

Miss Notes

- 41 - 6

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The Miss. notes by Mr Coleridge.

and it is added, "The current of zeal and devotion, as it was contracted into a narrow channel, ran with the strength, and sometimes with the fury, of a torrent." i. 538.

What are we to understand by all this? Does Mr Gibbon speak in his *own* character, or in *that* of an unbeliever?

Was it reasonable that the Jews should associate with the Mosfaical institutions a mythology unsupported by proof, and whose usurped authority the wisest amongst the Heathens had disclaimed; and would it not have been absurd for them to have assumed any part of a garb which did not fit easy on those who had long used it?

This, however, is not all. The Jews could not associate "the elegant mythology of the Greeks with the institutions of Moses;" for the Greeks were Polytheists, and the Jews professed pure Theism. Now, I should wish to know, how the belief and worship of *many* gods could be harmoniously united with the belief and worship of the *One* God? It is hard then to accuse that unfortunate people of fullness and obstinacy, for not endeavouring to accomplish impossibilities.

Of old, indeed, they went a considerable length in the way of accommodation. They resorted to Egypt, Phœnicia, and Syria, to the magazines from which the Greeks got the *elegancies* of their mythology, and with Jehovah they associated any other divinity whose worship happened to be fashionable amongst the neighbouring nations: for they vainly imagined, that the ONE and SELF-EXISTENT, when he condescended to be, in an especial manner, the God of a particular people, would communicate his honour to idols, the representation of deified men, or of material objects.

prejudices of their subjects; and he remarks, that "the *polite* Augustus condescended "to give orders, that sacrifices should be offered for his prosperity, in the temple of "Jerusalem." *Decline and Fall*, i. 538.

B

IF

*century, when
the deities, as in the
case of the Pagans, the
attributes (practically,
at least) omnipotence
to the minor deities;
but very easily, then,
as among the ancients,
the separate gods were
prayed to in separate
places, & were
believed to travel
from the top of
Olympus to Tyre
in order to be present
to the progress of
an expected campaign.
In this, as in many
things, the Greek
mythology is
more rational,
than modern
Romanism.*

S. T. C.

Luther at first rejected the authority of the Apocalypse, which the church of Rome herself acknowledged *.

Afterwards,

* There are different prefaces to the Apocalypse prefixed to different editions of Luther's translation of the Bible.

The editions of Luther's translation of the Bible which contain his original preface to the Apocalypse, are not to be found in Britain; at least they have been searched for without success, as well in the Bodleian Library as in the British Museum.

By the favour of a worthy and eminent person, whom I am not at liberty to name, I have obtained from the Divinity Professor at Helmstadt the following accurate version of what Luther says of the Apocalypse in his first edition, 1522.

Prefatio Lutheri in Apocalypsin Johannis. Anno 1522.

“De hoc libro pariter suum cuique saluum relinquo iudicium, nec meam cuique sententiam aut opinionem obtrudere cupio. Tantum declaro quid mihi videatur. Equidem plura desidero, cur neque Apostolicum censeam, neque Propheticum. Primum, idque maximum, dubium inde oritur, quod Apostoli non visis inhaerere, sed perspicuis ac disertis verbis vaticinari solent, quemadmodum etiam Petrus, Paulus, Christus in evangelio; atque ita munus apostolicum decebat, perspicue et citra imagines aut visa, de Christo et gestis ejus loqui.

Præterea, nemo Prophetarum Veteris, nedum Novi Testamenti, ita totus est in visis atque imaginibus, ut vix possim quin quarto libro Esæ illum similem statuam, neque omnino vestigium inspirationis sanctioris reperiam.

Accedit, quod, ut mihi quidem videtur, nimium suo libro arrogat, illumque enixius, quam in alio ullo libro ex numero sanctorum (qui multo majoris erant momenti) factum est, commendat, subjunctâ comminatione, qui quidquam ademerit de eo, de illo etiam Deum ademturum esse, &c. contra ea, beatos fore, qui contenta observaverint; quamvis nemo quid contineat scire, nedum observare, possit, et perinde sit, ac si totum non haberemus, multique alii sint libri observandi longè præstantiores.

Fuerunt etiam ex patribus olim multi, qui librum hunc rejicerent; et quanquam Hieronymus in eo commendando verbosior est, illumque, ultra omnem prædicationem, sublimem esse, immo tot mysteria continere quàm verba, affirmat, fidem tamen dicto facere non potuit, et aliis quoque locis in laudando liberalior esse solet.

Denique cuilibet ita licebit de hoc libro judicare, quemadmodum animo se ferri sentiet. Meus quidem animus parùm cum isthoc libro congruit; mihiq; ad tanti non faciendum hæc ratio sufficit, quod nec doceri, nec agnosci in eo videam Christum; in quo tamen primæ cernuntur partes Apostoli, quemadmodum, Aët. i. “Testes mihi estote,” postulat. Itaque eos teneo libros, qui mihi Christum exhibent, clarè ac purè spectandum.”

The

I am argument
from feeling, or
Taste, i.e. a sensation
of difference from
what we know to
be right. Thus,
a right hearted,
sensible woman,
who has been in
the habit of hearing
exquisite music,
or of seeing the
pictures of the
great masters,
will (tho' she

is quite ignorant
of the science & art) instantly feel bad music, bad
painting, as bad simply from the difference or rather opposition
of the impressions produced by the one to the other. — I can truly
say, that my doubts of the Apocalypse commenced in the same

Afterwards, indeed, he seems to have inclined more to the received opinion: But still it is plain, from the style of his later prefaces, and from the apologies made for him by his followers*, that Luther never had an *uncommon veneration for the mysterious book*.

