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# ETERNAL PUNISHMENT.

AN EXAMINATION OF THE DOCTRINES  
HELD BY THE CLERGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND  
ON THE  
SUBJECT OF FUTURE PUNISHMENT.

WITH  
SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE TEACHING OF BISHOPS PEARSON AND  
BUTLER, ARCHBISHOP WHATELY, THE BISHOP OF OXFORD, THE  
BISHOP OF NATAL, THE ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN,  
DR NEWMAN, AND THE REV. F. D. MAURICE.

BY  
PRESBYTER ANGLICANUS.

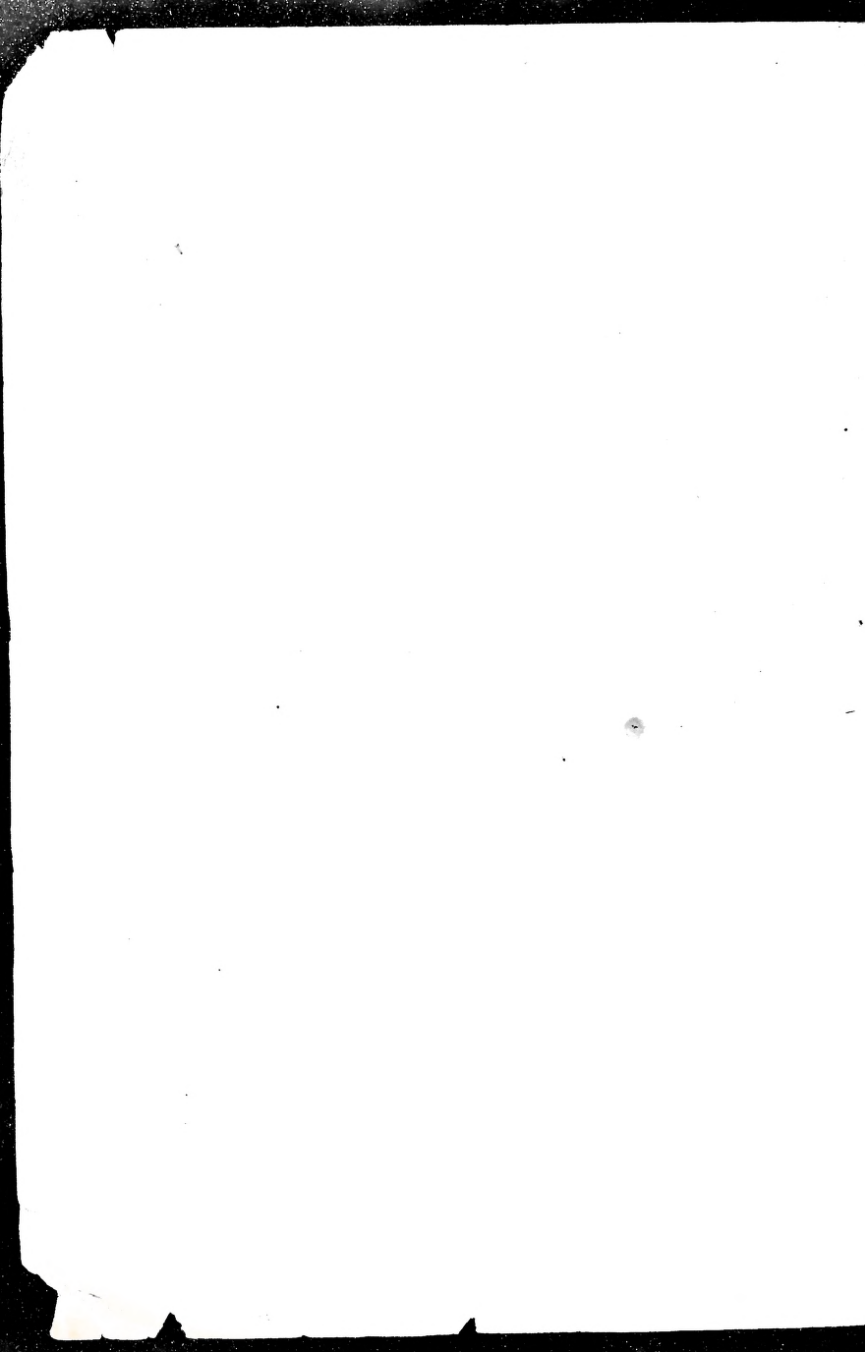
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WITH  
AN APPENDIX,  
CONTAINING A REPLY TO THE ARTICLE ON UNIVERSALISM AND ETERNAL  
PUNISHMENT IN THE "CHRISTIAN REMEMBRANCER," NO. CXX, FOR  
APRIL, 1863, AND SOME REMARKS ON A SERMON ON  
EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT, BY THE REV.  
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# ETERNAL PUNISHMENT.

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## SECTION I.

### STATE OF BELIEF WITH REGARD TO THE DOCTRINE OF ETERNAL PUNISHMENT.

THE Church of England has not declared expressly that the probation, trial, or education of man is ended definitively with the close of the present life. Her members, therefore, are free to entertain the hope or affirm their assurance that hereafter, as well as here, the good and the bad alike are in the hands of a righteous Father, who will so deal with them that, when the last enemy has been destroyed, God shall be all in all. Such is the decision which has roused the wrath and indignation of certain parties in the English Church, who wish to make the acceptance of their own dogmas the exclusive test of Church membership. Legally, their opponents have made good their standing ground, and may afford to pass over in silence the imputations of dishonesty or want of orthodoxy, which are thrown out against them. But they have provoked a contest on the most vital of all questions: they have undertaken to do battle with popular conceptions of the Divine Nature; and it would ill become them to take shelter under legal bulwarks, as though these alone constituted the strength of their cause. They may be safe from legal prosecutions, but they have to convince the people that, on the momentous subjects of Eternal Life and Eternal Death, a number of propositions are still commonly maintained, which are not sanctioned by the English Church,

which are utterly opposed to the whole spirit of Christianity, and which obscure or obliterate all distinctions between right and wrong. Theological writers, who profess to define the limits of historical criticism, find it convenient to represent their position as the only foundation for Christianity itself: and it becomes indispensably necessary to declare that the real question at issue is one which will not be set at rest, even though the history of the Exodus were proved to be in every particular true. Behind all discussions on the authority of the Bible lies the one absorbing subject of human destiny. It is better and more honest to declare at once that on this question only one answer will ultimately satisfy the English people; and it is no light thing that we are enabled now to assert that the Church of England has returned this answer. In her interest, next only to that of truth and justice, we desire to speak. She is facing a great danger; but that danger arises from the spread, not of historical criticism, but of a feeling of doubt whether her voice is raised to proclaim unreservedly the absolute righteousness of God. Her authority is falsely claimed for a vast scheme of popular theology. Amongst her ministers, some few openly denounce parts of this scheme, many practically ignore it, while others uphold it by arguments which would make it indifferent whether we worship God or whether we worship Moloch. It bodes no good to a Church when the great body of its lay members suspect that the Clergy are upholding a system of dogmas, in some part of which at least they do not believe. It is a still darker sign if they come to think that these dogmas impute what, amongst men, would be called the worst injustice to a Being who is represented as infinitely merciful and loving. It becomes, therefore, a question of paramount importance to ascertain what is, in fact, the practical teaching of the Clergy on the subject of Eternal Punishment, and whether that teaching is consistent with itself and with the religion on which it professes to rest.

It is impossible to put aside a subject which forces itself upon all at every turn. The course of thought and criticism at home, the practical and more urgent needs of missionaries abroad, will again and again demand answers

to questions which all feel to be of greater moment than any other. The age which has fearlessly scrutinized the histories of Greece and Rome, which has laid down the laws by which these are to be judged, and has applied these laws with rigid impartiality to all researches or speculations whether they tell for or against the orthodox belief,\* will not be hindered from examining the grounds of the doctrines which fix the destinies of all mankind. If these doctrines seem to be opposed to ordinary human morality, little stress may for the present be laid on the inconsistency; but when they claim to be part of a Divine Revelation which is contained in an infallible Book, it becomes a mere question of fact whether they really belong to that Revelation, and whether the records, on which they rest, are absolutely true. It may be long before these questions are answered: but in the meanwhile the signs become daily more and more apparent, that the thoughts of men are running in this direction. The clergy, generally, are well aware of this. The old language on the subject of hell-torments is not often heard at the present day; and the passing reference to them is commonly followed by the tranquil announcement of a just retribution for all sin. While the clergy in this country feel that anything more would be practically thrown away, they find it at once an easier and a more worthy task to insist on those truths which neither they nor their people in their secret hearts deny. From time to time men of greater honesty and greater courage give utterance to what is working in the minds of others, and plainly show that not merely the course of modern criticism, but our first religious instincts make the subject of Eternal Punishment the great question of the age.

Twice, at least, within the last twelve years, something like a plain answer has been given to this question. The

\* The criticisms of Sir Cornewall Lewis are directed with equal severity against the reconstructed Assyrian History of Mr Rawlinson and the Egyptology of Baron Bunsen. The former is supposed to corroborate the History of the Old Testament, the latter to upset it. To the historical critic either issue is wholly beside the question; but, of course, his weapons may strike that which he had no conscious intention of assailing. Minucius Felix never thought of the labours of Samson when he thrust aside those of Hercules by the famous criterion: "*Quæ si facta essent, fierent; quia fieri non possunt, ideo nec facta sunt.*"

Theological Essays of Mr Maurice roused an opposition scarcely less vehement than 'Essays and Reviews;' but it was comparatively an easy thing to say that the former lost half their force by the writer's seeming love of paradox; while the latter have been commonly regarded as the ambiguous utterances of men who felt more than they dared to put down in words. The practical needs of the missionary are not so easily set aside. It is one thing to speak in this country of heathens as being destined to torments which shall have no end, and another to insist before the heathen themselves that all sin not repented of at the hour of death will plunge the sinner into endless misery. The inconceivable fearfulness of the penalty deprives it, with many, of its force and meaning; and the greatest vehemence in depicting its terrors is followed by a deeper unbelief. It is a moral difficulty under which the missionary may console himself with reflections on the hardness of the human heart. There are other difficulties of an intellectual kind, with which, if he is an honest man, he will find it more difficult to deal. But whether of the one kind or the other, it is far better that they should be forced on our attention from the actual wants of the heathen, than by writers whose words may be attributed to a love of restless speculation. In his commentary on St Paul's Epistle to the Romans, the Bishop of Natal admits that the task of teaching Christian doctrine "to intelligent adult natives, who have the simplicity of children, but withal the earnestness and thoughtfulness of men . . . is a sifting process for the opinions of any teacher who feels the deep moral obligation of answering truly and faithfully and unreservedly his fellow-man looking up to him for light and guidance, and asking, 'Are you sure of this?' 'Do you know this to be true?' 'Do you really believe that?'" The Zulus of Southern Africa are not slow in drawing the logical inferences from the dogma of Eternal Punishment as ordinarily understood and set before them: but they are more ready to question its justice than to adopt the belief which drove Antony and Macarius into the Nitrian desert. Many a wife in England has asked her husband in anguish of heart, how it could be right to bring children into a life which may be followed by a doom so unimaginably dreadful;



the Zulu knows well how to appreciate the sophistry which seems to satisfy the mothers of Englishmen.\*

Thus far his questions concerned chiefly his own perceptions of the justness and fitness of things; but it was impossible that they could stop short here. Bishop Colenso has had to answer others, not less searching, on the origin and earliest condition of man; and he has answered them with equal truth and candour. He may have spoken to them, in past years, of the Fall of Man as a time when "the vessel which God had fashioned for Himself" became polluted with sin, and when His purpose seemed "blighted by the cunning of the Tempter;" but the questions of his people have not failed to lead him in due time to a closer scrutiny of the book from which these notions have been derived. He had come to the plain conclusion that the Everlasting Fire does not necessarily mean a punishment which is endless; the same earnest examination of the popular belief respecting the Fall has led him to an equally clear conviction that no such lapse from a state of perfect goodness and purity ever took place. It is not merely that modern science has set aside statements in the Book of Genesis, and shown that physical death was not the result of Adam's sin, that the serpent from its creation moved as it moves now, and that thorns and thistles sprang up from the ground ever since vegetable substances came into being.† The fabric falls more from its own want of cohesion than from any assaults of modern science. If the second chapter of Genesis in almost every respect contradicts the first, if the whole chronology of the book simply brings up a mass of insuperable difficulties, an inquiry is opened which must be followed to its results, and of which one result at least must be to dispel the idea that any texts

\* At the least, the latter can be silenced by being told that the married state has been pronounced holy, and that their children will be brought into a world where they will have full opportunity of attaining to life unless they deliberately choose death. The Zulu would probably think no answer satisfactory which did not reverse the conclusion of Sophocles:

μη φθναι  
τον ἅπαντα νικᾷ λόγον.

† See Professor Owen's Lecture "On Certain Instances of the Power of God," delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association at Exeter Hall. Longman and Co.

of the Bible can be suffered to override the plainest dictates of the human heart.

These are things on which the nation at large will soon have to make up its mind. But while the doctrine of an Endless Punishment for all men dying with unrepented sin is still asserted by many to be the doctrine of the Church of England, and while from time to time we have explanations of its nature which leave us in doubt of the speaker's meaning, how are we to explain the fact that it should be less and less frequently brought before the people? A real conviction of its truth would lead men to dwell on it to the exclusion of almost every other, to enforce it by night and by day with a vehement and untiring energy. Instead of this, the Bishop of Natal asserts, and asserts truly, that the dogma is "very seldom stated in plain words in the presence of any intelligent congregation." If prominently brought forward, it is generally before the ignorant and before children.

