

Constructing the theology of George Henry Morling

by

Roderick John Benson

BA(Hons), DipMin, BMin(Theol), GradCert(AdultEdn&Trng), MA, MTh

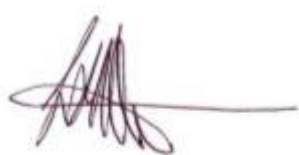
A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

University of Divinity
2022

Declaration

I declare that the word length of this thesis is 99,998 words. This does not exceed the maximum length specified in the regulations in force on my enrolment in the PhD program. The word length includes footnotes, tables, and illustrations, but excludes front matter and bibliography and specifically excludes appendices as per correspondence with Professor John McDowell, former Director of Research for the University.

I affirm that this thesis contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in any university or other institution. To the best of my knowledge, this thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference is made in the text of the thesis.



Roderick John Benson

29 August 2022

Abstract

Using hundreds of previously unexamined primary sources, this study constructs the evangelical theology of Australian Baptist theologian George Henry Morling who served as Principal of the Baptist Theological College of New South Wales from 1921 to 1960.

There is no previous critical analysis of Morling's Christian thought or of the social and religious context of his spiritual and intellectual formation. The thesis argues that Morling's most notable contribution to Baptist theology is not his well-known emphasis on the Holy Spirit but his articulation of the doctrine of union with Christ. The thesis examines the biblical and theological contexts of the doctrine of union with Christ and documents how this doctrine informs many aspects of his theology.

For Morling, doctrine determines experience and experience confirms doctrine. His theology and spirituality may be summed up in two phrases present in primary sources: that Scripture bears accurate and powerful testimony to the "opulence" of divine grace; and that the ideal Christian, or the ideal Baptist, is one who is known as "evangelical, forthright and balanced." These qualities or emphases, along with his conviction that "the true Christian is always a mystic," profoundly shaped his theology and spirituality, and continue to challenge and inspire Baptist leaders today in the church, the academy, and the world.

Morling warrants consideration as an outlier candidate for identification as a hinterland theologian whose contribution has continuing relevance for enquiry into the historical and theological development of Australian evangelicalism, pneumatology and spiritual renewal.

Table of Contents

Declaration.....	2
Abstract.....	3
Table of contents.....	5
Preface.....	11
A note on style	12
Abbreviations.....	13

PART ONE—CONTEXT

Chapter 1—The mystic theologian..... 14

1. Why study Morling's theology?	14
2. Sources referring to Morling.....	18
3. Sources produced by Morling.....	25
4. Historical method, history and theology	26
Conclusion	31

Chapter 2—Formation of an evangelical scholar33

1. Family of origin and early formative experiences	33
2. Education and early ministry	35
3. Religious culture of the period.....	43
4. Postgraduate studies.....	46
5. Approach to Scripture	52
6. Approach to biblical interpretation	56
7. Preaching and classroom teaching	58
Conclusion	61

Chapter 3—Religious experience and mysticism.....63

1. The turn to religious experience	63
2. Morling's embrace of religious experience	69
3. The question of Morling's mysticism.....	76
Conclusion	90

Chapter 4—The influence of religious movements.....91

1. The challenge of modernity	91
2. Liberalism	94

3. Neo-orthodoxy	98
4. Fundamentalism	100
5. The Quakers	105
6. The Keswick movement	110
Conclusion	118

Chapter 5—The influence of religious scholars 121

1. Key sources of influence.....	121
2. Persons of influence	123
a) Handley C. G. Moule	123
b) James Orr	127
c) Peter Taylor Forsyth	131
d) Augustus Hopkins Strong	134
e) Edgar Young Mullins.....	139
f) Bernard of Clairvaux.....	143
g) William Newton Clarke	143
h) Brooke Foss Westcott	143
i) Alfred Plummer	145
j) Burnett Hillman Streeter	146
k) W. H. Griffith Thomas.....	147
l) G. Campbell Morgan	148
m) Hugh Ross Mackintosh.....	149
n) H. Wheeler Robinson.....	150
o) Robert Murray M'Cheyne.....	152
p) Alexander Maclaren.....	152
q) Frederick Brotherton Meyer	154
r) Andrew Murray.....	155
s) Alexander Whyte	155
t) James Hudson Taylor.....	156
Conclusion	157

PART TWO—CONTENT

Chapter 6—Union with Christ 159

1. Use of the term among Baptists in Australia	159
2. Morling's use of the term.....	164
3. <i>The Quest for Serenity</i>	170
4. The biblical context.....	181
5. The historical and theological context	183
Conclusion	197

Chapter 7—God and revelation 199

1. How God is known	199
2. What God is like	202
a) Essential being.....	202
b) Three persons	203
c) Attributes.....	208
i) Holiness.....	210
ii) Spirituality.....	211
iii) Personality.....	211
iv) Life	211
v) Infinitude	212
vi) Omnipotence	213
vii) Impassibility.....	213
viii) Self-existence	213
d) God as Father	214
3. What God does.....	216
a) Decree.....	216
b) Providence	218
c) Revelation.....	223
Conclusion	227

Chapter 8—Creation and alienation..... 229

1. The doctrine of creation	229
2. The doctrine of humanity	230
a) Origin of humanity	231
b) Consciousness of self	231
c) Consciousness of God	232
d) Image of God.....	233
e) The human constitution.....	233
f) Suffering and death	234
3. The doctrine of sin and depravity	235
a) Nature of sin	236
b) Origin of sin	236
c) Temptation to sin.....	237
d) Effects of sin.....	238
Conclusion	241

Chapter 9—Christ and reconciliation..... 243

1. The doctrine of Christ	243
a) Morling's approach to Christology	243
b) The pre-existence of Christ	248
c) Christ and creation	249

d) The incarnation of Christ.....	250
e) Kenotic Christology	252
f) The humanity of Christ	254
g) The mission of Jesus	256
h) The suffering and death of Jesus	257
i) The resurrection, ascension and exaltation of Jesus.....	259
j) The present work of Christ.....	261
2. The doctrines of grace.....	263
a) Theories of the atonement	264
b) The order of salvation	269
c) Predestination	274
d) Election.....	275
e) Effectual calling	276
f) Conversion	276
g) Repentance	276
h) Faith.....	277
i) Regeneration.....	279
j) Justification	281
Conclusion	283
Chapter 10—Spirit and sanctification	285
1. Morling as a theologian of the Spirit	285
2. The Holy Spirit and experience	293
3. The Holy Spirit and indwelling.....	294
4. <i>Kenosis</i> of the Spirit.....	296
5. Baptism of the Spirit	298
6. The Holy Spirit and sanctification	301
Conclusion	307
Chapter 11—Church and consummation.....	309
1. The kingdom of God	309
2. The church.....	311
a) Nature of the church.....	311
b) Marks of the church.....	311
i) Unity.....	311
ii) Holiness.....	312
iii) Catholicity	313
iv) Apostolicity	314
v) Indestructibility	315
c) Membership and governance of the church	315
d) Ordinances of the church.....	317
e) Ministry of the church	319
i) Preaching.....	319

ii) Worship	320
iii) Fellowship	322
iv) Service.....	323
v) Mission.....	324
f) Union with Christ and ecclesiology	326
3. The last things	327
a) Morling, NSW Baptists and eschatology	327
b) Assurance	329
c) Judgment	333
d) <i>Parousia</i>	335
e) Glorification	337
f) Universalism.....	338
Conclusion	343
Chapter 12—Conclusion	345
Appendix 1: List of primary sources	349
Appendix 2: Documents referenced in primary sources	366
Appendix 3: Scripture index to primary sources	386
Appendix 4: Name index to primary sources	403
Appendix 5: Subject index to primary sources	411
Appendix 6: Name index to <i>The Quest for Serenity</i>	427
Appendix 7: Hymns and poems quoted in primary sources	429
Bibliography of cited sources	431

Preface

I am an ordained Baptist minister and was employed by Morling College from 2002 to 2014, firstly as a chaplain to Macquarie University, and then from 2004 as an ethicist and public theologian at Morling College's Tinsley Institute. I identify as an evangelical Christian and am a member of Thornleigh Community Baptist Church in Sydney. I researched and wrote this thesis in Lithgow and Pennant Hills on lands that supported the indigenous Wiradjuri, Gundungurra and Dharug people for millennia before their cultural and social life was disrupted by European invasion. I wish to acknowledge their elders – past, present and emerging – as the traditional owners of these lands.

The idea for the current research was prompted by observations arising from research for my Master of Theology dissertation, an analysis of NSW Baptist attitudes to social ethics. On completion of the exhaustive archival research required for the project, spanning the period 1834 to 2009, I was surprised to discover that the name G. H. Morling was entirely absent from primary sources relating to ethics and public affairs. Given his revered stature among Australian Baptists, and the evident activism on social issues of one kind or another evident throughout the movement's history, such absence suggested a need for further research into Morling's thought and writings to identify reasons for his silence. The present work is the fruit of this line of enquiry, though it is also much more. From little things big things grow.

At a time when many theological libraries, including Morling College Library, are reducing their holdings of historic print monographs, it was an immense pleasure to have access to the resources of the Donald Robinson Library at Moore Theological College, one on the world's great theological research libraries, where I have worked since 2017. The present work tells a better and a clearer story as a result.

I would like to express profound gratitude to my supervisors, Rev. Dr Ken Manley, Distinguished Professor of Church History at Whitley College, Melbourne, and Rev. Associate Professor Darrell Jackson, Dean of Research at Whitley College, for their wise, meticulous and patient advice, to the University of Divinity for the provision of excellent structures and processes enabling world-class higher degree research in theology, philosophy and ministry, and to my wife Emma Goodsir for her constant support and encouragement and for proofreading the dissertation with such care and enthusiasm. Any remaining errors, deficiencies, and infelicities of style are entirely my responsibility.

This work is dedicated to my parents, Walter Martin Benson and Marjorie Joan Benson (nee McCrindle), who first taught me about God.

Soli Deo gloria!

A note on style

On matters of style, three matters warrant clarification. First, I follow the conventions of *The Chicago Manual of Style* as most appropriate for the documentation of research in history and theology. When quoting from primary sources in the text, I generally describe the act of writing using the present tense since all research and artistic creations exist for the reader in an eternal present, whereas actions and natural phenomena are said to exist in the past.

Second, the research for this dissertation involved attention to hundreds of unclassified primary sources. I have arranged these in subject order and assigned each document a number. Due to the large number of citations of primary sources, these appear in the body of the text rather than in footnotes. To distinguish these citations from biblical references in the text, all references to primary sources have the prefix “doc” (e.g., “doc 147” indicates the entire text of that source; “doc 147:1” refers to text on page one of the source). Appendix 1 lists all primary documents; not all are cited in the text.

In quotations from primary sources, I have retained irregular spelling and obsolete conventions relating to gender specific terms. At times Morling’s handwriting is indecipherable. Where direct quotations from primary sources include such text, I have indicated this by inserting “[illegible]” in the text. Where I have transcribed a handwritten primary source, I have indexed the transcribed document.

Several primary sources bear close similarity to the text of volumes of Morling’s writings published by Rev. I. Bruce Thornton, one of Morling’s former students. Where possible I have cited the published version since this will be most accessible to readers. However, there are occasional transcription errors and other discrepancies in the published versions. For example, *The Incomparable Christ: Selected Scripture Studies*, compiled by one of Morling’s students from various primary documents, omits Morling’s seven-page “Introduction” to Luke’s Gospel (doc 52), pages 1-24a of his exposition of Luke (doc 53), the last three lines of page 59, almost all of page 60, and most of page 62. The large omissions are indexed separately.

Third, I have endeavoured to employ gender-neutral language throughout the text except when quoting directly from the sources, which frequently use gender-specific pronouns in relation to God.

Abbreviations

<i>AB</i>	<i>The Australian Baptist</i>
<i>BDE</i>	<i>Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals</i>
BUNSW	Baptist Union of New South Wales
<i>DBI</i>	<i>Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation</i>
<i>DCS</i>	<i>Dictionary of Christian Spirituality</i>
<i>DHT</i>	<i>Dictionary of Historical Theology</i>
<i>DMBI</i>	<i>Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters</i>
<i>EDT</i>	<i>Evangelical Dictionary of Theology</i> (third edition)
KCC	Katoomba Christian Convention
<i>NIDCC</i>	<i>New International Dictionary of the Christian Church</i>
NSW	New South Wales
<i>NWDCS</i>	<i>New Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality</i>
<i>QFS</i>	<i>The Quest for Serenity</i>
SBTS	Southern Baptist Theological Seminary

Chapter 1—The ‘mystic’ theologian

This chapter outlines the rationale for the present study. It introduces G. H. Morling (1891–1974), indicates his credentials as a theologian, suggests reasons for analysing his theology, discusses sources, and situates Morling in an evangelical and Baptist context.

1. Why study Morling’s theology?

The term “mystic” is seldom associated with the principals of Baptist theological colleges. Australian-born George Henry Morling is an exception. Described in 1922 as “small and spare with the face of a mystic,”¹ Morling taught at the Baptist Theological College of New South Wales from 1921, serving as Principal from 1922 until his retirement in 1960.² The College was founded in 1916. Throughout his principalship, Morling promoted an exegetical approach to theology, and embraced a conservative evangelical stance emphasising the Holy Spirit and union with Christ. In addition to teaching several generations of theological students, Morling engaged in a wide preaching ministry in Australia and elsewhere including India, New Zealand, and New Guinea. He wrote hundreds of devotional and expository articles and booklets for general readers. In 1951, he published a guide to Christian spiritual

¹ *The Australian Baptist* (hereafter *AB*), 1 March 1922, 7.

² Alan Prior, *Some Fell on Good Ground: A History of the Beginnings and Development of the Baptist Church in New South Wales, Australia, 1931-1965* (Sydney: Baptist Union of NSW, 1966), 234.

formation titled *The Quest for Serenity*.³ At his memorial service in 1974, the President of the Baptist Union of NSW, Rev. Egerton Long, reportedly claimed, “We are in the evangelical stream today largely because of Principal G. H. Morling.”⁴ In 1985, the college was renamed Morling College in his honour.⁵

The passing of time often weakens or reframes a leader’s legacy. For example, regarding Spurgeon’s College, London, British Baptist historian David W. Bebbington observed that important administrative changes were implemented following Spurgeon’s death in 1892, such that “Very little of the founder’s social vision [. . .] survived, and even less of his educational approach.” Spurgeon’s conservative theological stance, however, continued and graduates of his college “ensured that the Baptists of Britain, unlike the Methodists or Congregationalists, remained preponderantly evangelical in the later twentieth century.”⁶ Morling’s legacy followed a similar path. Little of his mystical vision endured, but the college retained its evangelical identity and many graduates sought to amplify its theologically conservative ethos.

Some Australian church historians note the significance of Morling’s legacy. In 1994, historian Stuart Piggin identified Morling as one of several “tall poppies” worthy of further study.⁷ In 2006, church historian Ken Manley argued that that Morling was “a cohesive

³ G. H. Morling, *The Quest for Serenity* (Sydney: Young & Morling, 1951; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965; revised edition: Macquarie Park, NSW: Morling Press, 2002). Hereafter *QFS*.

⁴ E. Ron Rogers (ed.), *George Henry Morling: The Man and His Message for Today* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 1995; repr. Forest Lodge, NSW: Greenwood Press, 2011), 165.

⁵ The College is now located at 122 Herring Rd, Macquarie Park, Sydney; see <https://www.morling.edu.au>.

⁶ David W. Bebbington, “Spurgeon and British evangelical theological education,” in Darryl G. Hart & Albert Mohler, Jr., *Theological Education in the Evangelical Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1996), 234.

⁷ Stuart Piggin, “The American and British contributions to evangelicalism in Australia,” in Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington & George A. Rawlyk (eds), *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies of Popular*

figure of almost incalculable importance for Baptists in New South Wales.”⁸ There is, however, no sustained scholarly analysis of his theology or spirituality. Morling’s name is revered, but the nature of his spirituality is scarcely known and his theological contribution to church life is poorly understood. The present work seeks to address these gaps in knowledge.

There are at least four reasons why such analysis is needed. First, it would fill a significant gap in evangelical theology and history. Much of Morling’s work remains in unpublished form in Australian libraries and archives, and in the pages of *The Australian Baptist*, the weekly denominational newspaper (hereafter *AB*). Denominational and administrative pressure prevented Morling from publishing academic works. The College was controlled by a denominational elite dominated at times by fundamentalist impulses and wary of higher learning.⁹ Morling’s moderate evangelicalism and love of learning offered a mediating influence. The present work seeks to identify Morling’s distinctive contribution to Australian evangelical history, providing a basis for future research.¹⁰

Second, most commentary on Morling is popular biography tending to hagiography. The present work instead critically analyses Morling’s Christian thought based on extant primary documents. It is not a biography, and the methods of biography have not been used. Some structure is required to bring order to the varied and disparate sources. Systematic theology,

Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1900 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 306, n14.

⁸ Ken R. Manley, *From Woolloomooloo to ‘Eternity’: A History of Australian Baptists. Volume 2: A National Church in a Global Community (1914-2005)* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press, 2006), 488.

⁹ John D. Bollen, *Australian Baptists: A Religious Minority* (London: Baptist Historical Society, 1975), 54, n222. Morling’s predecessor, Alexander Gordon, resigned from the principalship in part due to opposition to Gordon’s encouragement of college students to pursue university qualifications.

¹⁰ For this dissertation, all extant primary documents were assigned numbers and indexed by Scripture reference, name and subject. These appear as Appendices 1-4.

despite its contested status in the academy, offers a suitable structure. Systematic theology may be defined as “the articulation of the truth claims of Christianity, with an eye to their internal consistency, on the one hand; and, on the other, to their coherence with Scripture, the Christian tradition and other truth – philosophical, scientific, moral and artistic.”¹¹ A constructive systematic analysis will clarify Morling’s Christian thought for future researchers on Morling and those wishing to engage in comparative studies.

Third, Morling’s antipodean location renders him a potential outlier candidate for identification as a “hinterland theologian,” a term popularised by theologian and church historian Alan P. F. Sell. Accidents of birth and opportunity are not valid reasons to ignore theologians. Theological gatekeepers should critically attend to all who engage in intellectual reflection on the content of Christian faith and seek to illuminate such faith, offer distinctive theological insights from particular geographical, cultural and temporal locations, and challenge prevailing perspectives and practices. Sell’s project attracted criticism on the ground that the ten dissenting theologians with whom he engaged in his major study were “accurately placed in the hinterland because they are second-rate thinkers.”¹² He responds:

No doubt they did not gather schools of disciples around them; they did not hit the headlines with sensational new theories; their published offerings would not sit easily alongside the inconsequential imaginations, mystical musings or ideological idolatries of some [religious authors] [...] On account of none of these ‘deficiencies’ need they be denied a fresh hearing. Each is stimulating in his own way and [. . .] they have questions to pose to, and gauntlets to throw down before, present-day toilers in the theological field.¹³

¹¹ Colin E. Gunton, *Theology Through the Theologians: Selected Essays, 1972-1995* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 5.

¹² Alan P. F. Sell, *Hinterland Theology: A Stimulus to Theological Construction* (Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2008), 6.

¹³ Sell, *Hinterland Theology*, 6.

The same arguments may be applied to theologians who have laboured in other contexts, including the “global south.” This dissertation considers Morling as a “hinterland theologian,” a significant Australian voice within a global conversation, whose perspectives on biblical and theological themes deserve consideration.

Finally, Morling’s emphasis on union with Christ and the work of the Holy Spirit opens a space for constructive dialogue, including what Pentecostal theologian Amos Yong calls “renewal studies” and “renewalist historiography.”¹⁴ A comprehensive account of Morling’s theology and a critical analysis of his leading themes will pave the way for further work on the theology of spiritual renewal including comparative studies and the history of ideas. Such work cannot proceed until Morling’s distinctive approach to doctrine and experience is clarified, the content and emphases of his Christian thought analysed, and his contribution to the global conversation assessed. This dissertation pursues these tasks.

2. Sources referring to Morling

Most commentary on Morling is brief. There is no critical biography, and no sustained scholarly treatment of his theology or spirituality. However, his prominence as an Australian Baptist leader, and his long tenure as principal of the theological college which now bears his name, generated a wide range of sources for future study. These include published documents and unpublished sources such as College records, articles in denominational papers, minutes of meetings and related documents.

¹⁴ Amos Yong, “Conclusion,” in Dale M. Coulter & Amos Yong (eds), *The Spirit, the Affections and the Christian Tradition* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2016), 293-302. Yong argues that spiritual renewal may be “deployed as a historiographical lens for Christian history and thought” (p. 293).

Much of the secondary material written since Morling's death in 1974 draws on an unpublished account of Morling's life and work compiled by his friend and colleague, Eric Ron Rogers (1922—2008), principal of the College from 1974 to 1987.¹⁵ In 1995, Rogers published an abridged version of this manuscript along with transcripts of selected lectures and addresses by Morling and others.¹⁶ In 2014, the NSW Baptist Archivist, John Stanhope, published a revised and edited version of the original manuscript, adding 1,344 endnotes documenting print sources.¹⁷ Further, *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography*, the *Twentieth-Century Dictionary of Christian Biography*, and the *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals* each contain brief entries on Morling, based largely on the 1988 Rogers document.¹⁸

There are other notable secondary sources. In 1966, the NSW Baptist minister Alan C. Prior (1910-1996) published a centenary history of his denomination, to which Morling contributed an introduction. Prior claims that the essential qualities of the Baptist movement found “personification and advocacy” in Morling and acknowledges Morling's central role in the development of the College.¹⁹ In 2003, one of Morling's students, David R. Nicholas,

¹⁵ E. Ron Rogers & Lorna Ollif, “Our Beloved Principal, The Rev. George Henry Morling OBE, MA,” unpublished manuscript, Baptist Archives of NSW, 1988.

¹⁶ Rogers (ed.), *George Henry Morling*.

¹⁷ E. Ron Rogers, *George Henry Morling, ‘Our Beloved Principal’: A Definitive Biography* (rev. & ed. John M. Stanhope; Macquarie Park: Greenwood Press, 2014).

¹⁸ E. Ron Rogers, “Morling, George Henry,” in Brian Dickey (ed.), *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography* (Sydney: Evangelical History Association, 1994), 267-268; *idem.*, “Morling, G(eorge) H(enry) (1891-1974),” in J. D. Douglas (ed.), *Twentieth-Century Dictionary of Christian Biography* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1995), 261; Graeme R. Chatfield, “Morling, George Henry,” in Timothy Larsen *et al* (eds), *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals* (Leicester: IVP, 2003), 444-446. See also Mark Hutchinson & I. Bruce Thornton, “Morling, George Henry,” in *Religion Past and Present Online* (fourth edition; Leiden: Brill, 2011), available online at DOI 10.1163/1877-5888_rrp.sim14483 (which mistakenly claims that Morling taught at the Baptist College of Victoria “from 1915”).

¹⁹ Prior, *Some Fell on Good Ground*, 136, 216, 233-237.

published a small book, *Because of Morling*, reflecting on the principal's spiritual development and influence, experience of grief and loss, mysticism, preaching, personality and family life, and teaching on the Holy Spirit. The book includes the text of tributes made on Morling's retirement and death.²⁰ Nicholas's work is informative and uncritical.

Ken Manley's magisterial history of Baptists in Australia displays several references to Morling, focusing on College developments including staff, curriculum, enrolments and relocations, and the impact of Pentecostalism on Baptist churches in Australia.²¹ Manley comments on Morling's theological emphases, vision for the College, advocacy of "Keswick teaching," personality traits, and chronic ill health.²² Numerous Baptist periodical articles contain edited transcripts of addresses made at significant events in Morling's life and in the life of the College and denomination (e.g., doc 211; 212; 216; 220; 222; and 234).²³ In 2015, former Morling College principal, Rev. Dr Victor J. Eldridge, published a centenary history of Morling College. Commenting on Morling's time as Principal, Eldridge discusses issues such as property developments, curriculum, student life, staffing, the College ethos, and church politics.²⁴ He does not discuss Morling's theology.

In 2009, American Baptist theologian James Leo Garrett published a history of Baptist theology, noting that Morling

²⁰ David R. Nicholas, *Because of Morling* (Sydney: privately published, 2003); repr. as *George Henry Morling: Journeys with God* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2010).

²¹ Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 488-491, 567-571, 708-711.

²² Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 489-491.

²³ For all references to primary documents see Appendix 1.

²⁴ Victor J. Eldridge, *For the Highest: A History of Morling College* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society, 2015).

emphasized that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of Christ, that ‘the baptism of the Spirit’ occurs at conversion, that there is a contemporary gift of healing but not all are healed, that the gift of tongues, not given to all believers in the apostolic era, is to be treated today as it was in the New Testament era, and that, having lost the fullness of the Spirit by resisting, grieving, or quenching the Spirit, believers are repeatedly to seek to be filled by the Spirit.²⁵

The academic study, *Baptists in Australia*, by Philip J. Hughes and Darren Cronshaw, includes biographies of 14 Australian Baptist leaders regarded as influential but does not mention Morling.²⁶

Beyond the Baptist movement there are few references to Morling. In 1975, historian John David Bollen published an account of the history of Baptists in Australia. He includes half a page of commentary on Baptist theological education in NSW but without referring to Morling, but adds in an endnote that Morling’s “peaceful forty-year” principalship neither challenged nor altered the course of NSW Baptist history.²⁷ In his history of the college, Eldridge regards these judgments as misinformed, arguing that much of Morling’s contribution to his denomination was in the quality of his life and that in another denomination he would be a potential candidate for canonisation.²⁸

Historian Arthur Deane mentions Morling once in his thesis on Australian evangelicalism from 1870 to 1920.²⁹ A history of the evangelical student ministry in Australia published in

²⁵ James Leo Garrett, *Baptist Theology: A Four-Century Study* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2009), 645.

²⁶ Philip J. Hughes & Darren Cronshaw, *Baptists in Australia: A Church with a Heritage and a Future* (Nunawading, Vic.: Christian Research Association, 2013), 59-72.

²⁷ Bollen, *Australian Baptists: A Religious Minority*, 42, 57 n255.

²⁸ Eldridge, *For the Highest*, 142.

²⁹ Arthur Davidson Deane, “The contribution of the new evangelical movements of the late nineteenth century to evangelical enterprise in Australia, 1870-1920,” Master of Arts thesis, University of Sydney, 1983, 35.

1987 also mentions him once.³⁰ Stuart Piggin refers to Morling in a 1989 article analysing Australian Anglican evangelicalism:

The period from 1920 to 1940 represents the fundamentalist decades of world evangelicalism. In Sydney, clerical Presbyterianism, Methodism, and Congregationalism surrendered to the forces of modernism brilliantly led by a Presbyterian divinity professor, Samuel Angus. The Baptist ministry was saved by G. H. Morling, foundation [sic] principal of the Baptist Theological College, and a close personal friend of Archbishop Mowll.³¹

In his centenary history of the Katoomba Christian Convention, an annual Keswick-style event, historian Stuart Braga refers to Morling as a frequent convention speaker and long term KCC Council member.³² A history of the Sydney University Christian Union published in 2005 has two brief mentions of Morling.³³ In his history of Sydney Anglican evangelicalism, church historian John A. McIntosh mentions Morling once, with C. H. Nash, regarding support given to Moore Theological College Principal T. C. Hammond's refutation of the doctrine of sinless perfection.³⁴

In their history of evangelical Christianity in Australia, Stuart Piggin and fellow historian Robert D. Linder include five references to Morling. All are incidental apart from the first,

³⁰ John & Moyra Prince, *Out of the Tower* (Homebush West, NSW: ANZEA, 1987), 17.

³¹ Stuart Piggin, "'Not a little holy club': Lay and clerical leadership in Australian Anglican evangelicalism, 1788-1988," *Studies in Church History* 26, 1989, 378.

³² Stuart Braga, *A Century Preaching Christ: Katoomba Christian Convention 1903-2003* (Sydney: KCC, 2003), 65. On the history of the Katoomba Convention see also Stuart Braga, "The Katoomba Christian Convention," *Lucas* 1 (new series), Autumn 2009, 121-138.

³³ Meredith Lake, *Proclaiming Jesus Christ as Lord: A History of the Sydney University Christian Union* (Sydney: EU Graduates Fund, 2005), 23, 26.

³⁴ John A. McIntosh, *Anglican Evangelicalism in Sydney 1897 to 1953: Nathaniel Jones, D. J. Davies and T. C. Hammond* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2018), 7.

where they note that Morling seemed a strange choice as an ecclesial warrior against liberalism:

By nature eirenic and moderate, Morling was probably forced to commit himself and the college more peremptorily to a conservative view of biblical inspiration than he might otherwise have done [. . .]

