unitarianism, 20
 Universal Church, xxiii, 33, 153, 154, 155, 166
 Universal law of Progress, 13
 Universalism, 48, 213
 Urban IV, Pope, 143, 153, 154
 Urban VI, Pope, 159, 160, 210
 Uzzah, the touch of, 167
 Valentinian, 91, 150
 Van Eyck, Jan, 71
 Vatican, The, 39, 142, 146, 152, 154

Vaughan, Henry, 163, 214
Vauxhall Gardens, 138
Venice, 159
Venus, xxv, 141, 176
Vicarious punishment, 82
Walker, Dr. Thomas, 45
War of Investitures, 153, 214
Warburton, Bartholomew, Elliott, 169, 214
Washington Selbstsucht, Mrs., 183, 184
Watchers.the, 73
Watson Williams, J., 80
Wells, Herbert George, 72
Wesley, John, 79, 84, 93, 96, 163, 209,
214
Wesleyan, 93, 125
White, Bishop of Winchester, 175
Wisdom, book of, 44
Wittenberg, 83, 95, 185
Wolfius, 147
Worship, 6, 7, 10, 13, 78, 104, 140, 162,
179, 211
Xavier, Francis, 163
Xenophon, apology of Socrates, 4
Zadkiel's Almanack, 119, 214
Zadocites, 51, 214
Zendavesta, 166, 214
Zeus, 108, 112
Zwingli, Huldrych, 20, 94, 178, 214