The other great reformer, Calvin, had no doubts as to the authority of the Apocalypse, yet he cautiously abstained from writing any commentaries on it. Nay more, although in his Insti-

The very same words occur in the edition 1524.—But in the edition 1535, the strong passages are omitted, and the book is acknowledged to be divine, with some doubt, however, about its author, and with the offer of an hypothesis by which the visions might be interpreted.

In a later edition he thus speaks: "The third kind of prophecy is that which foretels by bare images and figures without interpretation, like this book of the Apocalypse. So long as such prophecy receives no certain interpretation, it is a hidden and dumb prophecy, unprofitable and unfruitful to Christians. And thus it has hitherto fared with this book. Many, indeed, have attempted to explain it, but still they have advanced nothing certain; and they have rather hatched out of their own fancies a variety of things inept and incongruous. On account of such uncertain interpretations and hidden senses, I have hitherto left it untouched; and this the more especially, because some of the ancient fathers thought it was not written by John the Apostle. See *Euseb. Hist. Eccles. iii. 25*. For my part, I leave the matter thus doubtful, that no one may be hindered to believe the book to be the work of St John, or to do as he chooses."

In another preface to the same book, Luther speaks more favourably of it, but still in general terms; and he concludes thus: "If the Scriptures ought always to be read with humility, modesty, and reverence, such a frame of mind is peculiarly requisite for the perusal of this book, that we may not sink into an abyss of vile dreams and fancies, as many inquisitive men have lately done, who imagine that they have searched out all those secrets which God hath reserved to himself, until he shall gradually disclose their meaning, so far as his own glory and our welfare require." These versions have been communicated to me by a respectable friend, on whose skill in the German language I can rely.

* "Lutherum quod attinet, quicquid olim scripserit in veteri præfatione, in ea sanè quæ hodie in codicibus legitur nihil de Apocalypsi afferit aliud, quàm in dubio se relinquere utrum sit Joannis Apostoli, quod nonnulli ex vetustioribus patribus id inficiati sint, nihil tamen hoc ipso se prejudicari velle aliis." *Chr. Kortholt, de canon. Script. sanct. c. 18.*

tute,

years) of 2.
the fact, that
all commentators
agree that part
of the Prophecy has
been fulfilled
yet the opening
are as much
divided with
respect to the
Past, as with
respect to the
Future. S. T. C.

idle, with life,
vile = of small
20 value. Tentative
"Nichtswürdig, kein
Träumen."

tute, he laboured to prove that the Pope, or rather Papal dominion, was *Antichrist*, yet he produced no passage from the Apocalypse as tending to support that favourite tenet*.

We may now conclude, from the evidence produced, that neither Luther nor Calvin ever used *this ally against the see of Rome*; and therefore Mr Gibbon will allow us to add some words to his proposition, and then it will run thus: "The advantage of turning those mysterious prophecies against the see of Rome, *was rejected or disregarded by Luther and Calvin, the chief leaders amongst the Protestants*; but it inspired the other Protestants with uncommon veneration for so useful an ally."

Mr Gibbon must admit the fairness of this addition, for the truth of it has been proved; and yet the addition does so much impair his intended inference, that, had he been aware of the fact, he would, I persuade myself, have omitted this precipitated note.

The short matter is this: the Protestants in general, notwithstanding the doubts and reserve of their leaders, admitted the authority of the Apocalypse, as they found it fully and unambiguously established; and it would have been the height of absurdity for them to have attempted to expel from the sacred canon, a book, whose prophecies seemed to justify their secession from the church of Rome †.

* "Quant. S. Jean. est repris par l'ange, de ce qu'il s'estoit agenouillé devant lui," *Apocalypse*, xix. 10. *Inst.* l. i. c. 12. §. 3.

"St Jean. dit que tous les saints ont lavé leurs robes au sang de l'Agneau." *Apoc.* vii. 14. *Inst.* l. iii. c. 5. §. 2.

"L'Ecriture nous donne bien une meilleure consolation, en prononçant que ceux qui sont morts en nostre Seigneur sont bien heureux." *Apoc.* xiv. 13. *Inst.* l. iii. c. 5. §. 10.

† Perhaps Mr Gibbon meant to say no more than what is here affirmed. If so, he has expressed himself in words ill-chosen, and of dubious interpretation. If we hold the Apocalypse to be, in plain language, an undigested fiction, it remains for Mr Gibbon, an avowed Protestant, to explain how it should have become *an useful ally* to the Protestant cause.

CHAP-

not so. 'ant
the other'; but
some other Protestants

(this being the
case) — i.e.
the truth being
determined, which
would have commanded
them to admit it,
even tho' it had
a semblance of
opposition to their
cause, it would
indeed have been

absurd to have rejected it, when it was not only *genuinely* but
likewise most favorable to their cause. — This is what
the author meant — he thought more logically, than he
wrote. S.D.C.

We know nothing of the time and manner in which the gospel was originally propagated amongst nations ignorant of the Greek and Roman languages, and of that dialect of Syria familiar to the Apostles, as inhabitants of Palestine; and therefore it would be presumptuous to say, *how* the gift of tongues was exercised amongst those nations, or *when* it ceased.

Another of the gifts of the Holy Spirit, was that of *the discerning of spirits*.

“ Amongst the various endowments of the church, some of which were to convict gainsayers, and others to edify believers, there was one of the latter kind of special use to support the dignity, and to distinguish the divine original of all the rest. And this the Apostle calls *the discerning of spirits*; a virtue which, like the touch of Ithuriel’s spear in the poet, laid bare the deformity of imposture. With this Peter detected Simon the magician, and Paul confounded Elymas the forcerer.