Morling was not primarily an apologist or controversialist. He was an exegete and homilist who thought that the best defence of the Bible was to teach it exegetically and experimentally in conventions, in his Thursday night Bible School in which up to 200 people of all denominations enrolled, and in the pages of the *Australian Baptist* where he conducted the Australian Baptist Bible School for a decade.³⁵

In various accounts of aspects of Australian church history, Morling appears largely on the fringes of the evangelical stage, a minor figure among the major players. Eldridge's perspective proves an exception to the general rule.

There are also sources which notably do not mention Morling. Historian Ian Breward does not mention Morling in his 1993 history of the Australian churches.³⁶ Nor does a 2003 survey of nonconformist biblical scholarship in the twentieth century in which Baptists prominently feature.³⁷ Baptist historian William H. Brackney (b. 1948) has no mention of Morling in his history of Baptist thought, but highlights a significant theological omission which ironically demonstrates the value of Morling's contribution to pneumatology:

Baptists seem not to have a clear perception of the Holy Spirit, pointing essentially to his role as teacher, guide to Christ, and source of gifts in the

³⁵ Stuart Piggin & Robert D. Linder, *Attending to the National Soul: Evangelical Christians in Australian History 1914-2014* (Clayton, Vic.: Monash University Publishing, 2020), 140f. On the "Angus controversy," see Alan Abernathy Douglas, *A Backward Glance at the Angus Affair* (Sydney: Wentworth Books, 1971).

³⁶ Ian Breward, *A History of the Australian Churches* (Sydney: Allen & Unwin, 1993).

³⁷ John T. Williams, "The contribution of Nonconformists to biblical scholarship in the twentieth century," in Alan P. F. Sell & Anthony R. Cross (eds), *Protestant Nonconformity in the Twentieth Century* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 2003), 1-32.

Church. The Holy Spirit's role in evangelism, sanctification, and empowerment of believers was developed by other evangelical groups and entered Baptist thought in a limited way through writers like A. J. Gordon and Clark Pinnock and schools of thought that resulted from such movements as the Keswick and Northfield meetings.³⁸

The present author's unpublished dissertation on the history of NSW Baptist social ethics likewise does not mention Morling, a silence which led to the current research.³⁹ An article on Baptist pneumatological publications by George Hancock-Stefan does not include Morling but reiterates a claim by theologian Fred Sanders that, in a list of pneumatological works from the fourth to the twentieth century, there is no Baptist author.⁴⁰ Morling is not mentioned in Timothy George and David Dockery's book, *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition*,⁴¹ nor in James E. Tull, *Shapers of Baptist Thought*.⁴² Other material on Baptist history, identity, theology and spirituality provides contextual background to Morling's life and work, but there are no other mentions of him in the literature.⁴³ This is the extent of known published references to Morling's life and witness.

³⁸ William H. Brackney, *A Genetic History of Baptist Thought with Special Reference to Britain and North America* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2004), 529.

³⁹ See Rod Benson, "Between 'selectively shrill and conspicuously mute': NSW Baptist engagement with social issues 1895-1945," unpublished research paper, 2006; "On moral mission: Evangelicalism, NSW Baptists and the question of social responsibility," in Graeme Chatfield (ed.), *Mission: The Heart of Baptist Identity* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Morling Press, 2009), 117-137; and "Aspects of social responsibility among Baptists in New South Wales 1834-2009," Master of Theology thesis, Australian College of Theology, 2010.

⁴⁰ George Hancock-Stefan, "Fifty years of Baptist pneumatological publications (1960-2010)," *American Baptist Quarterly* 31 (2), Summer 2012, 163-178. For Sanders's original comment see Fred Sanders, "Here comes Pentecost: Good Books on the Holy Spirit," *Patheos*, 12 June 2011, <http://patheos.com/blogs/scriptorium/2011/06/here-comes-pentecost-good-books-on-the-holy-spirit/>, accessed 11 March 2018.

⁴¹ Timothy George & David S. Dockery (eds), *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition* (revised edition; Nashville: B&H Publishing, 2001).

⁴² James E. Tull, *Shapers of Baptist Thought* (1972; repr. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2000).

⁴³ See, e.g., David Bebbington & David C. Jones (eds), *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism in the United Kingdom in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013); Henry Cook, *What Baptists Stand For* (second edition; London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1953); Stephen R. Holmes, *Baptist Theology* (London: T&T Clark, 2012); *idem.*, "Beyond a bath and a book: Baptist theological commitments," *Pacific*

3. Sources produced by Morling

Morling wrote no systematic theological treatise and did not engage in regular academic publishing. It was rare, during his tenure, for Australian biblical or theological scholarship to gain an international reputation. Few texts reference Morling and fewer still cite his writings. However, he left a large repository of primary documents, a list of which appears in Appendix 1. These documents are rich in content but present three challenges which the dissertation seeks to resolve. The first challenge is to identify those texts which directly or indirectly relate to systematic theology. A second challenge is to interpret these texts in their context and in the light of the witness of the entire collection. A third challenge is to identify the original source of direct quotations, references and allusions in the documents, since Morling rarely uses citation and seldom identifies quotations. In some cases, this has proved impossible.

Morling possessed a definite theological vision, followed a consistent theological method, and wrote and spoke prolifically on theological and spiritual topics. His writings may be organised in a systematic manner, demonstrating the coherence of his theology, and inviting critical appraisal and comparison. Two recent papers by the present author explore the field.⁴⁴ The present work builds on this earlier work, examining the primary sources to elicit themes and emphases. Many sources are undated, and many appear to have been typed from handwritten manuscripts since Morling's death in 1974. For example, occasional words rendered in biblical Greek script are misconstrued, errors which Morling is unlikely to have

Journal of Baptist Research 9 (2), November 2014, 11-24; Ernest A. Payne, *The Fellowship of Believers: Baptist Thought and Practice Yesterday and Today* (second edition; London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1952); and Ian M. Randall, "Baptist Spirituality," in Philip Sheldrake (ed.), *New Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 142-144.

⁴⁴ Rod Benson, "George Henry Morling and the *ordo salutis*," *The Baptist Recorder* 135, November 2016, 6-8; and "The Quest for Serenity and union with Christ," *The Baptist Recorder* 136, February 2017, 1-7.

left uncorrected. Due to space constraints, the dissertation does not analyse Morling's lecture notes on philosophy, ethics or church history, nor his two exercise books of handwritten quotations used for preparing addresses, although these warrant attention by future researchers.

Theologian Timothy George suggests that a major task of evangelical theologians "to help the church distinguish between evangelical essentials and matters of tolerable diversity in the realm of doctrine."⁴⁵ This Morling sought to do in a denomination shaped by independence, individualism and fundamentalist controversy. The analysis presented in this dissertation indicates the degree to which Morling was successful in accomplishing the task, and opens the way for further studies, including comparative studies, of his theology and spirituality.

4. Historical method, history, and theology

This dissertation is informed by a critical realist stance.⁴⁶ It accepts that history writing is a constructive and subjective practice shaped by social, political, cultural and religious commitments. It recognises that historiography is "one important thread in the multi-stranded cord through which Christianity strives to affirm its coherence and integrity and clarify its self-understanding."⁴⁷ It also takes seriously David Bebbington's call for "making space for

⁴⁵ Timothy George, "James Petigru Boyce," in George and Dockery (eds), *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition*, 86.

⁴⁶ On critical realism see Roy Bhaskar, *The Possibility of Naturalism* (London: Routledge, 1998); Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (second edition; Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984); Alistair McGrath, *The Foundations of Dialogue in Science and Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998); Thomas F. Torrance, *Reality and Scientific Theology* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1985); W. van Huyssteen, "Experience and explanation: The justification of cognitive claims in theology," *Zygon* 23, 1988, 247-261; and Andrew Wright, *Christianity and Critical Realism: Ambiguity, Truth and Theological Literacy* (London: Routledge, 2013).

⁴⁷ Wright, *Christianity and Critical Realism*, 239.

faith” in history writing, since religion, especially in its intellectual aspect, has seemed marginal to historiography for much of the past half-century.⁴⁸

The research for this dissertation, relying largely on primary documents available in libraries and archives, is informed by three methodological assumptions. First, documents are situated products.⁴⁹ They do not exist in a vacuum but are produced, selected and preserved by individuals and groups whose actions have aims and motives.⁵⁰ They present images of reality specific to, and situated in, a socio-historic context.⁵¹ Second, documents are social products: while historic documents possess certain conditions of existence, they also form intended and unintended audiences.⁵² Documents may be perceived and received by readers in diverse and potentially contradictory ways. Third, documents are active agents,⁵³ creating and conveying meaning, shaping and interpreting the ways in which humans negotiate their social worlds. Moreover, “as the coherence of reality is arguably dependent in part on its human linguistic component, we do more than reach through our images and concepts to grasp worldly reality; we also arguably help to shape that reality with our descriptions, for all that they are partial and distorted.”⁵⁴ Noting these assumptions, the present work undertakes a comprehensive

⁴⁸ David W. Bebbington, “The discipline of history and the perspective of faith since 1900,” in Roger Lundin (ed.), *Christ Across the Disciplines: Past, Present, Future* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 24.

⁴⁹ John C. Scott, *A Matter of Record: Documentary Sources in Social Research* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990), 34.

⁵⁰ Grace Davie & David Wyatt, “Document analysis,” in Michael Stausbery & Steven Engler, *The Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in the Study of Religion* (London: Routledge, 2011), 151-160.

⁵¹ Scott, *A Matter of Record*, 34.

⁵² Lindsay Prior, *Using Documents in Social Research* (London: Sage, 2003).

⁵³ Prior, *Using Documents*.

⁵⁴ Sue Patterson, *Realist Christian Theology in a Postmodern Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 32.

analysis of primary sources to provide reliable and persuasive responses to the research question relating to the nature and content of Morling's theology and spirituality.

Morling identified as a Baptist and an evangelical Protestant, "the most powerful Christian tradition brought by the first white settlers to Australia in 1788, and a tradition which remained creative, energetic, dedicated to self-propagation and the transformation of Australian society through the next two centuries."⁵⁵ David Bebbington identifies four essential qualities of evangelicalism: *conversionism*, the belief that human lives need to be changed; *activism*, the expression of the gospel in effort; *biblicism*, a particular regard for the gospel; and *crucicentrism*, a stress on the sacrifice of Christ on the cross.⁵⁶

These qualities continue to shape evangelical identity today, in many cultures, but the evangelical movement of Morling's time and place was characterised more narrowly by the primacy of Scripture for determining issues of faith and conduct, by the centrality of the substitutionary death and physical resurrection of Christ, by the priority of evangelism and Christian mission, by the necessity of personal conversion to Christ, by an expectation of personal transformation through discipleship, and by the importance of fellowship with other Christians.⁵⁷ These doctrinal qualities, along with the earlier mentioned Baptist qualities, profoundly shaped Morling's professional and personal life. Yet, evangelicalism is perhaps

⁵⁵ Brian Dickey, "Introduction," in Brian Dickey (ed.), *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography* (Sydney: Evangelical History Association, 1994), v.

⁵⁶ David W. Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1989), 5-17.

⁵⁷ See Benson, "Aspects of social responsibility," 7-14. See also Deane, "The contribution of the new evangelical movements"; David Parker, "The future of Australia's evangelical heritage," *Interchange* 44, 1988, 30-40; Stuart Piggin, "The role of Baptists in the history of Australian evangelicalism," *Lucas* 11, April 1991, 5-27; and *idem.*, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, Word and World* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996).

best understood in terms of its distinctive spirituality rather than doctrinal distinctives.⁵⁸ The subject of this dissertation illustrates Grenz's point.

On the history and theology of evangelicalism during Morling's lifetime, Ian Randall's book, *What a Friend We Have in Jesus*, is worthy of note in addition to Bebbington's seminal work, as are the volumes by Geoffrey Treloar and Brian Stanley in a five-volume history of the movement.⁵⁹ On the history of evangelicalism in Sydney, especially after 1936 when Thomas C. Hammond (1877-1961) arrived as principal of Moore Theological College, the influence of the Anglican Diocese of Sydney is significant.⁶⁰ Stuart Piggin observes, "most Australian evangelicals measure themselves or contrast themselves with or react to evangelical Anglicans especially of the Sydney variety."⁶¹

Baptists are children of the Radical Reformation, but to a large extent they share this inheritance with Mennonites and other dissenting faith communities.⁶² Morling recognised a similar family resemblance between Baptists and Quakers (the Society of Friends). He was, however, baptistic in his convictions. Undergirding the discussion of Morling's theology and its context in twentieth-century Sydney is a large body of research on Baptist history and

⁵⁸ Stanley J. Grenz, *Revisioning Evangelical Theology* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1993), 58.

⁵⁹ Ian M. Randall, *What a Friend We Have in Jesus: The Evangelical Tradition* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2005); Geoffrey R. Treloar, *The Disruption of Evangelicalism: The Age of Torrey, Mott, McPherson and Hammond* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2017); and Brian Stanley, *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Billy Graham and John Stott* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2013).

⁶⁰ On Sydney Anglicans see Bruce Ballantyne-Jones, *Inside Sydney: An Insider's View of the Changes and Politics in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney, 1966-2013* (privately published, 2016); Tom Frame, *Anglicans in Australia* (Sydney: University of NSW Press, 2007); Michael P. Jensen, *Sydney Anglicanism: An Apology* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2012); Stephen Judd & Kenneth Cable, *Sydney Anglicans: A History of the Diocese* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1987); Muriel Porter, *The New Puritans: The Rise of Fundamentalism in the Anglican Church* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2006).

⁶¹ Piggin, "The role of Baptists," 11.

⁶² Paul S. Fiddes, *Tracks and Traces: Baptist Identity in Church and Theology* (Bletchley, UK: Paternoster Press, 2003), 230.

identity, largely from American perspectives, which informs the Australian Baptist experience.⁶³ As noted above, publications on the Australian context include David Bollen's *Australian Baptists: A Religious Minority*,⁶⁴ *Australian Baptists Past and Present*, edited by Ken Manley and Michael Petras,⁶⁵ Manley's *From Woolloomooloo to 'Eternity': A History of Australian Baptists*,⁶⁶ a collection of essays edited by Graeme Chatfield, *Mission: The Heart of Baptist Identity*,⁶⁷ and a collection of essays edited by Frank Rees, *Baptist Identity into the 21st Century: Essays in Honour of Ken Manley*.⁶⁸

Historically, Baptist theologians working in Australia have rarely commanded attention outside their regional context. Moreover, Morling's teaching duties, especially in the first half of his principalship, coupled with his demanding public speaking schedule often involving considerable travel, made it difficult to write for publication. Nevertheless, the range and

⁶³ On Baptists see William H. Brackney, *Baptist Life and Thought: 1600-1980* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1983); Brackney, *Genetic History*, *op. cit.*; Paul Beasley-Murray, *Radical Believers: The Baptist Way of Being the Church* (London: Baptist Historical Society, 1983); David W. Bebbington, *Baptists Through the Centuries: A History of a Global People* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2010); K. W. Clements (ed.), *Baptists in the Twentieth Century* (London: Baptist Historical Society, 1983); John Clifford (ed.), *The English Baptists: Who They Are and What They Have Done* (London: E. Marlborough & Co., 1881); Fiddes, *Tracks and Traces*, *op. cit.*; James Leo Garrett (ed.), *We Baptists* (Franklin, TN: Providence House Publishers, 1999); Bill J. Leonard, *Baptist Ways: A History* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 2003); Leon McBeth, *The Baptist Heritage: Four Centuries of Witness* (Nashville, TN: Broadman Press, 1987); E. F. Lyon, *What Baptists Believe: The Great Doctrines of Our Faith* (Sydney: Australian Baptist Publishing House, 1947); H. Wheeler Robinson, *The Life and Faith of the Baptists* (second edition; London: Kingsgate Press, 1946); Peter Shepherd, *The Making of a Modern Denomination: John Howard Shakespeare and the English Baptists, 1898-1924* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2001); Walter B. Shurden, *The Baptist Identity: Four Fragile Freedoms* (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys Publishing, 1993); Robert G. Torbet, *A History of the Baptists* (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1950); A. C. Underwood, *A History of the English Baptists* (London: Kingsgate Press, 1947); and B. R. White, *The English Separatist Tradition* (Oxford, 1971).

⁶⁴ London: Baptist Historical Society, 1975.

⁶⁵ Eastwood, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 1981.

⁶⁶ Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, *op. cit.*

⁶⁷ Macquarie Park, NSW: Morling Press, 2009.

⁶⁸ Parkville, Vic.: Whitley College, 2016.

depth of primary sources, including detailed lecture notes, provide sufficient material to construct a systematised account of Morling's theology and to explore its key features.

Conclusion

This chapter has introduced the leading themes of the present work and discussed the secondary literature. The following chapters situate Morling in his social, cultural and religious context, and illuminate the nature of his spirituality. They identify Morling's distinctive contribution to Australian Baptist theology and explore the extent to which Morling was successful in distinguishing between doctrinal essentials and matters of tolerable diversity. Chapters 2-5 will lay the groundwork for constructing a systematic account of Morling's theology, examining formative influences on his spirituality and vocation as a theological teacher, the place of experience in his theologising, and three major influences which helped to shape his theology.

Chapter 2—Formation of an evangelical scholar

This chapter discusses Morling's family and childhood experiences, his education and early ministry, the religious ethos of the period, his secular academic studies, and the place of Scripture, experience, and mysticism in his thought. This forms a foundation for later examining Morling's mature theology.

1. Family of origin and early formative experiences

From the 1920s to the 1970s, the Baptist movement in New South Wales was shaped by the so-called “glorious trinity” of John Gotch Ridley (1896-1976), the archetypal evangelist, Charles James Tinsley (1896-1960), the archetypal pastor, and George Henry Morling, the archetypal college principal.¹ Each of these figures warrants scholarly investigation. This dissertation examines Morling's theology; his biography is summarised elsewhere.²

Born in Sydney on 21 November 1891, Morling was the third child of Charles Ablett Morling and Annie Hillman who separately sailed from London to Sydney with their families in the early 1880s.³ Charles had unsuccessfully sought entry to Spurgeon's College and

¹ Piggin, “The role of Baptists,” 14.

² Principally in Nicholas, *Journeys with God*; Rogers, *George Henry Morling*; and Eldridge, *For the Highest*.

³ The two older children were Ethel and William; a fourth child, Thomas Ablett, died before his first birthday.

emigrated on medical advice.⁴ The couple was married by Rev. J. A. Soper, a graduate of Spurgeon's College, at Sydney's Petersham Baptist Church on 6 April 1885. Charles, a grocery merchant, was one of 16 foundation members of the church, a godly man with "a capable grasp of biblical truths and a well-ordered theological mind."⁵ The recently established Ashfield Baptist Church erected a permanent building across the road from the Morling residence at the corner of Arthur and Holden Streets; this became the family church.

Annie Hillman, born in Brighton, England, was orphaned in early childhood and raised "in an atmosphere of harsh repression (doc 212)." At the age of 23, she was baptised at Queen's Square Baptist Church in Brighton by Rev. J. S. Geale, also a graduate of Spurgeon's College. She met Charles when he was stationed at Brighton as a colporteur. An obituary describes her piety as "not of the cloistered type, neither was it of the public or aggressive order, but it found its sphere in the twin circles of her home and her church."⁶ Later College Principal B. G. Wright described the family home environment as "simple, austere, strong in the high strict ethic of the Baptist faith."⁷

As a child, George exhibited "nervousness," irrational fears, and a speech impediment (doc 215). Reflecting on these juvenile challenges in 1951, he writes:

I carried from childhood into riper years a legacy of nervous weakness. In early years I was beset by debilitating fears. There were the usual distresses associated with a highly sensitive nature; and there were others beyond the ordinary. I had eerie experiences of going off into nothingness which filled nights with dread [. . .] I emerged into normal physically healthy youth and

⁴ Nicholas, *Journeys with God*, 5.

⁵ Nicholas, *Journeys with God*, 5.

⁶ Nicholas, *Journeys with God*, 5.

⁷ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 10.

manhood and tendencies to nervous imbalance remained. Life education for me has meant largely the control and correction of these elements of my inheritance.⁸

In his teenage years, George Morling's pastor was Rev. Fred Hibberd (c.1836-1908), the first graduate of Spurgeon's College to arrive in Australia, lauded as "father of the NSW Baptist Union." His successor, Rev. W. Montague Cartwright (1878-1928), also a graduate of Spurgeon's College, was another significant influence. In 1908, Cartwright was the youngest ever President of the Baptist Union of NSW. Under Cartwright's ministry, encouraged by a lay Sunday School teacher, Thomas Henry Vaughan, Morling professed evangelical conversion at the age of 17, was baptised by immersion, and on 29 July 1909 was admitted to church membership at Ashfield.⁹ In 1910, the family moved to Concord and transferred their church membership to the newly established Burwood Baptist Church. Cartwright subsequently accepted a call to the Fitzroy Baptist Church in Melbourne, and the Morling family returned to the Ashfield church in October. George was 18.

2. Education and early ministry

Morling attended Ashfield Public School, Croydon Public School, and a private college at Ashfield. After matriculation he worked as a tutor and junior teacher and enrolled in the Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of Sydney, graduating with distinction in 1913. Four of his lecturers especially impressed him: geologist Sir Tannant Edgeworth David, Shakespeare scholar Professor Mungo MacCallum, philosopher Sir Francis Anderson, and historian Professor George A. Wood.¹⁰ According to Rogers, MacCallum taught Morling

⁸ Morling, *QFS*, 13.

⁹ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 11f; *AB*, 10 Feb 1931, 2, where Morling lauds Vaughan's influence.

¹⁰ Nicholas, *Journeys with God*, 7.

principles of literary exegesis, Anderson “laid the basis for the apologetic approach to problems that marked his early ministry,” and Wood kindled in him an interest in history which inspired Morling’s higher degree studies.¹¹

Like his father, Morling aspired to the Baptist ministry, and was accepted for training in July 1913, aged 21. There was no Baptist College in Sydney. Applicants normally served as home missionaries for at least a year, often in a country church under supervision, before admission to academic studies at the Baptist Theological College of Victoria, in Melbourne.¹² In December 1913, Morling was posted to the inland town of Tamworth to assist Rev. F. J. Dunkley (c.1875-1946) in circuit ministry. Dunkley had been the first Tasmanian Home Mission Superintendent in 1909, and in 1924 would be appointed as the second Home Mission Superintendent in NSW. In Tamworth, Morling experienced “great inner turmoil” involving doubt regarding assurance of salvation.¹³ He cycled to the Peel River, “and spent some time examining his life before God.”¹⁴ Morling recalls the experience 37 years later:

In my own life increase of rest has kept pace with deeper insight into the doctrines of grace which minister to the life within. There came a time in young manhood when, although I was a sincere and outwardly loyal disciple, doubts and fears assailed me. Then I ‘walked in darkness and knew no light’; however, I could and did still trust in the name of the Lord and stay upon my God. The dawning of a great light was not far off. The Sunrising from on high soon visited me. I became assured of sonship with God and I have never for a moment wavered in that assurance ...

Service was rendered to the Lord Jesus and His Church with an almost intolerable sense of strain. There was a burdensome sensitiveness and a great anxiety about results. Relief came, as through patient study and prayer, enlightenment was given on God’s provisions for a naturally restless heart like mine. As, one by one, the

¹¹ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 13.

¹² Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 478.

¹³ Chatfield, “Morling,” 444.

¹⁴ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 18.

magnificent truths of grace were brought home to me, I made humble heart adjustment to them. There have been no cataclysmic experiences; only a progressively enriched experience.¹⁵

In 1960, Morling identified this experience as the second of seven defining aspects of his spiritual development, the third being his discovery of what he called “the Emmanuel-knot of union” with Christ.¹⁶

The Tamworth ministry lasted less than four months. Upon return to Sydney in early March 1914, he was appointed to the Hurlstone Park Baptist Church under the supervision of Rev. W. Cleugh Black.¹⁷ Here Morling suffered a “breakdown” and received assistance from Rev. Thomas R. Coleman in relation to “the deeper things of God.”¹⁸ Coleman had experienced spiritual revival in Wales and was engaged in evangelistic preaching at Hurlstone Park during Morling’s illness. At Coleman’s funeral in 1932 Morling acknowledged him as his “spiritual father.”¹⁹ Morling recovered and, aged 23, soon after the outbreak of the Great War, he unsuccessfully sought enlistment in the Australian army (doc 211).²⁰ In September he sat for “Orr’s Christian view,” gaining a grade of 93 per cent, and was admitted to the Baptist Theological College of Victoria,²¹ commencing studies in March 1915 under Principal

¹⁵ Morling, *QFS*, 28f.

¹⁶ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 311f. On the phrase “Emmanuel-knot of union,” see chapter six below.

¹⁷ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 18.

¹⁸ Chatfield, “Morling,” 444.

¹⁹ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 19.

²⁰ “Tokeetos,” from the Greek τοῦ κήτους, meaning “great fish,” or “whale,” used only in Matthew 12:40 in the New Testament, was the pseudonym of A. T. (Bert) Whale, a student minister serving under Rev. W. Cleugh Black. See Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 94.

²¹ A reference to James Orr, *The Christian View of God and the World* (1893; repr. New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1908). This text may have served to screen potential candidates for the limited places available at the Melbourne college. For more on Orr see pages 124-128 below.

William H. Holdsworth (1866-1946).²² Morling was one of seven NSW men in a class of 21. Holdsworth, a graduate of Rawdon College (Yorkshire) and the University of Edinburgh, served as pastor of Kew Baptist Church in Melbourne and lectured at the college from 1903; he was principal from 1911-1938.

In the 1910s, Baptist colleges and seminaries generally followed the practice of their equivalents in the tradition of the Reformation, with a course of studies leading to a specialist degree. Such courses typically included introductions to Old and New Testament, Biblical languages, theology, church history, philosophy, Christian ethics, liturgy and worship, and homiletics.²³ The usual course of study in preparation for Baptist ministry in Victoria spanned four years. The 1915 session opened with seven Victorian students, 12 from NSW and one from South Australia.²⁴ Morling studied Hebrew and Greek Exegesis, Systematic Divinity, Church History, Church Polity, Homiletics, Apologetics, and Elocution. He achieved the top first-year mark in Elocution.

Melbourne was, however, geographically and culturally distant from Sydney and Baptists in NSW had no direct control of curriculum or lecturers. It was only a matter of time before NSW established its own college. When the Baptist Theological College of NSW opened in 1916, based on the Spurgeon's College model, Morling returned to Sydney to study under Principal Alexander Gordon (d. 1929), who reportedly had "a traditional Scottish regard for

²² The College, now Whitley College, was established in 1891 by historian William Thomas Whitley (1861-1947).

²³ Lina Andronoviene, Keith G. Jones & Parush Parushev, "Theological education in Baptist Churches," in Dietrich Werner, David Esterline, Namsoon Kang & Joshva Raja (eds), *Handbook of Theological Education in World Christianity* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2010), 689.

²⁴ *Baptist Union of Victoria Handbook for 1916* (Sydney: Australian Baptist Publishing House, 1915), 139-149.

the value of education,”²⁵ and was one of ten men in the inaugural “Class of 1916.”²⁶ In his 1916 examinations, Morling gained 74% in New Testament, 90% in Old Testament, 95.5% in Theology, 90% in Homiletics, and 96% in Church History (doc 232). NSW Baptist leader William Buckingham stated in 1918 that “the training of our young men ... under our own eyes is much to be desired. Doubtful theology ... is excluded from the curriculum.”²⁷

Morling engaged in further ministerial training under Cleugh Black at East Hills, on the south-west fringe of Sydney, and at Bankstown. On 28 April 1917, Morling married Gladys Rees, a distant relative of Thomas Coleman. Rees was born in Wales and in her early years witnessed the Welsh revival of 1904-05.²⁸ She arrived in Australia aged 17 with her parents, and they became members of Haberfield Baptist Church, in an adjacent suburb to Ashfield. The Home Mission Committee posted the newlyweds to the small inland rural towns of Dungog and Thalaba, 215 kilometres north of Sydney, and Morling completed his college studies extramurally. Nicholas notes Morling’s apparent appreciation of the works of Brooke Foss Westcott (1825-1901), Joseph Barber Lightfoot (1828-1889) and Handley C. G. Moule (1841-1920) in biblical studies, and of Alexander Whyte (1836-1921), Alexander Maclaren (1826-1910), Robert William Dale (1829-1895) and Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834-1892) in homiletics.²⁹ Upon meeting the formal requirements of graduation in October 1917,

²⁵ Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 483.

²⁶ Ron Robb, “90th Anniversary, the Class of 1916,” *The Baptist Recorder* 95, July 2006, 1-13.

²⁷ Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 485; AB, 5 March 1918, 1.