Put in the simplest way, this doctrine asserts that the condition of every man is irrevocably fixed at the moment of his death, that owing to the Fall of Adam the natural doom of all his children without exception is an unending eternity of torments, that the death of Christ has, indeed, redeemed mankind, but procured salvation only for those who believe the Gospel and are baptized into His Church,—that, further, every Christian must die in a state of penitence, and that any sin not repented of at the moment of death consigns him to endless flames. Thus a sharp line is drawn which divides all mankind into two classes, while from the number of those who are saved not only all openly evil-livers are cast out, but all heathen who, having not the Law, have not been a law to themselves, and among Christians all who have not died in the faith of Christ. Thus, again, the gates of hell close on all who may be set down as careless and indifferent, or as mere moralists, or sceptics, or philosophers,—all, in short, who do not at the hour of death with true penitence place their conscious trust in the Great Sacrifice of Christ. This doctrine knows nothing of shades of character or degrees of guilt; it may admit the salvation of really good heathen men to whom the Gospel has never been preached, and

possibly of all children dying before the commission of natural sin. Ignorant Christians it regards as heathen, and there can be no reason to exempt them from a doom which awaits the vast mass, nay, almost the whole of the latter.

This dogma may, of course, be enforced in ways indefinitely various. It may be so put as to make God's hatred of all sin the prominent idea, or it may be clothed with the coarseness of the most vindictive passion. It may be urged with the earnestness of the saint who is ready to die for others, or with the horrible selfishness of the blasphemer who professes to "see the mercy of God in the damnation of infants." But, in whatever form it may be put, the doctrine is in itself repulsive. Human nature shrinks from a penalty which it cannot comprehend, and of which it certainly cannot see the justice or purpose. In the words of Dean Milman, "To the Eternity of Hell torments there is, and ever must be—notwithstanding the peremptory decrees of Dogmatic Theology, and the reverential dread of so many religious minds of tampering with what seems the language of the New Testament,—a tacit repugnance."\* Doubtless there are many truths of Christianity which may at first shock or startle those who have grown up in a different philosophy. The cross of Christ may be to the Jews a stumbling block and to the Greeks an offence, but it is possible to mistake the nature of this antagonism, or to exaggerate it until it becomes a fiction. But there is no other doctrine which leaves on the mind and heart an aching sense as of irremediable pain—no other of which the real belief must throw a dark shade over all human life, and tempt the believer to gird himself with the cord of Dominic and Francis, and go forth to snatch if but a few brands from the burning. There is no other which sets the purest and most natural of human affections in direct conflict with what is held to be the Revelation of the Divine Will. If on the night of the Passover there was not a house in Egypt in which there was not one dead, there must be many dead in almost every Christian home, unless the terms of this dogma are

\* Milman's *History of Latin Christianity*. Book xiv., ch. 2, Vol. 6. P. 253. Ed. II.

set at nought. There is no man living who has not loved those of whose conscious faith he can say nothing; there is not one who does not still love some, perhaps many such, on whose bodies the grave has closed. There is not one who will not continue to love them till he himself comes to die; and, in the meanwhile, he will vainly seek to understand how, after that time, he will become indifferent to the doom of those whom he has loved and feels that he must love on earth.

It is clear that only the most stringent authority will bring men to believe such a doctrine as this. Their own conception of Divine Qualities and Attributes will never guide them to it; they can only receive it on the express revelation of God Himself that it is really true. Christians have come to believe that God has actually revealed it, and that the statement of this doctrine is found in the Bible. They are conscious that it rests on nothing else, and they feel that its hold on the human mind will be lost if the authority of the Book is assailed. They have to believe that all morality falls to the ground if the endlessness of hell torments is called in question; and hence to all such doubts, however faint and however calmly urged, the great barrier prescribed is the bulwark of Plenary Inspiration. The very vehemence with which all doubts are denounced as impious, seems itself to show that there must be something which can only be maintained by the exclusion or suppression of all doubts. The Roman Church is under no necessity to assert the absolute truth even of all doctrinal statements in the Old Testament or the New; she has not shown her wisdom when she has done so. The dogmatic Protestant, who does not admit the existence of any living infallible expositor of Truth, is compelled to rest everything on the authority of a book; and on this he must take his stand the more obstinately, if he feels that there is any one doctrine which only on such authority he would himself maintain. The tendencies of modern thought are sufficiently clear. Wild notions receive utterance and are abandoned in rapid succession. The Positivist may look forward to something not quite so attractive as the Nirvana of the Buddhist. New schools of Psychology may maintain that conscience and morality are the mere result of

education and experience ; but it is manifestly against the truth of facts to suppose that the tendency to a general unbelief is greater now than it was fifty years ago, or so great.

But although it may be true that the wants and yearnings of the human heart are leading or will lead men to a belief in the Incarnation, the Trinity in Unity, or any other Truth flowing out of these, there are other dogmas from which the very same wants and yearnings, the same perceptions of the essential agreement between Divine and human goodness, will altogether repel them. The strong arm of Ecclesiastical authority, or the dictates of temporal interest, or a dread of public opinion may lead men to profess belief in them ; but if the doctrine of Endless Punishment were suffered to rest on the grounds which have led some, who denied it before, to believe that Jesus Christ is God and Man, no one can doubt that the great mass of Englishmen would thankfully and indignantly reject it.

Nor would this rejection arise simply or at all from merely selfish fears. Undoubtedly a doctrine which makes the eternal doom of man dependent on the accident of his condition at the time of death, and by which the sin of a day, not repented of, nullifies the earnest obedience of a whole life, may well make every man tremble for himself. Still the main thought in the minds of the most sincere believers will be not for themselves but for others ; nay, the feeling of thankfulness at being rid of the dogma will be the more intense, because now they can really and without any sophistry or equivocation " vindicate the ways of God to man." The charge that they who will not allow the Everlasting Fire and Endless Punishment to mean and to be the same thing, do so because they wish to introduce a wild licence and crush all sense of law and duty, is an idle slander or a childish dream. The Roman Catholic consigns to the remedial fires of purgatory all who, though dying penitent, have made little advance towards Christian perfection ; the Protestant, who in theory condemns to endless perdition all but the few of whose faith and goodness there can be no question, can hardly in practice bring himself to speak of any as undergoing the pains of hell. At the least he cannot so think of those whom he has himself known and loved. He may have misgivings

as to the depth or sincerity of his friend's faith and the earnestness of his religious life ; but very large proofs of actual vice will be needed to repress the confident assertion that he has "gone to Heaven." Each Protestant, at least in England, is loud in maintaining that all sinners are consigned to Endless Punishment ; each is equally anxious to express his belief that his own friends are not to suffer such a doom. Clearly then he, and not they who reject his doctrine are making the laws of God of none effect, and tampering with His absolute and unswerving justice. By his system, they who are utterly unfit for so immediate a change are transferred from the feeblest and most imperfect Christian life here to the full blessings of the Saints who have surrendered their will wholly to the will of God. It is the orthodox Protestant and not his opponent who is undermining the convictions of men that God is of a truth the righteous judge. There is not the faintest evidence that they who insist on gradations of punishment are lessening "the terrors of the Lord," far less that they are upholding any theories of what is called Universalism. They have learnt, and their hearts tell them that God hates all sin, and that all sinners must sooner or later be brought face to face with his Everlasting Wrath. They know that a man may shut his ears to the voice of conscience here, but that the Undying Worm, "which writhed at times within him," even in this life, will then "be commissioned to do thoroughly the work which is needed."\* With the question of amount or duration they resolutely decline to deal. The Wrath of God must burn so long as there is any resistance to be overcome ; and to say that the soul will be delivered after undergoing simply a certain fixed amount of pain† is to defeat the Justice of God and to impugn his Righteousness almost as much as it is impugned by consigning all sinners to one and the same lot. They cannot in terms deny that the resistance of the sinner may be infinite, or presume in such case to determine the issue ; but they maintain most strenuously that the Wrath of God will be felt by all who need it without exception. "The most saintly character, when viewed in the light of God's

\* Colenso on the Epistle to the Romans. P. 216. † *Ib.*, p. 262.

Holiness, will have manifold imperfections, spots, and stains, which he himself will rejoice to have purged away, though it may be 'by stripes,'—by stripes not given in anger or displeasure, but in tenderest love and wisdom, by Him who dealeth with us as with sons."\* Nay, it would seem impossible that the condition even of the sincere penitent should have no reference to the condition of others. "When we consider how many of those who have died in penitence may have been guilty themselves of corrupting and ruining others who have run a short course of sin and been cut off in impenitence, have we no reason to believe that, in some way or other, those who were once the cause of this defacement of God's image in the persons of their fellow men or women, may likewise have a share assigned to them in the work of restoration,—may never attain (and, indeed, it is inconceivable that they should attain, if the things of this world are at all remembered in the next, as we suppose they will be) their own full joy, until the evil they have done shall have been, by God's Mercy, undone, and the powers of Hell vanquished and swallowed up in life?"†

Thus, in the present aspect of theological controversy, we have a strange sight. Almost every science runs ultimately into collision with some one or more statements of the Bible, and so calls into question indirectly its general authority. The science of geology seems utterly to contradict the cosmogony of the Book of Genesis; astronomy knows nothing of any pause in the course of the earth round the sun. The science of language appears not altogether to favour the idea of an original unity of mankind, while the analysis of the speech and still more of the mythology of the great Aryan race furnishes no proof whatever that man started with high blessings which he forfeited by sin. Meanwhile, they, who uphold the orthodox belief, know well that these sciences, carried to their utmost limits, are not likely to set aside, to use Dean Milman's words, "the primal and indefeasible truths of Christianity."‡ They know that the keenest

\* Colenso on the Epistle to the Romans. P. 202.

† *Ib.*, p. 218.

‡ Latin Christianity. Book xiv, ch. 10.

scientific criticism cannot endanger the doctrine of that Eternal Life, which belongs to all who do the will of God. If these were the only truths to be defended, perhaps the questions of Justification and Authority might be discussed more calmly. But there remains the one dogma of endless punishment, which, if any flaw is found in the popular theory of inspiration, must straightway fall; and its defenders fight therefore with a vehement intolerance only to be excused by their strange conviction that a denial of it removes the ground-work of all morality.

In a few years the contrast will be more startling than it is now. There yet live many who do not shrink from putting forth this doctrine in its extremest and most uncompromising form. Men of great power, the spell of whose eloquence has not yet been broken, draw out the picture in its minutest outlines, well knowing that its strength lies in concrete images and not in unsubstantial generalities. There yet remain some, who seem (it can scarcely be that they really are) eager to maintain that "utter unspeakable misery shall be the portion for endless ages, for ever and ever; alike for all, who are not admitted at first into the realms of infinite joy,—that there shall be no hope in the horrible outer darkness, for the ignorant young child of some wretched outcast, who has been noted by the teachers of the Ragged or the Sunday school as having contracted some evil habit, it may be, of lying, stealing, swearing, or indecency, any more than for the sensual libertine, who has spent a long life in gratifying his lusts and has been the means of that child and others like it being born in guilt and shame, and nursed in profligacy."\*

Such, of course, are the logical results of the dichotomy which severs all men at the hour of death into two classes, and fixes accordingly their irrevocable doom. But when Bishop Colenso asks, "In point of fact, how many thoughtful Clergy of the Church of England have ever deliberately taught, in plain outspoken terms, this doctrine, —how many of the more intelligent laity or Clergy do really, in their heart of hearts, believe it?" the answer must be given that some whose names stand among the highest in the land have set it forth in more glaring colours and

\* Colenso on the Epistle to the Romans. P. 207.



with more terrific minuteness than he has himself ventured to imagine. It becomes nothing less than the duty of any who know this from their own experience to show simply under what forms this doctrine is presented to English men and women, and still more to children, and what are the conclusions boldly drawn and vehemently denounced from axioms which utterly contradict them. The examples shall be either from published works or else from oral teaching, which doubtless the preacher would not care to disavow.

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## SECTION II.

TEACHING OF THE CLERGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND ON  
THE SUBJECT OF ETERNAL PUNISHMENT.

NOWHERE, perhaps, is the severance of all men into two fixed classes at the hour of death more clearly and forcibly stated than in a Sermon of Dr Newman on the Individuality of the Soul.\* Even over a dogma, to which, in Dean Milman's words, all have "a tacit repugnance," his single-hearted earnestness sheds some light and comfort, if not for the dead, yet for the living. Knowing well that for the good and the wicked Eternal Life and Eternal Death are already here begun, he insists that the sinner is at present under God's Eternal Wrath, and not merely that he will be so at some future time. Yet he shrinks not from complying with the inexorable demands of his system. The invisible line divides all mankind into these two classes; and at the moment of their death all who die unsanctified and unreconciled to God pass at once into a state of endless misery.† But he did not fail to see how little men generally believed "that every one who lives or has lived is destined for endless bliss or torment,"‡ and how the popular convictions of Protestants opened the door of hope far more widely than the purgatory of the Church of Rome. "Let a person who is taken away have been ever so notorious a sinner, ever so confirmed a drunkard, ever so neglectful

\* Parochial Sermons. Vol iv., Sermon 6. † *Ib.*, p. 103. ‡ *Ib.*, p. 100.

of Christian ordinances, and though they have no reason for supposing anything hopeful was going on in his mind, yet they will generally be found to believe that he has gone to heaven; they will confidently talk of his being at peace, of his pains being at an end, and the like.\* If a theology so lax rises in part from their inability to "conceive it possible that he or that they should be lost," he does not forget that it is partly accounted for by natural affection. "Even the worst men have qualities which endear them to those who come near them;"† and therefore they cling to the memory of the past and derive from it a vague hope, which they do not care to sift too strictly. But death not merely fixes the doom of the sinner; it changes his nature, not in degree only, but in kind. "Human feelings cannot exist in hell."‡ Others have not shrunk from drawing out the many inferences involved in their axiom; Mr Newman drew from it simply a warning to fight the Christian's battle more earnestly, and to hate the sin against which the wrath of God is eternally burning. In that Church, where he professes to have found both refuge and solace, he has to propound a more merciful doctrine. The two classes § remain, but the way of penitence and of hope is opened to vast numbers who, in the strict belief of Anglicans, would be shut up with the sinners. Thus far in his new home he has been removed some steps at least from "the house of bondage."