“ But when the thing itself had ceased, the pretence to inspi-

ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ προφητικὰ χαρίσματα ἔχοντων, ἢ παντοδαπαῖς λαλήσαν διὰ τὸ Πνεύματος γλώσσαις. κ. τ. ε. ap. Euseb. Hist. Eccles. v. 7. Supposing Irenæus to have meant that he himself had heard many of the brethren in the church speaking with tongues through the Spirit, we must acknowledge his evidence to be in point, but still it would be single; and, considering the extraordinary nature of the gift, the manner in which Irenæus speaks of it might seem vague and superficial. Perhaps he only meant to relate what he had heard reported by others. The gift of tongues, when originally bestowed on the Apostles and certain of the first converts to Christianity, was not only for a sign of the Holy Spirit, but also for a vehicle to communicate the gospel to the uttermost ends of the world. What Irenæus says has no relation to the propagating of the Christian faith; and although his words were understood in the widest sense, the exercise of the gift could have had no other effect than that of strengthening and confirming believers in a faith which they already held. It is very remarkable, that the ancient apologists, Justin. M. Athenagoras, Theophilus, Tertullian, and Minucius Felix, are silent as to the gift of tongues. Irenæus, in another noted passage, *Adv. haeres.* i. 2. neither asserts that he himself had that gift, nor acknowledges that he had it not.

H

ration,

may we have
Lazarus a conjecture
(which seems aided
by "εὐρυτέρῃ",
preceding "καὶ λαλήσαν",
that "περὶ" is
here to be understood?
we hear of many
missionaries having
prophetic graces,
speaking &c. &c.
S. J. C.

ejected out of them, while, in truth, they were, without human means, relieved from a state of lunacy, it does not follow, that no miraculous power was displayed in their cure.

The hypothesis here suggested will not diminish the number of the cures, although it may remove some of them from one class into another.

This leads us to consider "the miraculous power exerted in the "healing of diseases." And here it must be premised, that the number of the miracles supposed to have been wrought in the second and third centuries, would not be diminished, although some of them should have been wrought on *lunatics*, and not on persons *possessed*. For it is no less a miracle to cure lunacy, at once, and by no other means but prayer, than it is to expel evil spirits. So, if the observations just now made have any weight, the result will be, that the primitive Christians more rarely expelled evil spirits, and more frequently cured natural diseases, than they are reported to have done.

Mighty things are said of the power of imagination; but that it should instantaneously restore lunatics to a sound mind, is something so very incredible*, that he who can persuade himself to believe it, will have small cause for intulging the Christians on account of their easy faith!

The ecclesiastical writers of the second and third centuries invariably assert, that many diseases were healed by the prayers of the Christians. As they often speak on the credit of others, and not from their own observation, it is possible that, in some of their reports, there may be circumstances exaggerated, and even mistakes; and it must be admitted, that their evidence loses much

* There may, possibly, be some very rare examples of this; but I speak, as one ought to speak on such occasions, of daily experience, and the ordinary course of things.

*This is the constant
sophism of the
Oxupatdotisav.
Suggest a natural
solution of any very
unusual appearance
(ex. gr. the specter of
a troop of Cavalry, &
Infantry that was
seen by hundreds at
different places passing
over Saddle-back in
Lumberland at the
very time that the
troops of the Rockers*

I 2

were crossing actually the breast of the Scotch Mountains) suggest the possibility of a series of reflections from clouds & media of obscurity, & the reply is, it is so very improbable! - Surely, so it may be! but is not the want to be explained equally improbable, in this sense of the word? And is the solution by spirits, & by the suspension or subversion of the laws of Nature, more probable (i.e. consistent with common experience) than an unusual co-existence & co-action of natural Powers & operations?

Mr Gibbon steps beyond Dr Middleton's conjecture, and supposes that there was no cure at all; but that Severus just persuaded himself that he got *some benefit* by oil with which *one of his slaves* anointed him*. Nay more, Mr Gibbon leaves it uncertain, whether this benefit, however small or ambiguous, was of a *spiritual nature*, or something which merely respected the health of the patient.

Notwithstanding the authority of Dr Middleton, Mr Gibbon, and many other writers, I incline to think that the cure was wrought, or supposed to have been wrought, on Euhodus, and not on Severus; and that Severus having heard of the relief which his favourite had obtained, sought after Proculus, and kept him about his person.

The words in Tertullian may as well imply, that Proculus cured Euhodus, as that he cured Severus.

When the phrase "Proculum requisivit" is considered, it seems inconsistent with the notion of Proculus having cured Severus himself. The Emperor, had he been cured by oil which Proculus administered, would have had no occasion to seek after or inquire for his physician.

It is probable that hitherto my readers, in general, will see no great cause to controvert the facts and circumstances which I have endeavoured to establish.

But now there occurs an observation, which, if well founded, on medicines administered. "Mensa benedicta," in the language of Jerom's age, is "a table at which grace has been said," and "cibus benedictus" is "food for which a blessing has been asked," not "a consecrated table," or "consecrated food."

* It is impossible to discover the source of this anecdote. Tertullian says no such thing; and he is equally silent as to *some benefit*, perhaps of a *spiritual nature*, which Severus *persuaded himself* that he had received from the anointing with oil. Indeed, he says, which Mr Gibbon has overlooked, that, in the times of Severus, eminent persons of both sexes professed the Christian religion, but he makes no mention of Proculus as a Christian slave.

K 2

might

"requisivit" means
what the revolutionists
in France called
"put in requisition!"

He demanded him
of his Master, desired
that Proculus should
be transferred to
him. Who but a
Scotchman would have
rendered the word "by"
"sought after him!"

And who, but a
Scotch Chapin,
could have ventured
to refer "eum" to
Euhodus, instead of
Severus? - The modesty

of obtaining "dus" for "da" without any authority, one of Dr. Middleton's. S. P. C. K.
And what does this unaccountable amount to? A certain Christian Doctor
let me in a time cured Severus of some complaint or other by means of oil
as you or I might cure a Duke of a fit of the shivers by a dose of Castoreum
(oil) & Severus was so much pleased that he desired his power should be
given him up, in order that he might keep him about his own person.
This is all! - Had Severus been a
Christian in consequence,

it might then be deduced, that the cure was, or at least
appeared to Severus, miraculous. But no! He persecuted Christianity, in
general: this he interpreted in favour of certain noble persons of
both sexes, (champions) tho' he knew that they were Christians...
Evidently so, Dr D.D.