²⁸ See Eifion Evans, *The Welsh Revival of 1904* (third edition; Bridgend, Wales: Bryntirion Press, 1987); H. Elvet Lewis, *Glory Filled the Land: A Trilogy on the Welsh Revival of 1904-05* (Wheaton: International Awakening Press, 1989); and Noel Gibbard, *Fire on the Altar: A History and Evaluation of the 1904-05 Welsh Revival* (Bridgend, Wales: Bryntirion Press, 2005). A notable earlier revival occurred in Wales in 1859.

²⁹ Nicholas, *Journeys with God*, 11. See also chapter five below.

Morling was recommended for “full status” as a Baptist minister, and was subsequently ordained by the denomination on 12 February 1918.

Returning to Sydney in early 1919, Morling took up the dual pastorate of the Hornsby and Pymble Baptist Churches on the city’s northern fringe, first as Moderator and then as Pastor (1920-21). In addition to pastoral care and general church administration, he commenced a program of systematic biblical exposition from the pulpit,³⁰ and presented lectures on apologetic themes in a hired Masonic Hall.³¹ According to Sydney Anglican Archbishop Donald Robinson, Morling had “an inimitable method of Bible exposition.”³² In 1920, the NSW Baptist Assembly elected him to the College Council, the governing body of the fledgling institution, and he was appointed Secretary. In 1921, following the shock resignation of Principal Gordon, the NSW Baptist Assembly appointed him to the position of full-time acting principal. This became permanent in 1922 and he continued in the role until December 1960.

Morling’s theology aligns with what church historian Geoffrey Treloar describes as “centrist” evangelicalism, neither liberal nor fundamentalist in theological orientation.³³ Yet, as Rev. Ron Rogers, a subsequent college principal, puts it,

Morling’s basic stance was traditional and strongly conservative. Though he had come to terms with the ideas of critical scholarship they had little

³⁰ Nicholas, *Journeys with God*, 13.

³¹ In 1920, Morling gave public addresses on topics such as “Christianity: An Unanswerable Argument”; “Christianity and Roman Catholicism: A Plea for Positive Protestantism”; and “Christianity and Spiritualism.” See Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 33.

³² Lake, *Proclaiming Jesus Christ*, 23.

³³ Geoffrey R. Treloar, “The word disputed: The crisis in evangelical biblicism in the 1920s and 1930s,” *Lucas* 2.7, June 2014, 111-113.

appeal for him [. . .] He was disappointed with his overall training as a preparation for the work he was subsequently to do.³⁴

In his first principal's report to Assembly, Morling stated his resolve "to make the lecturer's desk a pulpit, and the classroom a sanctuary, and the College a holy fellowship."³⁵ The 1925 report, following the granting of his MA degree, observed that Morling "brought to his task intellectual and spiritual powers of a high order."³⁶ *The Australian Baptist* described him in 1927 as "a cultured gentleman who has captured the love, not only of the students, but of the whole Baptist constituency. He is a scholar who knows how to make his appeal to the emotions as well as the intellect."³⁷ At home his family was growing: daughter Dorothy was born in 1918, Elaine in 1920, Gordon in 1921, William in 1925 and Trevor in 1927. In 1928, his students first sat for the Licentiate of Theology (LTh) at the ecumenical Melbourne College of Divinity.

In 1936, J. A. Packer, the editor of *The Australian Baptist*, suggested that Morling would probably

demur to any precise theological classification, for while, in essentials, he is a Fundamentalist, he is not blind to the contribution which some of the best thinkers of the Modernist school have made to our knowledge of the Scriptures. His lectures are frequently enriched with quotations from his favourite authors, interspersed at rare intervals with some illuminating

³⁴ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 21.

³⁵ Eldridge, *For the Highest*, 60. The College motto, "The utmost for the highest," apparently based on an adage by evangelical preacher and mystic Oswald Chambers (1874-1917), was in use as early as 1926, possibly earlier. See *AB*, 15 Jun 1926, 3. Eldridge takes his book title from the phrase. On Chambers see Bertha Chambers, *Oswald Chambers: His Life and Work* (1933; repr. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1959); Oswald Chambers, *My Utmost for His Highest* (1935; repr. Grand Rapids: Discovery House Publishers, 2012); J. G. G. Norman, "Chambers, Oswald," in J. D. Douglas (ed.), *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Exeter, UK: Paternoster Press, 1974), 210; and David McCasland, *Oswald Chambers: Abandoned to God: The Life Story of the Author of My Utmost for His Highest* (Grand Rapids: Discovery House Publishers, 1993).

³⁶ Eldridge, *For the Highest*, 62.

³⁷ *AB*, 8 March 1927, 3f.

anecdote, or touch of humour of which “saving grace” he is by no means devoid.³⁸

In 1942, the *AB* further noted that “Mr Morling has made a great contribution to the Church and the Kingdom of God by his expository addresses at conventions and missions in various States of the Commonwealth.”³⁹ The following year, on the 21st anniversary of Morling’s appointment as principal, Rev. C. J. Tinsley wrote:

Called to the principalship at a comparatively youthful age [. . .] and at a time of peculiar difficulty, he has displayed ability, tact, and a quality of character that has placed the College in an impregnable position and given it an outstanding prestige. Graduates of the College, trained under him, are to be found in every State of the Commonwealth, many of them in influential churches and holding important denominational positions. In the wide life of the Christian Church he is well known as an effective convention speaker, and is also in constant demand in our churches, where his rich messages are deeply appreciated.⁴⁰

Further details of Morling’s development as a leader and scholar are recorded elsewhere.⁴¹

He retired from office in 1960, remained active as a preacher and occasional lecturer for most of the next 14 years, and died on 8 April 1974. At his memorial service Morling was commended for “his long and influential ministry, his teaching in many theological disciplines, particularly on the Holy Spirit and the deeper life, and his gracious Christ-like personality.”⁴² In May 1974, the newsletter of the Epping Baptist Church noted:

Today the majority of ministers of the N.S.W. Churches are his graduates. Others serve in Churches throughout Australia and [New Zealand], on the

³⁸ *AB*, 8 September 1936, 6.

³⁹ *AB*, 29 September 1942, 4.

⁴⁰ *AB*, 2 March 1943, 4.

⁴¹ See Prior, *Some Fell on Good Ground*, 136, 216, 233-237; Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 32ff; and Eldridge, *For the Highest*, 55ff.

⁴² Chatfield, “Morling,” 446.

Australian Baptist Mission fields, and are scattered throughout the world in positions of leadership in the Christian Church.

It is of interest to note that of the five Baptist Theological Colleges in Australia, three Principals, two Vice-Principals and five members of their faculties were his students, as well as the Principal of the Baptist College of New Zealand and the Principal of the Melbourne Bible Institute (doc 221).

As Baptists established the means of their theological education in NSW, Morling was fortunate to be the right person in the right place at the right time. His doctrinal stance, academic ability, irenic personality, diplomacy, fine sense of humour, engaging preaching style, and warm piety endeared him to fellow denominational leaders and ordinary laypeople. He was also shaped by his time and place, as the remainder of this chapter and the next three chapters will demonstrate.

3. Religious culture of the period

The leaders, institutions and ecclesial practices of nineteenth-century British Baptist culture profoundly shaped Baptist church life in NSW. Two enduring British influences in the early twentieth century were Charles Haddon Spurgeon (1834-1923) and John Clifford (1836-1923). Spurgeon's conservative evangelicalism enjoyed wide influence in Australia, while Clifford's more liberal evangelicalism and advocacy of the social gospel also attracted interest.⁴³ These emphases are evident in the Presidential addresses of NSW Baptist leaders in the quarter century to about 1910, but a conservative strain of evangelicalism subsequently prevailed for several decades in NSW Baptist culture.⁴⁴ Stuart Piggin claims that from 1914

⁴³ Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 127.

⁴⁴ Note especially the Presidential addresses of Rev. Ebenezer Price (1897), Rev. Charles Lane (1905), businessman Mr Herbert Priestly (1907), and Rev W. Montague Cartwright (1908).

to 1959 Baptists in NSW “approximated more closely than any other denomination to evangelical archetypes and were relatively more evangelical than other denominations.”⁴⁵

This period corresponds to the term of Morling’s principalship.

One of the risks of a decisive turn to conservative religion is retreat into pietism and quietism. Morling embraced the conservative outlook, but his keen intellect and optimism, and his prevailing goodwill toward others, helped to ensure that the kind of evangelicalism that emerged tended to be robust and balanced rather than brittle and reactionary. Another factor contributing to the positive denominational mood was numerical growth in the 1920s and 1930s, with NSW Baptist church membership doubling between 1925 and 1933.⁴⁶ NSW Baptists appeared to be doing the “right things” well.

The eclipse of liberalism by conservative evangelicalism was not merely a Baptist phenomenon. It may be observed in the politics of Christian students where Morling received his education in the humanities. It is unclear whether Morling engaged in organised Christian activities at the University of Sydney in the 1910s or 1920s, but he cannot have been oblivious to developments. The broadly liberal Sydney University Christian Union (SUCU) was established in 1896 by John Mott (1865-1955).⁴⁷ The University was strictly secular, but students had liberty to organise according to religious principles. In 1919, a small group of evangelical students led by John Deane withdrew from the SUCU, protesting against its “widening base of membership” and commenced independent prayer meetings at the

⁴⁵ Piggin, “The role of Baptists,” 6.

⁴⁶ Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 464.

⁴⁷ The SUCU was renamed the Student Christian Movement in 1932 and virtually ceased functioning by the late 1960s. See Margaret Holmes & David Garnsey (eds), *Other Men Laboured 1896-1946: Fifty Years with the SCM in Australia* (Melbourne: Australian Student Christian Movement, 1946).

University. This group became the Sydney University Bible League,⁴⁸ which reconstituted in 1930 as the Evangelical Union at the suggestion of Howard Guinness and continues today.⁴⁹

Historian Meredith Lake observes that by the end of the 1920s,

two distinctly different movements had emerged: one already international, with a mixed history of missionary enthusiasm and pietistic devotion and a present and growing openness to modernism; and another, much smaller though growing, similarly influenced by both the missionary movement and the tradition of pietism, but clinging to orthodox evangelical approaches to Scripture.⁵⁰

As an undergraduate and later postgraduate student at the university, Morling may have expressed affinity with the latter group. As principal he actively supported evangelical faith and witness at the University of Sydney and more widely among tertiary students.

For students at the University of Sydney in 1930, acceptance of the Bible as divinely revealed, and evangelical beliefs about atonement and conversion, were deemed “entirely unrespectable,” and proselytising was viewed as “the most dangerous thing in religion.”⁵¹ According to student leaders John and Moyra Prince, embattled evangelical students in the 1930s felt minimal support from church leaders with the exception of C. H. Nash in Melbourne, and T. C. Hammond and Morling in Sydney.⁵² Moreover, Lake remarks that, in the 1940s, “the Evangelical Union relied heavily on the help of a small army of evangelical clergy who gave counsel and provided conservative evangelical teaching. Throughout the minutes [of the EU executive committee] the same names appear repeatedly: Principal

⁴⁸ Prince, *Out of the Tower*, 8f.

⁴⁹ Lake, *Proclaiming Jesus Christ as Lord*, 14.

⁵⁰ Lake, *Proclaiming Jesus Christ as Lord*, 14.

⁵¹ Prince, *Out of the Tower*, 10.

⁵² Prince, *Out of the Tower*, 17.

Morling, Rev. Begbie, Rev. Loane, Rev. Delbridge, Dr Paul White.”⁵³ In 1948 Morling was elected annual President of the national Inter-Varsity Fellowship,⁵⁴ succeeded by Hammond. According to Ian Burnard, Morling was a frequent speaker at IVF conferences and at IVF-convened meetings at the University of Sydney, and was one of IVF Australia’s “valued Vice-Presidents.”⁵⁵ At the time, evangelicalism in Australia and elsewhere “suffered the tensions of being pushed to the right by anxiety over biblical orthodoxy, while also being pulled to the left by the increasing acceptability of modern biblical scholarship.”⁵⁶ Incremental opposition to theological liberalism from the 1910s to the 1950s is discernible among Sydney Anglican leaders,⁵⁷ and Morling shared this opposition.

4. Postgraduate studies

In 1924, Morling was in his fifth year of teaching at the Baptist Theological College of NSW. To his University of Sydney Bachelor of Arts degree, he now added a Master of Arts from the same institution, graduating after several years of part-time study in May 1925. Two long essays submitted in partial fulfillment of this degree survive. The first, titled “The Franciscan spirit,” published as a book along with other documents in 2008, runs to 18,000 words (doc 165). The second was unknown until discovered at the bottom of a box of Morling’s sermon fragments at the Baptist Archives in Sydney in 2013 during research for this project. Titled “The rise and progress of freedom of conscience in the Puritan era,” it runs to approximately

⁵³ Lake, *Proclaiming Jesus*, 26.

⁵⁴ The Inter-Varsity Fellowship was also known as the “EU” or Evangelical Union. See *AB*, 23 Mar 1948, p. 4. The IVF was renamed the Australian Fellowship of Evangelical Students in 1973.

⁵⁵ Rogers & Ollif, “Our Beloved Principal,” 306.

⁵⁶ Treloar, “The word disputed,” 120-121.

⁵⁷ Jensen, *Sydney Anglicanism*, 163f; McIntosh, *Anglican Evangelicalism in Sydney*, especially 261-268.

40,000 words (doc 166). An analysis of these essays offers a glimpse of Morling's academic interests and style of argument.

In his foreword to *The Franciscan Spirit and Other Writings*, Manley notes:

Morling wanted to obtain a higher degree to legitimate his personal academic status and that of the College ... [But] the life of an academic scholar was not possible for the Principal who effectively single-handedly had to establish a new College for a denomination in which some held lingering doubts over the legitimacy of an academic training for pastors ... Yet the academic vigour of this early work clearly shaped his life's work.⁵⁸

In pursuing Franciscan studies, Morling "followed in the footsteps of Paul Sabatier [1858-1928], the French Calvinist pastor at Strasbourg, whose own studies evinced a warm sympathy for Francis and an empathy with his ideals."⁵⁹ St Francis of Assisi (1182-1226) was born into a wealthy merchant family. In his early twenties he experienced religious conversion, renounced his inheritance, and took on a hermitic life serving the poor and preaching the transforming power of Jesus Christ. He attracted many followers, and in 1210 Pope Innocent III recognised the Order of Friars Minor, the beginning of the Franciscan Order.⁶⁰ The key to his extraordinary life is "his uncompromising attempt to imitate the Gospels' Christ through absolute poverty, humility, and simplicity."⁶¹

⁵⁸ G. H. Morling, *The Franciscan Spirit and Other Writings* (ed. Bruce Thornton; Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society, 2008), iii-iv.

⁵⁹ Morling, *The Franciscan Spirit*, iii. See Paul Sabatier, *Life of St Francis of Assisi* (trans. Louise S. Houghton; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894); Morling quotes Sabatier on page 40 of his essay.

⁶⁰ See Michael D. Guinan, "Franciscan spirituality," in Richard Woods & Peter Tyler (eds), *The Bloomsbury Guide to Christian Spirituality* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 107-116; Bradley Holt, "Francis of Assisi (1181-1226)," in Glen G. Scorgie (ed.), *Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2011), 459f; and William Short, "Franciscan spirituality," *NWDCS*, 310-312.

⁶¹ R. K. Bishop, "Francis of Assisi," in Daniel J. Treier (ed.), *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* (third edition; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017), 328f.

Morling had an enduring interest in St Francis and occasionally refers to Francis in his writings (docs 144:72, 87; 49:154; 32:182). Perhaps he was assigned the topic for his MA essay by Professor Wood;⁶² or had encountered Sabatier's work in translation, or Chesterton's recent biography⁶³; or thought that the study would complement his teaching of church history. Morling's interest in Francis may also have been prompted by his interest in mysticism.

The essay is in five parts. First, Morling notes the impetus for medieval reform of the church precipitated by the decline of the "apostolic spirit"; the growth of monasticism, "emotionalism" and heretical groups; the rise of chivalry; and a new emphasis on the dignity of the individual (doc 165:5-24). Second, he traces elements of Francis' personality which account for the development of "the Franciscan spirit" (doc 165:25-34) – "strong individuality," consistency, an "iron will," a thoroughgoing mysticism ("the passion for the union of the individual to God"), a conviction of receiving direct revelations from God, the appearance of stigmata, and a profound sense of his own unworthiness to be called and used of God. Third, Morling identifies a "deeper source" for the Franciscan spirit, by which Francis and his acolytes "entered into their heritage of spiritual possession." This is evident in radical solidarity with the poor and diseased, and advocacy of a high Christology coupled with a "vivid perception" of the crucified and risen Christ, "the Supreme Head of a spiritual chivalry fighting against the forces which dragged men to destruction" (doc 165:35-43).

⁶² Wood had an academic interest in St Francis of Assisi, and in the political dimension of Puritan movement. He gave a lecture to the Sydney University Christian Union on the topic, "St. Francis of Assisi," reported in *Hermes*, 19 August 1901, and another to the Sydney University Evening Students' Association in 1908. See Raymond Maxwell Crawford, *'A Bit of a Rebel': The Life and Work of George Arnold Wood* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1975), 378f.

⁶³ G. K. Chesterton, *St Francis of Assisi* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923).

In Part 4, Morling outlines the method by which the Franciscan spirit was diffused: deep personal devotion to Christ (“everything was directed toward the presentation and diffusion of inward life,” doc 165:44), subordination of the ego to the communal life of the monastery (doc 165:45), and an active commitment to preaching and missionary vision (doc 165:44-49) – a vision that took Francis to the Islamic East in the 1210s and his followers to England in 1224 and Ireland in 1229. In part five, Morling describes the operation of the Franciscan spirit (doc 165:50-55) in its expression of radical Christian love and holiness among ordinary people, nascent religious liberty (“preparing for the Reformation,” doc 165:51), a “democratizing influence” (doc 165:53), and “a spirit of enlightenment and beauty” (doc 165:53).

As Morling conceives it, Francis’s passion was to recover the authentic “apostolic spirit” that shaped and empowered the first Christians, and all associated with his order fuelled that holy vision (doc 165:47f). The Franciscan spirit is readily sentimentalised, and there was a resurgence of interest in Francis and Franciscan spirituality in the early twentieth century. Historian Barrie Williams suggests that the Oxford Movement, the human misery of modern industrial cities, and the negative impact of World War I all contributed to a significant expansion of the Franciscan movement in the first three decades of the twentieth century.⁶⁴ The devotion of Francis to Jesus resonated with those interested in the imitation of the Jesus of history and the socio-political aspiration of “a resurrection of love among men.”⁶⁵ Morling may have regarded Francis as a model as he attempted to shape the spiritual vision and mission of Baptists in NSW during the 1920s.

⁶⁴ Barrie Williams, *The Franciscan Revival in the Anglican Communion* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1982), 17f.

⁶⁵ Owen Chadwick, *The Victorian Church, Part II: 1860-1901* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966), 243.

The second, longer essay, on the development of liberty of conscience in England during the Puritan era, demonstrates similar evidence of skill in analysis and evaluation, but is more polemical. This essay is significant for two reasons. First, no previous account of Morling's life mentions this essay, with the exception of a reference by Rogers to Morling having written "two papers" for his MA degree.⁶⁶ He is not known for an interest in sixteenth-century church history or the idea of religious liberty.⁶⁷ Second, the essay constitutes rare evidence of a personal interest in social ethics.⁶⁸ Morling's rationale for selecting the topic is unclear. Perhaps he saw such study as an opportunity to improve his knowledge of Reformation-era and early nonconformist church history. Perhaps he reasoned that sustained academic treatment of religious liberty would assist him in teaching church history in a Baptist context. He may have been intrigued by the alleged Puritan origins of the Quakers, even though Quakers held Puritans as their chief opponents. It is possible that Professor Wood's research interest in the Puritans influenced Morling's choice.

The introduction to the essay (doc 166:1-3) briefly outlines the historical context, noting the rise of state patronage of religion since the time of Constantine, the ubiquity of religious intolerance in late medieval England, and nascent signs of reform in the prophetic thought and actions of men such as the great Goth ruler Theodoric (c.455-526), "Petilial the Donatist,"⁶⁹ Marsiglio of Padua (c.1275-1342), John Wycliffe (c.1330-1384), "Gersom of

⁶⁶ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 51, quoting Professor George A. Wood.

⁶⁷ Rogers states that Professor Wood encouraged Morling to focus his MA research on the Puritan revolution rather than the Renaissance. Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 46f.

⁶⁸ There is a seven-page outline of his lecture notes on Christian ethics (doc 178) which draws on philosophical ethics and may have been influenced by curricular pressure to prepare Baptist students in Sydney for the external Licentiate in Theology award administered by Melbourne College of Divinity. See also documents 173-177.

⁶⁹ Possibly Petilian the Donatist, bishop of Cirta (fifth century C. E.).

Paris,”⁷⁰ and Thomas More (1478-1535). The main body of the essay is in twelve parts. The first section, “The deeper connections,” discusses the influence of the Renaissance and Reformation movements on Puritanism and rising popular demands for liberty of conscience (doc 166:4-10). Section two discusses the “partial” witness of Congregationalist leaders and the “full” witness of the Baptists in promoting the ideal of universal religious liberty (doc 166:11-27). Thirdly, Morling notes how unprepared England was for reform of this kind: Tudors and Stuarts alike sought absolutism in religion and uniformity of faith; there was popular indifference to the ideal; and it was not in the short-term interests of either the Puritans or “Anglo-Catholics” to support reform (doc 166:28-40).

The fourth section recounts “the silent preparation” for change: as the society developed intellectually and economically there was greater aspiration for freedom. Morling notes the influence of Laud, the Latitudinarians, and the humanists (doc 166:41-53). Fifthly, Morling discusses what he views as the “great representative voices” for religious liberty: John Goodwin (1594-1665), Roger Williams (1603-1683), Henry Robinson (c.1604-1664), Thomas Fuller (1608-1661), and John Milton (1608-1674). Sixthly, he discusses “the organised opposition” led by the Scotch Presbyterians: the Solemn League and Covenant, the Westminster Assembly, and persecution of “heretics” by the Established Church (doc 166:76-83). Seventhly, he identifies “the early protagonists”: Oliver Cromwell, the Army, and the Anabaptists (doc 166:84-91). In section eight, he recounts highlights of “the early days of battle” with the Presbyterian Settlement, Cromwell’s move for toleration, “the War of Pamphlets,” and the silencing of the Baptists (doc 166:92-98). Section nine outlines “the turning of the tide”: the declining power of Presbyterians and failure of their army, Pride’s

⁷⁰ Possibly Jean le Charlier de Gerson (1363-1429).

Purge and the execution of the King, the influence of the Levellers and Quakers, “a growing weight of toleration in popular opinion,” and Jeremy Taylor’s literature (doc 166:99-108).

In section 10, “the Tolerationists in power,” Morling refers to the Long Parliament, the unmet promise of the Nominated Parliament, the appointment of a tolerationist Protector, and the inclusion of religious toleration in the Constitution (doc 166:109-114). Section 11 highlights Cromwell’s cautious positive influence, John Owen’s tolerationist views, the success of the Triers and Ejection, and the limitations of the scheme with reference to the Church of England, the Roman Catholic Church, Quakers, Jews, and “the blasphemers” (doc 166:105-127a). The final section notes that the Puritan age introduced genuine religious liberty, but Morling observes that the era was marked by three key defects: an inadequate conception of the doctrine of religious liberty, the fact that reform was attained by force, and the absence of strong popular support (doc 166:128-131). He notes in the introduction that “the Puritan era passed on to the next age deep and fruitful impulses towards liberty of conscience” (doc 166:vi). Although possessing little scholarly apparatus, Morling’s two graduate essays demonstrate his intellectual capacity and his interest in monastic spirituality and religious liberty.

5. Approach to Scripture

In the 1920s, liberal hermeneutics remained popular in academic circles, and for biblical studies this meant identifying imagined sources behind the development of the biblical text. Morling’s response was to insist on what he viewed as sound evangelical teaching. Primary documents indicate no perceptible change in Morling’s evangelical confidence in the veracity

and dependability of Scripture. Addressing a conference at Goulburn in rural NSW in 1940, on “Baptists and the Bible,” he declared:

Russian communism which is defiantly atheistic, and German Nazism which is blatantly materialistic, may seek to suppress Biblical Baptist fellowships but persecution has ever brought a blessing, not a curse to the church. Baptists are empathetically loyalists in respect to the Bible, believing and declaring it to be God’s authentic word to man ...

Historically the Baptist movement in Europe came as the crown of the Protestant Reformation and that mighty revival brought into the clear light of day principles of the Christian faith which had long been obscured. It had accomplished this by placing the open Bible before men and women. Baptists, they proudly and confidently claimed, carried to their logical conclusion the principles of that Biblical Reformation.⁷¹

In a public lecture, Morling asserted that “The Bible alone is the rule of faith and practice. Creeds, Confessions, Church declarations, have their relative value, but only as they are true to the Word of God” (doc 82:78; cf. doc 74:10f). He accepted the doctrine of plenary divine inspiration, stating that “every portion of God’s Word, the Bible ... has a vital meaning for the Christian” (doc 74:13). He held that the defence of biblical authority in national life had blessed “the great Protestant democracies ... [and] whether they continue to be great and blessed is directly dependent on their continued loyalty to our Lord and to HIS WRITTEN WORD” (doc 74:13, *original emphasis*).

Morling was confident in the power of Scripture to deliver spiritual enlightenment and moral conviction. He valued both intellectual rigour and “heart religion” as normative features of Christian discipleship. Commenting on 1 John 4:7-21, he says, “Read the passage and let the thought saturate mind and heart. Do not let our analysis take the place of the text itself” (doc 49:183). Scripture fulfills a didactic function, grounding and explicating faith. In about 1967

⁷¹ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 163f.

he laments living “in an age in which widespread ignorance of the Word of God and Biblical principles prevails” (doc 74:1). In response to perceived threats from the Catholic Church, the encroachment of Buddhism on the Western mind, and the zeal of heretical groups such as the Jehovah’s Witnesses and Mormons, he declares that

the Protestant Church has always declared that the Reformation in the 16th century was a return to the faith of the early Church as expressed in the New Testament and from which the Roman Catholic Church has so grievously departed ... The Protestant faith, founded on the Word of God, claims to be valid, trustworthy and true and to have the answer for all the spiritual needs of the human soul (doc 74:1f).

His devotion to Scripture and hermeneutical method are illustrated in a 12-page booklet he wrote, published in 1950 by the Melbourne-based Clifford Press.⁷² Titled “How to study your Bible,” it emphasises three points. First, there must be diligence in personal devotion: “Success in the Christian life is dependent upon a constant and careful reading of the Holy Scriptures” (doc 149:2). Recommending the King James Bible, Morling encourages readers to adopt a covenant:

By the grace of God I determine to become a student of the sacred Scriptures. I realise that my advance in the things of God depends upon this study as does the efficiency of my work for my Master. I have cause for shame, that so many years have passed with so little accomplished in the mastery of the Divine Word. In the years that remain I shall day by day seek this holy enrichment. No day henceforth shall know a neglected Bible (doc 149:4).

He urges diligence in pursuing this “spiritual culture” (doc 149:5) since “more of failure in the Christian life is due to laziness than one cares to admit” (doc 149:8). He proposes a rigorous scheme of annually reading the entire Bible, marking “specially appealing

⁷² The booklet was numbered sixth in a series of 35 publications published 1947-1956, most written by Australian Baptists, on topics such as honesty, prayer, public worship, spiritual maturity, Christian ethics, and gambling.

passages,” committing these to memory, and reviewing the “accumulated harvest” each Sunday (doc 149:8f).

Second, as a biblical theologian, Morling urges attention to cognitive devotion in a manner reminiscent of *lectio divina*: “Let your eyes be in your head as you read your Bible. Be mentally alert, observant, keen. Let every word be noticed and its full value weighed. Let the expressions sink into the mind. Cultivate a literary sense” (doc 149:6). Other intellectual skills are also encouraged: “our knowledge grows as we make comparisons and contrasts. So relate Scripture to Scripture and Book to Book” (doc 149:7). For Morling, Scripture is “a unity because it tells progressively of the sovereign, onward moving, redeeming purpose of God which came to glorious finality in Jesus Christ. Be sure, therefore, to find the Saviour in the [whole] Bible” (doc 149:9).

