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A DEFENCE OF
URANIAN LOVE

A Defence of Uranian Love

by

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[*Edward Perry Warren*]

PART THE THIRD

THE HEAVENLY WISDOM

AND

CONCLUSION

PRIVATELY PRINTED

A2

1928



JUL 1937

All WONDERS in one sight !
Æternity shutt in a span,
Sommer in winter. Day in Night.
Heauen in Earth, & GOD in MAN.

CRASHAW : *An Hymne of the Nativity, sung
as by the Shepheards.*



PART III
THE HEAVENLY WISDOM

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A DEFENCE OF URANIAN LOVE

I

THE BLESSED SACRAMENT¹

WITH Christianity appears the triumph of justice in God, no longer τὸ θεῖον according to the vague Platonic reference (vague of necessity, since no God, not even Zeus, corresponded to the ideal) but a God above all gods, who had trodden down the rest, effacing the traces of polytheism that remain in the Old Testament, who had imbued himself with all the righteousness known to the Jews, and therefore, if the Jews had nought to learn from the Greeks, with all that the Greeks had desired in τὸ θεῖον. This God was a person, a being to be loved ;

¹ In this sketch of Christian doctrine, attention is called to points which are less often remembered by Protestants than by Catholic devotees. No doubt there is much in it which cannot be attributed to Jesus.

in him *δικαιοσύνη* becomes an ever-present father, not a far-off ancestor of gods and men. The abstract and the concrete coalesce. We have a stringent and homely Absolute ; there is an end to diversity and doubt ; the One is victorious ; and Plato and Aristotle, together with the prophets, have foreseen him ; yet this One is human.

The essence of Christianity is in the words of Saint Paul :

“ Who, being in the form of God, recked not of equality ¹ with God, but took upon him the form of a servant and was made in the likeness of men. And, being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.” ²

Or in the words of the creed :

“ qui propter nos homines et propter nostram salutem descendit de cœlis et incarnatus est de spiritu sancto ex Maria Virgine crucifixus etiam pro nobis sub Pontio Pilato passus et sepultus est.”

It is from this point that all the great Christian Doctrines radiate ; and, if we may trust

¹ These words are of doubtful interpretation.

² Philippians ii. 6, 7, 8.

a theological explanation, Jesus was at this moment reprobate of God. Then the whole tide of humanity's sinfulness—past, present, and to come—overwhelmed his head ; then his confidence as the well-beloved son was replaced by the sense of imputed guilt ; then he lost the divine vision and therefore cried out : “ My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me ? ” for the crucifixion was more than that torment and death which the thieves suffered ; it was a sacrifice and atonement by sufferance of the punishment due to the sins of the whole world, the temporal exhibition and foreseen reality of the Paschal Lamb slain from the foundation of the world, the virtue of all those missal sacrifices whereby we appease God daily, presenting, to shield us, a memorial eternally valid, since he ever liveth to make intercession for us and is still the propitiation for our sins. The eucharist is the application in heaven and earth of the consummation of the work of Jesus, a renewal of the eternal sacrifice, not as an event, but in its double consequence, propitiation and pardon. It affects God as propitiation ; it affects us as pardon ; it affects us because it affects God ;

from him falls the large rain and refreshment ; the Son pleads for us in heaven—pleads the atonement which he made in his body ; united with him our sinful bodies are made clean by his body and our souls washed through his most precious blood. As the human and divine natures meet in him, who took up manhood into God, so here we are taken up into him. As the life of each of us is the meeting-place of a mortal body and an immortal soul, so the sacrament is the meeting-place and coalescence of our humanity with his divinity, the union of the temporal with the eternal, “ ubi ima summis terrena divinis junguntur.”¹ As he rests in the bosom of the Father, an eternal atonement, so the reconciliation of the Mass takes place in grembo a Dio.² Time and place no longer have meaning. The body of Christ is in heaven ; it is on the altar ; we are his body ; our prayer is his prayer ; he covereth us as a hen covereth

¹ Missale Romanum. Præparatio ad missam. FERIA Secunda.

² Dante, *Inferno*, xii. 119. The phrase may refer to the Mass rather than to the church ; and the moment of elevation may have been chosen as a protection against divine anger. So also with Giuliano de' Medici.

her chickens under her wings ; we are united to him, as he is one with the Father.

This exposition goes far beyond Saint Paul, who tells us little of the doctrine while giving an account of the institution of the Blessed Sacrament ; and it seems to go beyond the Gospel of Saint John, since its author, though the main source of the doctrine, omits the institution, overleaping it perhaps into that love which supersedes the sacraments. The theological explanation and application to the rite might have sounded strange to the Apostles, as Saint Paul sounded strange to Saint Peter ; but inference is justified ; and development, though not that development which renders church doctrine almost a second revelation, was expected ;¹ and it was no greater than the development of the Doctrine of Charity.

¹ St. John xvi. 13 ; Philipians iii. 15 ; 1 St. John ii. 27.

II

CHARITY

THE doctrine of charity was compounded of the love of God and of love toward man.

Love of God had appeared in the Old Testament in that yearning and laying hold of the invisible which pervades the Psalms and fulfils the first and great commandment : "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thine heart and with all thy soul and with all thy might."¹

The passion is familiar to us now ; but neither the Socratic yearning of *Πενία* for that which it has not nor Plato's worship of invisible perfections shows the masculine grasp of this Hebrew Eros, as of Jacob wrestling with the angel :

"O God, thou art my God ; early will I seek Thee ; my soul thirsteth for Thee ; my

¹ Deuteronomy vi. 5.

flesh also longeth after Thee in a barren and dry land where no water is.”¹

This language is not that of delight in τὰ ὄντως ὄντα ; the call is to a person ; and therein lies its strength.

With this was combined Saint Paul’s Corinthian chapter,² though Saint Paul deals only with love toward man. The order of procession is not quite clear in St. John’s Epistle : “ He that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen ? And this commandment we have from him, That he who loveth God love his brother also.”³ It becomes clear in St. Thomas : “ Charitas diligit proximum propter Deum, et sic objectum ejus proprie est ipse Deus.”⁴ The love which St. Paul had defined proceeds from our love of God, and this love is not “ qualiscumque amor Dei, sed amor Dei quo diligitur ut beatitudinis objectum.”⁵

¹ Psalm lxiii. 1.

² I Corinthians xiii.

³ I St. John iv. 20.

⁴ St. Thomas, *Summa*, Secunda Secundæ, i. 1.
Scartazzini on Dante, *Paradiso*, xxvi. 66, quotes Peter Lombard, Sent. iii, 27. Charitas est dilectio qua diligitur Deus propter se et proximus propter Deum vel in Deo.

⁵ St. Thomas, *Summa*, Prima Secundæ, lxxv. 5.

Its fount is the infinite love shown to us by God in Christ, who dwells in our hearts by faith, that we, being rooted and grounded in that love, may be able to "comprehend with all saints what is the breadth and length and depth and height ; and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, and be filled with all the fulness of God."¹

Blessedness may be begun on earth.² The doctrine of love has not only its duty but its reward ; nor shall we say that the reward is a bribe. God has not made our natures so bad that it is sinful to crave the satisfaction which they can have only in him and which they are endlessly to enjoy in him. Love

¹ Ephesians iii. 18.

² St. Thomas, *Summa*. Prima Secundæ, lxxv. 5: "Charitas non solum significat amorem Dei sed etiam amicitiam quamdam ad ipsum ; quae quidem super amorem addit 'mutuam redamationem cum quadam communicatione mutua' ut dicitur (*Ethic*, lib. viii. cap. 2) . . . Haec autem societas hominis ad Deum, quae est quaedam familiaris conversatio cum ipso, inchoatur quidem hic in præsenti per gratiam ; perficietur autem in futuro per gloriam." The Aristotelian phrase in question may be ἀντιφίλησις οὐ λανθάνουσα" (*Nicom. Ethics*, viii. 3, 1156a). Roman Breviary on St. Bernard ; "cœlestem vitam agebat in terris ab omni caducarum rerum cura et cupiditate alienam."

desires, and rightly, the presence of the beloved.¹

Our help cometh from the Lord, who hath made heaven and earth.

Hence it is that amiable actions, performed without the heavenly vision, lack root and strength. The Gentiles, having no law, are a law unto themselves, but, that they may climb to the greater heights, help must reach down to them from the Highest. According as they draw on his strength they perceive all things not indeed to fall into order (for “her is non hoom; her nis but wyldyrnesse”²), but to work together for good to them that love God.³

It is to this marvellous strength that we owe the endurance of saints and martyrs. To it we owe the martyrdom of Christ. “I have meat to eat that ye known not of.”⁴

This he said “who for the joy that was

¹ Pindar, *Nem.*, viii. ἀντ. γ' μαστεύει δὲ καὶ τέρψις ἐν ὄμμασι θέσθαι πιστόν (probably to be taken as masculine). The reading is disputed. Aristotle, *Ethic. Nicomach.* viii. 6, 1157b: οὐδὲν γὰρ οὕτως ἐστὶ φίλων ὥς τὸ συζῆν.

² Chaucer, *Ballade of Good Counseil*.

³ Romans viii. 28.