Lamartine to L. G. 11 Dec 1876

Charles the I., who
regard to Papius.

"Championis famulus
et championis vultus,
scilicet super secta
spe, non modo non
causit, sed populo
juventis palam
restitit."

+ Who
doubts that
Tertullian thought
it a miracle?
What ^{can} would he
not think a
miracle, if
effected by a
Christian ^{or}
medicament

benedictum? It
is even thus with
the Methodists of
the present day -
they would have
not attributed
the cure to the
drug, but to the
Prayer of the
holy Physician.

who blessed & administered it - & in consequence, warns his
followers not to call in any Physician, however celebrated,
who was not one of the Saints

CHAPTER III.

might supersede all further inquiry into the nature of the cure
wrought by Proculus.

One of the writers in the controversy concerning The miraculous
powers, thus speaks: "Tertullian, who relates the story, makes
"no mention at all of a miracle in the case. His words are these:
"A Christian named Proculus, cured the Emperor Severus of a cer-
"tain distemper by the use of oil; for which service the Emperor was
"favourable to the Christians, and kept Proculus, as long as he lived,
"in his palace*."

+ If Tertullian, who lived at the time when the cure was per-
formed, made no mention at all of a miracle, it would be preposter-
ous for us, in the eighteenth century, to attempt to discover
more in the story than this, that Proculus cured Euhodus or Se-
verus by oil.

It appears, however, from the context, although not from Dr
Middleton's quotation, that Tertullian supposed that the cure by
oil, and the cures of the epilepsy and other diseases which he
mentions, were all of the same nature, the operation of God
through the ministry of the Christians.

We learn from the work of Serenus Sammonicus †, a celebra-
ted physician at the court of Severus, that oil of various sorts

* Defence of Dr Middleton's Free Inquiry, by Frederick Toll, A. M. p. 98.

† 2. Sereni Sammonici de Medicina liber. — H. Stephan. d. Med. princ. con-
founds him with his son, who was preceptor to the younger Gordian, and who left
in legacy to his pupil a library of sixty-two thousand volumes, Jul. Capitolin. Gordi-
anus junior, p. 159. that very library of which Mr Gibbon thus speaks, "Twenty-
"two concubines, and a library of sixty-two thousand volumes, attested the variety
"of his inclinations; and from the productions which he left behind him, it appears
"that the former as well as the latter were designed for use rather than for ostenta-
"tion," vol. i. p. 215. Pity that Gordian had not collected four thousand volumes
in addition to the legacy; then it might have been said, that for every three thou-
sand of volumes in his library, he had one concubine and three bastards, and the
antithesis would have been complete.

was

" of them considerable too: and, *if my testimony be admitted as credible, I myself have seen them**."

Another passage, in the same work, is remarkable on many accounts. Origen says, "I am of opinion that the miracles of Jesus, which Celsus calumniously says he learnt among the Egyptians to perform, afford evidence of the Holy Spirit having appeared in the likeness of a dove; and, in support of my opinion, I argue not only from them, but also, with probable grounds, from those which the Apostles of Jesus performed. And indeed, without the operation of miracles, the Apostles could not have moved men, who had new notions and new doctrines proposed to them, to abandon the religious rites of their country, and, with hazards even unto death, to admit what those teachers taught: and *still* the vestiges of that Holy Spirit, which appeared in the likeness of a dove, are preserved among Christians; for they expel † demons, and perform many cures; and, as THE WORD [ΛΟΓΟΣ] willeth, they foresee *some things*: and, however much Celsus, or the Jew whom he has introduced, may scoff at it, *this* shall be said, that many persons have been converted to Christianity, as if against their will, through some inspiration, acting with energy upon them

† Literally, "They
discernant
= ἐξεπαίδειν

* "Ἐσιν ἔν ιδεῖν μετὰ τὴν Ἰησοῦ ἐπιδημίαν, Ἰουδαίους καταλειμμένους πάντη, καὶ μηδὲν ἔχοντας τῶν παλαι νομιζομένων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι σεμνῶν. ἀλλὰ καὶ μηδὲν σημεῖον τῷ εἶναι τινα θεοῦ παρ' ἀνθρώποις. ἐκ ἧς γὰρ προφηταί, καὶ τεράστια, ὧν καὶ ἔχρη ἐπὶ ποσὸν παρὰ Χριστιανοῖς εὐρίσκεται, καὶ τινὰ γὰρ μείζονα. καὶ ἐπὶ πιστοῖς ἔσμεν λέγοντες, ἠρώκαμεν καὶ ἡμεῖς. *Contra Celsum*, l. ii. p. 62. In the same book, p. 80. he speaks, in general terms, of persons having been healed in the name of Christ: μέχρι σήμερον θεραπεύεσθαι τῷ ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ὅς ὁ Θεὸς βύλεται.

† The word *expel* is used, although not a proper translation of ἐξεπαίδειν. The verb ἐξεπαίδειν, however uncommon, is classical. Origen, on this occasion, has been more studious of the purity of his Greek, than of correctness in theological language. He ought not to have spoken of *charms*, or, rather, if the word may be admitted, of *decantations*.

If, all circumstances considered, what Bede relates of Cuthbert, and Bernard of Malachi, be no less credible than what Justin M* and Irenæus relate of miraculous powers in their own times, we ought not to deny them the same degree of confidence. But, before coming to that conclusion, it is fit that we should make ourselves acquainted with the nature of the stories related by Bede and Bernard.