Third, Morling emphasises attention to spiritual application of Scripture. He quotes Scottish theologian Hugh R. Mackintosh (1870-1936), who said, “God speaks directly to our hearts in the Bible” (doc 149:5). Charles H. Spurgeon (1834-1892) similarly advised preachers preparing sermons to “let [Scripture] sink deeply into our souls ... A few minutes silent openness of soul before the Lord has brought much more treasure of truth than hours of learned research.”⁷³ Morling’s reasoning is simple: “If as we believe, the Bible is the Word of God, you should learn to hear God speaking home to your heart as you meditate upon it. In humility and deep desire, pray for a special word for yourself on every occasion of reading” (doc 149:10). Summing up, Morling quotes missionary to China James Hudson Taylor (1832-1905):

⁷³ Quoted in Lewis A. Drummond, “Charles Haddon Spurgeon,” in George & Dockery (eds), *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition*, 132.

There is a Living God;
 He has spoken in the Bible.
 He means what He says,
 And will do all He has promised (doc 149:11).

6. Approach to biblical interpretation

Apart from references in the booklet, “How to read your Bible,” discussed above, Morling seldom reflects on his hermeneutical method or addresses the practice of hermeneutics. There is, however, no indication in his writings of a change of perspective through his years of teaching. His approach to biblical interpretation is best described as conservative evangelical, strongly rooted in the spirituality of conservative nineteenth-century revivalists and their Puritan predecessors. He values the example of the Berean Christians in Acts 17:11 who “had minds that were not only alert to hear but diligent to sift evidence” (doc 27:107). Morling emphasises the inner witness of the Holy Spirit to illuminate the text of Scripture. For example, referring to Romans 8:15f and 1 John 5:6-8, he expresses the conviction that “no sincere seeker who reads the Word of God and yields to the Holy Spirit will be long without light. Do not be satisfied with anything less than the witness of the Spirit within” (doc 49:194). He asserts that “belief which is based on first-hand examination of the Scriptures is far deeper than that which springs from the arguments of others” (doc 27:108), articulating notions of freedom of conscience and “soul-liberty” that lie at the heart of historic Baptist identity and are present in evangelicalism more generally.

Morling was not anti-intellectual but anti-elitist. This sentiment resonated with many Australians who celebrated the common myths of egalitarianism and mateship, and who distrusted authority. While he refers in his writing to many great leaders and thinkers,

Morling also celebrates the achievements and insights of ordinary Christians. He observes, for example, that Jesus called many ordinary people to follow him:

[Jesus] did not call ecclesiastics from Jerusalem. They had too much to unlearn. He called unlearned, simple-hearted men from Galilee. And he called men of all types – Peter, hearty and enthusiastic, the ‘elemental’ man; John, the mystic; Andrew, with warm personal interests; James, an ordinary man without any conspicuous gifts. Any sort of man with the right attitude may be a disciple of the Master (doc 98:58).

In his preaching and lectures, Morling demonstrates a focus on the New Testament. This is clear from an examination of the biblical references to which he refers in primary documents. But he did not neglect the Old Testament. For example, he penned several short series of articles for *AB* on 2 Samuel, Psalms, Song of Songs, Amos and Hosea (docs 9-15). In a lecture on life after death he observes, “There is more light and spiritual wealth in the Old Testament than many realise” (doc 84:99). He defends a classic allegorical approach to interpreting the Song of Songs (doc 13:1) but warns against seeking allegory everywhere in Scripture.

For Morling, Scripture contains allegories, and “suggestive illustrations” (doc 13:1), and biblical texts may also be interpreted on different planes. For example, commenting on Hebrews 7, Morling provides a detailed summary of the concept of Jewish priesthood, then turns his attention to the “inner meaning” of the text in order to “read it for its higher spiritual significance” (doc 103:336). Highlighting phrases in the text, he briefly expounds their meaning and then applies the teaching in three “practical reflections” (doc 103:336-339). He notes that one should “practice drawing nigh to God,” that such access is only possible through union with Christ, “who is both our Aaron and our Melchizedek,” and that the

argument of Hebrews 7 justifies “how greatly we need saving, and how magnificently Jesus does it.”⁷⁴

Morling was aware of human limitations in understanding and applying Scripture. Expounding Galatians 2:17-21, and the notion of “scriptural proportion,” he comments, “What the Evil One [that is, Satan] cannot achieve by the denial of truth he seeks to achieve by an unbalanced, extravagant presentation of truth” (doc 47:70). He then quotes A. J. Gordon: “The greater the inherent power of a doctrine, the greater is the danger of its perversion.” In the context of the seeming attractiveness of the evangelical holiness movement, Morling’s point is that “there are expositions or attitudes towards holiness that are out of scriptural proportion” (doc 47:70).

7. Preaching and classroom teaching

Morling gained a substantial reputation as an expository preacher and Bible teacher among Baptists and other evangelicals in Australia, New Zealand and parts of India (where he visited former students). In 1932, the *AB* lauded him as “a Bible teacher of unusual grace and power.”⁷⁵ Sydney Anglican Archdeacon A. E. Begbie likened Morling’s preaching to that of Graham Scroggie, Hugh Paton, Taylor Smith, George Duncan, Oswald Sanders and Marcus Loane.⁷⁶ Begbie attested that “His clarity of thought and simplicity of presentation has made his ministry acceptable to the academic as well as to the ordinary men and women in his audience, and none have come away from the many meetings he has addressed without their

⁷⁴ Quote from Jewish Presbyterian missionary Adolph Saphir (1831-1891).

⁷⁵ Eldridge, *For the Highest*, 67. See also Nicholas, *George Henry Morling*, 28, 66-75, 79.

⁷⁶ Nicholas, *George Henry Morling*, 71.

lives being enriched.”⁷⁷ Similarly, Anglican Archbishop Donald Robinson recalled both Morling and Sydney Anglican Archdeacon (and Moore College principal) T. C. Hammond as “strong speakers” at Katoomba Convention meetings. Robinson described Morling’s preaching as “pietistic” and “very solid.”⁷⁸

Morling was critical of much contemporary preaching, which failed to meet his high expectations (doc 103:343). In his address at the 1955 College Commencement service, Morling observed the importance placed by Baptists on formal ministerial training, but warned that colleges do not make ministers. Rather, the role of the Holy Spirit in ministerial formation must be recognised. Then he spoke of “ultimate loyalties,” stating that Baptists “are not in the Catholic sacramentarian tradition but in the Evangelical preaching tradition [. . .] We belong to the Gospel tradition. Therefore let us give preaching its rightful place.”⁷⁹

Much later, one of Morling’s students, Basil Brown, claimed that Morling “exemplified that the Word of God was true, and the only preaching that was significant was the exposition of the Word of God, and the only way to expound was to get to the heart of it ... getting to the heart of a passage, pulling out a phrase, and then grouping the whole passage around it. The thing became luminous.”⁸⁰

Little change is observable in Morling’s educational passion and focus throughout his teaching career. In a policy speech as acting principal in 1922, he stated, “The college stands

⁷⁷ Nicholas, *George Henry Morling*, 71.

⁷⁸ Lake, *Proclaiming Jesus Christ as Lord*, 23.

⁷⁹ AB, 16 Mar 1955, 10. For reactions to this statement see AB, 23 Mar 1955, 8; 30 Mar 1955, 8; 6 Apr 1955, 7.

⁸⁰ Basil Brown, interview with Robert D. Linder, 28 August 1987, Centre for the Study of Australian Christianity Archives, Sydney, quoted in Piggin, “The role of Baptists,” 17. See also Piggin & Linder, *Attending to the National Soul*, 140f.

for the Bible as the authoritative Word of God.” He also observed that “the staff of tutors have kept before them the ideal of a Biblical expository and evangelistic ministry, and have adapted their teaching to this high end.”⁸¹ In classroom teaching as well as pulpit preaching, Morling shows evidence of deep learning lightly worn. He apparently had an “almost photographic memory.”⁸² His teaching is marked by reverent intimacy and invitation to adoring wonder in relation to the God of grace and the grace of God. In the notes of his lecture on “Christ and our questionings,” on John 14:4-7, Morling pauses in his exposition of John 14:6 and adds, “I hope that many are breathing with me the atmosphere of the Upper Room and patiently listening and meditating upon the deathless words spoken here” (doc 22:13). Morling could also conjure a vivid image, deliver a stinging criticism, and introduce a note of comedy to an otherwise serious academic lecture. Teaching on Mark chapter 2, for example, he lampoons the attitude of an academic elite: “Here is the perfect picture of professional jealousy, with its learned nose in the air – contemptuous and suspicious, sniffing heresy” (doc 98:71).

On one occasion, Morling stated that his goal in teaching was to impart an intellectual grasp of a subject, with accompanying “heart knowledge” or personal devotional application.

Introducing a lecture series on the Fourth Gospel, he says:

the student should resolve carefully and persistently to read the inspired narrative itself so that the text of scripture becomes an intimate and holy possession [. . .] Some passages should be learnt by heart [. . .] the Holy Spirit who gave this book can alone interpret to us its deeper meanings. If there is to be heart knowledge in addition to intellectual grasp He alone can impart it [. . .] The Lord Jesus never repels the questing mind but let

⁸¹ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 43.

⁸² Nicholas, *George Henry Morling*, 70.

us remember that our questions are answered only in His presence (doc 54:1).

In his autobiography, Manley reflects on his own experience of studying under Morling from 1958-1961:

His theology was broadly ‘conservative evangelical’ and he was a gifted preacher and Bible teacher [. . .] Inevitably the Prof was a little bit out of date in terms of the more recent movements and writers but some of us managed to read these for ourselves. Above all, he modelled the kind of ministerial life to which we all aspired – devotional, compassionate and evangelical.⁸³

Conclusion

Strong family links to the Baptist movement, in the Spurgeonian tradition, shaped Morling’s spirituality and theology. His parents probably made the deepest impression, but the family was guided by the confident pastoral leadership of the elderly pioneer, Fred Hibberd, and his youthful successor at Ashfield, the gifted and ambitious W. Montague Cartwright. Family recollections of recent Welsh revivals may also have introduced Morling to principles of personal piety and spiritual renewal.

Morling received support and encouragement from Baptist leaders which enabled him to overcome challenges in body and mind and prepare for the Baptist ministry. His embrace of conservative evangelical religion, as it was in Sydney during the 1910s and 1920s, and his keen intellect and irenic personality, coupled with astonishing opportunity to exercise leadership, prepared him for a life of service in theological education. Morling’s stated views on the authority of Scripture and its interpretation found favour with the theological

⁸³ Ken R. Manley, *For All That Has Been – Thanks* (Ashburton, Vic.: Mono Unlimited, 2018), 95f.

gatekeepers of his denomination. Whether behind a pulpit or a lectern, he found favour with various audiences and was able to avoid the dangers posed by ivory-tower learning in the church, and popular fundamentalism in the academy. The next chapter examines the claim that he was a mystic and explores the place of experience in his epistemology.

Chapter 3—Religious experience and mysticism

This chapter considers the place of religious experience in Morling's Christian thought and explores the nature and historical context of his apparent mysticism.

1. The turn to religious experience

In his essay on St Francis, Morling discloses an explanation for the enduring appeal of mysticism: "The day has passed when mysticism is denied a place in philosophical and historical enquiry. No less a scholar than Josiah Royce has asserted that 'the mystics are the only thorough going empiricists' since 'they base everything upon experience' and bring the soul 'into the presence of unmediated fact'" (doc 166:29). An absolute idealist and early advocate of personalism, Royce (1855-1916) presented the Gifford Lectures in 1899 and 1900. He argued against realism, mysticism and critical rationalism, and for a new conception of being based upon will. Philosopher and psychologist William James (1842-1910), a friend of Josiah Royce, proposed a radical empiricism in which experience shapes and modifies beliefs and demonstrates their validity.⁸⁴ This is the philosophical context of the

⁸⁴ Wayne Proudfoot, "Experience," in Erwin Fahlbusch et al (eds), *The Encyclopedia of Christianity. Volume 2* (trans. Geoffrey Bromiley; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 251. See also John R. Lillis, "James, William (1842-1910)," *DCS*, 537f; John Shea, "Spirituality, psychology and psychotherapy," *NWDCS*, 49-54; and Henry Nelson Wieman, *Religious Experience and Scientific Method* (London: Macmillan, 1926), 76-85.

Royce quotation in Morling's essay. Empiricism was the dominant epistemological paradigm during Morling's formative years.

Morling appears familiar with James's work on religious experience. Writing in *QFS* on "inward surrender," he quotes James, who contrasts religion as "a dull habit" with religion as "an acute fever," favouring the latter (doc 144:69f).⁸⁵ Whereas James described himself as a "supernaturalist,"⁸⁶ he viewed the divine as an abstract "incursion of the subconscious into conscious life,"⁸⁷ and embraced a vague pantheism whereby individuals internalise deity.⁸⁸

Morling's theology of experience draws from other wells. A definition of evangelicalism as "Gospel-focussed, mission-minded, biblical experientialism," advocated by Piggin and Linder, aptly describes the essence of Morling's theology and spirituality.⁸⁹ Indeed, evangelicalism is properly framed as "a religion of the heart."⁹⁰ Historian Bernard E. Meland notes that evangelicals typically maintain "genuine regard for the appeal of feeling and a reluctance to let form or symbol, or the externalization of institution or precedent, obscure the witness of experience."⁹¹ Evangelicalism derives stability and continuity from a progressive and mutually transformative relationship between doctrine, tradition and experience as each

⁸⁵ Morling quotes Quaker writer Thomas Kelly, who quotes William James. Morling quotes James again, in 1950, on forming new habits through positive thinking (doc 149:3).

⁸⁶ William James, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (1902; repr. & ed. Martin E. Marty; Harmondsworth, UK: Penguin Books, 1985), 521.

⁸⁷ James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 523.

⁸⁸ Gerard Loughlin, "The basis and authority of doctrine," in Colin E. Gunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Doctrine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 50.

⁸⁹ Stuart Piggin & Robert D. Linder, *The Fountain of Public Prosperity: Evangelical Christians in Australian History 1740-1914* (Clayton, Vic.: Monash University Publishing, 2018), 26

⁹⁰ Elisabeth Jay, *The Religion of the Heart: Anglican Evangelicalism and the Nineteenth-Century Novel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).

⁹¹ Bernard E. Meland, "The genius of Protestantism," *Journal of Religion* 27 (4), 1947, 291f.

of these derivative sources of authority reflect on Scripture as the primary locus of authority. Theologian Hendrikus Berkhof refers to an “experience-revelation” structure and tension within theology which may be applied to Morling’s theology.⁹² Moreover, since about 1700, many thoughtful evangelicals have forged a middle way between a subjectivist tradition (exemplified by George Fox, William Penn, Robert Barclay, John Wesley, Friedrich Schleiermacher, Samuel T. Coleridge, and F. D. Maurice) and an objectivist tradition (characterised by Charles Simeon, Bishop Butler, Samuel Clarke, and William Law).⁹³ Aware of the danger of insisting on dogmatic extremes, and the wisdom of maintaining balance regarding questions of theology and spirituality, Morling maintained fidelity to this middle way across the spectrum of belief.

Historically, the Protestant and evangelical tradition favoured a balance between objective and subjective aspects of religious experience. For Martin Luther (1483-1546) “only experience makes a theologian.”⁹⁴ John Calvin (1509-1564) recognised the crucial role of experience, holding that nothing is achieved in dealing with God “unless we begin from the inner disposition of the heart.”⁹⁵ Similarly, “no one can well perceive the power of faith unless he feels it by experience in his heart.”⁹⁶ Discussing Ephesians 3:14-19, Calvin writes, “It is not enough to have some vague knowledge of Christ, or to engage in airy speculations, as they say, and to be able to talk a lot about him, but he must have his seat in our hearts

⁹² Hendrikus Berkhof, *Two Hundred Years of Theology: Report of a Personal Journey* (1985; trans. John Vriend; ET Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 312.

⁹³ H. D. McDonald, *Theories of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1979).

⁹⁴ Quoted in G. Ebeling, *The Study of Theology* (trans. D. A. Priebe; London: Collins, 1979), 165.

⁹⁵ John Calvin, *The Institutes of the Christian Religion* (ed. John T. McNeill; trans. Ford Lewis Battles; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959), 3:3:16.

⁹⁶ Calvin, *Institutes*, 3:20:12.

within, so that we are unfeignedly joined to him, with true affection.”⁹⁷ Likewise, John Wesley (1703-1791) assigns experience an active role in mediating reality. To his empiricism he adds a faith in Scripture which frames his understanding of what lies beyond sensory perception.⁹⁸ Although not a mystic, Wesley read widely in Christian mystical writings such as Spanish mystic Miguel de Molinos (1628-1696), Blaise Pascal, François Fénelon and Madame Guyon, and those of William Law (1686-1761), all of whom (except Molinos) Morling quotes.

Protestant theologians historically embraced personal experience as an integral aspect of the true expression of Christian faith. In the early twentieth century, religious experience eclipsed dogma as the heart of Protestant faith. In 1926, English theologian and churchman William Inge lamented that “the centre of gravity in religion has shifted from authority and tradition to experience.”⁹⁹ Evidence for this shift is plentiful. For example, in 1908, Scottish theologian P. T. Forsyth observed three streams informing contemporary Protestantism: “the old objective tendency, resting on history as the authoritative source (in the Bible),” “the subjectivity of human nature or thought [. . .] [finding its standard] in immanent human reason,” and “the newer subjective tendency, resting on Christian experience, originating in Anabaptism, revised in Pietism, and rewritten in Schleiermacher.”¹⁰⁰ American theologian Daniel Evans, embracing the latter stream, insisted that “The religious thinker who sets about the construction of an adequate theology must find his starting-point in the religious

⁹⁷ John Calvin, *Sermons on Ephesians* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1973), 219f.

⁹⁸ Timothy J. Crutcher, *The Crucible of Life: The Role of Experience in John Wesley's Theological Method* (Lexington, KY: Emeth Press, 2010), 120. See also pages 125-138 on “the spiritual senses.”

⁹⁹ William Inge, *Lay Thoughts of a Dean* (London: Putnam, 1926), 323.

¹⁰⁰ P. T. Forsyth, “The distinctive thing in Christian experience,” *Hibberd Journal* 6 (3), 1907-1908, 481. Note also Forsyth’s account of personal experience of Christ, 487-492.

experience of men. The new theology must have this experiential basis.”¹⁰¹ A “foundational” statement on Scripture published by Oxford theologian Richard Brook in 1913 similarly affirms the enduring relevance of religious experience.¹⁰² In 1914, preaching in Manchester on John 3:9-10, Anglican scholar and churchman William Temple (1881-1944) claimed that, for Jesus and his disciples, religion was not primarily about doctrine but “personal experience.” Temple affirmed the value of mystical experience, likening it to a capacity for poetry or music. For Temple, the mystics

hear the voice of the wind of the Spirit [. . .] [and] interpret what they hear into the language of our duller faculties, so that through them our spiritual instincts, sluggish, perhaps, by nature, and almost paralyzed by the duties or the pleasures of life, are kept alive and nurtured, and in our degree we make their experience our own.¹⁰³

Morling refers to Temple four times in his writings, and this openness to the mystical accords with Morling’s epistemology and praxis.

It has been argued that the essence of evangelical piety shifted during the first two decades of the twentieth century “from the objectivity of the atonement to the subjectivity of the believer’s own experience.”¹⁰⁴ Morling similarly embraced experience and the language of spiritual devotion during the inter-war years, although he retained conservative theological convictions. The Swiss theologian Karl Barth devoted a long section of the first volume of

¹⁰¹ Daniel Evans, “The task of the systematic religious thinker of today,” *Harvard Theological Review* 1 (4), October 1908, 459.

¹⁰² Richard Brook, “The Bible,” in Burnett H. Streeter et al, *Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought: By Seven Oxford Men* (London: Macmillan, 1913), 25-71.

¹⁰³ William Temple, “Religious experience,” transcript of a sermon preached at Manchester Cathedral, 6 July 1914, in A. E. Baker (ed.), *Religious Experience and Other Essays and Addresses* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1958), 59f.

¹⁰⁴ Warren Nelson, *T. C. Hammond: His Life and Legacy in Ireland and Australia* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1994), 97.

his *Church Dogmatics* to “the word of God and experience,” observing that experience (*Erfahrung*) of God was a genuine human possibility, but refuting Pelagian apologists who might seek legitimacy from such a concession in the face of his theology of revelation.¹⁰⁵ As theologian Gerard Loughlin argues, the appeal of experience as a pathway to divine knowledge is attributable in part to the theological havoc wrought by nineteenth-century biblical criticism:

It seemed to many in the nineteenth century, that with reason, scripture and tradition no longer able to support the house of doctrine, it might be possible to close, even demolish various parts, and support what remained with an appeal to ‘experience’ [since, after William James,] people who experience a religious feeling of ‘union’ with something ‘more’, are in fact united with more of themselves: the ‘subconscious continuation’ of their ‘conscious life.’¹⁰⁶

The appeal to experience is also attributable to the Christian pietism of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Pietism, a development of the Reformation movement with an emphasis on individualism, inwardness, anti-intellectualism and other-worldliness,¹⁰⁷ insists that spiritual authority should reside in the religious experience of the individual and the individual in community.¹⁰⁸ The core characteristics of pietism – a personal relationship of the individual to God, a religious idealism expressed in strong emphasis on holiness with a goal of perfection in the Christian life, and a profound love for Scripture along with a distrust

¹⁰⁵ Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, I/6, 3. See also James W. McClendon, Jr., *Biography as Theology: How Life Stories Can Remake Today's Theology* (second edition; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990), 150f.

¹⁰⁶ Loughlin, “The basis and authority of doctrine,” 48f.

¹⁰⁷ Roger E. Olson, “Pietism: Myths and realities,” in Christian T. Collins Winn, Christopher Gehrz, G. William Carlson & Eric Holst (eds), *The Pietist Impulse in Christianity* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011), 4.

¹⁰⁸ W. Baird, *The History of New Testament Research. Volume 1: From Deism to Tübingen* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 1992), 88-90.

of creeds and confessional statements¹⁰⁹ – resonated with Christians such as Morling, increasingly wary of what they saw as the deficiencies of civic religion. Yet, Morling was uncomfortable with the potential excess of subjective religious praxis. In his lecture notes on the history of modern theology, dated 1957, he observes that German Pietism

has not a great interest apart from the practical working of subjectivism. The Pietists rebelled against Theology and persuaded men that dogmas with no relation to the life of trust and obedience are worthless. This of course goes too far. A thing is not right just because it works. It is true because it *is* true (doc 93:3, original italics).¹¹⁰

2. Morling's embrace of religious experience

Whereas Morling granted an authority to experience in confirming the veracity of spiritual and theological claims, he also sought equipoise between what he perceived as the binding authority of God's written word and the existential freedom of life in the Spirit. In undated lecture notes on the person of Christ, he qualifies his emphasis on experience, saying, "It is urged in some quarters that Christianity is essentially an experience, and that spiritual experience is independent of historic fact. The true position is that the Christian religion is a blending of the historical and the spiritual" (doc 98:3). However, Morling feared over-reliance on religious experience. In 1934, he addressed Baptist ministers in the state of Queensland on the subject of "The modern accent in Christian experience." In notes for that address, he identifies a recent shift in emphasis from systematic to biblical theology arising from an apparent embrace of inductive theological method. The change is evident, he argued, from a

¹⁰⁹ F. Ernest Stoeffler, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: Brill, 1971), 13-19.

¹¹⁰ Here Morling reflects the argument of Hugh R. Mackintosh, *Types of Modern Theology* (1937; repr. London: Fontana, 1964), 19f.

comparison of the theological treatises of systematicians such as Charles Hodge and A. H. Strong with the writings of contemporary theologians such as Mackintosh and Forsyth.

Morling observed four consequences of this shift. First, there was a new hermeneutical focus on the provenance and context of each biblical book and writer; second, a renewed appreciation for progress in divine revelation with “partial” statements interpreted in the light of “the fuller revelation”; third, a renewed emphasis on biblical exegesis and attempts to determine “the precise sense and shade of meaning” of words and phrases in the biblical languages; and, finally, a new emphasis on religious experience rather than doctrine and tradition (doc 155:1-4). Morling observes evidence of this shift in the Evangelical Union movement (precursor to the International Fellowship of Evangelical Students), and in the Southern Baptist Convention in the U.S., which he views as “warmly enthusiastic but cultured and controlled.” Morling considers this shift in emphasis helpful, especially when applied to preaching, since the reality of experience “can never be stereotyped” and its appeal to the individual cannot be denied (doc 155:8). He claims that “a spiritual experience is normal to the human mind [and] to know this imparts a sense of confidence” (doc 155:8).

Religious experience is, for Morling, “one of the greatest facts of which theology must take account” (doc 155:3), but he perceives four dangers in embracing experience as a defining element of Christian faith. Such an embrace may weaken one’s view of divine revelation, placing undue emphasis on “unaided reason”; it may shift the centre of authority from the supremacy of Scripture to that of experience; it may bring doctrine into disfavour, even though faith is based on objective knowledge rather than subjective feelings; and it may ask too much of experience. Morling is confident that “our message is not a subjective experience but an objective Christ, and we can best secure spiritual experience not so much by speaking about it as by [meditating on Christ . . .] The sight of Him will best bring about experience”

(doc 155:6f). Morling views this fourth danger as especially pertinent to the “Convention Movement” and the “C. E.” – possibly references to the Keswick and Christian Endeavour movements. On a separate page, possibly added later, he writes,

I am struggling with language. Where before I had my eyes on the experience that I myself should possess, now I am looking beyond that to God Himself. The emphasis on experience seems a sort of anti-climax. God is so much greater and far more wonderful than we can understand. While the testimony of our heart is only that much of God which we have been able to grasp.

Barth says, “Experience becomes its own engagement, its own sufficiency, its own end; and that is the deep seated disease of mysticism” (doc 155:11).¹¹¹

Advances in liberal theology prompted increasing dissatisfaction with dogma and ritual, and a desire for what religion scholar Otto A. Piper describes as “a religion that rests on direct evidence.”¹¹² Moreover,

this craving for religious experience was the mainspring of the nineteenth century’s attempt to find the ‘historical Jesus’ behind the Christ of dogma [. . .] But the greater the emphasis that theologians placed upon the ‘historical Jesus,’ the more questionable grew the authority of the Christ of dogma.¹¹³

Historian Ken Inglis notes the growing influence of the United States in Australian expressions of religion and spirituality, but expresses ambivalence regarding perceived results:

¹¹¹ The words of the first paragraph, repeated in document 115:70, also without attribution, are from a comment by a Cambridge undergraduate student recorded in J. Alfred Sharp, *A Group Speaks* (London: Epworth Press, 1931), 29. The source of the Barth quote is unknown. Elsewhere Barth wrote: “The mystic’s claim to union with God is blasphemous. God is never present in the human heart, and it is idolatrous to suppose that he is.” Karl Barth, *The Epistle to the Romans* (1918; repr. London: Oxford University Press, 1933), 33f.

¹¹² Otto A. Piper, “Mysticism and the Christian experience,” *Theology Today* 10 (2), 1953, 156.

¹¹³ Piper, “Mysticism,” 156.

Revivalism, on American lines and often conducted by American visitors, has been a normal part of Protestant evangelism here for more than a century; but there has never been any solid evidence that it shifted for long the boundary between the church and the world. At most it helped keep warm those people who are already inside the house of God.¹¹⁴

Bollen claims that “Australia was not a land of revival and most Australian Christians were content with the foothills of religious experience.”¹¹⁵ Morling was not so content.

Morling understood that Baptists lacked exclusive claim to spiritual experiences but commended certain experiences as normative for Christians. He refers to a quality he called “spiritual inwardness” or “the inwardness of the Christian life” (e.g., doc 22:83; doc 62:30), by which he means a deep experiential conviction of the reality of God in Christ expressed in the indwelling presence of Christ through the Holy Spirit. He claims that, prior to the descent of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, the disciples lacked such experience (Jn 16:7; doc 22:93).

Morling observes three aspects of the personal experience of the Holy Spirit which confirm the reality of God and commend or invite trust on the part of the spiritual seeker. The Spirit may be “an external Presence perceived in another but not known experimentally by ourselves”; or personally experienced in the sense of companionship (“abiding with”); or indwelling, which he considered “the fulness of the Gift,” enabling “the possibility of communion” with God (doc 22:93). In 1942, speaking at a conference between representatives of Baptist and Churches of Christ leaders on the possibility of

¹¹⁴ Ken S. Inglis, “Religious behaviour,” in A. F. Davies & S. Encel (eds), *Australian Society: A Sociological Introduction* (second edition; Melbourne: Cheshire, 1970), 474.

¹¹⁵ J. David Bollen, in Michael Petras (ed.), *Australian Baptists Past and Present* (Eastwood, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 1988), 57f.

denominational union (which he opposed), Morling noted a “similarity of tone or atmosphere in our two fellowships” which he attributed to “an evangelical warmth, which places emphasis on personal religion and inner spiritual experience” (doc 140:1).