\* Parochial Sermons. Vol. iv., Serm. 6. P. 103. † *Ib.* 103. ‡ *Ib.*, 104.

§ The tests laid down by Mr Newman, the Bishop of Oxford, and others, are clear enough. The only question is as to their application. This exhaustive classification has reference to the tares and wheat, the sheep and the goats, in the parables of Our Lord. Mr Jowett (on the Epistle to the Romans, &c., vol. i., p. 416, Essay on Natural Religion) will not say in which of these two divisions we should find a place for the majority of mankind, "who have a belief in God and immortality," but "have nevertheless hardly any consciousness of the peculiar doctrines of the Gospel," who "have never in their whole lives experienced the love of God or the sense of sin, or the need of forgiveness," but who are often "remarkable for the purity of their morals," for their "strong and disinterested attachments," and their "quick human sympathies," and of whom "it would be a mistake to say that they are without religion." The orthodox theologians would not share his hesitation. These men confessedly, although members of the Church outwardly, do not die consciously in the faith of Christ; and they must therefore be shut out for ever from the presence of God. But they are just the men of whom Protestants speak as having gone to Heaven, although their theory consigns them to a very different doom.

The full meaning of Dr Newman's axiom cannot be comprehended until we bring before ourselves the various shades of character which are included under the class of impenitent sinners. One effect of such theology is to paralyse the will for action where action is most of all needed. If such a line of severance exists, there must be those in heaven who were very nigh to hell, and some in hell who were very near to heaven. To tell the young that there are thousands in endless torment who have failed in sight of the goal, thousands who have only not won the prize, thousands who have been *all but* saved, is not likely to supply the readiest motive to be up and doing. The hardness of the conflict is yet further increased by theories on post-baptismal sin, which tend practically to put it almost beyond the reach of pardon; and faults which, if committed before receiving the Sacrament of Regeneration, would be of but little moment, avail to crush down the soul of the baptized for ever. But as long as the exaggeration consists in making still more narrow the strait road which leads to Life, no other difficulty arises than the thought that God, who is All-merciful and Loving, lays on his weak creatures a burden which they are scarcely able to bear. When, however, we compare the teaching of one man with that of others on the subject of Eternal Punishment, we begin to see that their doctrines not merely represent the Divine Being as implacably revengeful and utterly unjust, but rest on axioms which entirely contradict each other, as well as certain articles of faith in which all alike profess their belief. Dr Newman grounded his description of the doom of sinners on the maxim that hell is not the habitation of any human affections; the teaching of the Bishop of Oxford on this subject rests or rested on a very different idea. Both would, of course, admit that God awards to every man according to his work.

In a Sermon preached in the Parish Church of Banbury, on the 24th of February, 1850, the Bishop of Oxford dramatised the Day of Judgment. He was preaching especially to the young, to the boys and girls who had on that day been confirmed by him; and he judged rightly that nothing could enable them to realise the state of the lost more vividly than a series of portraits representing

the several classes of impenitent sinners in judgment.\* But, inasmuch as the example of the worst sort of mankind would be of little practical use, he sought his warnings chiefly from those on whom the world would be disposed to look favourably. The poet, the statesman, the orator, the scholar and philosopher, the moralist, the disobedient child, the careless youth, were in their turn described as standing before the judgment seat. No touch was wanting in each case to complete the picture; and if the object was to arouse the passion of fear, the preacher's effort could fail of success only with those who saw that that picture was inconsistent with the constantly recurring statement, that Hell contains nothing but what is simply and utterly bad. As addressed to the young, it was, of course, necessary that his words should not do violence to a sense of right and wrong, probably in most of them sufficiently weak, or tend to lower or confuse ideas respecting the Divine Nature, which were already sufficiently inadequate. How far the Sermon was likely to produce such a result, may perhaps be determined by taking a few of the examples brought forward. After describing the death of the impenitent, sometimes in torment, sometimes in indifference, more often in self-deceit, the Bishop depicted them before the judgment seat still possibly deceiving themselves until the delusion is dispelled for ever by the words which bid them depart into the lake of fire. "What," he asked, "will it be for the scholar to hear this, the man of refined and

\* A discourse, addressed specially to children on their confirmation, may be more fitly alleged as a specimen of ordinary parochial teaching than a Sermon preached before a University audience. Yet the two Sermons on "The Revelation of God the Probation of Man," preached by the Bishop of Oxford before the University in 1861, are entitled to all the credit due to the Sermon at Banbury for plainness of speech. We cannot even enter on an examination of the equivocal sophistry which runs through these Sermons. We content ourselves with remarking that, on evidence which has been much called in question, he makes a young man of great promise, and much simplicity of character, die "in darkness and *despair*" before he had reached the fulness of earliest manhood. The alleged cause is indulgence in doubts,—of what kind, we are not told. Yet there is some difference between the promulgation of an impure Manicheism and doubts on the accuracy of the Mosaic cosmogony. Unquestionably, the Bishop is referring to doubts of the latter kind; and we need only say, that to condemn to endless torments a young man of good life because he doubted whether the sun and moon really stood still at Joshua's bidding, is far worse than to consign to the same fate the school-girl of the Banbury Sermon.

elegant mind, who nauseates everything coarse, mean, and vulgar, who has kept aloof from everything that may annoy or vex him, and hated everything that was distasteful. Now his lot is cast with all that is utterly execrable. The most degraded wretch on earth has still something human left about him; but now he must dwell for ever with beings on whose horrible passions no check or restraint shall ever be placed." "How, again is it with many, of whom the world thinks highly, who are rich and well to do, sober and respectable, benevolent and kind? Such an one has been esteemed as an excellent neighbour; he has had a select circle of friends whom he has bountifully entertained: he has prided himself on discharging well the duties of a parent, host, and neighbour; and when he dies there is a grand funeral and it is put upon his tombstone that he was universally lamented, and that society had suffered in him a real loss. What is the Scripture comment on all this? 'In hell he lifted up his eyes being in torments.'" He placed his hearers by the death bed of the rich man. "See in the house of Dives there are hurrying steps and anxious faces; Dives is sick and his neighbours are sorry because he has been a good neighbour to them, polite and hospitable and ever ready to interchange the amenities of life. Dives is sick, and his brothers are sorry, because he has been a kind brother to them, and now they must lose his care and assistance and see him no more. Soon all is over. The body lies in state. His friends come together and attend it to the tomb, and then place the recording tablet stating him to be a very paragon of human virtues. For some months they speak of their poor neighbour, how he would have enjoyed their present gaiety, how they miss him at his accustomed seat; until at length he is forgotten. And while all this is going on upon the earth, where is Dives himself? Suffering in torments because in his life time he had received his good things." But more terrible still, and chiefly as being addressed to children, was the picture of a school-girl cut off at the age of thirteen or fourteen. In her short life on earth she had not seldom played truant from school, had told some lies, had been obstinate and disobedient. Now she had to bid farewell to heaven and

to hope, to her parents, her brothers, and sisters; and then followed her parting words to each. What was her agony of grief, that she should never again look on their kind and gentle faces, never hear their well known voices? All their acts of love return to her again,—all the old familiar scenes, remembered with a regret which no words can describe, with a gnawing sorrow which no imagination can realise. She must leave for ever that which she now knew so well how to value, and be for ever without the love for which she had now so unutterable a yearning. She must dwell for ever among beings on whom there is no check or restraint, and her senses must be assailed with all that is utterly abominable. The worst of men are there, with every spark of human feeling extinguished, without any law to moderate the fury of their desperate rage. To complete the picture, the lost angels were mingled with this awful multitude, in torment themselves and the instruments of torturing others. They stood round their human victims, exulting in their misery and increasing perpetually the sting of their ceaseless anguish. The bodies of men as well as their souls were subjected to their fearful sway, and had to suffer all that fiendish hatred could suggest. "The drunkard they seized and tortured by the instrument of his intemperance, the lustful man by the instrument of his lust, the tyrant by the instrument of his tyranny."

These descriptions involve some curious, and not very consistent, conclusions; but chiefly, perhaps, they suggest that the differences between the ninth and the nineteenth centuries are not very great after all. The dæmonology of the Bishop of Oxford is almost more minute and elaborate than that of Bede or William of Malmesbury.\* But, leaving this, we have to mark that in this scheme, as in that of Mr Newman—

1. All mankind are divided into two classes at the hour of death.
2. That hell is the abode of nothing that is not utterly abominable.

\* Bede, iii. 19; Malmesbury, ii. 2. It must be remarked that the details of personal bodily torment imply physical contact of dæmons, and run into images which have their ludicrous as well as their fearful side.—See Milman's *Latin Christianity*, Book xiv., ch. 2.

But it goes beyond the teaching of Mr Newman in asserting—

3. That hell is a chaos of unrestrained passion, from which all check of law and order has been permanently withdrawn.

4. That all the inhabitants of hell are mingled together, so that any one may attack another whenever he pleases, and

5. That all, of whom we should be disposed to judge most leniently, retain their better characteristics, remaining, in short, precisely what they had been on earth. This last axiom seems scarcely to harmonize with those which precede it.

On a subject of such fearful moment every statement should be sifted with all sobriety and earnestness. It might be not difficult to present illustrations, such as have now been noticed, even under a ludicrous aspect; but it is more seemly to ask calmly how, if these things are so, each man is to be rewarded according to his works. The brutal murderer and the blood-thirsty despot remain what they were; their cruelty is not lessened, their physical force seemingly not abated. The philosopher and moralist, the man of learning and elegant tastes, the child who has died almost in infancy, remain also what they were; and all, murderers, philosophers, and children, are hurled together into an everlasting chaos. The strong can choose out victims who cannot resist them: the weak can find none to torment in their turn, and, according to the supposition, they have no wish to torment any one. Hell is not the habitation of any human affection: yet the child carries thither her love for her parents, her brothers, her teachers, (the remembrance of good and holy lessons, which now she has learnt to value, and for valuing which she must be the better) nay, she yearns for their blessedness not only because it is a condition free from torment, but because they are with their Loving and Most Merciful Father. The sceptical philosopher whose life was a pattern of moral strictness, the man of refined habits, of ready benevolence, and good feelings remain likewise what they were, and they are to be punished by being thrown with those who never had a thought or care whether for elegance,

philosophy, or morality. The school-girl may be tormented by Ahab or Cæsar Borgia, Shelley may find himself assailed by Jonathan Wild or Commodus.\* It may well seem profane thus to put names together; but if such a theory be true, the conclusion is perfectly justifiable, and we are justified further in maintaining (1) that on this supposition the punishment is wholly unequal, unless all have committed the same amount of sin, and are equally steeped in guilt (which yet they are admitted not to be) or unless all become equally fiendish (which it is asserted that they do not).

(2.) In either case the less guilty are the greater sufferers. If all are made equally diabolical by the mere passing from this world into the next, still, in undergoing this change, some will have lost much more good than others, many losing very little, others losing a great deal. And if they do not all become equally bad, then the sensitive and refined, the benevolent and honourable man will be trampled on by furious beings, who will lead an endless carnival of violence, and whom he can by no possibility resist.

(3.) The latter class would scarcely be punished at all. The remorse of conscience they may with whatever success put aside, and on their passions there is to be, by the hypothesis, no check whatever. Even while on earth, they had shown only the faintest signs of good, and had approached as nearly as possible to a delighting in evil for its own sake. To take a number of the most hardened criminals, and leave them shut up by themselves to their own devices, would scarcely be called punishment in any human code. To coop up with these other criminals of quite a different stamp, weak, sensitive, and specially open to softer and finer feelings, would indeed be punishment, but it would be confined wholly to the latter, while it would give a zest to the horrible passions of the former. But further,—

(4.) Evil, on this hypothesis, is to increase and mul-

\* To raise an objection on the score of mentioning names is to betray a doubt as to the individual existence of all human souls after death; nor did Mr Newman fail to discern and to denounce all such hidden unbelief. See more especially the Sermon already cited. (Vol. IV, Sermon 6.)



tiplly for ever. Bishop Butler's Sermon on Resentment will show clearly enough the course of that passion when uncontrolled, even on earth. But here all check, divine and human, is to be removed for ever. In some way or other we are to suppose that all will feel the sting of remorse; but, according to this idea, they will at the same time have the will and the power to repeat the sins for which they suffer, nay, to add to them sins incomparably more tremendous.

(5.) But this notion puts almost wholly out of sight the Undying Worm, and the Everlasting Fire of Divine wrath. It represents the lost as preying on each other, but it pictures none of them as brought face to face with the Anger of God against all Sin. It reduces the punishment inflicted on sinners to mere vindictiveness, from which even the idea of a stern though just retribution is shut out. In other words, the sentence of an infinitely Perfect Judge has nothing whatever moral about it. It is a mere physical banishment, where sinners may or may not feel the sense of an irreparable loss. The degree to which they feel it has no reference to any action of God on their hearts, but is determined wholly by the tenor of their life on earth. In comparison with the sensitive moralist, the ruffian will feel none; and, in short, the Divine Hatred for Sin will never be really brought home to him.

Yet further, the popular theology of the day leads the mind to fasten on an utterly mistaken idea of the nature of Eternal Punishment; it has led those who have indulged themselves in framing theories of Universalism, to hold that sin may be compensated by a fixed amount of punishment, like the definite penalties of human law. They who maintain that all sinners suffer endless torment do so on the ground that endless torment alone can be an adequate recompense for any sin; it is no matter of surprise that their opponents should believe in a deliverance from the Eternal Fire after it has been endured for "a sufficient time." Fixed penalties have no necessary tendency to produce a change of character. "It is true that human laws, which aim more at prevention of crime than amendment of the offender, do mete out in this way, beforehand, a certain measure of punishment for a certain offence.