⁴ St. John iv. 32.

before him endured the cross despising the shame."¹

Heaven on earth is unobstructed contemplation. Sin and all earthliness are our obstructions. Hence the penitential tone of the Eucharist ; we eat our feast with bitter herbs ; but, if, in our hearts, we would away to be with Christ, which is far better, we may praise the Lord in the congregation. For those who humble themselves in sincere desire all things are done by the saints, by the angels, by Christ, by the Spirit, which intercedeth for them with groanings that cannot be uttered. Danger lies at the door of the church ; we go forth into it from this our home not as being already perfect but warmed and fed, " always bearing about in the body the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus may be made manifest in our body."²

A strange doctrine ! To succeed in this small here and now, we need a foretaste of that infinity in comparison with which our lives, and so even our sins, seem trifles. We are to look thus far beyond ourselves, if,

¹ Hebrews xii. 2.

² 2 Corinthians iv. 10.

fallen from our patria, we are to be ourselves. Drawing on the Fount of life, burning with the Fire that ever burneth, our human lives are to shine with divinity. That which overtops all heights is to be our daily supersubstantial food.

Need it be said that the humility of our access to the Blessed Sacrament should be proportionate to this height? It is an error to limit that humility by considering over much the little that goes on within us while we worship : our thoughts, our fervour, our needs—to measure our feelings against the surpassing mystery of this communion, to think that nothing here matters save that of which we are aware. Not all the contemplation of angelic doctors, not all the raptures of saints marked with the wounds of Christ, can compass a vision of the action of the Mass. We gladly perceive though but the utmost skirts of glory ;¹ and, if we fail even in this, yet the great kindness laps the bounds of our consciousness and enters us by channels unknown, while we know only that it is good for us to be here.

¹ Milton, *Paradise Lost*, xi. 332. Statius, *Thebais*, xii. 817. Sed longe sequare et vestigia semper adora.

Is it not plain why saints have slighted their revelations? Not the glimpses vouchsafed them, nothing indeed particular to them, weighs against the unknown immensity, beauty, and love which surround them. The humble prayer of the publican was sufficient because nothing is sufficient and because humility is sufficient.

III

SIN

HUMILITY is dictated to Christians by their sense of sin, a cloud which may now be as distant from our belief as the Paradisal Vision is often distant from supposed Christians; but it added the fear of the Lord to the love of the Lord, solemnity to delight. So deep is this sense of sin seated in Christianity that it doubles the infinity above with an infinity below, depth answering to height, condemnation to beatitude; mistrust of our nature to reliance on the Paraclete; and that Hell becomes the work of

la divina potestate

La somma sapienza e'l primo amore.¹

For the purpose of this discourse we need to remember such eschatology only as an outward and visible sign of an inward and

¹ Dante, *Inferno*, iii. 5, 6.

spiritual belief in sin, an exile in which we groan, a malady to be cured by a penitence that may be long and severe. All is not right with us. Baptism has sown in our hearts the seeds of antagonism to inherited misfortune, and it has immensely increased our responsibility, the fear that we fail to stir up the grace that is in us : Augustine hesitated to be baptized. So firmly are these terrors bedded in the faith that Protestantism could build a Christianity consisting of little save predestination and righteousness, and that the defence of truth by the Inquisition could be echoed by the execution of Servetus.

These are practical demonstrations of a seriousness which lies at the root of Christian longing ; the acts were dreadful because dread of sin was profound, the moral meaning of life unquestionable. Christianity would be inconceivable, its earnestness inexplicable, were it but an upward flutter of wings. That is, indeed, the last and simple salvation, the spontaneous ascent of the purified soul ; but here we are not delivered from the body of death ;¹ between it and home lies the great longing, the chord of the seventh that

¹ Romans vii. 24.

lays hold on God; and the "earnest expectation of the creature"¹ is strongest when he knows himself "miserable, and poor, and blind, and naked."² Stripped of defence he lies open to the Christian Destroyer and Healer. Humility brings happiness.

Henceforth things terrestrial are dreaded even if welcome, perhaps the more if welcome. We cannot build on them and they may interfere with our sight.³ The tiniest can grow monstrous, as a penny that hides the sun. We hold in horror that which, lodged in our nature, keeps us from God, the "sin which doth so easily beset us,"⁴ in

¹ Romans viii. 19.

² Revelation iii. 17.

³ Post. Fram. Pal. quoted by Scartazzini on Dante, *Paradiso*, xxvi. 1 : "(Charitas) debet enim extinguere sensum exteriorem, id est, amorem rerum temporalium, et tota in animo vigere, id est, ad Deum converti. Charitatem enim habere volenti veram lumen rerum externarum subtrahendum est, et ad interius confugiendum. . . . Charitas enim est quae nos illuminat, et ad Deum cognoscendum habiles facit." Poletto on *Paradiso*, vii. 79, quotes Peter Lombard : "cum quis peccat, et gratia virtutis privatur, siqua præcessit, et naturalium bonorum elisionem patitur. Unde intellectus hominis intenebratur in caligine; hanc Deus lavat cum poenitentia."

⁴ Hebrews xii. 1.

thought, word, and deed, in motive as in act, in selfishness and pride, in the lust and idleness whereby we, who should be temples of the Holy Ghost,¹ become disgraced members of the body whose Head is crowned with thorns.

To disregard the moral condemnations that permeate the faith is no less unscientific than to disregard its ecstasies. They are indeed complementary, the pain and joy of detachment. In its doctrine of sin and punishment, revelation hardly seems a gospel of good tidings. If sin and punishment are regarded as axiomatic, the gospel brings us the good tidings of an escape. A severe treatment of sin was natural to the Eros who could mingle anathema with yearning ;² hatred of the clogs of mortality is natural to the aspiring soul ; the kick of Pegasus is transferred to the Faith.

¹ 1 Corinthians vi. 19.

² Psalm lxiii. 1, 2, 9, 10, 11.

IV

DISCIPLINE

IT had been a question whether virtue could be taught ; and the answer had been that no dove ever fathered an eagle.¹ Now we have a new formula, regeneration by the Dove. The uis implanted by the Spirit is the strength of love, the same which brought to the church her Bridegroom from Heaven. She purifies herself even as he is pure. Her heavenly desire leads to the mortification of lower desires save as God would have us taste them. Purification is a return to our nature, to our birth-right, to our source. Only inward love can teach us to appreciate our best good, but, learning to appreciate it, we learn wisdom. All else is folly, mainly caused by temporal pleasures. Only if you lose your life shall you save it unto life eternal. Granted

¹ Horace, *Odes*, iv. 4, 31-33.

this grace of self-discipline, your sight is purged by the purgation of your sins. You see that holiness is the best happiness ; it is blessedness outweighing the loss which otherwise would make us of all men most miserable. The right conduct, which because of its pains we shun, is the schoolmaster to bring us to ourselves. Wisdom is not demonstrable to those who set before their eyes pleasures transitory and unsatisfactory. It is evident to those who, removing obstacles, look to the

fontem vitae, fontem sapientiæ et scientiæ, fontem aeterni luminis, torrentem voluptatis, ubertatem domus Dei.¹

Sacrifice is self-interest in that highest sense in which it is not to be repudiated, a rightful covetousness of the best things, of treasure in heaven, of the

pan degli angeli, del quale
Vivesi qui, ma non sen vien satollo,²

¹ Missale Romanum : Gratiarum actio post missam. Oratio Sancti Bonaventurae. Psalm xxxvi. Dixit Injustus, v. 8: " They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of thy house ; and thou shalt make them drink of the river of thy pleasures. For with thee is the fountain of life : in thy light shall we see light."—King James's version.

² Dante, *Paradiso*, ii. 12.

food of which we deprive none by our possession, having which we may lightly forgo and leave to others what we should else wish for ourselves, pleasures, no longer necessary to us, that cannot, like this, be shared. Nay, more ; by penitence we may fill up that which was lacking in the sufferings of Christ and scatter pardon around us.¹ No wonder that many would add the counsels to the precepts and escape from the thralldom of earth.

¹ Colossians i. 24 : *νῦν χαίρω ἐν τοῖς παθήμασί μου ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν καὶ ἀνταναπληρῶ τὰ ὑστερήματα τῶν θλίψεων τοῦ Χριστοῦ ἐν τῇ σαρκί μου ὑπὲρ τοῦ σώματος αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐκκλησία.* The Apostle's idea is doubtless that, though Christ redeemed (or bought) the church, yet sufferings of others endured after His death profit the church. Theologically these are efficacious only through the blood of Christ, but they are efficacious.

V

RENOUNCEMENT

CHRISTIAN redemption, with its foretaste of beatitude, was consolation to those who had no share in the glories of this world. "The spirit of the Lord is upon me because he hath anointed me to preach the gospel to the poor."¹ So said Jesus ; and the common people heard him gladly.² St. Paul says "that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble, are called, but God hath chosen the foolish things of this world to confound the wise, and the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty, and base things of the world and things which are despised hath God chosen, yea, and things which are not

¹ St. Luke iv. 18.

² St. Mark xii. 37.

to bring to nought the things which are, that no flesh should glory in his presence.”¹

It is a strain which continues the εὐχαί of the Psalms. “The patient abiding of the meek shall not perish forever.”² “I am poor and needy, but the Lord careth for me.”³ The Magnificat descends from the song of Hannah.⁴ “He hath set down the mighty from their seat and hath exalted the humble and meek. He hath filled the hungry with good things and the rich he hath sent empty away.”