For Morling, personal experience serves not only as subjective confirmation of the reality of God but as a direct source of divine knowledge. Here he reflects Mullins’s thought and makes it his own.¹¹⁶ Further, in document 94, Morling contrasts the intellectual exposition of biblical texts such as Hebrews 2:9, exemplified by quotations from biblical scholar T. W. Manson (1893-1958), with “the devotional aspect of the teaching of Hebrews,” as expressed by South African pastor and writer Andrew Murray (1828-1917). Morling quotes Murray:

Many believers never in experience enter into this life of the inner sanctuary, the more complex and abiding nearness to God [. . .] And very often they do not know that there is a better life, that there is an entering within the veil, a real dwelling in the secret of God’s presence [. . .]

After I had lived for thirteen years in the Holy Place, seeking to serve God there, it pleased Him, who dwelleth between the cherubim, to call me to pass through the veil, and to enter the Holiest of All, through the blood of Jesus.¹¹⁷

Where the gulf between the biblical ideal and existential reality looms large in an individual’s life, Morling emphasises the value of spiritual inwardness. Commenting on Romans 8:23-25, he quotes Handley Moule, who identified Paul’s phrase “to groan inwardly” with psychological challenges. He links this description of inner struggle with the promise of eternal glory. He suggests that the conflicted self may be strengthened by

¹¹⁶ Mullins, *The Christian Religion*, 67-81.

¹¹⁷ Andrew Murray, *The Holiest of All: An Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., 1894), quoted in doc 61:39.

the assurance that Christ is presently “the weak one’s power,” and that one’s glorification through union with Christ after death is guaranteed (doc 62:30).

Writing in 1948 on the *Song of Songs* for a regular column in the *AB*, Morling directly addresses the reader:

Lonely soul, once radiant with joys which are now but a hallowed memory, remember that your Saviour, Divine Lover of your soul, has received you into a heart union which is more real in fact than any union on earth. What is real in fact can also be real in experience (doc 12a:3).

The impact of this “heart union” was evident for Morling in Paul’s spiritual experience.

On Romans 6:17f, for example, he quotes Moule: “The Last Adam, like the First, transmits not only legal but vital effects to his member ... To men innumerable the discovery of this ancient truth, or the fuller apprehension of it, has been indeed like a beginning of a new life” (doc 62:21).

Similarly, commenting on 1 John 2:29, Morling contrasts “absolute knowledge” with “the knowledge of experience,” stating that “spiritual experience makes it plain that the only sure evidence of the new birth is the righteous life” (doc 49:169). Experience validates and confirms the claim to regeneration. The observation of profound religious experience expressed by others delighted Morling. In 1962, for example, he toured the New Guinea highlands where Australian Baptist missionaries were engaged in pioneer work. Describing worship in which he participated in Enga Province, he remarked, “I have never experienced such devoutness in congregational singing as I did in some Enga services. The reality of experience moved me” (doc 5:5).

Occasionally Morling offers personal illustrations of his passion for “spiritual inwardness” and “heart union” with Christ, which provide an insight into his general outlook and indicates what may have impressed him in relation to key principles and practices. In *QFS*, Morling quotes an account of Welsh Congregational minister and poet Howell Elvet Lewis (1860-1953), where a member of Lewis’s congregation said to him, “Pastor, my best times with the Lord Jesus are not when I am on my knees in formal prayer: but when I have finished praying and sit in my rocking chair chatting things over with him.” Morling adds, “Do you not think with me that when to simplicity is added such intimacy towards God, a still deeper quiet sinks into the soul?” (doc 64:47).

For Morling, a religion of the heart flourishes in the presence of a rich relational connection with the divine. In a 1950 booklet on practical lay Bible study, Morling encouraged the reader to contemplate Christ “steadily and thoughtfully and adoringly” in the Gospels, and to “encourage your heart with his invisible power as you read in the Acts the triumphs of the early church” (doc 149:9). A posture of adoration should accompany intellectual enquiry when engaging with Scripture. In the same document, he writes, “I myself testify that I had a new vision of truth when I realised that the Epistles were saturated with Christ and I began to love them with my mind as well as my heart as I studied the deep doctrines of grace” (doc 149:9f).

On the other hand, in an undated document titled “Release (religious experience),” Morling refers to Ephesians 1, 2 Peter 1, Revelation 1, and an unidentified passage in the Fourth Gospel to illustrate that he is speaking not only of a physical phenomenon but of inward spiritual adoration of God. He adds, “the highest life needs not only release but control.” Similarly, he observes that 1 Corinthians 12 demonstrates Paul’s concern for “not so much release but control and curbing” of certain religious experiences. He also

refers to Romans 6 and 2 Timothy 1:7, concluding with the thought that “experience can be its own engagement” (doc 156:1). For Morling, devotional Bible reading involves more than intellectual knowledge and assent to the truth of Scripture: it is a path to mystical communion with the living Christ. He wrote:

Like John on Patmos [Rev 19:10; cf. 1:17], you will fall at the feet of the Lamb in the midst of the Throne as, in the book of Revelation, in anticipation you witness the final victory of Him Who is now the rejected of men. Yes! The student of the Scriptures must certainly find Christ in them (doc 149:10).

For Morling, as one encounters the living Christ through such devotional activity, the heart may be warmed, relationship with Christ strengthened, trust confirmed, assurance clarified, and objective truth verified by way of subjective experience.¹¹⁸

3. The question of Morling’s mysticism

The first two decades of the twentieth century witnessed a massive increase in popular interest in mysticism in western European culture. In 1920, American theologian William P. Downes reflected on this fascination:

Not since before the Reformation has there been so much interest in the subject of mysticism as there is today. The causes for the recrudescence of mysticism are many. There is the reaction against the overinstitutionalized type of religion that has been growing in vigour during the last two or three generations; the revolt from hard materialism and the arrogance of science; secularism; the positively spiritual and aesthetic charm and

¹¹⁸ On evangelical experience in Australia see also Barry Chant, “The place of experience,” Appendix C in *The Spirit of Pentecost: The Origins and Development of the Pentecostal Movement in Australia 1870-1939* (Lexington, KY: Emeth Press, 2011), 361-386.

attractiveness of much that is mystical; the philosophy of James, Eucken, and Bergson.¹¹⁹

Morling's personality, spiritual passion and reserved demeanour led some contemporaries to ascribe to him qualities associated with mystical practice. As noted in chapter 1, the *AB* described the 31-year-old Morling in 1922 as "small and spare with the face of a mystic."¹²⁰ In 1936, the same periodical reported that:

In the best sense of the term, Mr Morling is a mystic – a mystic of the evangelical type, who never loses sight of the great objective truths of the divine revelation. Dr Maclaren, in his famous address from the chair of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, on "Evangelical mysticism," remarked that there is a danger not that the preacher should draw the Cross too large, but the Dove too small. Principal Morling preserves carefully the balance and equipoise of these complementary aspects of truth, and never over-emphasises one doctrine to the detriment of another (doc 213: 6).¹²¹

For much of his public life, many Australian Baptists presumed Morling to be a Baptist mystic. Such presumption warrants investigation.

There is no universally accepted definition of the term "mysticism."¹²² According to philosopher Marvin Kohl, a mystic is "someone who either believes in, or experiences, an

¹¹⁹ William P. Downes, "Mysticism," *The Biblical World* 54 (6), November 1920, 624. On William James see chapter 3, pages 58f. Rudolf Eucken (1846-1926) was a German philosopher critical of Hegelian thought and of the tendency of empiricism and positivism to reduce human experience to epistemological questions regarding sense experience. Henri Louis Bergson (1859-1941) was a French philosopher with particular interest in experience and psychological states.

¹²⁰ *AB*, 1 Mar 1922, 7.

¹²¹ The reference is to Maclaren's presidential address to the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, 9 October 1901. See Alexander Maclaren, *Evangelical Mysticism* (London: Baptist Tract and Book Society, c.1901).

¹²² On definitions see Winfried Corduan, *Mysticism: An Evangelical Option?* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1991), 21ff. See also David Knowles, *What is Mysticism?* (London: Burns & Oates, 1968); Evan B. Howard, "Mysticism," *DCS*, 179-184; Andrew Louth, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981); Bernard McGinn, "Mysticism," *NWDCS*, 19-25; and Mark A. McIntosh, "Mystical theology," *NWDCS*, 455-456.

element of mystery in the universe which cannot be reached by the usual modes of sensory experience and to whom the belief or experience is of such significance that the individual structures an activity of his life in its expression or evaluation.”¹²³ Central to mysticism is a

desire to know the divine experientially by means of allegedly “essentialist illusions.”¹²⁴

Mysticism occurs in many religious traditions, and embraces a wide range of beliefs and practices. Mystical experience may be attributed to spiritual, psychological or demonic influences, or to pseudo-contemplative phenomena. In the early twentieth century, interest in mysticism found expression in spiritualism, eremiticism, esotericism, theosophy, the occult, and “Christian mysticism.”¹²⁵ Catholic scholar Bernard McGinn defines “Christian mysticism” as the beliefs and practices concerning “the preparation for, the consciousness of, and the reaction to what can be described as the immediate or direct presence of God.”¹²⁶

Christian mystic and theologian Evelyn Underhill, whose works Morling quoted (e.g., doc 105:3), views mysticism as “the art of union with Reality.”¹²⁷ In *The Mystic Way*, she presents a study of the life of Jesus and the first Christians from a mystical/psychological perspective, showing “the life of Jesus as an active mysticism which develops through the

¹²³ Marvin Kohl, “The unanimity argument and the mystics,” *Hibbert Journal* 58, April 1960, 275. This definition is not comprehensive; for example, it does not accurately describe the beliefs and practice of Zen Buddhists.

¹²⁴ Leigh E. Schmidt, “The making of modern ‘mysticism’,” *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 71 (2), June 2003, 273.

¹²⁵ Louise Nelstrop, “Introduction,” in Louise Nelstrop & Simon D. Podmore (eds), *Exploring Lost Dimensions in Christian Mysticism: Opening to the Mystical* (Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2013), 1.

¹²⁶ Bernard McGinn, *The Foundations of Mysticism. Volume 1: Origins to the Fifth Century. The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism* (New York: Crossroad, 1991), xvii. In a later essay, McGinn outlines three models of “mystical union” and their biblical basis. See Bernard McGinn, “Mystical union,” in Edward Howells & Mark A. McIntosh (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Mystical Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 406-408.

¹²⁷ Evelyn Underhill, *Practical Mysticism: A Little Book for Normal People* (London: Dent, 1919), 2.

particulars of experience [. . .] Jesus is the initiator into the mystic way to union with God, and he is its perfect example.”¹²⁸ Moreover, for Underhill,

Mysticism is the expression of the innate yearning of the human spirit towards total harmony with the transcendental order [. . .] This yearning with the great mystics gradually takes possession of the whole field of consciousness; it dominates their whole life and attains its climax in that experience called mystic union [. . .] Through this, the human consciousness reaches its further and richest development.¹²⁹

For the Christian mystic, “an enhanced vitality, a wonderful sense of power and joyful apprehension as towards worlds before ignored or unknown, floods the consciousness. Life is raised to a higher degree of tension than ever before; and therefore to a higher perception of Reality.”¹³⁰ Underhill’s mystical psychology correlates with Morling’s outlook.

Religion scholars Nelstrop, Magill and Onishi distinguish four theoretical approaches to Christian mysticism.¹³¹ The first, perennialism, may describe Morling’s mystical experiences and explain why his descriptions lack detail. This approach, posited by William James, involves experience of the divine in a manner allowing “an intuitive grasp of reality beyond that which the evidence of our senses can provide.”¹³² The experience typically entails two normative and two non-normative characteristics:

¹²⁸ Heinrich Weinel & Alban G. Widgey, *Jesus in the Nineteenth Century and After* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1914), 418.

¹²⁹ Evelyn Underhill, *The School of Charity and the Mystery of Sacrifice* (New York: Longmans, 1956), 235f.

¹³⁰ Evelyn Underhill, *The Mystic Way: A Psychological Study of Christian Origins* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1913), 50.

¹³¹ Louise Nelstrop, Kevin Magill & Bradley B. Onishi, *Christian Mysticism: An Introduction to Contemporary Theoretical Approaches* (Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2009), 4-16. The four approaches are perennialism, contextualism, “performative language readings,” and “feminist readings.” See also the three approaches proposed by McGinn (theological, philosophical, and psychological), in *Foundations of Mysticism*, *op. cit.*, Appendix, 265-343.

¹³² Nelstrop et al, *Christian Mysticism*, 4.

- (a) *ineffability* – the inability of giving an adequate account of the experience in words
- (b) *noesis* – “a flash of inspiration in which the recipient is left with the impression that they have encountered knowledge of a highly authoritative nature,” or “insight into supra-rational truth”
- (c) *transiency* – the sudden appearance and departure of noetic experience, and short duration
- (d) *passivity* – “the feeling of the will being surrendered and overwhelmed by a superior power.”¹³³

For James, mysticism is “the quest to attain union with God,”¹³⁴ and mystical experience delivers new knowledge. This is potentially problematic for evangelical Christians who affirm the finality of divine revelation in Christ and Scripture. However, Christian mystical experience may be valid if the experience does not contradict the positive teaching of Scripture.¹³⁵

The biblical warrant for Christian mystical experience is contested. The word “mystical” derives from the Greek *μυστικός*, and claims of discovering the hiddenness of Christ, in Scripture or through the sacraments, may be significant. Mysticism may invoke the incarnation whereby “God became man in order that men might be lifted to God”;¹³⁶ with

¹³³ Nelstrop et al, *Christian Mysticism*, 5; and James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 380.

¹³⁴ James, *Varieties of Religious Experience*, 380.

¹³⁵ On this point Evelyn Underhill asserts that “For mystics, spirituality is fundamentally about a subjective sense of union with God, not cognitive adherence to objective truths.” Quoted in Michael Raiter, *Stirrings of the Soul: Evangelicals and the New Spirituality* (Kingsford, NSW: Matthias Media, 2003), 167.

¹³⁶ Douglas V. Steere, “Mysticism,” in Marvin Halverson & Arthur Cohen (eds), *A Handbook of Christian Theology* (London: Fontana, 1960), 240.

such ascent represented in mystical experience. The ladder in Jacob's dream (Gen 28:12; cf. Jn 1:51) is viewed as a metaphor for mystical experience. The transfiguration of Jesus (Mt 17:1-8) and the image of the vine and branches (Jn 15:1-8) may reflect mystical experience. Texts such as Ephesians 4:7-16 and Hebrews 5:11-14 are said to support the notion of mystical ascent.¹³⁷ The question of whether Jesus was a mystic remains unresolved, but mystical writers generally consider the New Testament apostles John and Paul to be mystics.¹³⁸ William Inge called the Fourth Gospel the "Charter of Christian Mysticism."¹³⁹ Paul's conversion experience, his many references to being "in Christ," his mention of being "caught up to the third heaven" (2 Cor 12:2), various Pauline references to union with Christ, and his declaration of identification with Christ (Gal 2:20) may refer to mystical experiences.

Scripture does not, however, insist that mystical experience should be normative for Christians. As Corduan observes, whereas a spiritual worldview is important for the New Testament writers, "there is no mystical experience to be sought. There is no truth to be learned through New Testament mysticism. There is no plan of asceticism or meditation to actualize this mystical reality."¹⁴⁰ Scripture nourishes mystical experience but does not explicitly form or instruct Christians in mystical practice.¹⁴¹

Mysticism is nevertheless present within mainstream Christian traditions. In the first century, mysticism arose in response to what historian Philip Sheldrake describes as "undifferentiated

¹³⁷ Marian Raikes, *A Step Too Far: An Evangelical Critique of Christian Mysticism* (London: Latimer Trust, 2006), 19.

¹³⁸ Corduan, *Mysticism*, 112.

¹³⁹ William R. Inge, *Christian Mysticism* (London: Methuen, 1899), 44.

¹⁴⁰ Corduan, *Mysticism*, 138. See also his discussion of the nature of New Testament mysticism, pages 133-139.

¹⁴¹ Georgia E. Harkness, *Mysticism: Its Meaning and Its Message* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1973), 35.

reflection on Christian sources and their application” in which “intellectual reflection, prayer and living were, ideally speaking, a seamless whole.”¹⁴² Beyond this, three successive waves of Christian mysticism are discernible.¹⁴³ The first, Monasticism (c.200-c.1200), is exemplified by Origen, John Cassian, Augustine of Hippo, Maximus the Confessor, and Victorines such as Thomas Gallus. The second wave, the New Mysticism (c.1200-1650), saw the rise of the Franciscan and Dominican orders as wellsprings of mysticism, with Francis of Assisi, Meister Eckhart, Catherine of Sienna, Julian of Norwich, Teresa of Avila, and John of the Cross as exemplars. The third period, the “Crisis of Mysticism” (late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries), featured Jacques-Bénigne Bossuet, François Fénelon, and Madame Guyon among many others. Then came “the nadir of the mystical tradition” coinciding with the triumph of the Enlightenment, followed by a strong resurgence in the early twentieth century which “began to show that the mystical element in Christianity was far richer and more important than its marginalized status in the church would indicate.”¹⁴⁴ Morling participated in this resurgence, reading selected mystics of the second period and, to a lesser extent, the third; and promoting experiences which he identified as mystical.¹⁴⁵

¹⁴² Philip Sheldrake, *Spirituality and Theology: Christian Living and the Doctrine of God* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1998), 36.

¹⁴³ McGinn, *Foundations of Mysticism*, 40.

¹⁴⁴ McGinn, *Foundations of Mysticism*, 40. See also Cuthbert Butler, *Western Mysticism: The Teaching of Augustine, Gregory and Bernard on Contemplation and the Contemplative Life* (second edition; New York: Harper & Row, 1966); and a review of Butler by Abbot Benedetto Calati, “Western mysticism” (trans. Dom Barnabas Sandeman), *The Downside Review*, 1 July 1980, 201-213.

¹⁴⁵ Document 146, among others, illustrates Morling’s familiarity with Christian mystical writings, including those of Johann Bengel (1687-1752), François Fénelon (1651-1715), Madame Guyon (1648-1717), Julian of Norwich (c.1342-after 1416), and Thomas á Kempis (c.1380-1471).

Christians may be drawn to mystical literature for various reasons, but a chief purpose is self-transcendence. Another is the capacity for mystical texts to allow one to express what may otherwise be regarded as ineffable. Nelstrop, Magill and Onishi put it well:

Christian mystical texts draw us out of ourselves and point us towards an other/Other [. . .] It is this capacity of Christian mystical texts to take us deeply into the minds of others while at the same time bringing us to an encounter with the deepest part of our own being that makes them truly mystical.¹⁴⁶

Yet mysticism is not a subjective alternative to seemingly objective dogma. As American Catholic writer Flannery O'Connor observes, "Dogma can in no way limit a limitless God [. . .] For me, dogma is only a gateway to contemplation and is an instrument of freedom and not of restriction. It preserves mystery for the human mind. Dogma is the guardian of mystery. Doctrines are spiritually significant in ways we cannot fathom."¹⁴⁷ It is hard to imagine Morling disagreeing with this sentiment.

Many of the best-known Christian mystics identify as Catholic, but other Christian traditions also embrace or approve of mystical experience. For example, whereas Puritans generally eschew practices separating subjective experience from the "objective" word of God, leading to "man-centred mysticism,"¹⁴⁸ they also demonstrate interest in "direct and unmediated experience of God," expressed in personal spiritual intimacy and finding its natural context "in the midst of the Christian community, and supremely in worship."¹⁴⁹ Historian Geoffrey

¹⁴⁶ Nelstrop, Magill & Onishi, *Christian Mysticism*, 255f.

¹⁴⁷ Flannery O'Connor, *The Habit of Being*, quoted in Justin S. Holcomb, *Know the Creeds and Councils* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2014), 167.

¹⁴⁸ Joel R. Beeke & Mark Jones, *A Puritan Theology: Doctrine for Life* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2012), 962.

¹⁴⁹ Gordon Mursell, *English Spirituality from Earliest Times to 1700* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001), 369. On Puritan mystical experience see also Gordon S. Wakefield, "Mysticism and its Puritan types," *London Quarterly and Holborn Review* 191, 1966, 34-45; Geoffrey F. Nuttal, "Puritan and Quaker mysticism," *Theology* 78 (no. 664), 1975, 518-531; Jerald C. Braner, "Types of Puritan piety," *Church*

F. Nuttall observes that throughout his study of Puritan faith in its relation to the work of the Holy Spirit, “the Puritan movement [. . .] has evinced itself to be a movement toward immediacy in relation to God,” although such “immediacy” should not be understood as merging with the divine.¹⁵⁰ The doctrine of “sealing” articulated by Richard Sibbes (1577-1635), a progressive work of the Holy Spirit in the believer accompanied by “ravishing joy” and peace of conscience, also illustrates Puritan mysticism. Sibbes links the sealing with assurance of salvation and urges all Christians to pray for “a spirit of revelation that we may be more sealed.”¹⁵¹ Such mystical experience may resemble Morling’s Peel River experience.

Nevertheless, some evangelical Christians display grave misgivings regarding the phenomenon of Christian mysticism, viewing its practice and literature as unnecessary distractions from genuine Christian piety. Presbyterian theologian Charles Hodge (1797-1878) represents a general negative attitude by Protestant thinkers toward mysticism prior to the twentieth century. Hodge holds that mysticism had no theological foundation in Scripture, is contrary in practice to Scripture and to “the facts of experience,” and there is “no criterion by which to judge the source of inward suggestions.” He concludes that mysticism produces evil, encouraging neglect of Christian institutions and ordinances through preferring the principle of “immediate, objective revelation of truth to every man.”¹⁵² Further, whereas the

History 56 (1), 1987, 39-58; Simon K. H. Chan, “The Puritan meditative tradition, 1599-1691: A study of ascetical piety,” PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1986; Jonathan Jong-Chun Wong, “Communion with Christ: An exposition and comparison of the doctrine of union and communion with Christ in Calvin and the English Puritans,” PhD dissertation, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1989; and Geoffrey F. Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (1946; repr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

¹⁵⁰ Nuttall, *Holy Spirit*, 134.

¹⁵¹ Richard Sibbes, *A Fountain Sealed*, in *The Complete Works of Richard Sibbes. Volume 5* (ed. Alexander B. Grosart, 1862-1864; repr. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 2004), 441, 454. See also Tom Schwanda, *Soul Recreation: The Contemplative-Mystical Piety of Puritanism* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2012).

¹⁵² Charles Hodge, *Systematic Theology. Volume 3* (1871-1873; repr. London: James Clarke & Co., 1960), 80.

Christian mystics saw union with God as the endpoint of a life of discipleship, many Protestants consider themselves already united with God through justification and regeneration. Protestants do not, in principle, require mystical experience to be assured of mystical union with the deity.¹⁵³

This is especially the case for prominent Protestant theologians of the early twentieth century. For Karl Barth, mysticism is a “blind alley” opposed to the gospel;¹⁵⁴ an “esoteric atheism” leaving religion “undisturbed” by divine revelation.¹⁵⁵ Barth explicitly challenges the notion that humans may experience God in any real sense.¹⁵⁶ Similarly, Rudolf Bultmann views the mystic as one who seeks to convert the word of God “into his own human word, which he can hear in the depths of his own soul.”¹⁵⁷ For Bultmann, mysticism seeks to “replace revelation and historical existence with immediate contact with God.”¹⁵⁸ Emil Brunner reduces mysticism to an emotional experience to which faith responds “with a sharp, plain ‘No’.”¹⁵⁹ Herman Bavinck likewise opposes Christian mysticism.¹⁶⁰ In *The Protestant Mystics*, Anne Fremantle claims that Barth, Bultmann and Brunner all held that “there ought not to be any Protestant mystics.”¹⁶¹

¹⁵³ Raikes, *A Step Too Far*, 42.

¹⁵⁴ Barth, *Epistle to the Romans*, 59, 109.

¹⁵⁵ Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, 1/2, 349-352.

¹⁵⁶ Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, 1/1, 239.

¹⁵⁷ Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971), 382.

¹⁵⁸ Harvey D. Egan, “Christian apophatic and kataphatic mysticisms,” *Theological Studies* 39 (3), September 1978, 402.

¹⁵⁹ Emil Brunner, *Man in Revolt* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957), 252f.

¹⁶⁰ Herman Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics. Volume 1: Prolegomena* (trans. John Vriend; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2003), 466-469.

¹⁶¹ Anne Fremantle, *The Protestant Mystics* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1964), vii. On the other hand, note Reformed theologian John Frame’s discussion of the role of experience, emotions and imagination in his

Conservative evangelical theologians of the twentieth century typically take a similar stance. In his *Systematic Theology*, for example, dispensational theologian Lewis Sperry Chafer contrasts true and false mysticism. True mysticism, he argues, “contends that all believers are indwelt by the [Holy] Spirit and thus are in a position to be enlightened directly by Him [. . .] [through] the unveiling of the Scriptures to the mind and heart.”¹⁶² “False” mysticism includes all theories and movements attesting to extrabiblical revelation, including Mormonism, Quakers, and Seventh Day Adventism, and also the mystical teachings of Montanus, Tertullian, Francis de Sales, Thomas à Kempis, Madame Guyon, François Fénelon, and Thomas C. Upham.¹⁶³

In an article on mysticism in the 1960 edition of the *Baker Dictionary of Theology*, evangelical scholar Geoffrey W. Bromiley expresses extreme caution, arguing that mystical experience is “an expression of human religion rather than a true response to the divine revelation.”¹⁶⁴ Exegetically, he says, Scripture does not use the term “mysticism” or “mystic”; and Galatians 2:20 “has no inherent mystical orientation.”¹⁶⁵ Theologically, mysticism’s “search for directness or immediacy of union of communion between the soul and God” rests on the false assumption that God may be directly experienced.¹⁶⁶ Practically, for Bromiley, “mysticism entails an inevitable, if often unwitting and unwilling subjectivization.”¹⁶⁷ He

Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Christian Belief (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2013), 748-767.

¹⁶² Lewis Sperry Chafer, *Systematic Theology. Vol. 1* (1948; repr. Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1993), 14.

¹⁶³ Chafer, *Systematic Theology*, 1:13.

¹⁶⁴ Geoffrey W. Bromiley, “Mysticism,” in Everett F. Harrison *et al* (eds), *Baker’s Dictionary of Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1960), 367.

¹⁶⁵ Bromiley, “Mysticism,” 367.

¹⁶⁶ Bromiley, “Mysticism,” 367.

¹⁶⁷ Bromiley, “Mysticism,” 367.

concludes that, despite the celebrated contribution of mysticism to Christianity, “it may be doubted whether it is a genuine form of biblical and evangelical Christianity.”¹⁶⁸

Morling does not share such reservations. For Morling, experience plays a central role in verifying truth claims and interpreting Scripture, and mystical experience facilitates serenity and success in life. His approach accords with that of A. H. Strong who held that “as one initiated into the mysteries of Christianity, every true believer may be called a mystic. True mysticism is that higher knowledge and fellowship which the Holy Spirit gives through the use of nature and Scripture as subordinate and principal means.”¹⁶⁹ This is what others perceived in Morling when they described him as a “mystic.” In the foreword to a posthumous tribute to Morling, a former student of Morling, Rev. Michael Dennis, said:

My abiding memory of GHM is that he was something of a mystic which is rare for a committed evangelical but his mysticism was always grounded in practical Christian living. There was a simplicity about his faith which commended him to both young and old but there was also a breadth and depth and love which marked him out as a spiritual giant.¹⁷⁰

Similarly, in his autobiography, Manley notes that Morling “was appreciated as something of a mystic.”¹⁷¹ Curiously, Morling once attributed a similar quality to a ministerial colleague. In the foreword to a biography of Rev. Dr C. J. Tinsley, Morling suggested that Tinsley’s life possessed “the authentic Divine Fire [. . .] of the Holy Spirit.”¹⁷² He observed that Tinsley

¹⁶⁸ Bromiley, “Mysticism,” 368.

¹⁶⁹ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 31.

¹⁷⁰ Michael Dennis, “Foreword,” in David Nicholas, *Journeys with God*, iii.

¹⁷¹ Manley, *For All That Has Been*, 95.

¹⁷² John G. Ridley, *C. J. Tinsley of Stanmore: A Lover of the Evangel* (Broadway, NSW: Greenwood Press, n.d.), v.

“had a developing experience of God,” and had come under the influence of American Baptist theologian Adoniram Judson Gordon (1836-1895), whose books, *In Christ, The Ministry of the Spirit*, and *The Twofold Life* “ministered to his disturbed heart” during a protracted period of physical and mental suffering during which “the evangel became the evangelical mystic.”¹⁷³ It appears from such testimony that mystical experience was encouraged among twentieth-century Baptist leaders in New South Wales, and found a champion in Morling.