The man who covets his neighbour's property may, if he like, obtain it dishonestly, at a certain definite expense. He knows that he may possibly escape altogether; or, at the worst, he can only suffer this or that prearranged penalty, after suffering which he may remain (so far as the effect of the punishment itself is concerned, and unless other influences act upon him) as bad and as base a villain as before. But God's punishments are those of a Father. . . . We have no ground to suppose that a wicked man will at length be released from the pit of woe, when he has suffered pain enough for his sins, when he has suffered time enough, a 'certain time appointed by God's Justice.' But we have ground to trust and believe that a man in whose heart there is still Divine Life, in whom there lingers still one single spark of better feeling, the gift of God's Spirit, the token of a Father's still continuing Love, will at length be saved, not from suffering, but from sin."\*

But the orthodox theology, which severs all men into two classes, to be fixed at the moment of their death, still maintains that the final cause of the Divine Government of the world is the Victory of Righteousness over sin. It still asserts that when the last enemy has been destroyed God shall be all in all. Yet, according to the hypothesis of the Bishop of Oxford, the vast majority of the whole human race of all times and countries, all wicked heathen, all wicked Christians, all children who die with faults not repented of, all mere moralists, all men of indifferent or negative characters, depart into a realm where Lawlessness reigns supreme, and from which all external check has been deliberately withdrawn. In this anarchy is involved the permission and the power to sin afresh perpetually in infinitely increasing ratio. Here undoubtedly the calculation of numbers may, or rather it must, come in. The children of Adam may be beyond any earthly census, but they are not innumerable. As Mr Newman cautiously and reverently expressed it, that which gives especial solemnity to the thought of death "is that we have reason to suppose that souls on the wrong side of the line are far more numerous than those on the right."† It is dishonest and

\* Colenso on Romans, p. 263. † Sermons, Vol. IV (Serm. 6), p. 101.

cowardly to palter and dally with such a subject as this. If the words of the Bishop of Oxford are true, then Satan, who is the lord of this lawless realm, has for ever severed nine tenths, possibly nineteen twentieths, possibly more, of the whole human race from the Love and the Law of God. From this vast Kingdom he has banished God; and in it he may exult in the endless aggrandizement of sin. Some very indisputable proof is needed for the belief that the Victory of God means nothing more than this; and, unquestionably, no man in his senses would ever speak thus of any earthly King who had lost nineteen-twentieths of his Kingdom, over which he had been obliged to abandon all control. We might give him all the credit which a qualified success deserves; we might say that he had put bounds to rebellion, and prevented the rebels from harming those who had not joined them; but it would be an absurd mockery to say that he had overthrown and destroyed his enemies and recovered all his ancient power. If popular theologians speak truly, the Victory of God would be even more partial, and Ahriman will indeed have triumphed over Ormuzd.

We may dismiss from our thoughts such Pandemoniums of unbounded ferocity. The most intense conviction of the endlessness of hell torments does not call for them. The penalty of an undying remorse rather implies that they who are lost shall not be suffered to torment each other. The supposition that they are so permitted involves a perpetual miracle to keep such torture within due bounds, if any pretence of justice in the measure of punishment is to be maintained. It involves further the very strange idea that they have the Divine Licence to commit a *certain* amount of sin, and add perpetually each to his own amount of guilt. The best form of the popular theology sweeps away all such monstrous absurdities, and interprets the Undying Worm as an unavailing agony of remorse, an indescribable and fruitless yearning after a Righteousness and Love which they have learnt too late to value. But if it gets rid of some folly, it fails to meet or to remove the serious moral difficulties involved in the doctrine. It asserts the strict apportionment of penalty according to each man's deserts; it leaves no room for any such just

proportion. The very essence of proportion is the idea of gradation; but "can there be any possible gradation of *endless, infinite, irremediable* woe? . . . The very essence of such perdition is utterly, and for ever and ever, to lose sight of the Blessed Face of God. . . . What would all bodily or mental pain whatever be, compared with the anguish of being shut out for ever and ever from all hope of beholding one ray of that Light? And even bodily or mental pain, however diminished, yet if continued without cessation or relief for ever and ever, how can this be spoken of as 'few stripes' "• for any to whom few stripes are to be apportioned? It supposes the sinner to undergo an agony to which it will be impossible for him to realise any increase; to such an one the announcement that his neighbour's sufferings are greater must appear only an idle and malicious mockery. At the utmost he will only be able to take in the difference by an intellectual effort. Is the Divine Justice not concerned with convincing the sinner of its own reality?

But the orthodox theology has also to deal with the relation of those who are saved to those who are lost. Once, at least, they all meet for recognition before the Throne of Judgment. There parents are to look on children once loved and cherished, now appointed for the burning; there the husband is to see the wife whom he loved to the last borne away into the lake of fire; there brothers, whose love was one but whose lot is now different, are to take their farewell, and to see each other again no more. That the sinners shall mourn for the blessings which they have lost, and that their anguish should be increased by the very consciousness that they who loved them once are blessed still, need perhaps in such a scheme present no great difficulty; but the happiness of the righteous must not be disturbed, and some solution must be found for the huge perplexities so produced. No theologian ventures to assert that we are to hate all sinners in this life; rather, our love should be deepened by the consciousness of their sin and need. The miserable wretches who haunt the filthy courts of crowded cities are to be sought out with the more tenderness and

• Colenso on Romans, pp. 199, 200.

zeal, because they are exasperated against an order which, to them, appears thoroughly iniquitous. Their blasphemies are not to deter us from seeking to do them good; after a few years are past, they will prevent GOD from so doing. In some way or other, the Righteous in Heaven are to acquiesce in a necessity which is laid on the Divine Being Himself. We do not hate them now, but we shall hate them hereafter; nay, those who are lost shall retain their love for us long after the last lingering feeling has been extinguished in ourselves. We may struggle to escape from the labyrinth of unintelligible contradictions, but the conclusion remains that the assurance of our own salvation will enable us to look with serene indifference on the departure of lost friends into hell. At the least, that conscientiousness will not be allowed to interfere with our bliss. This can only be done by one of two suppositions,—either we shall come to hate all sinners because we detest sin, or we shall be able to forget sin and sinners altogether.

But if it be impossible (as for men in this life at least it would seem to be impossible) to feel an unmixed hatred for any being not wholly evil, then the mere comfort of those who are saved demands that all who are lost shall cease to retain the least affinity with good. Hence it became a logical necessity to maintain that hell is the habitation of no human affections, or in other words that the accident of death rendered wholly wicked those who had been only partially wicked before. But if some writers have discerned in the parable or history of the rich man and the beggar, the evidence of this sweeping change, the idea of hell torments enforced by the Bishop of Oxford implies that over some at least no change has passed unless it be one for the better. The philosopher and the moralist retain their refined and kindly feelings; the very essence of their torture is that they do retain them and must retain them for ever. The school-girl, who died with a lie on her lips, still loves her kinsfolk and her friends, or, rather, she has learnt to set on their love a value of which she had not dreamed on earth. She has been taught to mourn over her banishment from those who are good, over the thought that she cannot with them share the love of God. The case may be put even more forcibly. According to

Archbishop Whately, the terrors of the Day of Judgment will be felt only by those "who will then, for the first time, have a faithful and tender conscience."\* That men should have such consciences, is the special desire of the Divine Spirit; and in this theory the Day of Judgment at once accomplishes the victory of righteousness over sin by changing the hearts of all sinners. It is to this, then, that the good have to look forward; and, if memory survives in Heaven, it must tell them that the gates of hell have closed on faithful and tender consciences. The prospect may be bewildering; the retrospect would be intolerable. In two ways only can men, during this life, deal with the thoughts so forced upon them. All other feelings may here be swallowed up in a fierce vehemence to save the souls of others and our own. The idea of endless vengeance may send us forth to drive men into Heaven with the ecstatic fervour of Knox or Loyola; or else our efforts may be centred on ourselves. The one aim of life may be to force our way through gates which can be opened but to few. We may learn to crush all natural feeling, and the selfishness so acquired we may carry into Heaven. The very intensity of our joy may lie in the thought that we have escaped the fires which are tormenting those whom we had known on earth. Archbishop Whately shrinks from this idea of a triumph worthy of Mahomet or Montanus. In his belief, we shall be able in Heaven to do effectually what we can only in part accomplish here. On earth a good man, "in cases where it is clear that no good can be done by him, strives, as far as possible, though often without much success, to withdraw his thoughts from evil which he cannot lessen, but which still, in spite of his effort, will often cloud his mind. We cannot, at pleasure, draw off our thoughts entirely from painful subjects which it is in vain to meditate about,—the power to do this completely would be a great increase of happiness." The blessed "will be able, by an effort of the will, completely to banish and exclude every idea that might alloy their happiness."† It might have been an easier, perhaps a more merciful, solution to extinguish at once and for ever the

\* Scripture Revelations of a Future State, p. 158.

† Scripture Revelations of a Future State, pp. 282, 283.

memory of their life on earth. The theory of Archbishop Whately is one which not a few good men would reject for themselves in this life, and which the great founders of the Mendicant Orders would have indignantly thrust aside. It was the first characteristic of these merciful teachers, that they could not and would not dismiss from their minds the thought of evil which they could not remedy. They needed not the modern casuistry which takes "the wide prevalence of evil in the world as a proof that God cannot expect us to harass ourselves incessantly in resisting it." To Bishop Copleston it was the most difficult of questions to determine "with what degree of evil existing under our eyes we might fairly indulge a feeling of complacency and a desire for repose and enjoyment."\* They knew nothing of repose and enjoyment, for beings who all their life long must walk on the very verge of hell. They believed what they professed: and they lived, therefore, unlike those who are able to dismiss a mere dogma from their mind. It may be more difficult for the comfort-loving theologians of the present day to explain how it is that good men on earth rise above the selfishness of heaven.

Teachers of a sterner, if not a better school, find in the dogma of eternal reprobation the paramount need of crushing these instinctive or acquired longings for ease and comfort: and as long as the penalty is regarded solely with reference to ourselves, it serves most effectually to point the warning and enforce the lesson. If the whole probation of the sons of men is bounded to their life on earth, then it is indeed fitting that our days here should know nothing of feasts and merriment. If things go smoothly with us, it is our business to make them go roughly. The philosophy of Amasis and Polycrates is fully justified by the conditions of the Christian's life;† and they who accept these conditions, must feel it in truth a very small part of their duty not to let the whole year go round "without a break and interruption in its circle of pleasures."‡ The case is altered when, from ourselves, we look on others;

\* Bishop Copleston's philosophy was probably right. It assumes the aspect of a frightful apathy only when taken along with the dogma of endless punishment, which there is no evidence that he did not hold.

† Newman's Parochial Sermons. Vol. VI, Sermon 2, p. 27. ‡ Ibid.

and it presents difficulties yet more grave when we come to dwell on the method of Divine Government itself. In some way or other the Justice of God who appoints an endless torment for all who die with any sin not repented of, must be consistent with an order of things in which the time of trial may be cut short by an accident. If natural feeling struggles against the idea of an infinite penalty for the sin of a mortal life, it demands still more imperatively that, in such case, all should have the same amount of trial. But the child is cut off at school; the old man lives to heed or disregard warnings repeated through the life time, perhaps, of three generations. Nay, the sloth or thoughtlessness of mortal man may be the whole cause which determines the endless torture of the unbaptised infant.\* Some live until they appear to love evil for its own sake; others are cast into the lake of fire, when, as theologians admit, they were all but fit for heaven. The moment of death changes all alike into beings of unqualified evil. The loss of some is as nothing compared with that of others; and the doom may come after a thousand warnings, or without any. Yet the theology which maintains all this insists also that God is infinitely merciful and loving. It must, at the least, be admitted that, if in spite of all authority, they who profess to believe these dogmas have to overcome a natural repugnance, some among them at least have in this task achieved no mean success. But they have to persuade others to accept their own convictions. The decrees of Councils, or the language of Canons and Articles, may suffice for themselves; but some attempt must be made to show that their belief is enforced by passages of the Old Testament or the New which seem to make against it. Men do not at the first glance see how an endless punishment for all can be consistent with the few and the many stripes, how others can suffer torments less tolerable than those appointed for the men of Sodom and Gomorrha, if

\* The theology of Augustine was almost more uncompromising. An unbaptised infant lay sick: a convert, sincerely penitent, desired baptism on his deathbed. The priest, when summoned, was asleep or at dinner, or he would not go. It was the result of a Divine Decree that the child and the convert should be damned.

† Colenso on Romans, p. 211.



it be impossible to conceive of any increase to the latter. If hell is the habitation of no human affections, it is hard to understand why the rich man in Hades should appear to be changed for the better rather than the worse. The necessities of a theological position have provided the solution; but the firmest believer would probably admit that it will not generally suggest itself to the natural mind. To men who have not received a higher illumination, the rich man appears to be represented not as blaspheming or even murmuring, not as hating God or exulting in the ruin of others, but as anxious that his brothers may not fail to win the blessings which he has lost. To such it would seem that our Lord assumed "that even in the place of torment there will be loving, tender thoughts in a brother's heart;" and they may be tempted to reason further, that "if there can be such, as they cannot come from the Spirit of Evil, they must be believed to come from the Spirit of all Goodness. While there is life, there is hope. In fact, the rich man is represented as *less* selfish in the flames of hell than he was in this life. The Eternal Fire has already wrought some good result in him."\* But they who maintain the dogma of endless vengeance can afford to look down on notions so crude as these; rather they feel it their duty to insinuate that none but men of unclean lives can ever entertain them. To them the prayer of the rich man to Abraham is simply the blasphemous expression of a desperate irony, while his life on earth was the result and token of a conscious and definite unbelief in the existence of an unseen world. During his mortal life he may have been sinful; now he is utterly fiendish and diabolical. The teaching of the Bishop of Oxford seems to involve conclusions not quite consistent with these positions of the Archbishop of Dublin,† yet both assert strenuously the endlessness of future punishment. The former may countenance the notion that the greater sin has the lesser penalty; the latter appears to set aside the ordinary meaning of words.