To whatever wordly aspirations these expres-

¹ 1 Corinthians i. 26.

² Psalm ix. 18.

³ Psalm xl. 20.

⁴ 1 Samuel ii. 4 (Revised Version) :

The bows of the mighty men are broken,
And they that stumbled are girded with strength,
They that were full have hired themselves out for
bread ;

And they that were hungry have ceased :

He raiseth the poor out of the dust,
And lifteth up the needy from the dung-hill,
To make them sit with princes,
And inherit the throne of glory.

Yet the thought of Hannah seems to be the power of the Lord to defend the holy and to put the proud to silence, that of the Blessed Virgin rather honour given to the humble.

sions may have answered, they fostered also a contemptus mundi, rejection of the pomps and vanities of this wicked world ; for all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, are not of the Father but of the devil.

To the lust of the eyes was opposed poverty ; to the lust of the flesh, chastity ; to the pride of life, obedience.¹ Poverty, chastity, and obedience, these are the counsels of perfection, these are the vows of those who have set the world aside.

¹ Thomas Aquinas, *Summa*, II.II. clxxxvi-vii.: Respondeo dicendum quod religionis status potest considerari tripliciter : uno modo, secundum quod est quoddam exercitium tendendi in perfectionem charitatis . . . quantum ad exercitium perfectionis requiritur quod aliquis a se removeat illa per quæ posset impediri ne totaliter ejus affectus tendat in Deum in quo consistit perfectio charitatis. Hujusmodi sunt tria : primum quidem cupiditas exteriorum bonorum, quæ tollitur per votum paupertatis (lust of the eyes) ; secundum autem est concupiscentia sensibilibum delectationum, inter quas præcellunt delectationes venereae, quæ excluduntur per votum continentiae (lust of the flesh) ; tertium autem est inordinatio voluntatis humanae, quæ excluditur per votum obedientiae (pride of life).

Note : Tria haec impedimenta intelligi possunt esse designata per haec verba (S. Joannis, i Ep., cap. ii.): Omne quod est in mundo concupiscentia carnis est et concupiscentia oculorum et superbia vitae.

VI THE CHURCH

AN UNITY of members cemented by charity, rising above this world and finding its perfection in the Highest; an unity whereby one atones for another and Christ for all; a system of purification which clears our moral sight that we may love that which God commandeth and desire that which he doth promise with hearts fixed there where true joys are to be found; an unity thus acquired with a personal lawgiver who controls all laws and supersedes them as charity supersedes all the sacraments, this is the great salvation of the Christian doctrine.

And this salvation is in some sense corporate. We are members of Christ because we are members of his body, which is the blessed company of all faithful people. If one of the members suffers, all the members suffer with

it; wherefore excommunication, lest the body be defiled, as surgery, lops off a dangerous limb, unless absolution removes the sin.¹ If he will not hear the church, "put away from yourselves that wicked person."² If we cleave to that unity and not, like him, to sin, it is not solely by the direction of our hearts that we find the way. The friends of the Lord befriend us. As it is with them that we share the body of Christ, so it is by their prayers and by association with them that we receive him into our hearts.

This participation in their merit is a death-blow to whatever spiritual and lonely pride might otherwise have been fostered by participation in the Highest.

¹ This explains why the Inquisition did not concern itself with unconverted Jews. They were not members of the Body and could not infect it.

² 1 Corinthians v. 13.

VII

VICARIOUS ATONEMENT

“**T**HANKS be to God, which giveth us the victory through our Lord Jesus Christ.”¹ How save by gift could so great a blessing accrue to us so poor in merit? There is, therefore, a contravention of justice, an escape from Æschylean law. Love wounded has wounded the side of righteousness. God has brought home the prodigal, placing him by the side of his faultless brother, who complains that the welcome is unjust; yet the angels of God rejoice more over the penitent than over the ninety and nine who need no repentance. Love has hung his cross and contradiction of righteousness in the Christian fane across the great arch which separates the Church Mili-

¹ 1 Corinthians xv. 57.

tant from the Church Triumphant.¹ Justice veils her claims before the sign of conquest, and not once but, by virtue of that once, often, not only in baptism and absolution but in every prayer offered to God through our Lord Jesus Christ. This is the great defence set up by Love against righteousness, the rood-screen of the soul, unto God the cross of forgiveness, unto us the cross of penitence, under which we pass to the source of all healing. From the altar pardon streams forth in many forms, all sequent on the primal propitiation and vicarious justification, all subversive of sin, as when the scapegoat was sent from the camp.

It is the intrusion of human feeling into the reign of law, the survival in an abstract and absolute system of that personal element which in the Greek mind ran counter to the changeless One, the attribution of that which we love in human fatherhood to him who is

¹ The Symbolism of Churches and Church Ornaments, with a translation of Durandus. Introductory essay, p. xcvi, in the third edition. "These," the chancel arch and the rood screen, "as separating the choir and the nave, denote literally the separation of the clergy from the laity : but symbolically the division between the Militant and Triumphant Churches."

above all worlds, of tender welcome, and blotting out of transgression to him who is of purer eyes than to behold iniquity,¹ the annihilation of his most just decree to the judge with whom is no variableness neither shadow of turning.²

So at least it would seem. The difficulty was felt by the Church ; and she defined pardon or reconciliation as a matter of the heart, a welcome back to the bosom of love which should not annul claims and penalties rightly to be exacted. Penitence, here or in Purgatory, was in fact their exaction. The sinner is forgiven ; but he must be purified by a sweet torment, dearer to him than happiness, because it will rid him of all that is unworthy of himself as himself a son of God and younger brother of the Saviour. It is as if a doctor should rescue a man from death but dictate a diet to make him strong ; the patient's will is his, and there is now no doubt of recovery. The sinner wills his penance and endures it "with God to friend."³ Yet against this retribution immediately appeared a new

¹ Habbakuk i. 13.

² James i. 17.

³ Swinburne, *Poems and Ballads*. First Series. Félice.

defence, the prayers and penance of the saints,¹ who, in the true spirit of vicarious atonement, and as members with the sinful of that same body which is covered by the forgiveness obtained through Christ, shortened suffering in the after-world. The labour of the Church was to purge the living and dead, who, by the gift of God, were no longer concluded under sin, that she might present them faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy. The Church is cathartic, not an assembly of catharists. "Mercy rejoiceth against judgment."² The soul that sinneth shall not die.

¹ Cf. for this life, 1 St. John v. 16 : "If any man see his brother sin a sin which is not unto death, he shall ask and He shall give him life for them that sin not unto death." We may object that, if he has not sinned unto death, he does not need the gift of life. The phrase is blurred like much of the thought in this epistle ; but it is clear that the prayer of one can obtain for another forgiveness of sin.

² St. James ii. 13.

VIII

ESCAPE INTO THE SUBLIME

THUS, as renouncement was a joyful escape from sin, so the charity that covereth a multitude of sins, the charity of God himself, is an escape from punishment, but yet more an escape into the boundless love which, if we knew it fully for a moment, would exalt us into a heavenly rapture.¹

We look back. Was there anything in the highest flights of Paganism to equal this?

The difference between Paganism and Christianity seems to be that Paganism touches the grand but knows nothing of the sublime, whereas Christianity is sublime but knows nothing of grandeur. The grand is that which rests monumentally on the earth. We find it in Egyptian buildings, in mountains

¹ Remark of Dr. Edward Kirk, pastor of the Mount Vernon Congregational Church, Boston, Massachusetts.

and precipices. It consorts with desolation. The sublime is that which floats aloft as birds or as the sun himself. No sunrise is grand which is not banked and supported by earth and clouds. Darkness and strength are necessary ; with these it may be a grandeur topped by sublimity. Spiritual glories are sublime, unsupported by earth.

“ Volat avis sine meta
quo nec vates nec propheta
evolavit altius.”¹

So it is written of the eagle of the gospels. Æschylus is grand ; Shelley and Christianity are sublime. Love has taken the wings of the morning ; they are filled with faith and hope. Truly it seems a release. We are as having nothing and yet possessing all things. No desolations can match this consolation ; there needs no foundation in earth. The Jewish clouds and darkness are no longer around him whom we seek. Love's wings have grown beyond measure ; he revels in the warmth of the empyraean.

¹ Quoted from “un inno antico” by Scartazzini on Dante's *Paradiso*, xxvi. 53.

IX

THE FEMININE ELEMENT IN CHRISTIANITY

THE experience of saints found its formula in that same chapter from which charity was to rise till it mingled with the divine love.

The cardinal virtues, Prudence, Fortitude, Temperance, and Justice, had been known to the Pagans. They were preserved as a foundation ; but greater than these were Faith, Hope, and Charity, which were brought for baptism ¹ to the Pagans when the Heavenly Wisdom descended to earth. The four were to find their motive in the three ancelle

che miran più profondo.²

Faith in God and hope in his promises induce that charity which cannot but flame forth, toward God and man, in the saints.

¹ Dante, *Paradiso*, xx. 127.

² Dante, *Purgatorio*, xxxi. 3.