If, under the phrase, "ecclesiastical history," the history of the New Testament be comprehended, every one acquainted with the Scriptures can decidedly answer this acute query in the affirmative.

Mr Gibbon, probably, meant to except the apostolical times from this query; but as his words are wide enough to comprehend them also, it may be fit to observe, that St Matthew asserts, that "he himself possessed the gift of miracles;" for he thus speaks: "And when he had called unto him his twelve disciples, he gave them power over unclean spirits, to cast them out, and to heal all manner of sickness, and all manner of disease;" chap. x. i. Here he asserts that Jesus bestowed the gift of miracles on the twelve Apostles; and presently after, while recounting their names, he mentions himself as one of that chosen number; so he must have possessed that gift of miracles which Jesus bestowed on him.

Again, St Paul positively asserts, that "he himself possessed the gift of miracles;" for he thus speaks: "I am become a fool in glorying, ye have compelled me: for I ought to have been commended of you; for in nothing am I behind the very chiefest Apostles, though I be nothing. Truly the signs of an Apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs, and wonders, and mighty deeds;" 2 Cor. xii. 11. 12. Mr Anthony Collins is reported to have said, "I think so well of St Paul, who was both a man of sense and a gentleman, that if he had asserted that he had wrought miracles himself, I would have believed him;" *Biographia Britannica*, v. i. p. 626. not. G, 2d edit. This anecdote, if authentic, proves, that Mr Collins, although one of the shrewdest adversaries of Christianity, had read the epistles of St Paul with little attention. The gift of miracles, of which I have been speaking, must be distinguished from the other divine gifts bestowed on the Apostles, and frequently alluded to by them; as in 1 Pet. i. 12.; John, vii. 39.; xx. 22.; Apoc. i. 10. &c.; 1 Cor. xiv. 18.; 2 Cor. vi. 6. 7.; and in many other passages.

* Justin M. is mentioned here, because Mr Gibbon mentions him; yet there is hardly any thing in the works of Justin M. which relates to a power of working miracles bestowed on any individual in the Christian church.

M

Bede

True! if Matthew wrote that Gospel of that Pope. But who does not know, that this is a controverted point, however little doubt there is or you may think it. Neither can I consider it as altogether incontrovertible, that St Paul understood miracles of his own performance by "signs, & wonders, & mighty deeds."

Why not, the fates of providential aids, graces & deliverances of the Corinthian Church founded & established by him & under his Apostolate? Is it not strange, that he should refer to particular acts, or if to him generally, yet often & less ambiguously? But he should no one found any argument upon them? as, ex. gr. in the 16th Ch.

should seem, a parallel between polytheism and polygamy*; and, consequently, having no relation to second marriages.

"Tertullian," says Barbeyrac, "in answering the accusations of lewdness brought against the Christians, observes, that so far from abandoning themselves to any thing of that nature, they limited to one woman the natural use of the sex in marriage; and, after he had given himself up to Montanism, he did but express the like sentiments in stronger words †."

The quotation from the *Apology* of Tertullian is very obscure; or, to speak more properly, it is unintelligible ‡.

Barbeyrac might have produced many passages in which Tertullian condemns, and even execrates second marriages. The very first words of his treatise *de Monogamia* are, "The heretics take away marriage, the carnal men reiterate it; the former do not marry at all, the latter marry more than once ||."

By "the heretics," he is understood to mean the followers of Marcion; and there can be no doubt that the phrase "carnal men," describes those whom, in common language, we should call "orthodox Christians," that is, those who remained within the pale of the church, instead of following Tertullian, who held

* Καὶ ὡς ἰδωλολατρία ἐκ τῆς ἑνὸς εἰς τὰς πολλὰς ἐπινοήσεως ἐστὶ θεῶν. ὅπως ἡ πορνεία ἐκ τῆς ἑνὸς γάμου εἰς πολλὰς ἐστὶν ἐκπτώσεις. *Strom.* l. iii. c. 12.

† "Tertullien, dans son *Apologetique*, répond aux accusations d'impureté intentées contre les Chrétiens, que bien loin de s'abandonner à rien d'approchant, ils bornent même à une seule femme l'usage naturel du sexe dans le mariage. Quand ce Pere eût donné dans le Montanisme, il ne fit que s'exprimer plus fortement sur ce sujet." c. iv. § 16.

‡ "Christianus ad sexum nec fœminæ mutat." *Apol.* c. 46. Here some words have been either omitted or incorrectly copied by transcribers.

|| "Hæretici nuptias auferunt, Psychici ingerunt. Illi nec semel, illi non semel nubunt." *De Monogamia*, in pr.

The barbarous style of Tertullian may, perhaps, allow us to suppose that in this sentence, 1. the

emphasis was layed on "us" in Christianus, and 2. that "e" is a blunder of the Copyist for "a". This admitted, the sense would be: A Christian is not affected by sex, neither the male = "us", nor, nor the female = fœmina. So interpreted, the sentence would only amount to the common assertion, Souls have no sex, an assertion which I deny imo de pectore. S. T. C. P. S. Q. D. creates man & female; hence Christ says, Marriage was in the Beginning.

that Montanus was the Comforter [Paracletus] promised by our Lord*.

From the tenor of Tertullian's treatise *de Monogamia*, it is plain that the Christians of his age, or, at least, of his country, entered into second marriages without scruple or hesitation, and that he himself was imbued in fanaticism and heresy. In evidence of this, some passages are added in a note †. In general, they are

It would be amusing at least, and perhaps instructive, to reduce the chaos of opinions or theories, into distinct classes: 3. Heretics in their apparent death, or suspended animation, and their after resurrection under different circumstances of knowledge with different modifications. Mohammed projected himself beyond the attraction of the center, & became a

* It was bold in Tertullian thus to apply a phrase, which St Paul uses to describe those who have no right to the name of Christians. *Ψυχικός δὲ ἄνθρωπος ἔσται τὸ τῷ Πνεύματι τῷ Θεῷ.* i. Cor. ii. 14. That by *Psychici* Tertullian meant the Christians, is plain from his own words, *adversus Praxeam*, c. 1. "Et nos quidem postea agnitio Paracleti atque defensio disjunxit a *Psychicis*." It may be observed, in passing, that Tertullian takes the divine mission of Montanus for granted, and imagines that the whimsies of that visionary ought to give law to the Apostles.