Mystical experience may convey to observers a perception of spiritual authority and suggest the possibility of a “deeper life” of personal fulfilment. It may also provide a contemplative or experiential alternative to what Marian Raikes calls a “too exclusively cerebral” emphasis evident among twentieth-century evangelicals.¹⁷⁴ Morling addresses this problem in the first of his weekly Australian Baptist Bible School notes on the Holy Spirit in 1946:

Let me suggest that the best method of approach to this great subject is by way of experience. Let it be clearly understood that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit has to do with personal religious experience. This means that we shall never understand the fact of the Holy Spirit unless we are prepared to be experimental. Let us pause here and face that matter. Have we ever had a spiritual experience? Have we a present spiritual [experience] or is our Christian faith merely intellectual and formal? [. . .]

Unless the Jesus of History is for us here and now the Christ of Experience, the Christianity of the New Testament is really unknown to us. But it need not be so. We may have a joyous, satisfying experience of Christ and the way of it is the way of the Spirit. But we must be experimental [. . .] The early disciples entered into the happy, effective enjoyment of the Spirit before there was any formal statement of the doctrine (doc 109:1).

¹⁷³ Ridley, *Tinsley*, vi. The suffering was apparently “serious eye trouble.”

¹⁷⁴ Raikes, *A Step Too Far*, 10.

Morling also encouraged fellow Baptist ministers to pursue evangelical mysticism. In an undated occasional essay, “The minister and the mystics,” he claims that the solution to the modern malaise of “spiritual mediocrity” is to retain an “inner fire” by harnessing the resources of the Christian mystics:

In this world of the spirit the mystics are helpful guides. If there is a law of triangularity in the culture of the soul, if God speaks home to our hearts in some new way, as a rule, only through some third person, then one or another of the mystics may well be that mediating source (doc 151:115).

He outlines four principles drawn from the writings of the Christian mystics which he considers applicable to twentieth-century Baptist ministers. First, the mystics confirm the spiritual nature of ultimate reality. Morling refers to William Blake, Rufus Jones, Simone Weil, and Teresa of Avila, adding, “We break through into intimacy by such means as [the mystics] and ourselves become men of Presence.” Second, the mystics model the way of inwardness. Morling refers here to Madame Guyon, Brother Lawrence, Alexander Whyte, Jakob Böhme, William Law, and Thomas Kelly. He states, “The way of inwardness implies two things: firstly, an opening of the understanding to comprehend the mystery of God’s indwelling [. . .] [Secondly,] the practice of orientation around the Indwelling Presence. It is the adoring attachment that follows the detachment of the Via Negativa.” Third, the mystics commend the wisdom of passiveness. Morling refers here to Blaise Pascal and Thomas Chalmers, concluding that “because God is ever coming to us we need not anxiously strive to realise His Presence, but in love and desire wait for Him to disclose Himself.” Finally, the mystics promote the place of silence in the culture of the soul. Here Morling refers to François Fénelon and Psalm 62:5. The spirituality of the mystics, Morling says, “has its roots deep in the soil of silence. Such silence is not merely negative – an absence of noise within and without – but richly positive, the direct gift, through the Holy Spirit, of the God of the heavens. It is a silence which is attentive and expectant in its relation to God” (doc 151:119).

Morling concludes: “For us the mysticism of special psychological constitution is neither possible nor desirable. But there is a higher mysticism of character open to us all, a mysticism rooted in God Who dwells in the deeps within waiting to speak to us if we are sufficiently quiet to listen” (doc 151:119). The early twentieth century witnessed a resurgence of Christian interest in medieval and Reformation-era Christian mystics, including some within evangelical Protestantism who boldly ventured into formerly forbidden territories of “desert spirituality” and the classical mystical tradition.¹⁷⁵ Morling was one of these.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the place of religious experience in Morling’s Christian thought and explored the historical context of his apparent mysticism. It concludes that religious experience was central to Morling’s epistemology and spirituality. Indeed, mystical experience was encouraged among NSW Baptist leaders and found a champion in Morling. Perhaps he is best described as an enthusiastic advocate of mystical spirituality, though not an original mystic. The next chapter provides further insight into Morling’s formation by exploring key sources of influence in his intellectual and spiritual formation.

¹⁷⁵ Barbara Jean, “The influence of the medieval mystics on twentieth-century spirituality,” *Mystics Quarterly* 19 (3), September 1993, 136.

Chapter 4—The influence of religious movements

This chapter outlines key features of the theological culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, and their influence on evangelical Christianity, and examines the place of the Quaker and Keswick movements in Morling's life and ministry.

1. The challenge of modernity

The European Enlightenment and the modern age precipitated fundamental challenges for Christian theology. Historian Claude Welch suggests that the triumph of reason over revealed religion arose in response to “the anti-dogmatic, antienthusiastic temper of an age tired and disgusted with religious controversies, persecutions, and wars.”¹ Chief among these challenges was the appeal of atheism and secularism inspired by the work of key thinkers such as Ludwig Feuerbach (1804-1872), Charles Darwin (1809-1882), Karl Marx (1813-1883), Friedrich Nietzsche (1844-1900), and Sigmund Freud (1856-1939). Feuerbach held that the idea of God was a projection of cherished moral values. Darwin took the view that humans were not the special creation of a personal deity but the result of chains of evolutionary natural selection. For Marx, religion was an illusion perpetuating unjust economic and cultural conditions. Nietzsche claimed that God was dead, humankind had

¹ Claude Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century: Volume 1, 1799-1870* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972), 32.

eclipsed the need for conventional morality, and a new age had dawned in which the *übermensch* would create a new humanity governed by “the will to power.” For Freud, religion resembled a juvenile security blanket to be discarded in pursuit of mature psychological freedom.² Although the causes of conflict between science and religion were complex and nuanced, these intellectuals were lauded as prophets of a new secular society in which science replaced religion as the ultimate social authority. English mathematician William K. Clifford (1849-1879) spoke for many when he argued in 1876, “it is wrong always, everywhere, and for anyone to believe anything on insufficient evidence [. . .] or to dismiss relevant evidence in a facile way.”³ Clifford concluded that the Christian faith, founded on the words of an imaginary deity, was intellectually offensive and immoral. In the early twentieth century, logical positivists argued that all metaphysics was meaningless since their subject matter could not be empirically verified.⁴

This is the intellectual world of Morling’s time. In the early decades of the twentieth century, evangelical Christianity struggled for survival, relevance and balance. As church historian Adrian Hastings observes, “Never was evangelicalism weaker than in the 1920s – in vigour of leadership, intellectual capacity, or largeness of heart.”⁵ Nineteenth-century historical scholarship and scientific reason placed enormous pressure on the movement to embrace modernity. Whereas many Roman Catholics took modernity to be destructive to faith and tradition, Protestant Christians were generally more optimistic. Many Protestants considered

² Peter Feldmeier, *The Christian Tradition: A Historical and Theological Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 305.

³ William K. Clifford, “The ethics of belief,” essay read before the Metaphysical Society, London, 1876, published in *Contemporary Review*, 1877.

⁴ Simon Oliver, “Reading philosophy,” in Mike Higon & Jim Fodor (eds), *The Routledge Companion to the Practice of Christian Theology* (London: Routledge, 2015), 86.

⁵ Adrian Hastings, *A History of English Christianity, 1920–1990* (London: SCM Press, 1991), 200.

Christianity and modernity compatible; they assumed that Protestant dogma and praxis were able to assimilate the challenges of the modern age.

On the issue of the authority of Scripture, for example, church historian Justo L. González observes that, “while Protestant theologians claimed that they valued Scripture above tradition, in reality they valued modernity above both.”⁶ In a 1908 review of progress in systematic theology, theologian Gerald B. Smith identified a subtle shift which rendered the Bible “a living record of the historical experiences of religious people rather than a compendium of doctrines.”⁷ Smith also notes the rise of “a group of younger theologians in America who consult historical and evangelical Christian experience as the actual source of theology.”⁸ Smith observes that theologians “are rapidly abandoning that ideal of dogmatic systematization which was inherited from scholasticism and which is so ill adapted to correlate itself with the scientific methods which are now universally accepted in other fields.”⁹ This is the theological world which Morling encountered in the second decade of the twentieth century.

In his survey of Baptist theology, Garrett identifies four historical “incursions,” namely modernism, dispensationalism, the English Christological controversy and open theism.¹⁰

⁶ Justo L. González, *A Concise History of Christian Doctrine* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2005), 204.

⁷ Gerald B. Smith, “The field of systematic theology today,” *The Biblical World* 32 (2), August 1908, 113.

⁸ Smith, “The field of systematic theology today,” 117.

⁹ Smith, “The field of systematic theology today,” 123. See also Stephen Neill, “The Christian world in 1900,” in Neill (ed.), *Twentieth Century Christianity* (London: Collins, 1961), 11-32; W. M. Horton, *Contemporary English Theology* (New York: Harper, 1936); W. M. Horton, *Contemporary Continental Theology* (London: SCM Press, 1938); and A. S. Nash (ed.), *Protestant Thought in the Twentieth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1951).

¹⁰ Garrett, *Baptist Theology*, 549-579.

Morling faced the first two incursions. A brief review of selected intellectual and theological developments follows.

2. Liberalism

Liberal theology, so-called because it shares moral coherence with philosophical liberalism, aimed to rearticulate Christian faith to meet the opportunities and challenges of the modern age. In the early nineteenth century, German Protestant theologian Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768-1834) sought to broaden the scope of theology to encompass “religion” in general, by which he meant the subjective consciousness of the divine inherent in human culture and experience. The subsequent work of fellow theologian Albrecht Ritschl (1822-1889) exemplifies such liberalism as construed toward the end of the nineteenth century. Ritschl applied Kantian principles to the analysis of human existence, identifying the kingdom of God as “the realm of rationally dictated political and social love.”¹¹

Other contemporary proponents of liberal theology include Adolf von Harnack (1851-1930) and Walter Rauschenbusch (1861-1918). Harnack’s *What is Christianity?* exemplifies liberal theology at its peak.¹² For Harnack, Christian faith is best defined as a commitment to the universal Fatherhood of God, the Brotherhood of man, and the infinite value of the human soul. He argued that the object of the Christian gospel is “to transform the socialism which rests on the basis of conflicting interests into the socialism which rests on the consciousness

¹¹ Carl E. Braaten & Robert W. Jenson (eds), *A Map of Twentieth-Century Theology: readings from Karl Barth to Radical Pluralism* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1995), 16.

¹² Adolf von Harnack, *What is Christianity?* (third edition; ET 1900; trans. Thomas B. Saunders; London: Williams & Norgate, 1904).

of a spiritual unity.”¹³ Morling occasionally quotes Harnack but appears unconvinced by his progressive approach (e.g., doc 166:12).

Much of the liberal theological agenda was incompatible with evangelical faith on the grounds of its optimistic anthropocentrism, its commitment to an anti-supernatural historicism, and its aim to radically revise Christian theology. Within English Protestantism, the modernist impulse tended to encourage a rationalistic rejection of biblical authority, a stronger focus on ethics, an emphasis on mystical devotional practices, and “the denial of any real distinction between the natural and the supernatural or between Christianity and other religions.”¹⁴ Kenneth Cauthen argues that modernists “had no real sense of continuing in the line of the historic faith” and adopted as the standard for measuring religious values “the presuppositions of modern science, philosophy, psychology, and social thought.”¹⁵

As the century progressed, many Protestants remained willing to accept “evangelical liberals” such as Harry Emerson Fosdick (1878-1969) but rejected “modernistic liberals” such as Shailer Mathews (1863-1941) as embracing a post-Christian faith. Garrett notes that the theological modernism of the early twentieth century “constituted such an alien and threatening incursion into Baptist theology as to warrant rejection or resistance.”¹⁶ Moreover, as Timothy George argues,

liberal Baptists followed the theological trajectory of Schleiermacher and Ritschl into revisionist models of theology that denied, in some cases, the

¹³ Harnack, *What is Christianity?*, 13f.

¹⁴ R. T. Beckwith, “Modernism (English),” in Martin Davie et al (eds), *New Dictionary of Theology* (second edition; Downers Grove: IVP, 2016), 585. See also H. P. V. Nunn, *What is Modernism?* (London: SPCK, 1932); and Alan M. G. Stephenson, *The Rise and Decline of English Modernism* (London: SPCK, 1984).

¹⁵ Kenneth Cauthen, *The Impact of American Religious Liberalism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962), 26-30.

¹⁶ Garrett, *Baptist Theology*, 560.

most fundamental truths of the gospel. At the other extreme, anti-intellectual pietism and emotion-laden revivalism pitted theology against piety, soul religion against a reflective faith, thus producing a split between sound doctrine and holy living.¹⁷

The old theological liberalism slowly lost momentum after 1914. As the unnamed editor of a significant theological treatise presciently observed in 1913, “All who try to mould into new forms of expression the elements of the spiritual life must end with a sense of failure. What they cast into the crucible is so precious, and what comes out of it is so disappointing.”¹⁸

Following the horrific events and accompanying existential crisis of the First World War, the dialectical theology of thinkers such as Karl Barth, Emil Brunner and Rudolf Bultmann began to fill the intellectual-theological vacuum. Liberal theology did not entirely disappear; as historian William R. Hutchison observes, “liberalism continued, through the thirties and after, to show remarkable resilience, both as a word and as a cluster of theological and biblical preferences forged in the great nineteenth century battles.”¹⁹ Liberal theological method also survived, and its later development and versatility are illustrated by the work of scholars such as Paul Tillich and Hans Kung.

However, long before the events of the Great War, liberal theology began to be dismantled from within. In 1892, in *Jesus’ Proclamation of the Kingdom of God*, liberal scholar Johannes Straus (1868-1916) demonstrated that Jesus was not of a liberal orientation, and the kingdom he proclaimed was to be established by direct divine intervention rather than

¹⁷ Timothy George, “The future of Baptist theology,” in Dockery & George (eds), *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition*, 5.

¹⁸ “Epilogue,” in Burnett H. Streeter et al, *Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought: By Seven Oxford Men* (London: Macmillan, 1913), 527.

¹⁹ William R. Hutchison, *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976), 287.

through enlightened human moral action. Similarly, in *The Quest for the Historical Jesus*, published in 1906, New Testament scholar Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965) “showed that the liberal portraits of the ‘historical Jesus’ had been works of ideological imagination, and that the historical Jesus, insofar as he can be known at all, presents a mystery of apocalypticism utterly useless to our projects of self-improvement.”²⁰

Liberalism had a reflexive impact on Baptists in NSW. According to church historian Donald E. Hansen, there was little theological discord within NSW Baptist churches prior to 1914, but “a marked upsurge in theological disputation between 1919 and 1939,” attributable to “a change in attitude towards the Bible, the influence of the Great War on people’s thinking, the appointment of a number of extreme liberals to high church office, and the unprecedented publicity which theological matters received in the secular press throughout the 1920s and ’30s.”²¹

However, whereas Roman Catholics identified liberal beliefs with theological heresy, Baptists in NSW took a more pragmatic approach, claiming that liberalism threatened their conservative denominational identity, and undermined faith in Scripture as the word of God, which tended to “nullify the preaching of the gospel.”²² NSW Baptist leaders feared that some Baptists in England, and in other Australian states, had embraced liberalism, but the desire for continued fellowship averted the issuing of heresy charges.²³ There was little

²⁰ Bruce L. McCormack, “Introduction: On ‘modernity’ as a theological concept,” in Kelly M. Kapic & Bruce L. McCormack, *Mapping Modern Theology: A Thematic and Historical Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 16f.

²¹ Donald Edgar Hansen, “The Churches and society in New South Wales: 1919-1939. A study of Church activities, socio-religious issues, community-Church and non-Church relations,” PhD thesis, Macquarie University, 1978, 48.

²² Hansen, “The Churches, 74.

²³ Hansen, “The Churches, 74, footnote 75.

constructive debate among Baptists in NSW on theological issues but rather conservative consensus. Hansen observes that “The great majority agreed that liberal methods and beliefs were a threat both to their spiritual and their denominational well-being, and those who dissented either maintained silence or, like [Rev. T. E.] Ruth, transferred their membership elsewhere.”²⁴ As for Morling, he did not embrace theological liberalism. The theologians and biblical scholars who principally influenced Morling were of other schools, as this and the next chapter indicate.

3. Neo-orthodoxy

Despite apparent popularity, there was considerable resistance by early twentieth-century theologians to liberalising and modernising tendencies in theology, and even some self-identifying modernists reacted against what they perceived as the excesses of the German Protestant theologians.²⁵ Liberal theology subjected Scripture to scientific analysis and marshalled insights from science and the humanities to shape and transform Christian belief according to the intellectual trends of the day. Its main rival in the twentieth century took a different approach. Neo-orthodoxy, given voice in Europe by the Reformed theology of Karl Barth (1886-1968), and in America by the Christian realism of Reinhold Niebuhr (1892-1971), embraced the challenges of modernity and sought to engage these without surrendering a distinctive Christian commitment to the notion of divine revelation.²⁶

²⁴ Hansen, “The Churches, 75.

²⁵ McCormack, “Introduction,” 17.

²⁶ Neo-orthodoxy is more complex than this short description suggests; Bernard Ramm provides a fine eleven-point summary of classic neo-orthodoxy in his *Handbook of Contemporary Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966), 89-92. See also Dennis N. Voskuil, “From liberalism to neo-orthodoxy: The history of a theological transition, 1925-1935,” PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1974.

Barth's massive theological treatise, *Church Dogmatics*, denounced the excesses of nineteenth-century liberalism and sought to restate classical orthodoxy in a form responsive to the needs of the twentieth century.²⁷ For Barth, liberal Protestantism failed to understand the nature of revelation, resulting in a dilution of the faith. Yet, as theologian Peter Feldmeier observes, "those who embraced Barth's 'dialectical theology' continue to advance a modern faith that aims to be in dialogue with the modern world without being reduced to it."²⁸

The work of Barth, Brunner, Bultmann and Niebuhr may also be a response to the immanent theology of Schleiermacher, Ritschl and Harnack, since the former scholars sought to restore a stronger sense of transcendence to the theological narrative.²⁹ Baptists were often slow to embrace new modes of theological thought.³⁰ Australian Baptists, far from the geographic centres of constructive theology and possessing alarmingly few resources, were even slower. Morling quotes Barth at least 17 times but does not interact with his thought in substantial ways.³¹ Morling did not embrace Barth's neo-orthodoxy, which rejected the empiricism and intuitionism germane to the work of theologians whom Morling respected, such as A. H. Strong and E. Y. Mullins.

²⁷ Gerald Bray, *Creeds, Councils and Christ: Did the Early Church Misrepresent Jesus?* (second edition; Fearn, Ross-Shire, UK: Mentor, 1997), 28.

²⁸ Feldmeier, *Christian Tradition*, 312.

²⁹ This is the organising principle employed in Stanley J. Grenz & Roger E. Olson, *20th Century Theology: God and the World in a Transitional Age* (Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 1992), see especially pages 11-13.

³⁰ Bebbington, *Baptists Through the Centuries*, 106.

³¹ This may be partly attributable to the inaccessibility of Barth's works; *Church Dogmatics*, for example, was first published in English between 1936 and 1967.

4. Fundamentalism

Religious fundamentalism was another significant response to the Enlightenment, modernity and progressive theology.³² Modern theology may be divided into five types on a continuum.³³ At one extreme is a secular theology giving priority to some modern school of philosophy or worldview, holding that Christianity is valid only insofar as it embraces the dominant contemporary philosophy. Next on the continuum is a theology seeking to integrate Christianity with a philosophy, concept or problem to do justice to both. Rudolf Bultmann's existential project is an example of this. Occupying the 'centre' is a theology seeking to foster dialogue between Christianity and modernity, correlating the two in various ways. Paul Tillich's theology illustrates this approach. A fourth perspective, exemplified by Barth's work, insists "that Christian identity is primary and that all other reality needs to be constructed in relation to it, but also that Christianity itself needs continually to be rethought and that theology must engage seriously with the modern world in its quest for understanding." The fifth type, correlating to religious fundamentalism, assumes a reactionary posture and views "all of reality in its own terms, with no recognition of the significance for it of other perspectives or of all that has happened in recent centuries."³⁴

³² On fundamentalism see George M. Marsden, "Fundamentalism as an American phenomenon, a comparison with English Evangelicalism," *Church History* 46 (2), June 1977, 215-232; George M. Marsden & J. D. Hankins, Jr., "Fundamentalism," in Martin Davie et al (eds), *New Dictionary of Theology: Historical and Systematic* (second edition; Downers Grove: IVP, 2016), 356-358; and Treloar, *Disruption of Evangelicalism*, especially 172-202. On evangelicalism and fundamentalism in Australia see Parker, David, "Fundamentalism and conservative Protestantism in Australia 1920-1980," PhD thesis, University of Queensland, Brisbane, 1982. On the phenomena in the UK see Bebbington & Jones (eds), *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism*, *op. cit.*

³³ David Ford, *The Modern Theologians: An Introduction to Christian Theology Since 1918* (third edition; Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2005), 2-3. This paragraph draws on Ford's summary of Hans Frei's thought, although the order in which he discusses the types is reversed here. See Hans Frei, *Types of Christian Theology* (ed. George Hunsinger & William C. Placher; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).

³⁴ Ford, *Modern Theologians*, 2-3.

This fifth type proved popular among Protestant nonconformists in the first decades of the twentieth century. Its origins may be traced to a series of annual conferences at Niagara and other locations between 1883 and 1897. At these gatherings, a group of mostly American Christian leaders endeavoured to form an evangelical resistance movement against the encroachment of evolutionary theory and the “higher” biblical criticism promoted by many liberal scholars. As an indirect result of those gatherings, between 1910 and 1915 a group of conservative British and American Christians published a series of pamphlets. Titled *The Fundamentals*, they defended doctrines deemed crucial to the survival of evangelical faith, such as the inerrancy of Scripture, the deity and virgin birth of Christ, the cross as representing substitutionary atonement for sins, the bodily resurrection of Christ, and the veracity of the miracles of Christ as reported in the Gospels. These developments highlighted the growing divide emerging in Europe and North America between the theological liberalism of the academy and the personal religious experience of a significant proportion of the Christian constituency.³⁵ Among Baptists in Australia too, “the somewhat defensive NSW tradition became more aggressively sectarian and liberal sentiments were put to flight.”³⁶ The movement known as Christian fundamentalism takes its name from those seminal pamphlets.

Historian Joel A. Carpenter observes that the nascent movement “combined a biblicist, generally Calvinist orthodoxy, an evangelistic spirit, an emphasis on the higher Christian

³⁵ On liberalism and developments such as publication of *The Fundamentals* see Claude Welch, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century: Volume 2, 1870-1914* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985), 221-238.

³⁶ Bollen, *Australian Baptists Past and Present*, 39. Here Bollen has in mind Morling’s colleague, Rev. C. J. Tinsley. Historian Susan Emilsen identifies a similar conservative cultural shift coinciding with the Great Depression and exploited by religious fundamentalists. See Susan E. Emilsen, *A Whiff of Heresy: Samuel Angus and the Presbyterian Church in New South Wales* (Kensington, NSW: NSW University Press, 1991), 169f.

(Holy Spirit directed) life and a millenarian eschatology.”³⁷ The Baptist denomination in NSW was more closely aligned with religious fundamentalism than with neo-orthodoxy or liberalism. Nevertheless, as Morling navigated the theological challenges of the 1920s and 1930s, aware of the conservative sentiments held by many pastors and church members, and the diverse views of the academically inclined among his Baptist constituency, these three movements vied for supremacy in Christian public discourse.³⁸ It would be unkind to describe Morling as a fundamentalist, although he, along with 24 other NSW Baptist pastors, signed a fundamentalist statement on the Second Coming of Christ and other biblical doctrines in 1914.³⁹ Ron Rogers notes that “Morling took up his leadership role in the midst of eschatological disputes. By keeping aloof from the debates, refusing to take sides and setting himself to the task of patient teaching, he helped the [Baptist Union of NSW] move into calmer waters and more productive enterprises.”⁴⁰ Morling is best described as a Christian, an evangelical, and a Baptist.

While Hans Frei’s five types of modern typology are useful, lived experience is often more complex than typologies assume, and movements may transcend the boundaries of a type. This is reflected in various histories of Baptist theology,⁴¹ and more broadly among

³⁷ Joel A. Carpenter, “Fundamentalist institutions and the rise of evangelical Protestantism, 1929-1942,” *Church History* 49 (1), March 1980, 64.

³⁸ Rogers notes a rare instance where, in 1936, Morling affirmed the value of Karl Barth’s work and his recently released exposition of the Apostles’ Creed, titled *Credo* (1935; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1962); Rogers adds, “This is not to suggest that the Principal was Barthian but that he was able to recognise the importance of Barth’s contribution. Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 137; see also pages 180, 183.

³⁹ Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 414f. On Morling and the return of Christ, see chapter 11.

⁴⁰ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 4.

⁴¹ See, for example, the chapters on James Pettigru Boyce, the Broadus-Robertson tradition, C. H. Spurgeon, A. H. Strong, B. H. Carroll, E. Y. Mullins, and W. T. Conner in George & Dockery (eds), *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition*; and Garrett, *Baptist Theology*, especially pages 249-341, 415-434, 449-455, and 549-70.

evangelicals between the 1870s and the 1930s.⁴² Yet by the late 1930s, the outlook for evangelical Christianity in Britain (and in America and Australia), “was not very encouraging [. . .] The great evangelical strengths of the nineteenth century seemed to have faded away, leaving only a remnant.”⁴³ Oliver Barclay describes British evangelicalism in the interwar years as prone to defensiveness, legalism and anti-intellectualism. He claims that “no new conservative [biblical] commentaries of any weight had appeared for a long time, and biblical studies such as the Keswick Bible readings were often rather loosely devotional with little careful exposition.”⁴⁴

Similarly, theology was not well served by scholarship in the 1930s and 1940s, leading English Anglican minister Leonard Hickin to note that, in the 1940s, “serious theological writing in Britain was largely confined to Free Church scholars such as C. H. Dodd and Vincent Taylor, the distinguished members of the Westminster College staff in Cambridge; and Scottish divines like John and Donald Baillie; or to Anglo-Catholic scholars, as represented by men like Sir Edwyn Hoskyns, A. G. Herbert, and Kenneth Kirk.”⁴⁵ Morling prized Scottish and English theology and biblical scholarship, but his theological formation occurred earlier and none of these scholars feature in the primary documents.

⁴² Bebbington, *Baptists Through the Centuries*, 103f. See also David W. Bebbington, “Baptists and fundamentalism in inter-war Britain,” in Keith Roberts (ed.), *Protestant Evangelicalism: Britain, Ireland, Germany and America, c. 1750-c. 1950: Essays in Honour of W. R. Ward* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 297-326.

⁴³ Oliver Barclay, *Evangelicalism in Britain 1935-1995: A Personal Sketch* (Leicester: IVP, 1997), 15.

⁴⁴ Barclay, *Evangelicalism*, 19, 25f.

⁴⁵ Leonard Hickin, “The revival of evangelical scholarship,” *Churchman* 92 (2), 1978, 125.

Morling had no known personal theological mentor, and to speculate on possible mentors invites the professorial fallacy.⁴⁶ There were, however, significant persons whose ideas and achievements influenced Morling, some of whom he acknowledges. In document 11:13, for example, reflecting on Psalm 5, Morling refers to “William Law, that great master of the spiritual life.” Law (1686-1761) was a spiritual writer educated at Emmanuel College, Cambridge. His best-known work, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life*, reflects the thought of Thomas à Kempis and other spiritual writers and encourages the pursuit of ethical virtues in the service of God.⁴⁷ Law was also influenced by the German Protestant mystic Jakob Böhme (1575-1624), whom Morling also occasionally quotes (for example, doc 144:67; 98:4). Böhme emphasised the indwelling of Christ in the believer and held beliefs resembling the Quaker notion of “inner light.”

In addition to the pastors of his youth, and Rev. T. Coleman mentioned earlier, Morling identifies one NSW Baptist minister as especially significant as a mentor. In document 34:2, recollecting early ministry experience at Hurlstone Park Baptist Church, he says, “I had real help from that dear old saint of God, Stephen Sharp.”⁴⁸ From 1919, Sharp was one of three ministers who, along with Morling, assisted the first College principal, Alexander Gordon in his teaching responsibilities.⁴⁹ Sharp appears to have lectured or tutored in theology until 1923,⁵⁰ and was active in Baptist ministry until the 1940s. In another place, Morling writes:

⁴⁶ The professorial fallacy is the false assumption that most of the important beliefs, attitudes and knowledge acquired by a student find their source in the curriculum and faculty of their *alma mater*. See Donald H. Akenson, *Discovering the End of Time: Irish Evangelicals in the Age of Daniel O’Connell* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2016), 7 (in reference to John Nelson Darby’s thought).