According to Dr Trench, the narrative was aimed

\* Colenso on Romans, p. 214.

† Notes on the Parables, p. 454, &c. &c.

against the Pharisees, and especially at their unbelief. The rich man, or, if we must so call him, Dives, had fairly brought himself to believe that the unseen world had really no existence, and he calmly adopted and clung to a course of life consistently springing out of this cool intellectual conviction.\* The discovery of its reality, he made only when it was too late. It may be so; but the statement seems to involve the conclusion that men cannot act as the rich man acted, with a clear knowledge of the consequences. Yet the drunkard deliberately persists in his habit, knowing not only that sobriety is a duty, but that his vice is ruinous alike to his body and his soul. The settled purpose to commit sin may coexist with a keen perception of the misery of sin. Men may be, as Bishop Butler has insisted, most unselfish in their viciousness, most disinterested in deliberately putting aside what they know to be their highest good.† The rich man in the parable may have acted like Balaam; but to assert that his unbelief arose from his mental process of examination and rejection is as much an assumption as the ascription to him of some human feeling can possibly be. We are not told that his actions were prompted by his belief; it is not implied that he knew anything about the beggar who lay sick at his gate; and many have fastened on his ignorance as conveying the most fearful of all warnings to the thoughtless.‡ The narrative seems to represent him simply as putting aside the thought of all responsibility, not as going through a mental process in order that he may deny its existence, or as persevering in the process until he has worked himself into full conviction. If it is not easy to see how a parable addressed chiefly to Pharisees should dwell on extravagance rather than covetousness, it is still more strange that an intellectual unbelief in an unseen world should be attributed to men who believed a resurrection both angel and spirit.

But a closer scrutiny of the narrative will be rewarded with further discoveries. It may teach us that the rich man's good things were "good actions or good qualities

\* Trench on the Parables, p. 456.

† Sermon on the Character of Balaam.

‡ See especially Cope and Stretton, *Visitatio Infirmorum*, Office for a careless sick person.

which, in some small measure, Dives possessed, and for which he received in this life his reward."\* Dr Trench is not prepared to reject the belief of Bishop Sanderson, that "God rewardeth those few good things which are in evil men with these temporal benefits, for whom, yet in his justice, he reserveth eternal damnation." For nine days Eblis feasted in his hall the beings who had bidden adieu to hope; † it was reserved for a Christian theologian to assert that God bestows the means of a little sensual enjoyment for the good qualities or deeds of the unconverted. If Dr Newman urges sinners during Lent "to act at least like the prosperous heathen, who threw his choicest trinket into the water that he might propitiate fortune," ‡ the Archbishop of Dublin has been taught that "the course of an unbroken prosperity is ever a sign and augury of ultimate reprobation." Doubtless the heart knows its own bitterness, and there may be many breaks in a life of outwardly uninterrupted success; but Dr Trench's axiom might afford a grim satisfaction to those who, in the midst of want and wretchedness, regard the rich and the powerful as unquestionably in the enjoyment of "unbroken prosperity." There are probably not wanting those who may think that this dangerous condition is fulfilled in Archbishop Trench himself.

When a writer lays down such a criterion on his own authority, it is hard to abstain from retorts and insinuations: but the mere sense of truth and fairness must sometimes call on us to speak, when we might have chosen rather to keep silence. If Dr Trench is at a pinch to explain how the sight of the lost, whom they are not suffered to help, can fail to cast a shade on the happiness of the blessed, it is simply because he has not availed himself of the ready solution of his predecessor, Dr Whately. When he asserts that the rich man's request to Abraham is "a bitter reproach against God and against the old economy," it might be enough to reply that the narrative does not say so. But the case is altered when Dr Trench proceeds to judge of

\* Trench on the Parables, p. 474.

† Beckford's Vathek.

‡ Sermons, Vol. VI, p. 27. Dr Newman should rather have said "appease the jealousy of God;" *φθονερὸν τὸ δαιμόνιον* was the keynote of the philosophy of Herodotus.

the inward life of those who differ from himself. He has a keen perception that, if suffering was already doing its work in the rich man, sufferings must be not "vindicative," but "corrective." Such a doctrine, he believes, "will always find favour with all those who have no deep insight into the evil of sin, no earnest view of the task and responsibilities of life, especially when, as too often, they are bribed to hold it by a personal interest, by a lurking consciousness that they themselves are not earnestly striving to enter in at the strait gate, that their own standing in Christ is insecure or none."\* Dr Trench is, of course, not obliged to believe or to assert that such a fear lies at the root of the convictions expressed by Mr Maurice, or Mr Wilson, or the Bishop of Natal; but he does most distinctly and unequivocally deny to them "any deep insight into the evil of sin, any earnest view of the task and responsibilities of life." The verdict of Dr Trench might fairly justify us in rejecting the criterion that a tree is known by its fruits, or in questioning the truth that charity thinks no evil. He seems to agree with Aquinas that while the rich man asked that his brethren might not come into his place of torment he was really longing for their damnation. If his request was nothing but a blasphemous scoff, Dr Trench can hardly think otherwise. Yet surely he could not have alleged this opinion of Aquinas except from the mere necessity of maintaining a foregone conclusion. It is impossible to conceive of a condition of heart more thoroughly diabolical. In short, the being who can indulge in such a wish must be wholly and intensely bad. But absolute iniquity shuts out the idea of remorse, and leaves no room for any suffering except that which is physical, or any mental feelings except those of violent and furious rage; and these leave no place for that aching void, that unavailing agony of sorrow for a good irrecoverably lost, which is generally asserted to be the special sting in the misery of the wicked. Nay, more; this idea that all men become devils in hell, wild in their own unbounded wickedness, alone constitutes the logical necessity for the physical tortures of fire and brimstone, as well as for the

\* Notes on the Parables, p. 475.

agency of demons to inflict those outward stripes for which only, on this hypothesis, any feeling will be left.

This logical necessity was clearly present to the mind of Bishop Pearson. If it was certain that the pains of hell were simply vindictive, and the same measure of endless duration was the portion of all the lost, then the punishment of sinners must be regarded as something different from the righteous wrath of God against all sin. If the punishment was endless, the wicked must live through endless time to suffer it. "Otherwise there would be a punishment inflicted and none endured, which is a contradiction."\* Bishop Pearson had a quick eye for the inconsistencies of his opponents; on his own side he can see none. He is careful to assert that punishment shall be strictly apportioned to sin, "so that no man shall suffer more than he hath deserved."† He insists also that they shall be "tormented with a pain of loss, the loss from God, from whose presence they are cast out, the pain from themselves in a despair of enjoying Him, and regret for losing Him." Modern theology has substituted a savage delight in tormenting each other in place of this endless remorse. Bishop Pearson was scarcely concerned with examining an idea which probably never entered his mind. But the difficulty involved in the enormous differences between one man and another at the time of death, belongs to all ages and countries alike. Bishop Pearson knew, as the Bishop of Oxford knows now, that young children have died in sin. It is cowardly to evade the irresistible conclusion. The little children are doomed, not less than the Devil himself, to a punishment which "shall not be taken off them by any compassion." These, the sinners of a day, whose sins lay in playing truant and telling a lie to hide it, shall no more than the great Tempter of Mankind live to pay the uttermost farthing. They, not less than Herod or Alexander VI., or Agathocles or Danton (it matters not whom we take), shall suffer the endless "horror of despair," because "it were not perfect hell if any hope could lodge in it." It needs some special illumination to enable ordinary men to see how these children suffer no more than they deserve.

\* Pearson on the Creed, Art. xii., p. 463.

† *Ib.*, p. 467.

The time has come when the whole subject must be met calmly and fearlessly. There may be sophistry and evasion on both sides. Orthodox theologians have not withheld both these imputations from Mr Maurice, whose worst fault is an indistinctness of expression which sometimes assumes an air of paradox. Something of this ambiguity lies at the root of his reluctance to extend the idea of time into that of eternity. It may be true that "the continual experiments to heap hundreds of thousands of years on hundreds of thousands of years," do not put us even on the way to the idea; but it seems not less certain that we cannot conceive of existence except as an extension of duration.\* It is better to say plainly and honestly that the idea of any end to the life of the righteous involves also the idea of the most disinterested injustice,—an injustice the more horrible in proportion to the greater advance of the good in conformity to the Divine will. It is well to say not less honestly that the idea of an end to the misery of the wicked involves no such imputation, if at the same time it is maintained that so long as there remains any resistance, so long must the sinner abide under the burning wrath of God. An infinite resistance implies an infinite chastisement; nor can we allege anything to prove that the wicked cannot prolong their resistance for ever, except the difficulty of believing that the Divine Will cannot finally subdue the disobedience of every enemy.† Nor is it of much use to dwell on verbal arguments drawn from the words which in our English Bibles are represented by everlasting punishment and the unquenchable fire.‡ But it is more than ever necessary to

\* Christian Rerem' rancer, January 1854, p. 225. Art., Maurice's Theological Essays. This article presents the arguments for the doctrine of endless punishments with perhaps as much force as they can be expressed; but the reviewer was apparently mistaken in thinking that Mr Maurice's main objections were merely verbal.

† It was this difficulty which led Scotus Erigena to affirm the final restoration of the Devil himself, and to cite Origen and others in support of this belief.—See Milman's Latin Christianity, Book xiv., ch. 2.

‡ Probably not much will be gained by efforts to determine whether the writers of the New Testament attached a distinct idea of duration to the word *αἰώνιος*, which, as coming from the root *ἴ*, to go, originally expressed the simple idea of *motion*. It is of the utmost importance to bear in mind this first restricted and sensuous meaning of the word. (See Max Müller, Lectures on the Science of Language, Second Series, pp. 67, 249,

meet assumptions by plain denials. Bishop Pearson may rest his own belief on the fact that the same adjective is applied in the Greek Testament to the state of the wicked and the good; but it becomes a mere question of fact, to be determined manifestly by each man's judgment, when it is asserted that the texts of Scripture declaring the endless punishment of the wicked "are so decisive and plain, that they must be taken to mean what they appear to do, unless some positive ground of reason or morals can be shown against it."\* Such ground can be shown, and a man must indeed have thrown dust into his own eyes, if he can think that a sweeping assertion can put aside the distinction of the few and the many stripes, of the more tolerable punishment of Gomorrah than of Capernaum, of the fire which is to save the men whose work of hay or stubble it shall nevertheless consume. It is a profound casuistry which sees nothing but diabolical blasphemy and rage in what is admitted to be the only full picture given in the Gospels of the state of the impenitent after death. One or two phrases of the New Testament at the most may be wrested into the assertion that all those who die impenitent are tormented for ever; a far greater number appear altogether to contradict it, and these must be taken to mean what they appear to mean, "unless some positive ground of morals or reason can be shown against it." Morals and reason would appear to be decisive against a dogma which issues in a labyrinth of inexplicable and almost ludicrous contradictions, and which seems to impute to the Merciful God an intensity of vindictiveness which the human mind is utterly unable to realise.

But it is asserted that reason and morals call for the maintenance of this dogma from another point of view. It is urged that "the release from the notion of Eternal Punishment would be felt by the great mass as a relief

336, 527.) But it may be more tempting to lay a stress on the word *κόλασις*, which, according to Aristotle, is essentially temporary, and to maintain that the English translators were not warranted in rendering *πῦρ ἄσβεστον* by *fire that never shall be quenched*. The verbal adjective can at best express mere quality or capacity. But it seems idle to apply such subtleties to the Greek of the New Testament. If it were not so, something might be made of the term *βάρανος*, as applied to sickness and plagues; but it seems to be used precisely as we use the word *trial* without reference to any intended effect on the sufferer.

\* Christian Remembrancer, January 1854, p. 225.

from the sense of moral obligation, and, relying on the certainty that all would be sure to be right at last, men would run the risk of the intermediate punishment, whatever it might be, and plunge into self-indulgence without hesitation."\* The reviewer of Mr Maurice knew of course that men do so now in spite of this doctrine, and further "that there is no limit to the powers of imagination by which men can suppress the reasonable certainty of the future, and make the present everything." But he thinks that "the belief in endless punishment is the true and rational concomitant of the sense of moral obligation" and that "a general relaxation of moral ties, a proclamation of liberty and security, the audacity of sins which had before been abashed, carelessness where there had been hesitation, obstinacy where there had been faltering, and defiance where there had been fear, would show a world in which the sanctions of morality and religion had been loosened, and in which vice had lost a controlling power, and got rid of an antagonist and a memento."† It is impossible to regard with indifference the least possible risk of weakening the sense of moral obligation; but it is a mere question of fact, and human experience may carry us some little way towards deciding it. Men are, undoubtedly, able to suppress the reasonable certainty of the future; but they are also able to heap sin on sin in spite of a penalty of which they have almost an ever present dread. Hell is emphatically the Italian's bugbear. The Englishman can talk about it, and dismiss it from his mind; but it haunts the Italian by day and by night. His flesh creeps and his blood runs cold in the silence of his secret chamber, and the first temptation which crosses his path is followed by his submission. But there are more sweeping methods of evading this belief. The Church of Rome modifies the dogma by the purgatorial fire: the popular belief of Protestants dispenses with purgatory altogether, and sends all men practically to heaven. At the least, it answers the question, whether there are few saved, by the implied assertion that very few, indeed, are lost. Hence the belief in endless punishment may be the rational concomitant of

\* *Christian Remembrancer*, January 1854, p. 233.

† *Christian Remembrancer*, *Ib.* p. 234.



a sense of moral obligation ; but its effects are practically nullified, and its removal would only widen a little more the road which is now held to lead to heaven those who live the common life of all men.\* Dean Milman admits that there is a natural revolt against the doctrine: men wish to evade it, and they consolidate their sophistry into a system. None, or at the most but few, really maintain now that all who do not die in the active Love of God remain for ever face to face with His Anger. There would be no such scruple in believing that in all, without respect of persons, the Eternal Fire will continue to purge away the dross from the pure ore as long as any dross remains. The check on sin would be increased in power, and the sense of moral obligation quickened, because it would be set free from a belief which to natural human instinct appears self-contradictory and immoral.