“Crediderunt, et credendo speraverunt, et sperantes caritate arserunt.”¹

The three virtues are properly called theological, since they drink deep of God ; they are also human, for they touch the heart ; but they are so far from covering the whole activity of man that, if we condemn the Aristotelian μεγαλόψυχος for pride and priggishness, we show the littleness of our solemnity and reverence in the presence of grandeurs. Grandeur² is foreign to the Christian faith ; and the pagan virtues are to the Heavenly Wisdom only borrowed handmaidens. For Christians masculine ability is a talent, and is not to be buried in a napkin, but it may not be confused with virtue, whereas in Greece it was an ἀρετή. Only as blessed by Christian motives and become serviceable to the ancelle can it make an

¹ Dante, *De Monarchia*, iii. 3.

² Grandeur was present in the Old Testament because “obstinate questionings” were left abrupt, confronting one another in desolation, whereas in consolation there is no grandeur ; and the New Testament is to the Old as Ptolemaic to early Egyptian Art. A grandeur that shall not be forbidding is hard to find. In Greek works, ever tempered by social feeling, it is often rather latent than expressed ; expression seems to break the note ; hence the Greek criticism of Æschylus.

appearance. Installed in control are qualities which women can share. Purity, by which our vision is cleared ; penitence, whereby we set aside the pomps and vanities of this wicked world ; humility, poverty, chastity, obedience, all following on Faith, Hope, and Charity, are, like the great triad, no less open to the female than to the male. We have reached a common accord. That on which all agree can now be supreme.

Christian doctrine involved insurgence against those ἀρεταί which are the privilege, as a rule, of the male.¹ It is a gospel which could appeal not only to the poor in goods, but to the poor in intellect, to the poor in art, to the poor in statesmanship, so they were but rich in the "goodness" which is not ἀρετή ; the abler were bidden to serve, because that which matters concerned all ; special ἀρεταί and σοφίαι were excluded from the judgment seat of the highest ; the saints, who were to

¹ Plato, Laws, 709. τύραννος δ' ἔστω νέος καὶ μνήμων καὶ εὐμαθὴς καὶ ἀνδρείος καὶ μεγαλοπρεπὴς φύσει. ὁ δὲ καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν ἐλέγομεν δεῖν ἔπεσθαι ξύμπασιν τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς μέρεσιν καὶ νῦν τῇ τυραννουμένῃ ψυχῇ τοῦτο ξυνεπέσθω . . . Σώφροσύνην μοι δοκεῖ φράζειν. τυραννουμένη is said by Stallbaum to mean τυραννική.

judge the world, would be spiritually minded but might be otherwise mindless.¹ The last resort must be to supremacies in which all could find themselves.

Degradation of former glories was in accord with that sublimity which outsoared all terrene majesties. Christ was to be set far above all principality and power and might and dominion and every name that is named, not only in this world but also in that which is to come,² that God might be all in all ;³ and the greatest of us, earth's children, was become as naught in comparison with God

¹ 1 Corinthians vi. 1. Plutarch *Ad Princ. Ineruditum* 782, 6, B. Ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἀσθενέσι καὶ ταπεινοῖς, καὶ ἰδιώταις τῷ ἀδυνάτῳ μεμιγμένον τὸ ἀνόητον εἰς τὸ ἀναμάρτητον τελευτᾷ : Cf. the connexion of the word *selig* with *silly* and of *beatus* with *béat*. Cf. St. Francis of Assisi : "Brethren, know that poverty is the special path to salvation, the inciter to humility, and the root of perfection. . . . He who seeks to attain the height of poverty must, in a sense, renounce not only worldly prudence, but the knowledge of letters, so that, divesting himself of these possessions, he may offer himself naked to the arms of the Crucified." Quoted from Waddingi ann. 1262, No. 3, 4. 8 ; ann. 1273, No. 12, by Henry Charles Lea in his *History of the Inquisition of the Middle Ages*.

² Ephesians ii. 21.

³ 1 Corinthians xv. 28.

and was somewhat only because God loved him, that no flesh should glory in his presence. The γνῶθι σεαυτόν of the Greeks had been exceeded. Motes in the divine sunlight, why should we care which was the greater mote? Aristotle seems to have believed that a man had better think too well of himself than too poorly because he would be likely to accomplish more.¹ Humility was not with him a virtue.² According to the pagan creed mankind was not far removed from godhead: a notable mortal might become a god. Such deification was pre-

¹ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, iv. 1125.

² Émile Faguet, *Dix-neuvième Siècle*, Chateaubriand, iv : "La morale pénétrée de l'esprit chrétien Mais cette autre morale, car il y en a une autre dans les œuvres classiques, cette morale, legs encore de l'antiquité, plus stoïque que chrétienne, montrant l'homme très grand, très fort, allant très haut par ces propres forces, cette morale qui a souvent, et très heureusement, inspiré Montaigne, et souvent Balzac, et presque constamment Corneille, et souvent Saint-Evremond, Racine, Boileau, Vauvenargues. . . . La morale antique prescrivait à l'homme d'être vertueux par estime de soi. La morale chrétienne prescrit à l'homme de ne se point estimer, de se croire faible et chétif, de fonder sa foi et son espérance ailleurs qu'en lui, si bien que la première vertu antique se ramène à être l'orgueil, qui est pour le chrétien le premier des péchés capitaux,"

cluded by the incarnation and exaltation of the *only* Son ; even union through him with the Father could not bring to a man the right and duty of the *μεγαλόψυχος*¹—to claim honour. “ Non nobis, Domine, non nobis, sed nomini tuo da gloriam.”² Talents are not virtues ; all merit is imputed ; and no righteousness is aught but Christ and his spirit working in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure. The saints offered themselves in humility to be receptacles of divine grace, which, with pardon, entered into them. This submission, not dominance, was their credential. Manhood had become less in proportion to godhead, that is to say, the one God more. Humility became a virtue by reason of the sublimity of a god far above all gods ; and superbia, the creature exalting himself against the creator, was now the worst of the seven deadly sins. In sum, as the infinitely small chord coincides with its arc, so coincidence of humility erases the superiority of man over woman and leaves only the measureless superiority of God. Doings other than those of love remain, indeed, with man, his ability

¹ Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, iv. 7, 1123.

² Psalm cxv. 1 = In exitu Israel cxiii. 9.

being necessary ; but, as subject to love, which woman shares, they continue under danger of veto ; he had possessed the hold and keep of incommunicable authority ; now his whole province is subject to a capital wherein woman is not a stranger. The decisions which must still be assigned to his competence concern the means not the end. The end is no more than feminine.

“ Pax plenum virtutis opus. Pax summa laborum.

Pax belli exacti pretium est pretiumque pericli.

Sidera pace vigent. Consistunt terrea pace.

Nil placitum sine pace Deo, non munus ad aram.”¹

“ O gioia ! O ineffabile allegrezza !
O vita intera d’amor e di pace !
O senza brama sicura ricchezza ! ”²

Jerusalem is said to be

“ mysticum nomen quod visio pacis interpretatur.”³

¹ Prudentius or Boethius.

² Dante, *Paradiso* xxvii. 7.

³ St. Augustine, *De Civitate Dei*, xix. 11, cited by Scartazzini in reference to Dante, *Paradiso* xxv. 56, thus : *Ipsius civitatis mysticum nomen, id est Hierusalem, quod*

Worship of the masculine element has, it is true, been transferred to God ; the persons of the Trinity are masculine ; and the queen of Heaven adores her Son ; yet among created beings she is the highest ; she has entered, so far as humanity may, into the Holy of Holies and is the inspirer of men :

“ Virgo potens, sicut Turris David ;
mille clypei pendent ex ea,
omnis armatura fortium.”¹

“ Every brightest and loftiest achievement

et ante iam diximus, visio pacis interpretatur. Weldon's note runs : “ The name Jerusalem (Hierusalem) is of doubtful meaning ; but there can be no idea of ‘ vision ’ in it. It probably means ‘ city (or abode of) peace. ’ ” On *Paradiso* xxvii. 7–9, Poletto quotes Dante, *De Monarchia*, I, 5 : Pax universalis est optimum eorum quæ ad nostram beatitudinem ordinantur. Hinc est quod pastoribus de sursum sonuit, non divitiæ, non voluptates, non honores, nec longitudo vitæ, non sanitas, non robur, non pulchritudo, sed Pax.

¹ Antiphon at Vespers. In Solemnitate SS. Rosarii B. V.M. Cf. Ruskin, *Sesame and Lilies* : “ It is the type of an eternal truth—that the soul's armour is never well set to the heart unless a woman's hand has braced it ; and it is only when she braces it loosely that the honour of manhood fails.” Alexandre Dumas, *Dénise*, Act iv. Scene 1 : Brissot speaks to his wife : “ Si nous n'entendons rien au cœur des femmes, vous n'entendez rien à l'honneur des hommes.”

of the art and strength of manhood has been the fulfilment of the poor Israelite maiden's: 'He that is mighty hath magnified me.'"¹

This exaltation is the consequence of her humility.