⁴⁷ William Law, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1728; repr. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1906).

⁴⁸ On Sharp see Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 401, 414, 450, 708; Sharpe regularly featured in *AB*.

⁴⁹ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 30.

⁵⁰ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 33, 46, 48.

The history of a good minister of Jesus Christ may not readily be known. On the human side, it generally runs back to the dear dreams of a saintly mother, the steady encouragement of a godly father, and the tender and strong ministries of Sunday School and church, the inspiration of spiritual heroes – all combining in the awakening of a holy desire to be a herald of the Good News.

But the history of a good minister of Jesus Christ is longer and deeper than that. We Baptists love to insist that there is a transcendent element in the Church. That is to say, that the ultimate fact in the constitution of the Church is the Presence of Christ. Not as Ignatius said, “Where the bishop is, there is the Church,” but “Where Christ is, there is the Church.” And in the same way there is a transcendent element in the ministry (doc 150).

This suggests that virtuous human intent and benevolent divine impulses work together to realise the will of God.

Morling does not clarify what he means by “the inspiration of spiritual heroes,” but from his use of quotations and book references, and incidental remarks in written materials, it is possible to identify certain individuals – biblical and theological scholars, missionary leaders, and mystical writers – who positively influenced Morling’s Christian thought. The next chapter discusses the most significant of these. But first it is necessary to discuss two Christian movements that deeply influenced Morling: the Quakers, and the Keswick movement.

5. The Quakers

Also known as The Society of Friends, Quakers are a religious movement whose origins may be traced to the radical wing of English Puritanism of the 1640s, perhaps also influenced by early General Baptists. Their first significant organiser was George Fox (1624-1691). In youth, Fox witnessed the rule of Charles I, Archbishop Laud’s harsh treatment of nonconformists, the Long Parliament, and the ensuing emigration of Puritans to America. He

experienced a spiritual crisis and “inner illumination” in 1646 and in the following year began outreach to “shattered Baptists” and others.⁵¹ His journal indicates that the crisis was not consciousness of depravity and guilt but powerlessness to overcome temptation.⁵² Fox rejected the Puritan preoccupation with sin, holding that he had been restored to a prelapsarian freedom, “kept by the power of Christ in a state of perfection even ‘more steadfast’ than that of Adam in Paradise.”⁵³ A visionary experience in 1652 convinced Fox that God speaks directly and authoritatively to individuals, and that his mission was “to direct the people to the Spirit that gave rise to the scripture.”⁵⁴ Whereas early Quakers saw Puritans as their chief opponents,⁵⁵ not least because of severe religious persecution, church historian Geoffrey F. Nuttall argues that Quakerism is the true interpretation of Puritanism and the logical end of the Reformation, and that Quakerism, “with its fresh perception of the implications of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, is the beginning of a new cycle” in the history of spirituality.⁵⁶

The genesis of Morling’s interest in Quaker spirituality is unclear. The Rogers biography mentions Quakers only once, in the transcript of a 1974 eulogy by B. G. Wright.⁵⁷ “Quakers” are mentioned numerous times in primary documents (e.g., doc 1:v, 107, 126; 3:19, 65, 69,

⁵¹ R. Newton Flew, *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology: An Historical Study of the Christian Ideal for the Present Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934), 284.

⁵² George Fox, *The Journal of George Fox* (ed. John L. Nickalls; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), i.4.

⁵³ Fox, *Journal*, i.28.

⁵⁴ Carole D. Spencer, “Quakers in theological context,” in Stephen W. Angell & Pink Dandelion (eds), *The Oxford Book of Quaker Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 144.

⁵⁵ Donald F. Durnbaugh, “Baptists and Quakers – left wing Puritans?” *Quaker History* 62 (2), Autumn 1973, 80f.

⁵⁶ Nuttall, *The Holy Spirit*, 13f.

⁵⁷ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 420.

71; 7:11; 32:198; 34b:7, 14f; 34d:4; 39b: 3), as are George Fox (1624-1691) (doc 1:85, 107; 3:66; 24:4; 32:198), Rufus Jones (1863-1948) (doc 3:19; 20:7; 56:16), and Thomas Kelly (1893-1941) (doc 3:69; 34a:8.). In September 1961, Morling was reading *Social Law in the Spiritual World*, by Quaker leader Rufus Jones, and in 1966 he was reading an unnamed book by Thomas Kelly, but his devotion to Quaker writings may have arisen decades before.⁵⁸ Theological liberalism in Quaker thought was historically the chief cause of Baptist losses to the Quakers.⁵⁹ For Morling it was something else.

Three quotations from primary sources suggest the likely nature of Morling's fascination with Quaker thought and praxis. First, speaking at a NSW Baptist School of Theology gathering in 1968, referring to contemplative spirituality, Morling said, "I have no sense of being cleansed and kept by the Holy Spirit unless I'm relaxed [. . .] I can't sink into God quietly [. . .] unless my muscles are relaxed [. . .] I'm a good Catholic and a good Quaker" (doc 131:14). Second, according to Stuart Piggin, Morling once told Hugh Watkin-Smith that he would be "quite happy to have been a Quaker."⁶⁰ Third, while conducting archival research for this dissertation, the author discovered a folder labelled "The Holy Spirit and mysticism" among miscellaneous items at the Baptist Archives in Sydney. In the folder were various notes on Paul's letter to the Ephesians in Morling's hand, and an annotated copy of pages xviii-xxi and 36-37 of Rufus Jones's book, *Studies in Mystical Religion*.⁶¹ Together

⁵⁸ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 324, 372; Rufus M. Jones, *Social Law in the Spiritual World: Studies in Human and Divine Interrelationship* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1904). Morling may have been referring to Thomas R. Kelly, *A Testament of Devotion* (London: Harper, 1941). On Jones see Elizabeth Gray Vining, *Friend of Life: The Biography of Rufus M. Jones* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1958); on Kelly see Richard Kelly, *Thomas Kelly: A Biography* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966).

⁵⁹ Michael R. Watts, *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (vol. 1 of 3; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 205.

⁶⁰ Comment by Hugh Watkin-Smith to Stuart Piggin at a meeting of the Baptist Historical Society, 17 April 1990.

⁶¹ Rufus M. Jones, *Studies in Mystical Religion* (London: Macmillan, 1909).

these references suggest that Morling possessed a significant interest in Quaker mysticism, though not necessarily in Quaker theology.⁶²

Implicit in Quakerism is a tension between the mystical and the rational. Reacting to nascent Puritan scholasticism, early Quakers emphasised a non-creedal faith and practised mystical interiority, radical community and practical mission. They “focused on the in-dwelling Christ, incarnated as the inward Light or Light Within [. . .] the mystical reality that lies beneath ritual and dogma.”⁶³ Attempts at reform and social change produced divisions. For example, the holiness revival that swept North America from the 1830s, with its emphasis on personal experience, awakening to holiness of life, and social reform, captivated many Quakers hungry for spiritual renewal.⁶⁴ Quakers were also the first to translate the Quietist writings of Jeanne Guyon (1648-1717) into English.

According to Quaker historian Carole Spencer, “The goal of prayer in Quaker theology was perfection, or the union of the soul with God. Guyon’s writings helped to transform radical Quakerism into mystical Quakerism by the beginning of the eighteenth century.”⁶⁵ Moreover, Methodist leader John Wesley reportedly “borrowed much of his teaching on perfection from both the Quietists and the Quakers. Wesley’s turn against Quietism helped drive the wedge between mysticism and evangelicalism that fiercely split American Quakerism by the mid-

⁶² For an outline of Morling’s understanding of Quaker doctrine and “technique,” see also doc 153:131-136.

⁶³ Spencer, “Quakers in theological context,” 141f.

⁶⁴ Spencer, “Quakers in theological context,” 148. On page 149, Spencer equates the British manifestation of this revival with the Keswick movement.

⁶⁵ Spencer, “Quakers in theological context,” 145. Morling often quoted Guyon.

nineteenth century.”⁶⁶ Quaker historian Pink Dandelion identifies three main Quaker traditions today: Quietistic, Evangelical and Liberal.⁶⁷

Although non-creedal, Quakers held definite theological doctrines. The first formal systematic Quaker theology is Robert Barclay’s *Apology for the True Christian Divinity*, reacting against Calvinist scholasticism and rationalism.⁶⁸ With division came diversity of belief as well as praxis, although in 1934 R. Newton Flew articulated four distinctive elements in Quaker theology:

- (a) enhanced personality, whereby moral effort is not hopeless since “human nature has been lifted on to a new level of life”;
- (b) focus on the life of holiness as human destiny, including social transformation;
- (c) the possibility of achieving a perfect life without following any external authority; and
- (d) power for such a life centred in the cross of Christ (“an inward living experience in the heart of the believer, refashioning his life into perfect love”).⁶⁹

While there is theological diversity among Quakers, the notion of direct inward encounter with the divine is normative.⁷⁰ For many Quakers, revelation is not closed; the word of God is not the Bible but the living Christ whose Spirit guides and illuminates every person. In

⁶⁶ Spencer, “Quakers in theological context,” 146.

⁶⁷ Pink Dandelion, *The Quakers: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008), 55-70. See also Michael L. Birkel, *Silence and Witness: The Quaker Tradition* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2004), especially pp. 29-38.

⁶⁸ Robert Barclay, *Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (1678; repr. Glenside, PA: Quaker Heritage Press, 2002).

⁶⁹ Flew, *The Idea of Perfection*, 290f.

⁷⁰ Dandelion, *The Quakers*, 79.

contrast to classic evangelical doctrine, the cross is not primarily an objective reality but a daily identification with Christ's sufferings. Quakers generally affirm natural rather than imputed holiness, a realised eschatology, and universal redemption. Morling appreciated Quaker devotional writings and shared a desire for direct inward encounter with God. However, some aspects of Quaker theology, such as the claim of natural holiness and the diminution of the objective achievements of the cross, were incompatible with his Baptist heritage and professional role. Morling's Quaker sympathies appear to have informed his private devotional life rather than his public ministry. His involvement with the Keswick movement in Australasia, on the other hand, was both informed by his private devotional life and gained a high public profile which was largely welcomed by Baptists in NSW.

6. The Keswick movement

In contrast to Morling's links with the Quakers, his association with the Keswick movement is clearer and more significant for determining the centre of his theology. Central to evangelical faith is a commitment by the individual to spiritual and moral progress toward holiness or Christlike perfection.⁷¹ Church historian Horton Davies claims that a theological emphasis on divine immanence and ethics by early twentieth-century preachers in England had the effect that "adoration of God lost its primacy and holiness its ultimacy."⁷² This was not the case among evangelicals, especially those associated with the Keswick movement. Indeed, Ian Randall regards Keswick as the defining movement of evangelical spirituality.⁷³

⁷¹ Treloar, *Disruption of Evangelicalism*, 58.

⁷² Horton Davies, *Worship and Theology in England. Volume 5: The Ecumenical Century, 1900-1965* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965), 131-133.

⁷³ Ian M. Randall, *Evangelical Experiences: A Study in the Spirituality of English Evangelicalism, 1918-1939* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999), 7.

Moreover, David Bebbington identifies the Keswick movement as the third of four strands of evangelical holiness teaching and likens the Keswick movement to the High Church idiom of the Oxford Movement.⁷⁴

Keswick spirituality is a distinctive stream of Christian spirituality arising from the nineteenth-century holiness movement, standing in contrast to Methodism and Pentecostalism. The movement officially began with a summer convention at Keswick in the English Lake District in 1875, in the wake of D. L. Moody's British evangelistic campaign, and preceded by similar smaller gatherings at Broadlands and Oxford in 1874, and at Brighton in 1875. Many evangelicals felt a need for "a means of coping with the challenges of their era,"⁷⁵ and as it developed the Keswick spirituality offered a systematic approach to sanctification in a Romantic setting celebrating poetry, nature, evangelical mysticism, and the possibility of personal transformation.

According to John Wesley, a Christian may attain a state of Christian perfection by experiencing a second stage of sanctification beyond justification whereby she or he "experiences a total death to sin, and an entire renewal in the love, and image of God."⁷⁶ This was sometimes known as "sanctification by faith."⁷⁷ Classic Keswick teaching denied the Wesleyan doctrine of entire sanctification, but asserted the need for Christians to seek an

⁷⁴ David W. Bebbington, *The Evangelical Quadrilateral. Vol. 1: Characterizing the British Gospel Movement* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2021), 202-204. The other three strands are Calvinist holiness, Wesleyan holiness, and Charismatic renewal.

⁷⁵ Bebbington, *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain*, 152. Bebbington identifies the challenges as rationalism, ritualism and secularism.

⁷⁶ John Wesley, "A plain account of Christian perfection," in *John and Charles Wesley. Classics of Western Spirituality* (ed. Frank Whaling; London: Paulist Press, 1981), 334.

⁷⁷ For example, D. B. Hankin, in *Account of the Union Meeting for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness, Held at Oxford, August 29 to September 7, 1874* (repr. Metuchen, NJ: Forgotten Books, 1980), 178.

experience of the fullness of the Spirit. This was an experience, separate from regeneration, whereby the self was dethroned and the believer encountered a profound sense of union with Christ. According to historian Randall H. Balmer,

The theology that emerged from Keswick rejected the traditional notion that justification was immediate but that the process of sanctification was long and arduous. Instead, Keswick promised deliverance from sin by claiming ‘victory in Christ.’⁷⁸

Moreover, as Olson observes,

The theology of Keswick spirituality is compatible with Reformed thought and therefore is not limited, as the Holiness movement tends to be, to Arminian and Wesleyan believers. It promotes a vision of Christian sanctification that is progressive rather than sudden (as in much Holiness thought) but also relatively perfectionistic in contrast to much traditional Protestant thought.⁷⁹

This so-called “higher life” was attained through a five-fold process: awareness of the problem of indwelling sin within the Christian; cleansing as a prerequisite to being filled with the Holy Spirit; absolute surrender to the lordship of Christ; the “Spirit-filled life”; and Christian service and ministry.⁸⁰

The Keswick movement was intentionally non-denominational, and speakers were encouraged to “avoid making dogmatic statements about eternal security, or eradication [conditional immortality], or the millennium, or other controversial matters.”⁸¹ Nevertheless,

⁷⁸ Randall Herbert Balmer, “Keswick movement,” in *Encyclopedia of Evangelicalism* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 318.

⁷⁹ Olson, “The Keswick movement,” 83.

⁸⁰ Olson, “The Keswick movement,” 83.

⁸¹ Allister Smith, *The Ideal of Perfection* (London: Oliphants, 1963), 119.

its focus and fervour attracted criticism. The most common criticism is that Keswick teaching implies two classes of Christian, the converted and the consecrated, the carnal and the spiritual. As Baptist minister and Keswick enthusiast W. Graham Scroggie (1872-1958), put it, believers who have not yet experienced the “second blessing” are “living between Easter and Pentecost, on the right side of justification, but the wrong side of sanctification.”⁸² Other criticisms include alleged promotion of anti-intellectualism, latitudinarianism, and quietism.⁸³ Anglican evangelical leader and holiness advocate J. C. Ryle criticised Keswick’s “vague language, severance of the nexus between conversion and consecration and the prospect of attaining perfection in this life.”⁸⁴ Early Pentecostals considered the Keswick message to be inadequate and eclipsed by Pentecostal distinctives of healing and baptism in the Spirit.⁸⁵

There was adaptation and development in doctrine within the Keswick movement, orchestrated by Anglican vicar Stuart Holden (1874-1934) in the 1920s, and by Scroggie, the dominant Keswick theologian in the 1930s-1950s.⁸⁶ Randall argues that, through the interwar years, the Keswick movement “engaged in a refashioning which moved it away from its roots in pneumatological holiness and resulted in a lessening of intensity in the realm of experience.”⁸⁷ This trend continued after World War II. In 1947, for example, the Inter-

⁸² Will F. Renshaw, *Marvellous Melbourne and Spiritual Power: A Christian Revival and Its Lasting Legacy* (Moreland, Vic.: Acorn Press, 2014), 108.

⁸³ Olson, “The Keswick movement,” 84.

⁸⁴ Treloar, *Disruption of Evangelicalism*, 60; see also J. C. Ryle, *Holiness: Its Nature, Hindrances, Difficulties and Roots* (second edn, 1879; repr. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 2014).

⁸⁵ See, e.g., *Elim Evangel*, 12 July 1929, 168.

⁸⁶ W. B. Sloan, *These Sixty Years: The Story of the Keswick Convention* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1935).

⁸⁷ Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*, 39. See also Charles Price & Ian Randall, *Transforming Keswick* (Carlisle, UK: OM Publishing, 2000), 244; Andrew David Naselli, *No Quick Fix: Where Higher Life Theology Came From, What It Is, and Why It’s Harmful* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2017); and Tim Chester, *Stott on the Christian Life: Between Two Worlds* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2020), 113-134, especially pages 121-123 on the 1965 controversy over the “moral incongruity” of sin.

Varsity Fellowship held its first official “canvas camp” of approximately 30 undergraduate men at Keswick, with most of those attending “[coming] to see that Jesus Christ must be Lord of all if the Christian life is to be worth living.”⁸⁸ Commenting on the seminal influence of philosopher and theologian Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) on Christianity in Sydney, Stuart Piggin suggests that with Marcus Loane leaving the principalship of Moore Theological College, “the spirituality associated with [Jonathan] Edwards was lost in the rush to discard Keswick-style piety.”⁸⁹

Keswick teaching proved enduringly popular among many twentieth-century Anglican evangelicals in Britain, and among Baptists. Occasionally a Baptist leader was invited to speak at a Keswick convention. The English Baptist minister F. B. Meyer was a regular Keswick speaker and spoke at the first Keswick-style convention in Wales in 1903. This was “an event that did much to inspire the Welsh Revival of 1904-1905,”⁹⁰ one that, as noted in chapter one, indirectly influenced the development of Morling’s spirituality. Another English Baptist minister, W. Y. Fullerton (1857-1932), spoke at the 1913 Keswick Convention. Randall argues that between 1900 and 1920 a significant element of English Baptist spirituality was “the awareness of the call to personal surrender to God and teaching about the concept of sanctification by faith.”⁹¹ For some Baptists, Keswick provided the context to pursue such transformation; other Baptists, having already had such an experience, found the

⁸⁸ “The I.V.F. at Keswick,” *The Inter-Varsity Magazine* (London), Michaelmas Term, 1947, 23.

⁸⁹ Stuart Piggin, “Australia,” in Douglas A. Sweeney & Jan Stievermann (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Jonathan Edwards* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 533.

⁹⁰ Bebbington, *Baptists Through the Centuries*, 113.

⁹¹ Ian M. Randall, “The myth of the missing spirituality: Spirituality among English Baptists in the early twentieth century,” in Philip E. Thompson and Anthony R. Cross (eds), *Recycling the Past or Researching History? Studies in Baptist Historiography and Myths* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2005), 108. See also Randall, “Capturing Keswick: Baptists and the changing spirituality of the Keswick Convention in the 1920s,” *Baptist Quarterly* 36 (7), 1996, 331-348.

Keswick atmosphere congenial.⁹² Thus it was for Scroggie in England,⁹³ and perhaps also for George Morling at Katoomba where a form of Keswick spirituality had taken root in Australia in 1903.

In Australia, a convention modelled on the original Keswick event, organised by Rev. H. B. Macartney, was held in 1876 at St Mary's, Caulfield, an Anglican church, in Melbourne.⁹⁴ A similar convention was held in Sydney in November 1879, and another at Geelong in 1891 as part of evangelist George C. Grubb's Australian mission. Whereas many Victorian Baptist leaders supported these moves, as did South Australian Baptist leader Rev. Silas Mead, Rev. W. T. Whitley (1861-1947), Principal of the Baptist Theological College of Victoria from 1891 to 1901, opposed "higher life" teaching. For Whitley, "There are not two classes of Christians, the saved who have only lower life, and the perfectly obedient who have also higher life. There is only one class, the saved, who because they have life are trying to obey."⁹⁵ He criticised Australian Presbyterian evangelist John MacNeil's *The Spirit-Filled Life*⁹⁶ for its separation of conversion from consecration, other Victorian Baptists responded, and a lively debate ensued.⁹⁷ Such polarisation was not evident among NSW Baptists. Whitley returned to England in 1901; what Morling thought of his stance is unknown.⁹⁸ Eventually

⁹² Randall, "The myth of the missing spirituality," 116.

⁹³ Ian M. Randall, "Graham Scroggie and evangelical spirituality," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 18 (1), 2000, 71-86.

⁹⁴ H. B. Macartney, in *The Christian's Pathway of Power*, January 1876, 12f, citing *The Southern Cross*, Melbourne, 18 September 1875.

⁹⁵ Ken R. Manley, "'The right man in the right place': W. T. Whitley in Australia (1891-1901)," *Baptist Quarterly* 37 (4), October 1997, 184.

⁹⁶ John MacNeil, *The Spirit-Filled Life* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1894).

⁹⁷ Manley, "'The right man in the right place'," 185.

⁹⁸ Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 125.

annual meetings were convened at Katoomba in the Blue Mountains west of Sydney, and at Upwey (later at Belgrave Heights) in the Dandenong mountains outside Melbourne, although under separate leadership and developing in different ways.⁹⁹

While he may have attended Keswick meetings earlier, Morling appears to have first addressed such a meeting at Katoomba, and at parallel meetings at Upwey, in the summer of 1932-33.¹⁰⁰ According to Ken Manley, Morling's advocacy of Keswick teaching was "linked with his concern for the relationship between health and spirituality. He was influenced by a conversation with visiting Bible teacher Graham Scroggie at the Katoomba Convention in 1934. This gave him a new insight, 'that the life of faith includes the deliberate offering of the body to God, with the expected outcome of improved health and greater effectiveness in service'."¹⁰¹ Morling's temperament, heritage and theological orientation also predisposed him to Keswick teaching and practice, and to regular involvement in the movement in its different antipodean iterations at Katoomba and Upwey. His preference for biblical exposition and his warm devotional manner found ready audiences. Braga notes that Morling was appointed to the Katoomba Christian Convention Council in 1932, and "his great gifts as leader, preacher and councillor were used generously at the Convention [for the next four decades]."¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Darrell Paproth, "The Upwey Convention and C. H. Nash," *Lucas* 16, December 1993, 26-45.

¹⁰⁰ In late 1932, Morling visited Melbourne to address the Victorian Baptist Assembly, and the Upwey Keswick Convention; the latter was led by Dr J. J. Kitchen, Australian director of the China Inland Mission. *The Herald* (Melbourne), 29 Dec 1932, p. 13.

¹⁰¹ Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 490-491. See also Morling, *QFS*, 44.

¹⁰² Braga, *A Century Preaching Christ*, 65-66. Morling remained on the Katoomba Convention Council until 1955, a period of 23 years.

It is unclear how frequently Morling spoke at Keswick events at Katoomba, but he addressed the Upwey/Belgrave Heights convention in Melbourne in 1932-33, 1936-37, 1939-40, 1941-42, 1945-46, 1946-47, 1947-48, 1952-53, 1954-55, 1957-58, 1964-65, and 1967-68.¹⁰³ Given his personal commitment to the Upwey convention over 35 years, it is possible that he attended the Katoomba convention on the same or alternate summers over a similar period. He was a regular speaker at Katoomba; he may have attended prior to 1932 as an ordinary convention delegate. According to Stuart Braga, Morling unsuccessfully pressured the convention council to include “systematic Bible exposition” in the 1931 program.¹⁰⁴ Interviewed for Braga’s 2003 centennial history of the Katoomba Convention, former Sydney Anglican Archbishop Marcus Loane said he recalled four Katoomba speakers as particularly outstanding: George Morling, Herbert Begbie, Hugh Paton and John Ridley.¹⁰⁵ Loane was guest preacher at the College Commencement service on 6 March 1951.¹⁰⁶

Morling’s strong advocacy of the Keswick movement in Australia and abroad is illustrated by three key references. First, in an *AB* article published in 1939, Morling discusses the spiritual lives of three leading Australian Baptist ministers: Silas Mead (Flinders Street Baptist Church, Adelaide), Samuel Chapman (Collins Street Baptist Church, Melbourne), and Thomas Porter (Petersham Baptist Church, Sydney). Morling says, “The common denominator in these stories was an experience of holiness by faith and a consequent preaching of that emphasis,” and proceeds to outline the origin and teaching of the Keswick

¹⁰³ Sally Minett, *A River Glorious: The Story of Belgrave Heights Convention* (Melbourne: privately published, 2015), 24-27. The first Upwey convention took place in 1918-19; it moved to its current location at Belgrave Heights in 1950.

¹⁰⁴ Braga, *A Century Preaching Christ*, 76.

¹⁰⁵ Braga, *A Century Preaching Christ*, 66.

¹⁰⁶ *AB*, 28 Feb 1951, 5f.

movement as he understood it.¹⁰⁷ Second, in his history of the Upwey Convention, Will Renshaw records Morling's memories of earlier meetings as he addressed the 1967-68 Convention (his last as speaker):

The history of the Upwey/Belgrave Heights Convention reaches back to the movement for scriptural holiness that was one fruit of the evangelical revival of the mid-nineteenth century which came to notable expression in the Keswick Convention.

Australia felt that breath of the Spirit at the turn of the century and perhaps it was most strongly felt in Victoria. In this State, a group of men representative of the whole Church of God was thrust up by the Holy Spirit. They felt soul need and longed for something more, and so avoided what has been called the curse of spiritual mediocrity.¹⁰⁸

Third, a "Minute of Appreciation" passed by Morling's College Council in 1974 and subsequently passed by the Executive Committee of the Baptist Union of NSW notes that Morling "was constantly in demand as a Convention speaker where his Bible readings were a feature which drew large crowds. He majored on the 'Keswick' teaching of holiness and the doctrine and work of the Holy Spirit."¹⁰⁹

Conclusion

Morling came to faith in Christ at a time when, in the academy, nineteenth-century theological liberalism was ceding ground to neoorthodoxy. He shows little interest in either movement. There is evidence that he favoured religious fundamentalism in the 1920s, but he avoided its more rigid and destructive elements and became a prominent exemplar of

¹⁰⁷ AB, 25 July 1939, 1f.

¹⁰⁸ Renshaw, *Marvellous Melbourne*, 218-219.

¹⁰⁹ Baptist Theological College of NSW, College Council minutes, 1969-1975, 23 April 1974, 363; Baptist Union of NSW Annual Assembly minutes, 1969-1975, 460.

conservative, optimistic evangelicalism. Morling's interest in Quaker spirituality indicates his aptitude for spiritual introspection and inwardness. His interest in the Keswick movement was more acceptable to his Baptist constituency, especially as the Quaker movement diversified in the twentieth century. Identification with the Keswick movement gave Morling opportunities to explore and promote a distinctive evangelical spirituality informed by personal experience and linked, as chapter six explores, with the doctrine of union with Christ. Individual leaders and guides also played key roles in shaping Morling's theology and spirituality, and to these we now turn.

Chapter 5—The influence of religious scholars

This chapter discusses aspects of the life and work of scholars whom Morling frequently quotes or mentions, or who otherwise influenced his theology and spirituality. Patterns, trends and emphases are identified.

1. Key sources of influence

Prior to 1945, many Baptists in New South Wales regarded with suspicion ministers who pursued higher education. Morling, who knew first-hand the benefits of such education, sought to dispel such fears. His report to the 1940 Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of NSW states:

We are acutely conscious that theological learning is not always consistent with religious effectiveness. The church has ever with it the danger of pride of reason, the intolerance of the intellect which is just as great as the intolerance of ignorance, and the coldness of heart, which absorption in books only too readily begets. We humbly hope that our realisation of the danger is a safeguard against it.¹

Elsewhere, he writes, “Too often the culture of the educated man needs warming and empowering, while the enthusiasm of the zealot needs controlling” (doc 150:2). Morling

¹ Baptist Union of NSW *Year Book 1939-40*, 83.

describes his approach as “doctrinal-experimental truth.”² As chapter three demonstrated, religious experience was central to Morling’s epistemology and spirituality. He was also drawn, as chapter four demonstrated, to mystical literature and to Quaker spirituality and the spirituality and doctrines of the Keswick movement. Morling’s Christian thought was also informed by the rich heritage of academic scholarship available to him largely through books.