But what is the experience of legislators in all ages and countries? If men will not be deterred by any penalty short of endless damnation, that is to say, a penalty than which they can conceive none higher, then clearly all apportionment of civil punishment must merge in the one penalty of death. The idea is a very old one ; but, whether in England or at Athens, it has simply defeated its own ends, if that end be the diminution of crimes. Diodotos warned the Athenians that they might punish all their enemies with death, but they would only induce them still more to run the chances of escape.† The same gambling spirit runs into things spiritual. The same doctrine which tells the good man that if he dies with any sin not repented of he will sink into hell still leaves it possible that the wicked man may live to repent. Thousands believe with Balaam that the mere wish to die the death of the righteous man will somehow or other issue in its fulfilment.

There remains yet the fact, which it is impossible to ignore, that the mitigation of a penalty is not necessarily followed by the multiplication of the offences for which it is inflicted. When Cleon proposed to punish the revolted Mitylenæans by an indiscriminate massacre of all the men,

\* Jowett on the Epistle to the Romans, Vol. I, p. 417, &c.

† Thucydides, iii. 45.

he was carrying out a theory of punishment which seems to have been heartily accepted by Archbishop Whately. In his belief, as in that of the Athenian demagogue, "the object proposed by human punishment is the prevention of future crimes by holding out a terror to transgressors."\* Both alike put a part for the whole; and, if the theory were true, it would relieve judges from all duty of apportioning punishments for offences. English judges of the present day feel this task of apportionment more and more to be a very strict duty; and it would seem that people do not steal more sheep and handkerchiefs because they no longer run the risk of being hanged for the crime. Undoubtedly, if there is but the one penalty of death for almost all offences, the task of legislation is wonderfully simplified. It implies no exalted idea of Divine justice if we believe that its penalties are fixed by the same kind of vindictive indolence. The legislation of England is more and more making the reformation of the offender a co-ordinate object with the prevention of crime. According to the popular theology, it has already risen to a higher idea than is exhibited in the Justice of an all-merciful God.

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### SECTION III.

#### PHILOSOPHICAL ARGUMENTS ALLEGED IN DEFENCE OF THE DOGMA OF ENDLESS PUNISHMENT.

BUT from the contradictory theories and notions of popular preachers and commentators, or even from the positive statements of Creeds, Articles, and Canons, we may pass into the calmer regions of philosophical argument. The conditions of our life here may teach us something about that which shall be hereafter: and, if we believe that one and the same God rules over all worlds, it is impossible to ignore and foolish to depreciate the force of this argument from analogy. But the name even of Bishop Butler must not tempt us to

\* Scripture Revelations of a Future State, p. 219.

draw a single inference which it does not fully warrant. Every question connected with or arising out of it is, as Butler himself admits, a mere question of fact. We may or may not be able to determine it; but on those which we fail to answer we must be content to suspend all judgment. It matters little whether Butler took a high or a low view of religion; but it can never be useless to show, if it can be shown, that he has in any instance overstepped the bounds which must be set to all reasoning from analogy. The most stringent scrutiny is needed to ensure that the alleged dogmas of revealed religion shall not draw from the conceptions of natural religion an aid which the latter cannot logically afford. If the argument is to carry any weight as addressed to unbelievers, this rigid indifference becomes an indispensable duty.

The Analogy of Butler may be as wearisome as a long journey through deep sand; and we may miss in it "not only distinct philosophical conceptions but a scientific use of terms."\* It is of more moment to remark that the science of the Analogy does not altogether harmonize with the science of the great Sermons which have done more to preserve his fame. The account given in the latter of human nature may appear to allow but little scope for a fervent or an ecstatic piety; but it asserts unequivocally that the happiness or the misery of man is the direct and inseparable result of his actions and his habits. Man stands in an immediate relation to his Maker, not merely as being the work of His hands, but as possessing affections and desires which can have their complete satisfaction in nothing less than God Himself. His work is to see that the several parts of his nature are kept in due proportion to each other, as well as in subordination to that higher principle of reflexion which ought to be absolute in power as it is supreme in authority. And throughout it follows, that by the very necessity of His Nature, God, who cannot change, must regard with love every creature which seeks so to conform its will to the Divine will, must acknowledge them and draw them towards Himself, in proportion as they thus strive to do their proper work. Hence the final cause

\* *Essays and Reviews.* Ninth Edition, p. 293.

of man is conformity with absolute Righteousness and unfailing Love. This conformity may also involve his happiness, but in the order of ideas it precedes it.

The Analogy introduces us to views of a very different kind. In the Sermons the constitution of man involves the need of conformity with the Divine Nature: in the Analogy God annexes certain results to certain acts. In the former Virtue is the natural condition of man,—implying a necessary communion with the Source of all Truth and Goodness: in the latter it is something which God has promised to reward and which may yield to its possessor a “secret satisfaction and sense of security.” In the Sermons the Love of God is represented as the direct and necessary complement of human nature; in the Analogy the idea of God as a master and governor is the first to occupy the mind of man. In the former by the very necessity of His Nature, God loves the creatures whom he has made capable of being kindled by his Love; in the latter “the true notion, or conception of the Author of nature is that of a master or governor prior to the consideration of his moral attribute.”\* The whole method of Divine government becomes a complex machinery, admirably adapted, it may be, for its special purpose, but implying the exercise of an arbitrary will which has predetermined certain results without reference to an Eternal and Unchangeable Law.† The Sermons speak of the constitution of a man as flowing directly from the nature of God; the Analogy seems rather to separate the goodness of virtuous men from the goodness of God, and to make them independent centres of righteousness. From the Sermons it follows, of necessity, that the end of human life is not happiness but a conformity to the Divine Nature; in the Analogy we are taught that God has

\* Butler's Analogy. Part I, ch. ii., p. 38.

† It is as well to remember how rapidly this recognition of power as the basis of the Divine nature may pass into a mere Baal worship. Congregations have not unfrequently been edified and comforted by the assurance that they are in the hands of an all-powerful Being who happens also to be very merciful, and by the contrast of their fortunate position with the conceivable wretchedness of creatures made by a Deity whose delight lay simply in tormenting them. Such talk might be dismissed at once, except as illustrating the sort of argument which is sometimes used to reconcile the idea of mercy with that of an endless punishment of all sinners.

annexed pleasure to some actions and pain to others, and that men "act altogether on an apprehension of avoiding evil or obtaining good." To use Butler's favourite phrase, God governs the world by a system of rewards and punishments;\* and apart from any dogmas of revealed religion this conclusion is forced upon us by the analogy of civil government.

Many probably, when they read that "the annexing pleasure to some actions and pain to others in our power to do or forbear, and giving notice of this appointment beforehand to those whom it concerns, is the proper formal notion of government,"† will wonder whence Butler derived his knowledge. That English legislation in his day was not slow in inflicting pain for a vast number of actions, few would care to deny; it would not be so easy to give a list of actions to which it annexed a feeling of pleasure. But to what code of any age or people could this axiom ever be applied? A paternal despotism in its palmiest days might possibly exhibit some faint approach to such a system; but otherwise human law contents itself mainly with protecting persons and property and inflicting pains or penalties on those who injure either the one or the other. It is careful to punish whatever it holds to be an offence; it admits no obligation to reward all that men may regard as generous or honourable. The very idea of equal government is, that it leaves good citizenship to be its own reward, while it showers its rewards on a few, not because they are better or more righteous than their neighbours, but because they have had it in their power by whatever means to do the state more service. It expects all citizens to do their duty, without even telling them that they ought

\* The Reviewer of Mr Maurice's "Theological Essays" in the 'Christian Remembrancer,' Jan. 1854, p. 209, earnestly denies that "analogy is Butler's primary argument for the truth of religion." This is, of course, quite true, if the Sermons and the Analogy are taken together. Then, undoubtedly his full system is grounded "on an appeal to our consciousness of a certain moral nature within us in the first place," and "an immediate inference from that moral nature in the next." But the Analogy is professedly addressed to those who do not admit this consciousness of a certain moral nature; and for the time the argument from Analogy becomes his primary argument. The result is a contradiction between the system propounded in the *Analogy* and the *Sermons*.

† Analogy. Part I, ch. ii., p. 37.

to feel pleasure in doing it, and certainly without caring whether they feel the pleasure, or whether they do not. The Athenian rose to a higher idea when he obeyed the laws of his country, not because they might reward him or give him pleasure, but from a simple sense of duty, which rested neither on punishment nor reward. To lay a special stress on these was at once the evidence of a mind more or less degraded. Men of slavish natures might be guided by pleasure and pain, and if they broke the law might be chastised by those pains which are directly contrary to the pleasures which they lose.\* The formal notion of government was with Pericles something very different from this.

It may, of course, be said that good citizenship must bring pleasure; but it does so by no appointment of human law, and thus far the analogy is not conclusive. Still there remains the general course of earthly things; and to Butler the popular belief of endless reprobation, perhaps, appeared to be warranted by the physical effects of wickedness in this life. A careful survey of them taught him that there was no apparent proportion between the sin and its consequences, that the latter are frequently delayed till long after the actions which occasioned them are forgotten, and that after such delay they come "not by degrees but suddenly, with violence and at once." It taught him that, though after a certain amount of folly, it was often in the power of men to retrieve their affairs, or recover their health and character, yet real reformation was in many cases of no avail towards preventing the miseries, sickness, and infamy, annexed to folly and extravagance beyond that degree. It further showed him (and on this he laid a still greater stress) that "neglects from inconsiderateness, want of attention, not looking about us to see what we have to do, are often attended with consequences altogether as dreadful as any active misbehaviour from the most extravagant passion." There is something specious in the supposed analogy; but neglect and want of attention may arise, and very often do arise, as much from weak mental power as from an ill-regulated life; and their ill effects are

\* Aristotle, *Ethic. Nicom.* X, 9, 10. This great thinker expressly affirms human punishment to be a process of healing. *Ib.* II, 2, 4.

quite as disastrous in the former case as in the latter. But while the latter is morally worse as well as unfortunate, we cannot assert this of the other. The results in this case are external or physical, and will cease to affect the man as soon as he is removed into a different condition of things. Even with the other, some distinction must be drawn between the will of the sinner and the physical consequences of his sin. The struggle of the will may begin when the body has lost the power of obeying it. The effects of intemperance last much longer than the seasons of drunkenness; and may be first felt in all their horrors when the body has lost the power of resistance. The widest inference from this cannot warrant the belief that these external results will be carried into a life which will not be physical. We may feel absolutely certain that the opium-eater can never regain a healthy condition of body; but we cannot deny that his will might at once begin to act effectually, if the physical derangement in the lining of his stomach were removed.\* The reason of the thing can never prove that the bodily misery so produced must accompany a man into his future life. The physical results of sin may have been on earth irremediable; but Butler has allowed that many who yet suffer them are really penitent. At the utmost we cannot, on the grounds of such analogy, deny that the incapable will of the drunkard may recover its power when the physical impediment has been removed; and we cannot possibly prove that it may not be removed by death.

From the analogy of the present order of things, Butler passes to the sentiments of heathen writers on the subject of future punishment. This subject, he rightly insists, belongs most evidently to natural religion; but he adds at the same time that, "Gentile writers, both moralists and poets, speak of the future punishment of the wicked, both as to the duration and degree of it, in a like manner of expression and description as the Scripture does."† It is hard to deal with a sentence which, with a hundred others, proves how little Butler aimed at "a scientific use of terms."

\* Archdeacon Hare, in his "Mission of the Comforter," refers to this belief of Coleridge, that the loss of power in the will may be *the* punishment of such vices.

† Analogy. Part I, ch. ii., p. 42. Note.

He has left us well-nigh to guess the meaning which he attached to Scripture, Revelation, and Religion. The first may mean a part of the Old and New Testament, or the whole; the second appears sometimes to mean the Bible, sometimes a supposed communication made to Adam before the fall or after it; the third is used to express sometimes the law of God written on a man's heart, and at others to mean nothing more than the declarations of a particular book in the Bible. But on the subject of future punishment it seems useless to allege any argument in the statements of heathen writers (supposing that all these had spoken alike) with the statements of Scripture, when these are held by antagonistic theological schools to prove directly opposite conclusions. If, however, it be meant that Gentile writers as a body maintain the endless punishment of all sinners without reference to the measure of their sin, the statement is not true.\* The belief of almost all was at the best shadowy and vague enough. Not a few refused to extend their thought to any life beyond the present, or, if at times they suffered their minds to rest upon it, it was to doubt whether any but the noblest souls would be allowed to live at all.† A still smaller number spoke out more clearly, but it is impossible to wrest their words in support of the doctrine of Bishop Pearson. Socrates does, indeed, draw a distinction between pardonable and unpardonable sins, or rather between sins which can and those which cannot be healed;‡ but they who have committed the former are purified without reference to their repentance before death. It is the magnitude of the sin, not the disposition of the sinner, which shuts him out from all hope of recovery. But the class of sinners who are not benefited by their sufferings is manifestly a very small one. It does not take in the lying or dishonest little child, it pointedly excludes

\* Due stress must be laid on the vast numbers among the heathen who accepted the doctrines of Epicurus; and the full extent to which these doctrines were carried is well shown in the fragments of Philodemus, recently recovered amongst the Herculanean Papyri.—See the 'Edinburgh Review,' October 1862, page 346.

† "Si non cum corpore extinguntur magnæ animæ." The doubting hope of Tacitus was far too general not to weaken greatly the force of Butler's argument.

‡ *ἰδῖμα ἀμαρτήματα.* Plato. *Gorg.* LXXXI.



those who lead the common life of all men, it rejects those whom Dante would only not have thrust down into the lowest dungeons of hell. Tyrants and kings and princes are amongst them,—Tantalos, Sisyphos, and Tityos; but the lot of Thersites is the happiest. It seems to be hard, if not impossible,\* for a private citizen to enrol himself in the company of transgressors who had sinned beyond all hope of cure.