† "[*Psychici*]. *Monogamiae disciplinam in haeresin exprobant, nec ulla magis ex causa Paracletum negare coguntur, quam dum existimant novae disciplinae institutorem, et quidem durissimae illis, ut jam de hoc primum consistendum sit in generali retractatu, an capiat Paracletum aliquid tale docuisse, quod aut novum deputari possit adversus Catholicam traditionem, aut onerosum adversus levem sententiam Domini? De utroque autem ipse Dominus pronuntiavit, dicens [l. dixit] enim, adhuc multa habeo quae loquar ad vos, sed nondum potestis portare ea: quum venerit Spiritus Sanctus, ille vos ducet in omnem veritatem; satis utique praetendit ea acturum illum quae et nova existimari possint, ut nunquam retrò edita, et aliquantò onerosa, ut idcirco non edita." d. *Monogamia*, c. 2. After having vainly endeavoured to elude the arguments in favour of second marriages drawn from the doctrines of St Paul, Tertullian has recourse to a desperate hypothesis; "ita res exigebant, ut [Paulus] omnibus omnia fieret, quo omnes lucrifacerat, parturiens illos donec formaretur Christus in ipsis, et calefaciens, tanquam nutrix, parvulos fidei, docendo quaedam per veniam, non per imperium, (aliud est enim indulgere, aliud jubere), proinde temporalem licentiam permittens, denuò nubendi propter infirmitatem carnis, quemadmodum Moyses repudiandi propter duritiam cordis. Et hinc itaque reddemus supplementum sensus istius; si enim Christus abstulit quod Moyses praecepit, quia ab initio non fuit sic, nec sic ideo ab alia venisse virtute reputabitur Christus, cur non et Paracletus abstulerit, quod Paulus indulget? quia et secun-*

temporary center of himself but Montanus, Swedenborg, Priestley & others are all repetitions, De Lapos with variations & a libitum. Montanus was to be the Comforter promised, Swedenborg the Elias of the actual coming of the God-man, each having received a new revelation completing and enriching the preceding, while Priestley by a revelation of his Reasoning turns the whole hypothesis - or rather surmises (if blasphemy can be surmised) the old song, "The

King
man

are too absurd to admit of a translation, which might offend many, and could edify none. I venture, however, to translate one passage, which plainly indicates the situation of the unfortunate man's mind. "Dido, the Queen of Carthage, shall rise up in judgement against Christian women; for she, being a fugitive in a foreign soil, and about to become the chief foundress of a mighty state, had good reason to seek to be united in wedlock

"dum matrimonium ab initio non fuit, nec ideo suspectus habendus sit, quasi spiritus alienus, tantum ut Deo et Christo dignum sit quod superinducitur. Si Deo et Christo dignum fuit duritiam cordis tempore expleto compescere, cur non dignum sit et Deo et Christo tempore collectiore discutere? Si justum est, matrimonium non separari, utique et non iterare honestum est. Denique apud seculum utrumque in bona disciplina deputatur, aliud concordie nomina, aliud pudicitie. Regnavit duritia cordis usque ad Christum, regnavit et infirmitas carnis usque ad Paracletum. Nova lex abstulit repudium, habuit quod auferret; nova prophetia, secundum matrimonium, non minus repudium prioris, sed facilius duritia cordis cessit, quam infirmitas carnis," *ib. c. 14*. There is much more raving to the like purpose, and the tendency of the whole is to prove that the perfection of Christian morals is only to be found in the rhapsodies of Montanus.

Mosheim says, "Montanus was not so devoid of reason as to suppose himself to have been the *Paraclete*, or the Holy Spirit; he only asserted, that the Holy Spirit spake by him: But the *obscure* language of Tertullian, who very often calls Montanus by that name, has been the sole cause of the inaccurate manner in which both ancients and moderns have treated this subject." [Quod vero et veteres et recentiores sententiam suam ambigue, nec satis luculenter expresserunt, Tertulliani unice obscuritas effecit, qui Montanum sæpissimè *Paracletum* nominat: cujus quidem verba et sermonis genus imitati sunt.] *d. Reb. Christian. ante Constantin. M. p. 413*. After having thus contradicted every body, and laid all the blame on the obscurity of Tertullian's language, he thus concludes: "All that remains for us to suppose is, that Montanus was diseased both in body and mind, and perhaps might be charged with a pious fraud." [Hoc unum relinquitur, ut animo hominem et corpore etiam ægrotasse credamus, nisi fortè piæ fraudis eum arguere velimus.] And thus Mosheim unravels his whole web; for, if we suppose Montanus to have been disordered in his judgement, and suspect him of knavery, all that Tertullian and other writers have said of him will be abundantly probable.

They King of France with 50,000 men ^{Marched} up the Hill, and then
marched down again." S.T.C.

Be this as it may, the human character having returned by *degrees* to its natural level, "resumes those passions that seem the most adapted to its present condition." And now we may expect to see the Christians act just as other men, neither *exalted*, by enthusiasm, above the state of humanity, nor *sunk*, by the like enthusiasm, below the standard of right reason.

The *fifth* secondary cause of the rapid progress of Christianity is said to have been "the union and discipline of the Christian republic, which *gradually* formed an independent and increasing state in the heart of the Roman empire*." What Mr Gibbon had said just before, explains the meaning of the word *gradually*; for he observes, that "the Christian religion grew up in silence and obscurity."