"Unto God's will she brought devout respect,
Profound simplicity of intellect,
And supreme patience."²

Hence, when told that which was in fact to bring her maidenhood under Joseph's suspicion, she answered with unquestioning submission:

"Behold the handmaid of the Lord; be it unto me according to thy word."³

By this prostration before the Absolute she becomes sublime:

"Umile ed alta più che creatura."⁴

Let it not be supposed that this feminist worship, which can be regarded as an overshoot, is confined to the major churches; ethically it spreads wider, for whatever the

¹ From Ruskin, vide *The Academy*, April 21, 1906.

² D. G. Rossetti, *Mary's Girlhood*.

³ St. Luke i. 38.

⁴ Dante, *Paradiso* xxxiii. 2.

world regards as specially Christian, forgiveness, gentleness, kindness, peace, purity, is feminine (as an ideal)¹ as much as it is masculine ; and a scheme of moral excellences which sets these qualities to the front implies them in its object : God is Love. Indeed, they survive the faith, in the guise of Christianity without dogmas, as "respect for women" in the United States, as equality and fraternity in France, and as moral opinions : "Je m'imagine souvent que les jugements qui seront portés sur chacun de nous dans la vallée de Josaphat ne seront autres que les jugements de femme contre-signés par l'Éternel."²

"In antiquity the virtues which were most admired were almost exclusively those which

¹ As an ideal. The ideal is rather what we want in others than what we give to others. We ask from others forgiveness, gentleness, kindness, peace, purity. It does not follow that women exemplify these qualities more than men ; probably they fall behind men, save in purity ; but they ask more forgiveness, gentleness, kindness and peace ; therefore these qualities are their ideal. Moreover, such men as, in accordance with their erotic nature, would find their ideal in woman, attribute these qualities to her, and rejoice to impersonate them in her figure.

² E. Renan, *Souvenirs de Jeunesse*. Premiers pas hors de Saint Sulpice.

are distinctly masculine. Courage, self-assertion, magnanimity, and, above all, patriotism, were the leading features of the ideal type ; and chastity, modesty, and charity, the gentler and the domestic virtues, which are especially feminine, were greatly undervalued. With the single exception of conjugal fidelity [Lecky probably means in a woman] none of the virtues that were very highly prized were virtues distinctly or pre-eminently feminine. With this exception, nearly all the most illustrious women of antiquity were illustrious chiefly because they overcame the natural conditions of their sex. . . . The change from the heroic to the saintly ideal, from the ideal of Paganism to the ideal of Christianity, was a change from a type which was essentially male to one which was essentially feminine. Of all the great schools of philosophy no other reflected so faithfully the Roman conception of moral excellence as Stoicism, and the greatest Roman exponent of Stoicism summed up its character in a single sentence when he pronounced it to be beyond all other sects the most emphatically masculine. On the other hand, an ideal type in which meekness, humility, faith, and love

are the most prominent features, is not naturally male but female.”¹

Not that he disapproves, cf. another chapter, the Natural History of Morals :

“ All that can be expected in an ideal is, that it should be perfect of its own kind, and should exhibit the type most needed in its age, and most widely useful to mankind. The Christian type is the glorification of the amiable, as the Stoic type was that of the heroic qualities, and this is one of the reasons why Christianity is so much more fitted than Stoicism to preside over civilisation, for the more society is organised and civilised, the greater is the scope for the amiable, and the less for the heroic qualities.” Cf., also in the same chapter : “ A candid examination will show that the Christian civilisations have been as inferior to the Pagan ones in civic and intellectual virtues as they have been superior to them in the virtues of humanity and chastity.”

¹ W. E. H. Lecky, *History of European Morals. The Position of Women.*

X

THE PROTEST OF RIGHTEOUSNESS

A CHANGE has been made in the pattern on the sky, an alteration in ethical values; a contempt of mortal glories has supervened, a socialism of interests, which destroys all grandeurs and instals all sublimities ; love has been exalted, love which pardons, love which redeems a sinner, not the love of a fair foretaste of a less fair manhood, which had provided a disciplinary ideal, but love of humanity as such (for this was germinant in the love of Christian brethren), pity and sympathy, rather dreaded by the Greeks, a pathetic Eucharist, closing (for the many) in the long-drawn Agnus, an appeal to the Man of Sorrows who, carrying our sorrows, divided his spoil with the strong. How much this liturgy of the Saving Victim may have contributed to a general faith in the beauty of pathos, a faith

now so developed that some women make pathos the substance of their letters and that some composers make the chord of the seventh the substance of their art, it is fortunately needless to enquire. At least we are glad, after the Mass to revert from τὸ πάσχειν, which is feminine, to τὸ πράττειν, which is masculine. We are glad of a strong fugue or a march played on the organ when the bitter-sweet of the ceremony is over. Was it fortifying? or emollient? Emollient, the Greeks would have said, condemning it by the same criticism that they applied to such love as should weaken manhood.

And does not the vicarious action of love in absolution and intercession weaken manhood? Certainly, when taken grossly, the system of pardon has been less strengthening than a purist rigour would have been.

Let us neglect abuses and misconceptions, the misinterpretation of indulgences and the like. Let us neglect political and unconscientious actions of the Holy Fathers and other prelates. We may, at least, say that part of the spirit of the Reformation was purist, a reversion to the doctrine of righteousness, direct

responsibility to their Maker of human beings sheltered by no priest. To some reformers it may have seemed that the church existed not to prevent sin, but to protect sinners against the consequences of sin by priestly intervention without conversion of the heart to God. There was reaction against the vicarious or intercessory principle. All protections not clearly authenticated by the Bible were swept away. Man must be brought to face God. The Saints were not invoked, not even by comprecation, to help us. Absolution became in practice a dead letter. Masses for the departed were abandoned. The very name of the Mass was anathema. The logical deductions and developments of the church were thought superstitious ; the moral elements were, to a certain extent, restored.

Properly this wave of thought should have submerged the atonement. If a man was to be sheltered by no priest, why should he be sheltered by the great High Priest in heaven ? Yes ; logically suppression of the sacrifice of the Mass was a step toward suppression of the Sacrifice itself.

But Protestantism rested on the Bible ; the atonement was in the Bible ; logic resigned its control before the throne of God.

Only in the process of time did increased respect for law, fostered by rationalism, that is to say, by love of simplicity, set aside the complications of personal interference from above. The Atonement itself was pronounced a doctrine discreditable to God. Punishment of a son by a father to satisfy anger against others came to seem monstrous. Why should the innocent suffer for the guilty ? Why should there be sacrifice for sin save that of a meek and contrite heart ? Was the prodigal son wholly and generously forgiven ? or was someone else to endure what he had deserved ? And why should prayer alter God's will, perfect from the beginning ? Will not God do rightly by each man, whether we pray for him or not ? ¹

¹ St. Thomas's answer is that saints become vice-gerents of the will of God ; their prayers are foreseen and are part of his purpose. *Summa*. Secunda Secundæ, lxxxiii. 2. Considerandum est quod ex divina providentia non solum disponitur qui effectus fiant sed etiam ex quibus causis et quo ordine proveniant. . . . Et simile est de oratione ; non enim propter hoc oramus ut divinam dispositionem immutemus sed ut id impetremus quod Deus disposuit

Thus the sects argued, as Abraham with God ; and probably at every move toward justice it was proclaimed that Christianity would shine the brighter for the dispersal of a cloud of superstitions and that it would lose nothing—till it lost itself in a system of morals without influence on God—till it forfeited all analogy with our own life in which one does save another—till it ceased to be, in the strong sense, religion.

per orationes esse implendum, ut scilicet homines postulando mereantur accipere quod eis Deus omnipotens ante secula disposuit donare. The explanation can be transferred from the suppliant's prayers for himself to his prayers for his fellows.

XI

CROSS CURRENTS

THE Bible is great because of its depth. Deep experiences are recorded, the travail of the human heart, the blind groping of the soul, its hopeless arguments for hope, its self-contradictions. It is not a system coped with an Absolute ; it is not a synthesis, a solution of discords. It is full of life and therefore of contraries ; it is heavy and obscure or vague and irrational, not a *πρόσωπον ἐν φάει καθαρῷ*.¹ Fact and aspiration meet. We do not know which shall conquer.

The Second Commandment tells us that God is a jealous God visiting the iniquities of the fathers upon the children to the third and fourth generation (which is true to life) ; but Ezekiel has a chapter² to make clear that

¹ Pindar, *Pyth.* vi. στρ. β'.

² Ezekiel xviii.; cf. also Psalm xlvi.

the son shall not bear the iniquity of the father (which is true to our idea of justice). This is a contradiction within the domain of righteousness, between two conceptions of God's action ; but there is a contradiction in the idea of God's own character, between his fatherhood and his justice.

That we may love him, he must be a person ; and the Bible so represents him. He is angry and he is forgiving. " God is a righteous judge, strong, and patient ; and God is provoked every day."¹ Like an earthly father, he overlooks our shortcomings, is more ready to hear than we to ask, and is wont to give more than we either desire or deserve.

There have been gods whose nature was harmful and cruel. Of such there could be a worship of aversion, a theology, a religion, but it could not be a religion of love, nor could the god be our father in the Christian sense. For such fatherhood God must be not only a person, but a good and just person ; for absolute worship the theology must represent him as the perfection of goodness and justice ; yet, in proportion as he

¹ Psalm vii. 12.

nears an absolute perfection, he becomes the abstract being who, moving others, is himself unmoved, unalterable by prayer, since how could he be bettered? ungrieved by the vagaries of sin, which he has permitted for his all-wise purpose.