The course of human life on earth will show that sins of the flesh produce physical consequences which may last indefinitely longer than the time spent in committing them. Ordinary experience teaches us that actions tend to create habits, and that habits retain over us a strong and permanent hold. Human legislation claims to visit certain acts with pains and penalties, and demands obedience to Law without promise of recompense or reward. In some countries it rises to a higher level, and, while more carefully apportioning punishment, seeks in a greater degree to reform the offender, and, so far as may be practicable, to lessen rather than to raise the penalty. There is no analogy between such a state of things and an endless torment of all sinners without regard to their spiritual condition. Such an idea can challenge belief on grounds of authority alone; and out of the whole cycle of Christian doctrines it is the only ONE which rests wholly on this foundation.†

\* Socrates is represented as inclining to the latter opinion. *οὐ γὰρ, οἶμαι, ἐξῆν αὐτῶ.* Mr Wilson, in "Essays and Reviews," p. 206 (9th Ed.), says that the Greek "could not expect the reappearance in another world, for any purpose, of a Thersites or an Hyperbolus." The words attributed to Socrates seem to imply not so much that such men are not among the inhabitants of the other world, as that they are not *ἀνίκατοι*. Hence they come under the class of men who are benefited by their sufferings; Tantalos and Sisyphos represent the few who have sinned too deeply to leave their torments any purgatorial power.

† If any exception must be made, it would seem to be that of the Fall. But a denial of the fact that Adam fell leaves the question of a "taint or corruption naturally engendered in his offspring," with all its consequences just where it was before. The question of the Fall itself leads us into a mythological inquiry, on which we cannot enter here. Some remarks bearing on the subject will be found in M. Michel Bréal's admirable analysis of the myth of Hercules and Cacus. Paris: Durand. 1863.

## SECTION IV.

## PRESENT STATE OF THE CONTROVERSY AS BEARING ON THE POSITION AND DUTIES OF THE CLERGY OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND.

HENCE it is that, in spite of the antagonism of modern science, in spite of the tacit abandonment of some parts in the narrative of the Old Testament, in spite of the acknowledged hopelessness of defining their limits and the conditions of inspiration, the theologians who uphold the popular belief cling to some theory of inspiration with greater tenacity, it would seem, than ever. Hence it is that the Christian world is fast splitting up into two sections,—the one half-tempted to believe itself in antagonism with Christianity, the other regarding the progress of modern thought with an alarm alike unreasoning and useless,—useless, because it is impossible to check the rising tide,—useless, because the flood which assails a mere traditional teaching does not even threaten the Body of Truth which is the real inheritance of Christendom,—useless, because this Truth will shine out with unclouded lustre when the artificial safeguards of an inconsistent theology shall have been swept away.

It is, of course, possible for a man to reject and deny any truth or dogma whatsoever; but it must surely be a distorted vision which can see a growing tendency in the present day to set aside the great body of Christian doctrine. If there is more and more a revolting against theories which regard Power as the basis of the Divine nature, there is less reluctance to believe that God is dealing with men for their good. But if there be any one dogma which can produce no other sanction than that of authority, it must undergo the stringent scrutiny of an age, which, with all its shortcomings and all its sins, is bent on getting at the truth of facts. Men will not be deterred from closely sifting every argument which upholds a doctrine at variance with all natural instincts and affections. They see that the Clergy, who maintain it, do not really

believe it, that no one really believes it. They know well how to distinguish a genuine from a spurious belief. They know that the time was when men might be said to have this faith, when the thought of the broad gulf yawning to receive all sinners heightened their convictions of the essential impurity of all material things. They know how that belief displayed itself. Bernard believed it when he deliberately broke up the home which he loved; Jerome believed it when he did battle with the fiends of hell in his cave at Bethlehem; Francis of Assisi believed it when he took poverty for his bride and gathered round him the hosts which forswore every earthly joy to avoid the flames of hell. The forms of the Sacrifice might vary; its essence was the same. Macarius might plunge himself naked into a morass and brave the sting of insects which might pierce the hide of a boar. Simeon on his Pillar might afflict soul and body with the heat by day and the frost by night; but in one and all, in proportion to the sincerity of their faith, there was the same vehement rejection not only of every earthly pleasure but of everything which could only be termed not a torment or a plague. The teachers of our day go about to reconcile their belief in the final ruin of almost all mankind with a natural love of ease and a feeling of self-complacency. There is much speaking, and in a few, at least, some self-sacrifice; but the curse which they believe to rest upon the world, rests on it, it would seem, in name only. It does not lessen their liking for the world's good things: it does not break their sleep by night, or greatly afflict their souls by day. They look on mankind as on beings of whom few can escape the day of the great vengeance; but they can mingle still in the world of science, or trade, or politics, and shape their words by the dictates of time-serving expediency. In the eyes of Benedict or Columba or Dominic no further proofs would be needed of a complete and deliberate unbelief. But while some still insist loudly that God cannot have mercy on men after their pilgrimage here is ended, while they place in the same fire the lying child and the pitiless murderer, the greater number are content to speak in more measured words, and to tell their people that justice is with God the consummation, and not the contra-

diction, of that which is justice with men. It is impossible to deny that such is becoming more and more the teaching of the Clergy of the Church of England. The fierce denunciations which paralyzed many hearts with terror thirty years ago are, by comparison, rarely heard now. Preachers resort less and less to the elaborate dæmonology of Dante or of Milton; they instinctively abstain more and more from any attempts to define the method of future punishment. Is it possible to bring together more convincing evidence that the doctrine is not really believed? Is it possible to produce a stronger reason why they who know that these things are so should come forward boldly and honestly to declare it?

This age is one of much serious thought, and the efforts to arrive at truth for the truth's sake are neither feeble nor insincere; but it is not pre-eminently an age of martyrs or confessors. They who have thought most deeply and anxiously are conscious that they have passed through more than one stage of belief and faith; and they feel that the change which is coming cannot, on the whole, be accomplished with the same weapons which fought the battle of Teutonic against Latin Christianity. No great experience is needed to show them that others have undergone, or are undergoing, the like changes. Not a few who now, if pressed to declare their belief, would assuredly refuse to accept the Bishop of Oxford's pictures of hell torments, received their Orders with an unquestioning acceptance of all Anglican theology. Not a few passed from this state of temporary repose into a hard struggle which only did not issue in their submission to the Church of Rome. The teaching which had impressed on them the Unity of the Church and the unimaginable fearfulness of schism, justified and enforced the inquiry which was to determine whether they were in the right position themselves. It was of no avail that they led the holiest lives, if they questioned but one single point in all the faith of Catholic Christendom; it was of no avail that their faith and their lives were what they should be, if their belief was professed and their works done where they ought not to be done and professed. The rising of a doubt was the signal for flight, for to doubt and linger and to die in that

doubt, was to be lost for ever. The Church of Rome was Catholic, even by the admission of her enemies; her orders were allowed to be valid; her dogmas retained the faith of the Church in all ages, although they may have overlaid it. She could offer them security, and security was everything under a state of things in which the accident of a moment might remove the Christian beyond the reach of hope and mercy. It was hard to escape from these doubts and fears without casting aside the burden of sacerdotalism. It was hardly possible to remain without the pale of Rome, while the paramount necessity of Catholic Communion seemed to thrust aside every other; but it was easy to emerge from these mortal fears into the belief in a Divine kingdom embracing all ages and all lands, into a belief which did not dare to limit the mercy of God, which cared little to speak of virtue and vice, of punishments and rewards, but which placed the salvation of man in the conformity of his will to the Divine will, in a constant dependence on his Love and Grace.

Such as this has been the history of many an English Clergyman during the last ten or twenty years. They may pass now by many names; they may be regarded by the world as belonging to the High Church or the Broad Church, but they who search such matters closely may see that the foundation of their faith is laid on the conscious conviction of a moral government of Righteousness, Truth, and Justice, as men with all their wickedness construe and accept those terms. It is impossible not to see whither these things are tending; it is mere hypocrisy to pretend that we do not perceive it. The sentences of Ecclesiastical Courts may possibly arrest, but they cannot turn back the course of modern thought. They do not profess to concern themselves with the Truth as such; and the truth as such is the one end and aim to which every channel of science and research is converging.

And, finally, the charge to such of the Clergy as hold a faith like this to quit their posts and set up some new sect will fall on unheeding ears. Why should they abandon a Church in the body of whose teaching their faith is deeper than ever, why yield up the posts entrusted to their charge because some choose to determine what the Church has left

undefined? Why should they leave the centre of all happy memories and all bright hopes when nowhere else can they look to find the same peace and consolation? Why should the Bishop of Natal desert the Christian and the heathen Zulus, for whom and among whom he has so long laboured heartily and earnestly, because he will not and cannot propound to them a dogma which makes the assertion of Perfect Righteousness an unintelligible riddle? Why should he cease from the holy work of relieving from their sadness the souls whom God had not made sad? Why should he not assure the trembling convert that his parents are not thrust down into the lowest pit of hell simply because they happened to die before the missionary came? \* Why should he not go on to do his duty by entering his most solemn protest against falsehoods which are "utterly contrary to the whole spirit of the Gospel," and which operate "with most injurious and deadening effect both on those who teach and on those who are taught"? Plainly he would be acting wrong were he not to do so. The Church of England has accepted the task of preaching a Gospel, nor can any say that she has wholly failed in preaching it.

The judgment of the Court of Arches in the case of Mr Wilson would, even if final, have availed little or nothing on the other side. Dr Lushington insisted, in the clearest language, that he was concerned not with the truth of doctrines, but simply with the fact whether they are or are not maintained by the Church of England. He accepted the rule laid down in the Gorham case that "if the Articles of Religion are silent upon a point of doctrine, then, unless the Rubrics and Formularies clearly and distinctly determine it, it is open for each member of the Church to decide for himself according to his own conscientious opinion." No one can assert that he wilfully narrowed the terms of communion; some may think that he has suggested evasions even greater than any which had been acted on before. As long as it is not in plain terms denied that the Holy Scriptures contain all things necessary to salvation, any one

\* The Bishop of Natal cites a forcible instance of such teaching. Commentary on Epistle to the Romans, p. 211.

might affirm that not a single book was written by the man whose name it bears, or even at the time and place to which it has been assigned. He might interpret figurative language as historical; he might resolve statements of facts into a transcendental mysticism. The judge was not concerned with questions of interpretation. He demanded no more than the admission that the books, or at least some part or parts of each book, were written "under Divine guidance." He was ready to concede all liberty, if only the plain, literal, and grammatical sense of authoritative formularies was not contravened. So far as regards the doctrine of Eternal Punishment, they who deny that it is of necessity endless for those who undergo it might most honestly have accepted the issue.

It may, of course, be said that nothing more than an accident enables the Bishop of Natal, or Mr Wilson, or Mr Maurice to accept these words of the Athanasian Creed in their plain, literal, and grammatical meaning. It may be urged that the author of that creed meant something very different, and that it is mere evasion, if they maintain their ground in the Church of England on a mere superficial agreement like this. It may be so. Yet it is an evasion not so great as those which Dr Lushington has deliberately allowed on the subject of Inspiration. But they who believe that the Divine Spirit still lives and works in the Church of England will scarcely regard as an accident that which will enable all her members and all the world to respond heartily and unreservedly to the whole will of God.

We must speak still more plainly. It may have been the belief of those who drew up the Athanasian Creed that all sinners must undergo the same endless punishment. It was a notion which might well prevail in a hard and violent age. But whether by accident or by the over-ruling Providence of God, Who is using the Church of England as a special instrument for preaching the whole Gospel of Christ to every creature, the notion cannot be found distinctly enunciated in any of her Canons, her Articles, or her Formularies. No one really and practically believes in this notion; thousands virtually ignore it, and the highest Ecclesiastical tribunal has affirmed that such a belief is not imposed on the Clergy of the Church of England. But it

is time to speak out the whole truth. It is time to say that this dogma does not form part of the Gospel of Christ. It is time to reject it utterly from our teaching, and to bid all others look the question fully in the face.

The Church of England has not fettered her Clergy to any definite statement on the endlessness of future punishment; but if such were her dogma, if she asserted clearly that all who do not die in the faith and fear of God are tormented necessarily for ever and ever, then it is better to say at once that that dogma must be rejected with a deeper and more vehement indignation than that with which Teutonic Christendom rose up against the worst abuses and superstitions of Latin Christianity. The coarsest development of the doctrine of Transubstantiation, the wildest absurdities of Manichean fanatics, were not more thoroughly opposed to the first principles of Justice, Law, and Truth than a dogma which makes no distinction between a perjured tyrant and a lying child. Most happily such a Reformation is not needed in the Church of England now; but if ever it be made necessary, the men who shall carry it out will not be wanting. That Reformation is sorely needed elsewhere; is it too much to hope that the Church of England may be the appointed instrument for hastening that mighty change which shall sweep away the deadly bondage of an ancient and groundless superstition?



## APPENDIX.

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### No. I.