And here a question arises: If the union and discipline of the church were established in consequence of the human character returning by *degrees* to its natural level; if the Christian religion grew up in *silence and obscurity*; and if it *gradually* formed an independent and increasing republic; how are these things consistent with its *rapid progress*? Yet the rapid progress of Christianity is the fact admitted, and the purpose of Mr Gibbon's inquiry is to discover what were its secondary causes.

Every intelligent and attentive reader will observe, that, in treating of this *fifth* cause, Mr Gibbon does not confine his researches to the early times of Christianity, but that he "blends in eloquent confusion†" the events which are said to have happened at different times.

* Mr Gibbon paints after a sketch given by Voltaire. "Les assemblées secrètes, qui bravoient d'abord, dans des caves et dans des grottes, l'autorité des Empereurs Romains, formerent peu à peu un état dans l'état." *Siecle de Louis XIV.*

† This is an expression which Mr Gibbon employs in speaking of Burnet, the author of *the Theory of the Earth*, i. 565. and not without cause; for, in flowery language and bad reasoning, *that* work can hardly be paralleled.

Thus

not true! Burnet's
Diction
is highly
energetic, picturesque,
as to his reasoning,
all wise men regard the work as a Poem; and for the logic of Poetry,
i.e. the generally plausible, his reasoning is excellent. S. J. C.

but always on a level with the thoughts. or if there are exceptions, it is that the words sink under the grandeur of his conceptions. — as to his reasoning, all wise men regard the work as a Poem; and for the logic of Poetry, i.e. the generally plausible, his reasoning is excellent. S. J. C.

disliked war as a *trade*, and that they had no ambition to rise to military commands*.

It seems that such men were not sufficiently occupied; and therefore, in order to amuse their idleness, or gratify their love of action, they invented ecclesiastical government.

Granting, for a moment, that the primitive Christians were not only excluded from civil offices of trust and emolument, but that they held all war to be unlawful, and absolutely refused to bear arms; it remains to be explained, why a deep-laid and wide plan of ecclesiastical policy should have been devised, persisted in, and executed by such men.

Experience does not lead us to the conclusion which Mr Gibbon has formed. The Menonites, for instance, and the people called *Quakers*, are debarred, by their principles, from civil offices; and they hold all war, defensive as well as offensive, to be unlawful; yet their love of action never excited them to undertake what the primitive Christians, in circumstances supposed to be similar, are said to have accomplished.

Mr Gibbon, in treating of ecclesiastical government, seems to hold the antiquity of what he calls *Episcopal Presbyters*: But I know not whether the *Old Dissenters* of England will chuse to admit him as a proselyte from *Episcopacy*, or rely on him as their champion in defence of the *classical form*; for the controversy in his hands is equally poised.

He thinks that the Episcopal form of government was introduced before the end of the first century; and, as he explains himself

* "The situation of the first Christians," says Mr Gibbon, "coincided very happily with their religious scruples; and their aversion to an active life contributed rather to excuse them from the service, than to exclude them from the honours of the state and army." i. 581.: and yet his own book demonstrates, that in the decline of the Roman empire, no rank, however obscure, excluded men from those honours.

much, very much, may be urged against this proof by example. It seems to me almost demonstrable, that the admirable Imperium in Imperio of the Quakers, must have before this time rendered them the supreme Power, if various contradictory effects of their Habits of Discipline had not each neutralized its opposite. I am sorry to perceive

Christians a similar Discipline prevented, without the counteractions.

"by the Apostles themselves, were, for some time, consulted *."

Granting that Mr Gibbon did right in pronouncing positively where Mosheim hesitated, yet still it must be obvious, that the independence and equality of different religious societies could never have promoted "the union of the Christian republic."

Mr Gibbon proceeds thus: "The want of discipline and human learning was supplied by the occasional assistance of the

* "Hierosolymitanæ quidem ecclesiæ per tempus aliquod magna fuit dignitas et auctoritas, quod ex Actis Apostolorum patet. Antiocheni controversiam suam de legis Mosaicæ præstantia ecclesiæ hujus judicio subiciebant, Act. xv. Idem alias fecisse ecclesias, verisimillimum est. Paulus, divinitus licet ad obeundum Apostoli munus vocatus, id tamen in primis agebat, ut se suamque disciplinam Apostolis et coetui Hierosolymitano probaret et commendaret, Galat. i. 18. ii. 7. 8. 9. Verum hujus auctoritatis radix non tam in ecclesia erat Hierosolymitana, quæ nunquam supra reliquas eminere voluit, quàm in Apostolis Iesu Christi, qui Hierosolymitano coetui præsidebant, judicesque a Christo rerum ad religionem pertinentium constituti erant. Apostolos propriè consulebant, non Hierosolymitanum coetum. Quanquam, ut verum fatear, et ipse hic coetus, absentibus etiam Apostolis, magis quàm reliquæ Christianorum familiæ, rebus in dubiis, in consilium vocari poterat. Multò enim plures, quàm in ceteris ecclesiis, homines erant Hierosolymis lumine divino aliisque donis cœlestibus instructi; quoniam non in Apostolos tantum, verum etiam in universum, qui tum Christum ibi profitebatur, populum Spiritus Sanctus mirabiliter delapsus erat, Act. ii. 1. &c. Non dubito, Ephesinæ ecclesiæ, dum S. Johannes in illa vixit, parem inter Asiaticas auctoritatem fuisse; immò cunctis ecclesiis, quibus aliquamdiu Apostolorum aliquis præfuit, hunc habitum esse honorem opinor, ut vicinæ ab illis ecclesiæ docendi agendique exemplum interdum peterent. Hoc etiam plus, nec enim præter rem difficilis ero, largior, si quis velit; concedam nimirum omnibus ecclesiis Apostolicis, id est, illis, quas ipsi Apostoli construxerant et erudiverant, hoc, per tempus aliquod, datum fuisse, ut novis fortè de religione sententiis propositis et disputationibus commotis consulerentur," D. Reb. Christian. ante Constant. M. p. 153.