Lastly, there is the contradiction between the here and now of divine grace and the spirit that bloweth where it listeth.

The Samaritan woman asks Jesus in what place God is to be worshipped, an earthly question. Jesus implies that the Jewish sanctuary is the place: "Ye worship ye know not what; we know what we worship, for salvation is of the Jews." Could there be a more Athanasian certitude? Then there follows the statement that the time is coming when the worship shall be neither here nor there; but the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth.

So it is throughout revelation as understood by the church, definite precepts, definite doctrine, giving way before a large and well-nigh subversive reference to the spirit, which alone giveth life.

What is the benefit of absolution save the forgiveness of sins? What is the working of the memorial sacrifice but reunion with God by the same forgiveness? Yet we are told that he who in his heart repents of sin is forgiven. What need then of priest or ceremony? Do we not plead the same intercession at the end of every prayer as at the altar?

The answer is that "we celebrate and make before thy divine majesty the memorial which thy son Jesus Christ hath willed us to make"¹: that we do not dispute the command; a personal answer; but it is not difficult to see the practical wisdom of a here and now, nor that it is a continuation of that union of the visible and invisible which was the incarnation. We may discover reasons for belief that the Lord need not thus be conceived in the soul, but we can also see why he commanded this means of grace. If nothing but union of our mortality with his divinity is the aim, if dust and glory are to combine in every act, the here and now is as much

¹ First Prayer Book of Edward VI. taken over in the American Prayer Book with the change of the word *willed* to the word *commanded*.

beyond dispute in life as in the sacrament ; and we can understand why there should be corporal works of worship as well as of mercy. Not otherwise was the reality of the conception to be preserved.

It is in these contraries that Christianity shows itself most wise and also true to its primal idea, the unity of the personal with the eternal, of God and man, of heaven and earth. If you simplify the idea by removal of that which is visible, it loses cogency ; if you remove the invisible, it loses spirituality ; it rests on the union of contraries. Because of antinomies the faith is real, because it is like and unlike our life. Were it wholly like, it would have no lesson to teach. Were it wholly unlike, it would have no hold on us. It must be definite and elusive, God on earth, but God.

Man has little time, and most of us have little ability, to think. A review of all facts has never been made by a perfect man. The progress of ideas often consists in forgetfulness of ideas. We are momentary self-sufficiencies. It is therefore easy to lay aside memory of the precious blood and of the

heavenly vision, of the depth and the height once disclosed. As we need to nourish ourselves with Greek myths, so we need to exercise ourselves with Christian dogmas. Much of reverence and worship will remain with us, and not only an incense, clouding sight. It is true that, without allegiance to an imagined perfection, we shall not be loyal to our fellows. It is true that, without humility and the fear of sin, we shall not escape danger from things terrestrial. It is true that we need such discipline as has been found in tierce, nones, and sexts, in sacred seasons, in the here and now of acts of faith. It is true that one man is saved by another, the many by the few, the worker by the retreatant, that our welfare is collective and won by vicarious, and often solitary, struggles ; and fortunately it is true that there are those who rejoice to plague themselves for the common good, the members for the body. Lastly, it is advantageous to dwell amid unresolved antitheses while we look toward a synthesis ; and, if we must choose, charity is better than justice.

But, if the end is our perfection, we shall demur to an equality which is the subjection

of the higher by the lower, to the suppression of attainable grandeur in favour of a sublimity whereby we are cast down, to resignation by man of his needed task.

XII

REVOLUTIONARY DOCTRINE

THE march of civilisation was, as we know, from the personal ruler to the rule of law. We shall now examine the principles which, in lieu of religion, have guided modern states.

Liberty, in the sense of the French Revolution, is not a Christian doctrine. A tendency to equality appears in the early Christian division of goods ; but, goods not being essential, their equal division is not essential, unless dictated by fraternity. Fraternity is, however, a Christian doctrine.

The political and popular application of Christianity in the republican fraternity is the doctrine of Martha ; that which is broadly human drives its way through the cloisters and retreats of Mary. In default of a heavenly eternity, a new Earthly Paradise,

or Limbo, is to provide the sum of natural and unregenerate felicity ; the second man, who is the Lord from Heaven, is unwelcome. So we have the rights of man, and the "nobility of labour."

Roughly, we may take the aim to be philanthropy or humanity, satisfaction rather of the softer sentiments than of those which the Greeks had deemed highest. We are on feminine ground. Moreover, with assertion of equality, the Christian equality before God is extended to all who are not Christians, with the variation that there is no God to whose commands they must bow. The principles which such a system can recognise must be of common appeal or must at most embody what is not adequately disputed. Interest in wives and children is the bed-rock of common agreement : fraternity also requires that they be considered. Add that most men find in women their ideal, or hope for their ideal in women. The share of women in what are considered the higher manifestations of humanity not being disputed, because the Greek values have been lost and the philanthropic values are an inheritance from Chris-

tianity, women appear at least to symbolise a high ideal or the ideal. Lastly, in accordance with logic, they receive the vote.

Not without loss of that humility which had been the grace of the Blessed Virgin ; but humility is now transferred to men. Christ had worked in us both to will and to do of his good pleasure. " I live," said Saint Paul, " yet not I but Christ liveth in me." The personal element being discarded, principles of general appeal take his place. A political minister is " animated " by the sincerest desire for peace ; he is " actuated " by the warmest friendliness ; he is faithful to the highest ideals of the Republic ; he is subject to duty *perinde ac cadaver*. This is Christian and admirable, or would be admirable, if the principles were duly authenticated ; but, if there is no infallible authentication, whether by God or by the people, we have the more need of authority in the *ἡθος* or *ὁργή* of a statesman or of creative thinkers represented by him. And when we find that he represents the whole and not the best, and that the whole disregards the best, its collective philanthropy being a love of itself ; when the enthusiasm

for humanity becomes a cult of the commonplace and its happiness no worship ; when ease, comfort, and convenience are substituted for a record in the arts and thought and, above all, in nobleness, we mistrust the servant of the public mind.

XIII

CHRISTIAN REACTION

SUBSTANTIALLY, Christians, those, at least, who have drunk deep of the blood of Christ, have felt that an article of their faith was disregarded. Liberty, equality and fraternity : in these there was nothing of nobleness, nothing of self-sacrifice ; nothing of self-discipline and martyrdom ; nothing of the conquest of suffering by acceptance of suffering ; no will to endure hardness ; none of that " virtue reaching unto heroism " which is necessary to make a saint. Is not Christian heroism nobleness ? and is it not neglected by the revolutionary formula ? The softer elements of Christianity had been taken over and even extended. The revolutionary formula was indeed a wider application of Christianity, but with a grave omission. It had been devised to exclude nobility of descent, and

was in accord with the early tendencies of the Christian community, wherein was neither bond nor free ; as for those without that community, service to a master, honour to a king, tribute to Cæsar could well be rendered as temporal and of slight account by those who had treasure in heaven ; but the new gospel of humanity seemed to make temporal felicity the end-all and be-all of human existence and as such it was not divine ; in fact, it was what could be lightly resigned for divine satisfaction ; and in the hardy pursuit of this satisfaction there was nobleness, Christian heroism.

XIV

NOBLENES

NOBLENES is no indistinct idea. τὸ ευκλεές is that which is well-famed ; τὸ γενναῖον is that which belongs to a well-famed family possessed of ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος καὶ ἀρετή. If we admit native worth and do not impossibly measure the life-race only from the date of birth, we admit that often qualities attach themselves to a family ; we have thus nobleness of birth and an ἀρετή likely to be inherited, in short, an advantage.

The ἀρετή of noblemen seems to be a high spirit. It results from independence, from a sure position. The ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος fosters the ἀρετή. The nobleman is less obliged than others to consider consequences. He is more exposed to temptation than another, able to journey afar where his actions will not be known. Master of circumstances, his virtue

is to maintain dignity and to disregard circumstances. Few have experienced the difficulty of holding a balance when toppling is easy ; few have been so alone with every avenue open ; few are supported only by their will ; most are harnessed by necessity. But, for this exercise of a good choice, there has been practice at home according to the tradition by which alone a family can maintain its place ; and there the well-known are under some not wholly enviable restraint.¹ The nobleman has by birth no extraordinary qualities of mind ; he has extraordinary opportunities of training, and of licence, and extraordinary chances to exercise his powers, if he will train them. To the εὐκλής, κλέος is near at hand ; but to earn it, he may have no more than the opportunities and a well-nourished nature. His excellences, then, if he be excellent, will be those of nature and character, not of intellect, a high spirit and resistance to attack (τὸ τλᾶν) ; he will be μεγάθυμος and βέβαιος, and his sure position

¹ Aristotle, *Metaphysics*, xi. 10. ὥσπερ ἐν οἰκίᾳ τοῖς ἐλευθέροις ἥκιστα ἔξεστιν ὅτι ἔτυχε ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάντα ἢ τὰ πλεῖστα τέτακται, τοῖς δὲ ἀνδραπόδοις καὶ τοῖς θηρίοις μικρὸν τὸ εἰς τὸ κοινόν, τὸ δὲ πολὺ ὅτι ἔτυχεν.

will give him tranquillity, that ἡσυχία which

τραχεῖα δυσμένεων
ὑπαντιάξαισα κράτει τιθεῖ
ὕβριν ἐν ἀντλῳ.¹

Pindar seems to sum it in the words ἀτρεμία σύγγονος.² Pride in εὐκλεία will dispose the nobleman to maintain the honour of the family, though, since his worth is innate, an εὐγένεια, he will not consider it subject to approval, and, as an ἡσυχος, he will not assert it, save on occasion. If a noble man is not a man of family, recognition will be more necessary to him, not as being less noble but as needing props and stays unprovided by tradition and home ; and, if he is imperfectly noble, possessing the breadth and height of mind which should stand firm and overlook small considerations but not the full strength of trunk and sap to support his reach and spread, then he will suffer from

that last infirmity of noble mind,
the desire for fame, an excitement which in the truly noble is only a chivalrous incitement.