THE "Christian Remembrancer," in an article which has been reprinted by its author, Mr Cazenove, from the number for April, 1864, has entered elaborately on the defence of the dogma of never-ending punishment. Enough has been already said to render a detailed reply to that article altogether unnecessary; but a few words may suffice to show how utterly futile its main arguments are to those who will not grant the assumptions with which the writer starts. We have reasoned chiefly on the basis of the authoritative statements of the Church of England as found in the xxxix articles, nor are we called on to admit anything more than may be legally required of her Clergy. But it may at once be said that the Reviewer's definition does not satisfy the teaching of the Bishop of Oxford, or Dr Trench, or Dr Newman, and that, if his definition be correct, the actual teaching of such men falls to the ground. "The dogma," says the Reviewer, "which we have to consider is this,—that there is a degree of hardness and impenitence of heart which is fraught with everlasting evil to those who persist in it, and that such obdurate sinners will ultimately be banished from the presence of God and condemned to a state of misery that knows no end. Upon the details of this fearful condition, neither the Church of England nor the Church Universal has presumed to utter any formal or authoritative decision. The reality and the eternity of the misery *is* affirmed authoritatively; the precise nature and qualities of the sufferings and the nature and locality of the place where they are to be endured, are open questions, matters of opinion, not of faith." But, if this be so, what right has any Clergyman to draw pictures of demons torturing men by the members which were the special instruments of their sins, and point to men like Gibbon and Shelley, nay, even to lying school-children, as suffering the torments of an endless hell? What right have any to say that all who do not die in the true faith and

fear of God have entered into that horrible state? What right have they to involve themselves and others in a dilemma which would be absurd if it were not frightful? for, repudiating (as they must) the doctrine of Purgatory, they are bound to maintain that all who are not at their death fitted for heaven must, by the very necessity of the case, enter hell, and that this must, therefore, be the lot of nineteen-twentieths of mankind. All these teachers, it must be noted, uphold a dogma which is not the same as that of the Reviewer; and what must be the worth of a doctrine which is stated philosophically by theologians in one way, and always enforced by preachers in another? To speak briefly, the Reviewer in the "Christian Remembrancer" has made a string of assumptions, each one of which calls for a distinct denial.

(1.) He assumes that Clergymen (or Laymen) of the Church of England are bound to believe in the existence of many things on which its articles are wholly silent—*e. g.*, in that of angels and of "those fallen and apostate ones who have Satan as their head and Captain," and to admit that the latter sinned in the very courts of heaven, that man sinned and straightway was ashamed and penitent, but the demons showed no signs of faith or contrition. This may be all very well in a treatise on Christian mythology, but that it should be gravely brought forward in a paper addressed to educated Englishmen is simply astounding.

(2.) He assumes that the Bible upholds the truth of his dogma; and very possibly it may, if we grant his principle "of explaining obscure and doubtful passages by the light of those which are distinct and clear." No Clergyman of the Church of England is bound to admit any such principle, and every critic would at once repudiate it, if it be meant, as here it is meant, that we may explain ambiguous passages in one author by a comparison with clear passages in another. The rule would be scouted as ridiculous if applied to Herodotus and Thucydides, Aristotle and Plato; and St Paul and St Peter are quite as much distinct authors as any of these can be, although we may happen to have bound up their writings as part of a single volume which we call the Bible, but of which Jerome and Augustine spoke only as "The Books." It is, indeed, as manifest and as open to any one to say that St Paul taught unqualified Universalism as to another to affirm that the notion of an endless punishment may be found in the words of some other of the Biblical writers. It has been decided judicially that the Church of England does not sanction this notion, and the assertion that it is not to be found in the Bible at once upsets a mere assertion on the other side.

(3.) The Reviewer thinks that he has found an impregnable stronghold in the alleged universality of certain beliefs. All mankind, speaking generally, believe he asserts in an endless

punishment ; and he cites the text of Aristotle *ὅ πᾶσι δοκεῖ τοῦτ' εἶναι φάμεν* with the assenting comment of Cicero. To this we need only say that we are in no way bound to accept without the strictest scrutiny any statement of Aristotle, or Solomon, or Lord Bacon himself. The axiom is one of those stupendous fallacies which have led mankind in all ages to forge their own fetters. The argument from the universality of a belief proves nothing, or rather it would establish the truth of many beliefs which have been given up as horrible, disgusting, and degrading. The very belief in evil angels, which the Reviewer looks on with so much favour, exists simply as a mutilated and barren stock ; in other words, those who profess it do not really believe it. It did produce its legitimate fruit once, when it drove all Christendom to believe in witchcraft, and consigned to unspeakable tortures and a frightful death, hundreds of thousands of miserable wretches who had the ill luck to be accused of an impossible crime. There has been, it would seem, a time in the history of man when every nation, tribe, and family was given over to the practice of human sacrifices ; the distrust of the mercy and love of God, the utter forgetfulness of the moral character of God, on which that loathsome worship was founded, exists still, and is the greatest barrier in the way of true Christianity. When the ignorant peasant doubts whether God can be merciful to or love a being so worthless as himself, he is giving utterance to the same feeling which led the Carthaginian matron to drop her newborn babe into the blazing mouth of the favourite god of the Hebrews. It is the reiterated warning of Jewish prophets and of Christian teachers, that this distrust is a delusion only the more horrible and fatal because it is universal. There is not an atom of foundation for it ; what a mockery, therefore, of philosophical method is it to say that it upholds one dogma while it is admitted to overthrow another ?

(4.) The Reviewer argues throughout as against persons who deny the sinfulness and the misery of sin and the certainty of a righteous chastisement and discipline, who make nothing of iniquity, and set lightly by the most sacred responsibilities. He is arguing against some phantom of his own raising. The school which he anathematizes does not exist. The very essence of the teaching of those Clergymen against whom he thus insinuates or implies an utter unbelief, is that no one sin goes unpunished, and that all men in the measure in which they need it shall feel the chastening hand of God. They may be wrong : but it is simply false to say that they leave men to riot in sin, unchecked and unwarned.

(5.) He endeavours to divert men from an impartial examination of the subject, by throwing doubts on the orthodoxy of those

who venture to question the dogma for which he is contending. Any one who does this is sure to be found wanting with respect to some cardinal doctrine of the faith (of course as these are received by the Reviewer himself). Sir James Stephen assailed it, but "Mr Hopkins has shown his laxity and want of correct views on the Incarnation"; Mr Maurice impugns it, but "is Mr Maurice thoroughly trustworthy on the doctrine (*i.e.* the Reviewer's doctrine) of the Atonement"? Such insinuations are as irrelevant as they are weak. Each of these doctrines is true or it is not true; and it argues mere unbelief to seek to ward off from any one of them the most rigid scrutiny. What sort of reasoning is it to scare a man from looking into one dark corner of his house, by telling him that they who do so are sure to create disorder in some other quarter? But it is more to the purpose to say that the Clergy of the Church of England are bound neither to the Reviewer's dogmas nor to his tests; and they need concern themselves very little to know whether he thinks them orthodox or not. To do so would argue utter childishness. The theological world of England is divided into sections, each of which impugns the other's orthodoxy. The High Churchman brands the Low Churchman; one school anathematizes or more gently disapproves another; and then, forsooth, they who doubt whether God will commit to hopeless pains the vast majority of his creatures, are bidden to see that they be orthodox on all other points before they pry into this one.

Finally the Reviewer, in utter contradiction to the Bishop of Oxford and his followers, confines himself mostly to guarded statements, which might lead the reader to suppose that this fearful lot is reserved merely for an infinitesimally small fraction of mankind; but his hell is, nevertheless, one which contains unbaptized infants (p. 477), and for Englishmen this is enough. Dogmas which involve such admissions are not merely untrue, but they are degrading and demoralizing to the last degree. At the recent Bristol Congress Mr Keble was pleased to repeat to the assembled Churchmen the remarks made to him by a poor old widow, who, on hearing that the Church of England no longer required her people to believe in the endless punishment of all sinners, begged him not to tell her son, as she trembled for the effect which these tidings would have upon him. Mr Keble's inference was that the decision in the case of Messrs Williams and Wilson abolished all morality,—the plain fact being, nevertheless, that the old woman's wicked son had somehow or other convinced himself that he would escape scot free. With such men the threat of an inconceivable and utterly disproportionate punishment is not likely to have much weight: to tell them that sin brings its own punishment and that sinners if not here yet hereafter will be

made to *feel* the wrath of God, may check them in their course, but can never cause them to plunge deeper into sin.

This is the warning which they would most certainly hear from such teachers as Mr Wilson and Mr Maurice, Dr Stanley and Mr Jowett, the Bishop of Natal and Dean Milman. Like the righteous prophets of old time, they maintain the absolute and unswerving righteousness of God, while the upholders of the popular dogma confuse the moral perceptions of mankind, and give a fatal strength to the miserable sophistry by which men cheat themselves into the idea that, be their lives what they may, they will somehow or other come to die the death of the righteous man.

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No. II.

Remarks on a Sermon on "EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT," preached before the University of Oxford on the Twenty-first Sunday after Trinity, by E. B. PUSEY, D.D.

While these sheets were passing through the press, Dr Pusey has published a Sermon on which, as it misconstrues some statements made in the foregoing pages, a few remarks must be added. It is certainly an unfortunate thing that the self-styled upholders of the Catholic Faith should in the eyes of those who differ from them appear always guilty of misconstructions or assumptions. Dr Pusey's Sermon so abounds on both as to make any attempt at an argumentative reply mere labour lost. It is useless to reason with those who are resolved to make use of ambiguous terms, and who even themselves put on these terms more than one meaning. But although the thought of convincing Dr Pusey may be absurd, it may be of more use to arm others against his assumptions, and perhaps against the general character of his theology. If you answer the question, who is God? what am I? honestly, you have, says Dr Pusey, subdued every difficulty which men raise against the Faith. It may be so, if we admit that the honest answer must be Dr Pusey's answer. A second assumption is based on a passage in the preceding paper, p. 9, from which Dr Pusey draws the conclusion that "human reason is prepared to capitulate as to all the old difficulties which it used to be so busy in parading, the Doctrine of the All Holy Trinity or the Incarnation. . . . It will even admit the mystery of the Incarnation, and allow of that ineffable mystery of God become Man, that *God* was *born*, was nourished at the breast,

. . . . was nailed to the Cross, *died.*" Dr Pusey heaps assumption on assumption. A belief in the Trinity or Incarnation is not necessarily *his* belief, and to the latter the Church of England has certainly not committed either her Laity or her Clergy. To the assumptions are added a few contradictions. "What criminal," he asks, "ever by nature owned the justice of the human law which condemned him? If he admit that he was in the wrong, yet what punishment does not seem to him too severe?" We may perhaps be perplexed to know where Dr Pusey has amassed these astounding experiences; but it is utterly impossible to reconcile them with the statement in the very next page (7), that man's conscience speaks out clearly that punishment is the due reward of our deeds. When he asserts that Reformation is not the object of Divine Punishment (6), he assumes the very point in dispute, and allows his assumption to lead him into a statement which should be well noted by Englishmen. He condemns what he calls the systematized benevolence of modern legislation. "Reformation of the individual offender is proposed as the exclusive end of human punishment." Dr Pusey does not like this. We must suppose, therefore, that he would like a little of the wholesome severity which Laud exercised on the ears of Prynne and Bastwick, and perhaps, in course of time, we need not despair of restoring such pleasant exhibitions as those which graced the execution of Robert François Damiens. The next argument involves us in a discussion as to the meaning of the word Eternity, which directly involves another question,—what is Revelation?—a question equally assumed by Dr Pusey. "Who revealed to us," he asks, "that sin ceases in the evil, when life ceases?" (p. 9); and who revealed to us, we may ask, that it goes on? Dr Pusey's conviction is founded on the existence and the character of Satan; and he must at once be told that the Church of England does not commit her Clergy to any opinion about either the one or the other, and they who reject the whole of Dr Pusey's *dæmonology* are, in her eyes, quite as orthodox as he. They are not in the least bound to believe that Satan belonged to the second order of beatified Intelligences, or that he fell, or that he exists at all. Dr Pusey thinks he knows all about him, and he also knows that the whole history of man is confined to the last 6,000 years (p. 11). This is a matter in which we may leave him to be dealt with by Sir C. Lyell, or Professor Owen. But it is of little use to multiply words. Dr Pusey builds on verbal expressions in the Gospels, thus assuming again that every word in those narratives forms part of an indisputable history. Dr Pusey knows that the people of England are beginning to doubt this, and he knows that the reasons brought forward in a popular shape in "Fraser's Maga-

zine" for January, 1863 (on Criticism and the Gospel History) have not been answered. He cannot fail to know, further, that the rich man in Hades is represented as better and less selfish than he was on earth; and yet he deals in pictures which would do credit to the sensuous imagination of a Mahometan. "Gather in your mind all which is most loathsome, most revolting, the most treacherous, malicious, coarse, brutal, inventive, fiendish cruelty, unsoftened by any remains of human feeling: conceive the fierce, fiery eyes of hate, spite, phrenzied rage ever fixed on thee, glaring on thee, looking thee through and through with hate, sleepless in their horrible gaze: hear those yells of blaspheming concentrated hate, as they echo along the lurid vault of hell. every one hating every one," &c., &c. "A deathlessness of hate were in itself everlasting misery. Yet a fixedness in that state, in which the hardened, malignant sinner dies, involves, without any further retribution of God, this endless misery." (16.) Shall we ever know what the upholders of this dogma mean? Who or what are Dr Pusey's hardened and malignant sinners? The Bishop of Oxford shuts up in hell the lying school-girl and the young man of excellent life who doubted whether the sun and moon stood still at Joshua's bidding: the Reviewer in the "Christian Remembrancer" seems to think that unbaptized children are there also. Do they suppose that people will listen to them until they make their meaning plain, or rather until they exhibit some better evidence that they believe their own doctrine? Before the Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Oxford Mr Disraeli has made a mock of that doctrine to point a contemptible jest against Mr Maurice and Mr Jowett; the ribald profanity of his taunt called forth not the rebuke but the enthusiastic cheers of that reverend assembly.\* We may therefore dismiss Dr Pusey's pictures, with the bare remark that they are drawn not from the teaching of Christ or of St Paul, but from that Iranian dualism which made the world a battlefield between Ormuzd and Ahriman. The attitude which Dr Pusey has assumed makes it still more necessary to assert that his teaching is not the teaching of the Church of England, which knows nothing of the Birth or Death of God. Dr Pusey is not wise in parading phrases which, if they have any effect, can only exasperate controversy and convert a gradual process into a violent convulsion.

\* Meeting of the Oxford Diocesan Society for the Augmentation of Small Livings; as reported in the 'Times,' November 26, 1864.