This work of Mosheim is little known with us; and, therefore, it was judged proper to print the original passage at large, that it might be compared with the translation. It is no very easy task to render the verbose language of Mosheim into tolerable English.

B. b.

"Prophets,"

a strange Censure
from a verbose
I dull Scotchman
I can see nothing

verbose in the language of Mosheim here & there, I believe, D.
himself would be puzzled if called on to express the same thoughts
in fewer words with equal clearness, & without the affectation
of an epigrammatic style memorandum style of Tacitus;
Montaigne, &c. S. D. C.

There is a psychological beauty in this text of Joel's which is not
 worthy of remark - The meaning appears to be this, that on the effluence
 of the Spirit all the faculties of good men shall be consecrated, & used to

CHAPTER V.

199

"that I will pour out my Spirit upon all flesh, and your sons and
 "your daughters shall prophesy, your old men shall dream
 "dreams, your young men shall see visions*." For, when the
 miraculous gift of tongues was bestowed, St Peter declared the
 prophecy of Joel to be accomplished; although the old men had
 not dreamed dreams, neither had the young men and the daugh-
 ters of Jerusalem uttered prophecies, or seen visions.

I cannot discover, from Scripture, that, in the apostolical times,
 boys and girls were endued with the gifts of prophecy, in any
 sense of the word †.

It is possible that, by *prophets*, Mr Gibbon meant not "fore-
 tellers of events," but "interpreters of Scripture;" for he gives
 them the ambiguous appellation of "prophetical teachers."

That, in the apostolical times, persons, "without distinction
 "of age or of sex," were admitted to be teachers in a public as-
 sembly of Christians, may well be questioned; for it is not
 clear, that boys and girls were admitted to the conferences spoken
 of in i. Cor. xiv.

St Paul would not suffer married women to speak in church, or
 even to propose difficulties, and ask a solution of them *there*.
 "Let them keep silence," said he; and in support of this injunc-
 tion, he appealed to the judgement of his hearers, in these words,
 "It is a shame for a woman to speak in the church ‡."

* Joel, ii. 28. The meaning of the prophecy, as explained by St Peter, is, "That
 "the operations of the Holy Spirit shall be made manifest."

† Philip the deacon had "four daughters, virgins, [παρθέναι], who prophesied,"
 Acts, xxi. 9. But παρθένος properly signifies one grown up or arrived at woman's
 estate; and hence was that whimsical etymology of the word devised, παρθένος διὰ τὸ
 παρακαλεῖν τὴν ἡμίαν. Besides, it is not certain in what sense the daughters of
 Philip are said to have prophesied.

‡ i. Cor. xiv. 34. 35.; i. Tim. ii. 11. 12. On this occasion, as on others, St Paul
 spoke in conformity with established notions and manners. This will account for the
 strong expression, "it is a shame," [αἰσχρὸν γὰρ ἐστίν]. literally, "it is a foul deed."

From

is copied but at the same time idealized & made beautiful -
 Every thing is returned, yet all things glorified & renewed,
 as it were, with the breath of eternal.

body & spiritual
 purposes. Your
 old men (whose
 power is in
 recollection & in
 words) shall dream
 dreams - / the
 characteristic of
 old age in the
 eyes of countries)
 and your young
 men (whose
 appropriate
 faculty is
 sensation &
 imagination)
 shall see
 visions in
 but all to
 the perfection
 of truth &
 edification.
 Even so do
 the great
 masters in
 painting &
 skating -
 old age
 beautiful -

*D. shall not have paid the sentence incurred. Such implies
that he was utterly out of the view of Christian Charity. & that he was*

CHAPTER V.

205

"to the merit than to the distress of the object, very materially
"conducted to the progress of Christianity." i. 595.

So far he says well. It was reasonable for humane Pagans, when
they saw the pious liberality of believers, to inquire into the nature
and evidences of THE RELIGION OF LOVE. Such inquiries can
never hurt the cause of Christianity, and, in general, are favourable
to it. If, in this way, any Pagans were converted, their conver-
sion might be said to have been owing to the virtues of the Chri-
stians.

What follows in Mr Gibbon is more exceptionable: "The Pa-
"gans," says he, "who were actuated by a sense of humanity,
"while they derided the doctrines, acknowledged the benevolence
"of the new sect."

It seems, then, that the humane Pagans, while they did justice
to the benevolence of the new sect, continued to deride its doc-
trines; so that it was not by the means which I have supposed,
that Christian benevolence "very materially conducted to the pro-
"gress of Christianity."

Mr Gibbon adopts a different system. He says, "The prospect
"of immediate relief, and of future protection, allured into the
"hospitable bosom of the church many of those unhappy persons
"whom the neglect of the world would have abandoned to the
"miseries of want, sickness, and of old age." i. 595. That is, the
Heathens, who dreaded poverty, sickness, and old age, sought that
relief from the liberality of Christians which they could not expect
even from the other Heathens, "who were actuated by a sense of
"humanity;" and so they professed their belief in Christ!

It will be remembered, that this, according to the hypothesis of
Mr Gibbon himself, could not possibly have happened in the early
ages of the church, when it was composed of poor and mean per-
sons. The Christians must have become opulent before their libe-
rality could have bribed the Heathens to seek their protection, the
protection

*Christianity naked
itself, that just
of mercy it took
in so humble
fashion, as willing
to unhappily risk
that it should
lose all things
of human nature
if it were treated
with human
loving affection.
It heated coals
of fire in the
drooping metal,
in order to
melt it down
and purify it,
which harmony
could only have
broken to pieces.
S.T.C.*