Ἀρετὴ such as is characteristic of noble men, whether it spring from a well-known family

¹ Pindar, *Pyth.*, viii. ἀντ' α'.

² Pindar, *Nem.*, xi. ἐπ. α'.

or not, may be called ethical nobleness. It was, in Greece, masculine, or allegiance to a masculine ideal, as in *Electra*. In philosophers and in clever men generally the *βεβαιότης* (characteristic of those whose *ἀρετή* could maintain an *ἀρχαῖος πλοῦτος*), the solidity of tradition, was missed. Nobleness, as it passed into philosophic values was rather *τὸ λαμπρόν*, the illustrious, the light of truth. We know that *πλοῦτος* was valued because it saved a man from the necessity of deceiving others ;¹ he could come down with a firm foot ;² he could practise *παρρησία*. In philosophy *βεβαιότης* was supplanted by allegiance to truth, unforgetfulness of the pre-natal vision of truth, *ἀ-λήθ-εια*. Thus it lost somewhat of its drastic power, becoming visual or visionary and subject to the perfections seen in contemplation ; still, the fact that these perfections, or the virtues by which they could be approached, were ranked, and ranked by a masculine standard, was recognition of rank and of the precedence of masculine qualities.

Now, according to Greek ideas, love played a lesser part in the lives of men than in the

¹ Plato, *Republic*, 331 B.

² Pindar, *Nem.*, iii. ἐπ. β'.

lives of women. Men had other things to think of. We must search, then, outside the province of love for the specialties of manhood. Nobleness is the flower of manhood, as honour is the flower of honesty ; it seems, therefore, that, along with justice and wisdom, it must belong to that part of our nature which is not love. And indeed it does not pertain to the tender sentiments. If love is to be noble, it must be ennobled by the nobleness of the nature which loves, or of the person loved, as tragedy is distinguished from disaster by its ethical element. The *ἐπιθυμῖαι* are beautiful, but nobly beautiful only when suffused with morality, positive or negative ; if there is naught alien in them, they are as flowers blown by the wind, not as trees resisting the storm. Love is an *ἐπιθυμία* ; and the noble soul, though its main motive may be love, is not, by virtue of this motive, noble, rather by allegiance to that in itself which may curb love, by loyalty to honour, to righteousness, to courage. A falcon is noble as superior to weakness, a horse as spirited, a dog by courage and devotion : a merely affectionate dog is only a lover of comfort and familiar consolation.

Yet nobleness pertains to the *præcordia* ; high spirit is a vital matter and therefore shared by women ; if specially masculine, it is so by degree and by strength, by quantity not by quality.

We must, then, distinguish. If among the higher credentials of man, such as intellect, the five arts and statesmanship, we class any as noble, we do this by analogy, and the honour given to them is analogous to the human love but different, being, indeed, the philosophic love ; on the other hand, the simple and original idea of nobleness is a matter of temperament and not of talent ; it lies in the *ἦθος*, in the *ὀργή*. So it escapes the Philosophic Love, whose gaze turns upward to the fruit and not downward to the root, and manhood is adequately worshipped only by that Uranian Love, which verily covers the whole man, root and fruit.

Nobleness thus appears less abstract than justice or wisdom, a moral state whence justice and wisdom proceed, a middle term between the feminine and the masculine qualities, yet rather masculine, as that part of which woman has less and man more,

especially in its lordship over feeling. It is spirited, not warm-hearted, high, not human, yet not divorced from humanity, like the mind in its apathetic exercise ; it does not move in the direction of " pure " delights, being constrained within its own image and inscriptions and not shapeless and boundless as the " sacred spaces of the sea,"¹ untutored and uncontrolled. It is admired and envied by the common herd, which feels its kinship and unlikeness as challenge and blame ;² yet nobleness, feeling the same kinship, exacts no likeness. In this tolerance lies a certain disdain, caricatured as " the arched eyebrow " and " Parnassian sneer,"³ but in truth rather loyalty to the highest, the sap running from the root to the branches, which spread under heaven.

¹ Swinburne, *Prelude of the Songs Before Sunrise* :
Known of souls only, and those souls free,
The sacred spaces of the sea.

² Pindar, *Pyth.*, viii. ἐπ.
τὸ δ' ἄχυνται
φθόρον ἀμειβόμενον
τὰ καλὰ φέργα.

³ Pope, *Epistle to Dr. Arbuthnot*, being the Prologue to the Satires, 96.

XV

CHRISTIAN NOBLENES

OBVIOUSLY a change comes over this conception when God, that is to say, the Highest, becomes love. The change is: "He that is greatest among you let him be your servant," or, as we may put it, the servant of love. He can no longer be defined as the servant of that which is not love; on the contrary, whatever is highest in him must be the servant of love. The arts, statesmanship, and wisdom must be admitted, if at all, under the rubric of this service. Grandeur disappears; the nobleness of grandeur yields to the nobleness of sublimity.

Nobleness in its simple acceptation finds its reason in self, in self-respect, not in self-sacrifice, not in humiliation before a God to whom our righteousness is as filthy rags, and, above all, not in suffering pursued as a cure

of diseased mortality. Achilles sacrificed himself, choosing a short and glorious life instead of a long, happy and ignoble life. Semonides¹ esteems a noble death to be the height of virtue ; but either is far from mortification and from the thought of all life as a preparation for holy dying. The other world did not so peer with blameful eyes into this. Christian fortitude also is not the rushing might of Homer :

ἀνέρες ἔστε, φίλοι, μνήσασθε δὲ θούριδος ἀλκῆς.²

It is endurance rather than daring, τὸ τλᾶν in the passive and not in the active sense ; it is striped and scourged. The Christian hero, like the Suffering Servant of Isaiah, is rather a victim than a victor, or a victor because he has been a victim ; he passes through pain to blessedness. Horace might have found virtue in Blandine as in Scævola ; but Homer would not have found heroism in St. John of the Cross. The sense of a dignity lost lies in Dante's description of Romans. Indeed, the

¹ Bergk, *Poetæ Lyrici Græci*, 111. Melici, Semonides, 100 :

Εἰ τὸ καλῶς θνήσκειν ἀρετῆς μέρος ἐστὶ μέγιστον
 ἡμῖν ἐκ πάντων τοῦτ' ἀπένειμε τύχη·
 Ἑλλάδι γὰρ σπευδοντες ἐλευθερίην περιθεῖναι
 κείμεθ' ἀγηράντῳ χρώμενοι εὐλογίῃ.

² *Iliad*, Z 112.

poet must have it that the Romans were *populus ille sanctus*.¹ He cannot refrain from admiration of those who were not poor in spirit, those who were not the humble destined to confound the mighty nor possessed of a strength made perfect in weakness, and in the bottom of hell he has installed rather treachery than pride.

Christianity has spiritualised nobleness ; it has taught humility, obedience, self-surrender, love ; it has introduced standards emotional, pathetic, feminine, not referable to self, an appeal not a challenge.

Yet by contrast with revolutionary doctrine even " aut pati aut mori " is heroic, as the revolutionary doctrine by contrast with Greek doctrine is Christian. The vicarious principle which is in love and pity moves to set aside satisfaction in a single blessedness ; it has even moved some to consider whether they should not incur their own damnation, if thereby they might save another. Truly the four last things² impose a solemn walk through life ; opportunities of service become

¹ Dante, *De Monarchia*, ii. v. 37.

² Death, Judgment, Heaven, and Hell.

vastly important ; the world is at hand waiting, calling for us. Nowhere is a more comprehensive appeal to human hearts than in the religion of the despised and rejected Son of Man.

This has prompted acts which it would be churlish to call unheroic, acts of the greatest manliness. Feminine inspiration has echoed it. The cry "God and my lady" was the motto of knights whose aim was to redress wrongs.

Yet, unless we are to use the word heroic merely as an adjective of high praise, and unless we are to confuse manly acts with a manly theory, we must look more closely into the matter.

According to this ideal, which has passed from Christianity into modern life, woman is to inspire what men are to do. She does not rule ; she reigns ;¹ and she does not reign

¹ Ruskin, "In Queen's Gardens," a chapter of *Sesame and Lilies*, speaks more strongly : "Woman, so far as any choice is open, or any question difficult of decision has the direction of all toil ; her power is for rule, not for battle ; she enters into no contest, but infallibly judges the crown of contest, seeing the qualities of things, their claims and their places. To her man is to be obedient." In the

as the νοῦν μᾶλλον ἔχουσα but as a moral type. The Eternal Feminine appears to include (at its best) all the qualities of the Blessed Virgin save (under revolutionary doctrine) humility. Becoming a political supremacy, it loses the nobleness of service taught us by Pietro delle Vigne, the nobleness of loyalty to a master.¹ The male, on the other hand, learns to be ruled, not to rule, whereas in Greece ἀρχεσθαι was a preface to ἀρχειν. If we are bound down by an ultimate moral type, itself feminine, the νοῦς, which should accomplish a revision of principles, is stultified. Νοῦς is characteristic of the male, who may not therefore resign dominance without blame.

Yet this very resignation has altered our code of values. The followers of Beatrice have tinged them all, till it is thought odd to maintain that there is a sanctum into which preface he tells us that perhaps some of the sentences should be recast, "for as years have gone by, it has chanced to me to see the utmost evil that is in women, whilst I have had but to believe the utmost good. The best women are indeed difficult to know."

¹ Dante, *Inferno*, xiii. 58, seq. Noblesse oblige may refer to what a man owes himself; and so Würde Bürde; Ich Dien has a doubtful sound; servus servorum Dei runs to sublimity.

woman enters only by exception, a severity which she does not reach, a grandeur which lies beyond her—that these are achieved neither by faith nor by hope nor by love nor by liberty nor by equality nor by fraternity, but depend upon some generative supremacy and creative mastery which finds its sphere in such thought and morals as she can reverence but not understand.

Is it too much to say that, for Love of the Highest, the Highest in the service of Love is an inadequate substitute? Is it not true that the weak should bear the infirmities of the strong? that condescension, prized in the liturgy, and the goodness of the great¹ tend to depress strength and greatness? that the chill felt before works of pagan art shows the allegiance of that art to an ideal which is not love? that our test of emotional satisfaction, of pleasure in the “dying fall,”² is too commonly applied? that we well-nigh degrade man to the test of family life? and that

¹ Thomas Gray, *The Progress of Poesy*, last line :

Beneath the good how far—but far above the great.

Cf. also the title desired by Queen Victoria for Prince Albert—Albert the Good.

² Shakespeare, *Twelfth Night*, i. 1, 4.

through all this there runs a requirement not less feminine than masculine, therefore, in practice, exclusive of masculine prerogative? Is not all this the consequence of a Christian and more or less feminine doctrine of heroism? and *Gloria victis* an echo of the Mass? ¹

The arts and statesmanship and the wisdom which stretches beyond the Jewish wisdom of edification are inadequately recognised by Christianity; heroism, baptized by the Holy Spirit, has gained, indeed, a noble exaltation but has lost the firm and four-square grandeur of *αὐτάρκεια*; the ideals of the revolution are merely philanthropic and include the softer and looser elements of the Christian faith without the sterner, deeper, and more generous realities of devotion, so that the Christian heroism is missed; and if, to cap all, fraternity is to be so pressed that unity shall be imposed, liberty so magnified that discipline becomes optional, and equality so much valued that it is thought justice and that superior merits win no status, then we need to be on our guard lest we forget that charity is not a panacea, that sympathy is akin to indulgence

¹ The group by Mercié in the Parisian Hôtel de Ville.

and unity a dissolvent of conflicting virtues, that woman, who often brings the best out of a man, sometimes takes the best out of him, that the state of citizens under law has become a "civilisation" which dotes on comfort with appliances, that faith in a general gospel brings mistrust of the masculine ability which alone can save us, and that prudence must be our guide, unless we are to sink in the morass of the One, of love, of democracy, of civic likeness and feebleness, of femininity.

CONCLUSION

IT is now possible to explain the present condemnation of boy-lovers by pointing the contrast between Greek and later thought, between worship of such qualities as are pre-eminently masculine and qualities feminine or common to both sexes.

The Uranian doctrine would assign a high value to the masculine qualities ; it would give authority to man. This authority is inconsistent with the notion of infallibility. The invention of truth must not be a mere discovery like the invention of the cross,¹ since authority would then reside in the truth discovered and not in man ; truth must be

¹ R. L. Nettleship, *The Theory of Education in Plato's Republic*. Evelyn Abbott's *Hellenica* : "To all alike (Plato, Bacon, and Spinoza), however different their phraseology and motive, the conviction is common, that there is an order of existence or of nature which man does not make but finds, which he must wait upon and not forestall, if he would attain to the well-being, the power, or the freedom, of which he is capable."

in some degree man's creation. There is, therefore, objection to the Platonic abstractions. The recoil from these lies to a greater authority in mankind across the ages, toward the scholarship which is the memory of the world, the study of our record of nobility, Christian and pagan : in short, toward great men and women. Divergence from their perceptions must exist, but should be ventured with hesitation and consideration. The Christians disregarded the Pagans ; modern thinkers disregard the Christians ; the Greeks disregarded women ; we have disregarded men. To avoid such mistakes retreat of thought is indispensable. The more we mistrust an absolute and an abstraction, a revelation to guide us, the closer are we driven to meditation and self-correction, that we may guide ourselves.

Of abstractions the least congenial are those which do not defer to the superior judgment of man. The Christians, endeavouring to take over the Greek abstractions, which were themselves virility at secondhand, a pallid version, altered their arrenism, not immediately, but by a gradual development

toward feminism. Epicene nobility, however, remained. It had to be removed to bring us to the perfectly emasculated revolutionary dogma.

The notion of the control of the best (aristocracy, if we choose thus to use the word) has been weakened by these alterations in the definition of the best, that is to say, by the addition of the rest, so that there is, not only no precedence of the male, but no acknowledged precedence at all, save that of desires common to all, which is negation of precedence.

At the beginning of this discourse it was said that earthly love, to grow well, needed its heavenly atmosphere. In Greece boy-love was approved or condemned, and friendship was exalted according to a masculine scheme of values. Tradition and political conditions gave importance to a man, as thought gave importance to manhood. Under such a theory and in such conditions boy-love, whether only spiritual or also physical, could be noble.

The theory and conditions of our time are contrary. Our theory is not masculine ;

men are small units in a nation ; friendship is so little understood that we deem ourselves to possess it. What lies behind our thought, our primary assumptions, are unfavourable to the whole Uranian doctrine.

There is now no heaven to shine over boy-lovers. Therefore we are unjust to boy-love;¹ and our injustice is backed by our theory ; we are good citizens of a bad state. We may not be violent, but we are not predisposed to understanding. Eros is the unknown god of obsolete desire.²

Boy-love did not make Greece ; Greece was made by the Uranian doctrine, which gave only a guarded recognition to boy-love, accepting it indeed fully as a spiritual passion, but doubtful and variable in its judgment of the rest. The spiritual passion, however, is, and the other can be, corollary to Uranian ambition ; and the noble achievement of Greece was Uranian.

¹ Nietzsche, *Jenseits von Gut und Böse*, Viertes Haupt : Das Christenthum gab dem Eros Gift zu trinken : er starb zwar nicht daran, aber, etc.

² Swinburne, Sonnet on " Mademoiselle de Maupin " :

And feel his soul burn as an altar-flame
To the unknown god of unachieved desire.

To fortify ourselves we must turn back to Greece, not to Greek conduct, unless it be that of such early discipline as the Spartan; not to Greek thought as developed in philosophy, but to the common beliefs which preceded Pindar. It may be that we must turn from consolation to the desolation of earthly facts. Our test would be the creation of character, not the possession of delight either supernal or transitory. We have much to remember. There was much in Christianity which now needs renewal of memory. We must prove theology not merely to know it, rather to choose and hold fast that which is good though contrary to the newest evangel; but, whereas we live daily under the influence of some dilution of Christian teaching, the lesson of Greece has well-nigh perished. Yet in Greece is found the severe beauty, the exacting ideal, of manhood.

And now let us cast a glance backward on that poor boy, just over the threshold of boyhood, knocking at his mother's door and bringing death to her. With the first day of manhood the whole weight of manhood has fallen upon him. He must vindicate for

himself that possession and bear that rule which he has never had. These he must assert against that which is most sacred next to his own right and first duty. For help he has only the counsel of his friend echoing the Delphic sanction. With this he is to take the immense blame and to dare the Furies.

Years afterward his body was found. It exceeded the stature of men and was clad in armour. At last it was laid to rest in the Roman Forum as guardian of government.

There was a man in this boy ; but Saint Ambrose remembers nothing of him. He writes that it was not proper that either Orestes or Pylades should live, "for each of them was guilty of parricide, the one because he had committed the crime, the other because he had helped in its commission."¹ So it is all simple.

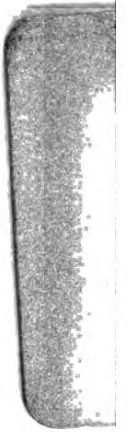
THE END

¹ Ambrose, *De Officiis*, i. 41, translated by Romestin.

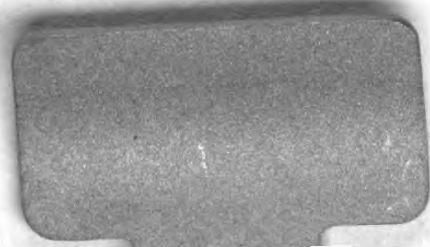
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