Morling was an eclectic reader who placed little direct emphasis on patristic, medieval or Reformation-era scholarship. Few of the writers whom he quotes identified as Baptist. He occasionally quotes major theologians such as Adolf von Harnack, C. H. Dodd, Karl Barth, Reinhold Niebuhr, and Paul Tillich. He favours scholars who possessed substantial pastoral and preaching experience. Primary sources indicate that Morling’s twenty most frequently quoted authors are Handley Moule (95 mentions), followed by Alexander Maclaren (75), B. F. Westcott (58), H. R. Mackintosh (53), G. Campbell Morgan (43), James Denney (39), Andrew Murray (31), Alfred Plummer (31), C. H. Spurgeon (31), A. H. Strong (30), W. H. Griffith Thomas (28), A. B. Davidson (23), James Moffatt (23), Alexander Whyte (23), P. T. Forsyth (22), Frederic Godet (22), Martin Luther (22), Hudson Taylor (21), Augustine of Hippo (20), and E. Y. Mullins (20). Barth sits in 24th place with 17 mentions, Calvin in 31st place with 11 mentions, and John Wesley has eight mentions. Thomas Aquinas has one mention.

Scholars as diverse in theology and socio-cultural context as Bernard of Clairvaux, William Law and James Orr also shaped Morling’s Christian thought and spirituality but are seldom mentioned by name. The following biographical sketches highlight aspects of the life and work of twenty persons whose scholarship or spirituality is notably reflected in Morling’s

² Diary entry, 19 Aug 1928, quoted in Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 490.

thought. Together they providing a sense of the nature of the “cloud of witnesses” upon whom Morling drew for insight and inspiration. All apart from Bernard are modern writers, and all but M’Cheyne and Edersheim were living during Morling’s lifetime. Many were English and Scottish scholars writing principally between the 1870s and the 1930s.

2. Persons of influence

(a) Handley C. G. Moule (1841-1920)

By his own account, Moule was Morling’s “chief spiritual master” (doc 30:127), “a moulding force” (doc 115:71). Born in Dorchester, Dorset, Moule pursued classics at Trinity College, Cambridge, and upon graduation worked as a teacher from 1865 to 1867. In 1866 he experienced a spiritual crisis, and following its resolution became “pastorally and academically a formidable figure in British evangelicalism.”³ Moule was ordained deacon in 1867 and priest in 1868; he assisted his father as curate at Fordington from 1867 to 1873 and again from 1877 to 1880. From 1873 to 1877 he was Dean of Trinity College, Cambridge, resigning to care for his frail father after his mother’s death. He served as principal of Ridley Hall, Cambridge, from 1880 to 1899, establishing Ridley Hall as an evangelical centre. In 1899 he declined nomination for the Anglican See of Sydney and was appointed Norrisian Professor of Divinity at Cambridge. He succeeded B. F. Westcott as Bishop of Durham from 1901, serving for 19 years.⁴

³ B. Chilton, “Moule, Handley Carr Glyn (1841-1920),” in John H. Hayes (ed.), *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation. Volume 2* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1999), 165f.

⁴ On Moule see J. B. Harford & F. C. Macdonald, *Handley Carr Glyn Moule, Bishop of Durham: A Biography* (third edition; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1922); Marcus Loane, *Handley Carr Glyn Moule, 1841-1920* (London: Church Book Room Press, 1947); Marcus Loane, *Makers of Our Heritage: A Study of Four Evangelical Leaders* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1967), 57-98; and K. A. Francis, “Moule, Handley Carr Glyn (1841-1920),” in *BDE*, 453f.

Moule's scholarship was shaped by a classical education, historical realism and evangelicalism. He wrote more than 60 books and pamphlets, and numerous articles. Among his chief works are books on various Pauline letters, on holiness, and on union with Christ.⁵ His theology was conservative and evangelical. His *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*⁶ begins with a discussion of natural and revealed religion, theism and Trinity, followed by chapters on God the Father, the person and work of Christ, and the Holy Spirit, then chapters on anthropology, ecclesiology, ministry, and sacraments. There is no chapter on eschatology, although he came to view the personal return of Christ as "an event which will prove as concrete and historical as the Nativity or the Passion."⁷

Moule was convinced that the evangelicals could "humbly claim to be the truest exponents of the central principles of our English worship and confession."⁸ He disdained higher biblical criticism and emphasised personal piety. He retained the conservative convictions of his young adulthood regarding the authority and inspiration of Scripture. As a biblical expositor, Moule

brought the distinctive virtues of a critical intellect and a perceptive sympathy to the exposition of the Scriptures. His work combined the skill and care of the Cambridge school of exegesis with the warmth and insight of the Keswick message [. . .] he knew how to make the voiceless longings of the human spirit clear and articulate for the sake of others.⁹

⁵ For a full list of published works see Loane, *Makers of Our Heritage*, 96-98.

⁶ Handley C. G. Moule, *Outlines of Christian Doctrine* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1905).

⁷ Quoted in Harford & Macdonald, *Moule*, 296.

⁸ Harford & Macdonald, *Moule*, 169.

⁹ Loane, *Makers of Our Heritage*, 85.

Morling sought a similar emphasis on biblical scholarship and personal piety, the doctrinal-experiential distinctive observed by others.

Moule's "spiritual crisis" of 1866 was a religious conversion experience but bears several notable similarities to Morling's spiritual crisis at Tamworth in late 1917 or early 1918.

Moule reported feeling conviction of sin, assurance of salvation, and a resulting sense of peace. He felt "the fatal guilt of sin [. . .] a fire in his mind,"¹⁰ and confided in his mother who led him "to the feet of Jesus" whom he accepted as his rescuer from damnation.¹¹

Biographer Marcus Loane adds, "Never again did he falter in the doctrine that the Cross of Christ stood for the death of his Substitute and Sin-bearer."¹² In a sermon on Psalm 31:20 preached at the University Church in Cambridge, Moule declares:

Not from an inner tumult of wrestling energies is to come that life's true power,
but from this hidden calm [. . .] A life all activity (or perhaps all suffering) at the
circumference, and revolving amidst the tangled things of the common hour, is
yet to move upon a central point of rest,

With inoffensive pace that spinning sleeps
On the soft axle.¹³

Morling echoed this theme of hidden calm despite busyness, sacrifice and suffering, and his use of the term "the Presence" may derive from Moule's use of it.¹⁴

¹⁰ Loane, *Makers of Our Heritage*, 64.

¹¹ Handley Moule, *Christ and the Christian: Words Spoken at Keswick* (London: Marshall Bros, 1919), 50.

¹² Loane, *Makers of Our Heritage*, 65.

¹³ Handley Moule, *The Secret of the Presence and Other Sermons* (London: Seeley & Co., 1900), 5-6; the anonymous poetry quoted in the last two lines is from John Milton, *Paradise Lost*, book 8, lines 164-165.

¹⁴ Moule, *Secret of the Presence*, 6.

Moule's influence on the Keswick movement was significant. Keswick sought to promote personal holiness, but some speakers reportedly "lacked balance" and Moule at first feared that their advocacy of sinless perfection may lead people "to trust for acceptance before God in a supposed perfection of their own instead of in the perfection of their redeeming Lord."¹⁵ He offered counselling to Cambridge students who were distressed by demands for spiritual surrender.¹⁶ Yet, when Moule attended a Keswick meeting in September 1884 he responded to a call to action, "[yielding] himself wholly and unreservedly to his Sovereign Lord to be His willing 'bond-slave,' and [trusting] Him with a new definiteness to work in him that transformation into His own Image which He alone could effect."¹⁷ This was "the secret of the Presence" to which Moule later referred. Morling also refers to "the Presence" (e.g., doc 11:6; 131:18, 21, 21, 24, 25, 29, 30), suggesting affinity with Moule's experience.¹⁸

Beginning in 1886, Moule regularly preached at the Keswick Convention. According to Loane, he "became the real theologian of the movement, nor did Evan Hopkins conceal his debt to him for his delicate 'adjustment of balance and focus'."¹⁹ In his book on Anglican evangelicalism, Moule claims the Keswick Convention "strongly influenced the development of evangelicalism in England."²⁰ He describes the theme of a typical Keswick meeting as "Jesus Christ in His fulness of grace and power for life and service, by the Holy Spirit; Himself the peace, purification, victory, strength, of his dedicated servants." He laments that

¹⁵ Loane, *Makers of Our Heritage*, 74.

¹⁶ Alexander Smellie, *Evan Henry Hopkins: A Memoir* (London: Marshall Bros, 1921), 122.

¹⁷ Harford & Macdonald, *Moule*, 128.

¹⁸ See further on this theme in the following chapter on union with Christ.

¹⁹ Loane, *Makers of Our Heritage*, 78.

²⁰ Handley C. G. Moule, *The Evangelical School in the Church of England* (London: James Nisbet, 1901). On Keswick see pages 78-84.

the movement drew unwarranted criticism as “the nursery of a crude ‘perfectionism,’ and acknowledges his own debt to the message of Keswick “after many misgivings and misunderstandings.”²¹ On his last visit to Keswick in 1919, Moule presented six addresses later published as *Christ and the Christian*, outlining his teaching on the victorious Christian life.²²

(b) James Orr (1844-1913)

Like Moule, Orr was formative in the development of Morling’s Christian thought. Yet, unlike Moule, Orr was a philosophical rather than exegetical theologian. References to Orr occasionally appear in Morling’s addresses and lecture notes (e.g., doc 38:85), and he quotes Orr as late as 1968 when addressing NSW Baptist ministers at a School of Theology (a denominational continuing education initiative) on the work of the Holy Spirit (doc 131: 4). Orr was the leading British critic of theological liberalism.²³ Born in Glasgow and educated at Glasgow University and at the United Presbyterian Divinity Hall, Edinburgh,²⁴ he encountered evangelicalism and was converted through the ministry of the Glasgow Young Men’s Christian Association and the Sydney Place United Presbyterian Church. In 1891, after seventeen years of pastoral ministry in the Scottish border town of Harwick, Orr presented a seminal lecture series²⁵ and was appointed as Chair of Church History at the

²¹ Moule, *The Evangelical School*, 84.

²² Moule, *Christ and the Christian*.

²³ Marsden, “Fundamentalism,” 219.

²⁴ Morling considered Edinburgh the “scholarly centre” of the evangelical movement (doc 74:4; page 3 of typescript).

²⁵ Published as James Orr, *The Christian View of God and the World* (1893; New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1908).

Divinity Hall in Edinburgh (1891-1901), and later Chair of Apologetics and Systematic Theology at the United Free Church College, Glasgow (1901-1913).²⁶

Drawing on Scottish Common Sense Realism, Orr asserts that the universe is actual and independent of human consciousness; there is “no deeper ground of certainty than ultimate facts of consciousness”;²⁷ and theism is “the ultimate basis on which all other knowledge, all other belief rests.”²⁸ Orr rejects thoroughgoing philosophical realism on the ground that “certain feelings or sensations belong to the subjective side of experience – they cannot be viewed as objective, material realities.”²⁹ For Orr, “there is inherent in the Christian faith an adequate and coherent interpretation of human existence [. . .] a worldview that may be drawn out through reflection on the Christian faith.”³⁰ *The Christian View of God and the World* defends Christianity as a self-authenticating system, reliable on the ground of intrinsic merits rather than rational proofs for the existence of God or apology for Scripture as divine revelation. This book appears to have been the first major theological work that Morling read. In 1937, Morling recalled “the combined intellectual and spiritual uplift which he received” on first reading “Professor Orr’s masterly book” in 1915, in preparation for admission to the Baptist Theological College of Victoria.³¹

²⁶ Glen G. Scorgie, “Orr, James,” in Trevor A. Hart & Richard Bauckham (eds), *Dictionary of Historical Theology* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster Press, 2000), 407-409.

²⁷ James Orr, “A thoroughgoing realist,” *Expository Times* 15, June 1904, 409.

²⁸ Alan P. F. Sell, *The Theological Education of the Ministry: Soundings in the British Reformed and Dissenting Traditions* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013), 79.

²⁹ James Orr, *David Hume and His Influence on Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903), 164f.

³⁰ Glen G. Scorgie, *A Call for Continuity: The Theological Contribution of James Orr* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988), 48.

³¹ *AB*, 17 Aug 1937, 7.

Scottish minister J. H. Leckie considered Orr “the last great theologian of the old evangelical type.”³² Theologically conservative at a time when “most of the [British] clergy had abandoned traditional assumptions concerning the full historical accuracy of Scripture for some form of higher criticism,”³³ Orr was an early critic of Ritschlian theology and opposed Julius Wellhausen’s reconstruction of Old Testament history. Yet he affirmed the right of others to espouse contrary views.³⁴ While he demonstrates familiarity with contemporary philosophical and theological literature, he seldom mentions the standard works of Scottish systematic theologians, and rarely mentions Calvin.³⁵

Orr authored biblical commentaries, historical and doctrinal studies, and scholarly and popular apologetics; he edited the five-volume first edition of the *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (assisted by American Baptist theologian E. Y. Mullins);³⁶ and published hundreds of articles and reviews. His essays on “The virgin birth of Christ,” “Science and Christian faith,” “Holy Scripture and modern negations,” and “The early narratives of Genesis” were reprinted for *The Fundamentals* project,³⁷ but Orr was not a major player in the early fundamentalist movement. He held a conservative view of divine revelation but

³² J. H. Leckie, *Secession Memories: The United Presbyterian contribution to the Scottish Church* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1926), 28.

³³ Marsden, “Fundamentalism,” 218.

³⁴ Alan P. F. Sell, *Defending and Declaring the Faith: Some Scottish Examples 1860-1920* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1987), 139; on Orr see pages 137-171.

³⁵ Scorgie, *Call for Continuity*, 48.

³⁶ Originally published 1915 (revised edition, Chicago: Howard Severance Co., 1930). Orr wrote many of the minor entries.

³⁷ James Orr, *The Virgin Birth of Christ* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1907).

cautioned that attempts to defend Christian orthodoxy on the basis of theories of inerrancy were “suicidal.”³⁸

Scorgie argues that the significance of Orr’s theological contribution “lay in the breadth of his grasp of orthodox theology and the exhaustiveness of the readings upon which his conclusions were based [. . .] [and] the vigor with which he defended and diffused his views.”³⁹ The doctrine of the incarnation was central to *The Christian View of God and the World*. Orr wrote, “In Christ a pure point of union is established with our fallen and sin-laden humanity, and this carries with it the assurance that everything else that is necessary for the complete recovery of the world to God will not be lacking.”⁴⁰ On universalism and conditional immortality, Orr argued that if “Christ’s sacrifice had infinite sufficiency and is the ground for a universal proclamation of salvation,” then other classic questions attracting much debate over Calvinism become irrelevant.⁴¹ He set forth the case against universalism and conditional immortality,⁴² yet confessed to “a strong feeling of dissatisfaction” regarding the doctrine of the eternal punishment of unbelievers. This accords with his approach to divine election.⁴³

From 1907, Orr encountered academic resistance to his conservative theological views, and began writing for popular Christian readers and forging links with leaders of the Keswick

³⁸ James Orr, *Revelation and Inspiration* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1910), 198.

³⁹ Scorgie, *Call for Continuity*, 155f.

⁴⁰ Orr, *Christian View*, 296f.

⁴¹ James Orr, “Calvinism,” in James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Volume 3* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908), 148.

⁴² Orr, *Christian View*, 336-347.

⁴³ James Orr, *The Progress of Dogma* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901), 294f.

movement. His desire for engagement with popular audiences is illustrated by the following quote: “When Jesus introduced His religion into the world He did not choose ‘scholars’ but humble, simple-minded men, attached to Himself by a living faith, and endued with power from on high [. . . and] they became the instruments of a revolution which changed the world.”⁴⁴ Such sentiment would have appealed to Morling. Yet, the accessibility of Orr’s earlier work should not be overlooked.

(c) Peter Taylor Forsyth (1848-1921)

A third non-Baptist British scholar to whom Morling often refers is P. T. Forsyth. Born in Aberdeen, Scotland, Forsyth was a Congregational minister and theologian educated at the Universities of Aberdeen and Göttingen, and New College, London. He served as a private tutor (1874-1876), and as a minister in five urban churches (1876-1901). From 1901 to his death in 1921 he was principal of Hackney College, London, where he taught theology and homiletics.⁴⁵ Frail health often required extended periods of convalescence. He was chairman of the Congregational Union of England and Wales in 1905.

For decades, Forsyth pursued theological liberalism, especially the work of G. W. F. Hegel and Albrecht Ritschl, opposing philosophical idealism. In his mid-40s, he converted to evangelical Christianity, an experience he describes as follows:

It also pleased God by the revelation of his holiness and grace, which the great theologians taught me to find in the Bible, to bring home to me my sin in a way that submerged all the school questions in weight, urgency, and poignancy. I

⁴⁴ James Orr, *The Bible Under Trial: Apologetic Papers in View of Present-Day Assaults on Holy Scripture* (London: Marshall Bros, 1907), 9-10.

⁴⁵ Hackney College, founded by George Collinson (1772-1847), merged with Homerton College in 1900 to become the University of London’s first Faculty of Theology.

was turned from a Christian to a believer, from a lover of love to an object of grace.⁴⁶

Thereafter, Forsyth's emphasis became the holiness and grace of God. He wrote no systematic theology, but was a prolific author and the chief theological opponent of R. J. Campbell's "New Theology".⁴⁷ His books were often transcripts of public addresses; his best three works demonstrate his distinctive contribution to twentieth-century theology.⁴⁸ Forsyth was occasionally described as a Barthian before Barth but, as A. M. Hunter observes, parallels between Forsyth and Barth fail "on the place of reason in revelation and on the primacy of the moral [. . .] Forsyth could never have written as the earlier Barth did, 'Faith grips reason by the throat and strangles the beast,' for Forsyth defined theology as 'faith-thinking' – the church's supernatural faith giving a reasoned account of itself."⁴⁹

In a culture emphasising theological immanence and anthropocentrism, and sentimentalised redemption, Forsyth imparts evangelical emphasis to concepts such as "guilt" and "grace," divine "wrath," "substitution," "penalty" and "satisfaction."⁵⁰ His intellectual centre of gravity is "the Cross of Christ and what was done there, and not simply on a humanitarian Christ."⁵¹ To address problems relating to incarnation and divine immutability, Forsyth proposed a kenotic Christology with three aspects:

⁴⁶ P. T. Forsyth, *Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind* (London: Independent Press, 1957), 192f.

⁴⁷ Leslie McCurdy, "New Theology controversy," *DHT*, 392f.

⁴⁸ P. T. Forsyth, *The Principle of Authority* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1909), *The Justification of God* (1916; repr. London: Independent Press, 1957), and *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1909).

⁴⁹ A. M. Hunter, *P. T. Forsyth: Per Crucem ad Lucem* (London: SCM Press, 1974), 12.

⁵⁰ John H. Rogers, *The Theology of P. T. Forsyth: The Cross of Christ and the Revelation of God* (London: Independent Press, 1965), 19f. See also P. T. Forsyth, *The Cruciality of the Cross* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1909).

⁵¹ P. T. Forsyth, *The Work of Christ* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910), 51.

First, he posited the psychological retraction of attributes nevertheless retained [. . .] Secondly, Forsyth added a complementary *plerosis*, making dogmatic room for Christ's growth in grace, personality and achievement until he was filled with the fulness of God. Thirdly, he convincingly elaborated the vital connection of incarnation with atonement.⁵²

Forsyth also emphasised the efficacy of the priestly power of the risen Christ.

On Christian experience, Forsyth argued that "We do not stand on the fact of our experience but on the fact *which* we experience."⁵³ As Mikolaski puts it, for Forsyth "nothing can challenge the certainty and validity of the believer's experience of Christ because it is the eternal saving act of the living God who recreates us."⁵⁴ Australian Baptist theologian Jason Goroncy notes that Forsyth was indebted to the New England theology of Jonathan Edwards, "whose teaching on holiness and experience offers an important commentary on what was happening, for example, in the early Keswick Movement."⁵⁵ Yet, Forsyth was not associated with Keswick. He views the doctrine of a "second blessing" as "a relic of pre-Reformation "monkery," since "It is not our moral success that is presented as perfection to God even in anticipation; it is God's present to us of perfection that makes moral success possible."⁵⁶ Whereas Forsyth insisted on "personal intercourse with the personal, historic, and living Saviour as an indispensable condition of any revelation," he deplored Christian mysticism in

⁵² Leslie McCurdy, *Attributes and Atonement: The Holy Love of God in the Theology of P. T. Forsyth* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 1999), 218.

⁵³ Forsyth, original emphasis, quoted in McCurdy, *Attributes and Atonement*, 218.

⁵⁴ Samuel J. Mikolaski, "The theology of P. T. Forsyth," *Biblical Studies* 1, 1964, 41.

⁵⁵ Jason Goroncy, *Hallowed Be Thy Name: The Sanctification of All in the Soteriology of P. T. Forsyth* (London: T&T Clark, 2013), 81; see also *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*. Volume 1 (1834; ed. Edward Hickman; Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1998), 101; and Volume 2, 257-277.

⁵⁶ W. H. Leembruggen, "The witness of P. T. Forsyth: A theologian of the cross," *Reformed Theological Review* 4 (2), November 1945, 29, quoting Forsyth, *Christian Perfection* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1918), 95, 114.

its Catholic form.⁵⁷ For Forsyth, mysticism transplants religion from the will to the mind, and makes belief a matter of evidence rather than of faith, and should be resisted.⁵⁸

On biblical authority, Forsyth affirmed the infallibility of “the Word of God given by God and of the free Spirit who not only fills the Word but mediates it to the soul.”⁵⁹ On Christian mission, Forsyth proved a strong conservative advocate, stating on one occasion “that missions have more to hope from a narrow creed which remains great than from a wide humanism that runs thin.”⁶⁰

(d) Augustus Hopkins Strong (1836-1921)

Strong was Morling’s principal guide regarding systematic theology. He was born in Rochester, New York, and educated at Yale College, where he converted to Christ through the ministry of Charles Finney, at Rochester Theological Seminary, and at the University of Berlin. He was pastor of First Baptist Church, Haver Hill, Massachusetts (1861-1865), and First Baptist Church, Cleveland, Ohio (1865-1872). Aged 36, he accepted the presidency and Chair of Systematic Theology at Rochester Theological Seminary, where he served from 1872-1912. He received six honorary doctorates and was president of the American Baptist Foreign Missionary Society (1892-1895) and the Northern Baptist General Convention (1905-1910). Roger Olson calls Strong “the most influential voice in conservative,

⁵⁷ P. T. Forsyth, “Mystics and saints,” *Expository Times* 5, June 1894, 401.

⁵⁸ Forsyth, “Mystics and saints,” 402.

⁵⁹ Quoted in Mikolaski, *op. cit.*, 37.

⁶⁰ Leembruggen, “The witness of P. T. Forsyth,” 32, quoting Forsyth, *Missions in State and Church: Sermons and Addresses* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1908), 32f. On Forsyth see also W. L. Bradley, *P. T. Forsyth: The Man and His Work* (London: Independent Press, 1952); and Clyde Binfield, “Principal when pastor: P.T. Forsyth, 1876–1902,” *Studies in Church History* 26, 1989, 397-414.

nonfundamentalist American Protestant theology” in the first half of the twentieth century.⁶¹ Strong’s enduring legacy is his *Systematic Theology*, the eighth edition of which was published in 1907, a standard theological textbook in Baptist seminaries in the United States for more than half a century. Morling used the book in Sydney with his students. Olson describes it as “moderately conservative, open to limited revisions of tradition in light of modern knowledge and philosophy, somewhat scholastic in methodology [. . .] and mildly Calvinistic.”⁶²

Strong’s theological method reflected the philosophy of Scottish Common Sense Realism, having a dualist epistemology resulting in a tension between intuitionism and empiricism.⁶³ This “common-sense” philosophy refers to anti-sceptical responses to Scottish philosopher David Hume’s (1711-1776) emphasis on what he saw as common-sense beliefs about basic concepts such as the existence of the self, the external world, and other minds. Theologian Thomas Reid (1710-1796) produced an elaborate defence of common-sense philosophy, and its basic tenets were adopted by various evangelical theologians, especially those influenced by Princeton College and Seminary.⁶⁴ Central to the philosophy is “a theory of common-sense principles – beliefs that all human beings have by the original constitution of our nature, which concern, for example, the reliability of our natural faculties.”⁶⁵

⁶¹ Roger E. Olson, “Strong, Augustus Hopkins,” in Roger E. Olson (ed.), *Westminster Handbook to Evangelical Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004), 133.

⁶² Olson, “Strong,” 133.

⁶³ Gregory A. Thornbury, “Augustus Hopkins Strong,” in George & Dockery (eds), *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition*, 139-162.

⁶⁴ Paul Helm, “Common-sense philosophy,” in Martin Davie, Tim Grass, Stephen R. Holmes, John McDowell & T. A. Noble (eds), *New Dictionary of Theology: Historical and Systematic* (second edition; Downers Grove: IVP, 2016), 165.

⁶⁵ Alexander Broadie, “Scottish Common Sense Philosophy,” in Alan Charles Kors (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*. Volume 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), 53f.

Once a strong advocate of federal reformed theology, Strong had by 1894 adopted what he called “ethical monism,” a system similar to personalised idealism drawing on principles of natural theology, intuition, reason, and a reliance upon empirical verification of truth-claims.⁶⁶ He asserts that God is the sole ground of being and all existence is ultimately a manifestation of God. This supreme substance necessitates a moral or psychological dualism rendering the human soul distinct from God and matter. God the Father represents Being in pure potentiality, and Christ is the actualisation (“depotentialisation”) of Being, and history is “the exfoliation of Christ’s life in time.” By adopting ethical monism, Strong sought to integrate biblical theology with a Platonic worldview.⁶⁷ Morling often appropriates Strong’s arguments but does not reflect this philosophical aspect of Strong’s work.

Strong orders his *Systematic Theology* under five topics: theology (the existence of God; the Scriptures as a revelation of God; and the nature, decrees, and works of God), anthropology, soteriology, ecclesiology, and eschatology. On Scripture, Strong’s views evolved throughout the eight editions of his *Systematic Theology*. He modified his early insistence on divine inspiration and inerrancy, emphasising the dynamic and organic nature of inspiration.⁶⁸ In 1886, for example, he viewed Scripture as “an infallible and sufficient rule of faith and practice”; by 1902 he understood Scripture to be “a record of progressive divine revelation, sufficient [. . .] to lead every honest enquirer to Christ and salvation.”⁶⁹ On the doctrine of

⁶⁶ A. H. Strong, *Systematic Theology: A Compendium* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1976 [1907]), 90. See also A. H. Strong, *Christ in Creation and Ethical Monism* (Philadelphia: Roger Williams Press, 1894).

⁶⁷ Thornbury, “Augustus Hopkins Strong,” 140. Evangelical theologian Carl Henry was especially critical of Strong’s turn to ethical monism; see his *Personal Idealism and Strong’s Theology* (Wheaton: Van Kampen, 1951).

⁶⁸ Olson, “Strong,” 134.

⁶⁹ Robins, “Strong,”

God, Strong identifies eight “absolute or immanent” divine attributes and eight “relative or transitive” attributes, with holiness as the fundamental one.⁷⁰ Unlike many contemporaries, he devotes considerable space in his *Systematic Theology* to the doctrine of the Trinity.⁷¹ On creation, he denies creation *ex nihilo*, possibly favouring emanation, and allows for development and “coincidences” between the creation account of Genesis 1 and geological records.⁷² On theological anthropology, Strong affirms dichotomy and traducianism as true; claims that the image of God describes both natural and moral likeness, with the former retained after the fall but the latter lost; and holds that selfishness is the essence of sin. On Genesis chapters 2 and 3, Strong accepts a historical Adam and fall, bringing physical and spiritual death. He holds that Adam’s sin was imputed to the entire human race in the Augustinian sense of Adamic headship and organic unity.⁷³

For Strong, justice is the motive for the divine decrees, and those who resist God’s grace are not positively predestined to reprobation.⁷⁴ His preferred “order of salvation” emphasises union with Christ, sets election and calling in a sublapsarian context, posits regeneration as the divine side of conversion with repentance and faith its human side, reckons justification to be a deliberative act and sanctification to be durative, and defines perseverance as the human side of sanctification.⁷⁵ Elsewhere Strong argued that “imputation is grounded in

⁷⁰ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 243-303.

⁷¹ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 304-352.

⁷² Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 371, 374.

⁷³ Garrett, *Baptist Theology*, 299.

⁷⁴ Olson, “Strong,” 134. On this doctrine Olson comments, “Strong’s account of Protestant doctrine became the gold standard for those evangelicals of the first five or six decades of the twentieth century who were neither fundamentalists nor high Calvinists. The latter preferred the theology of Charles Hodge.”

⁷⁵ Garrett, *Baptist Theology*, 301; Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 777-886.

union, not union in imputation.”⁷⁶ He also allowed for “implicit faith in Christ” for those who have never heard of the incarnation and reconciling work of Christ.⁷⁷ Strong’s view of Christology comprises the classic Chalcedonian formulation of the two natures in one person, a moderate expression of the two states of humiliation and exaltation, and the exposition of Christ’s three offices within which is couched an “eternal atonement” theory.⁷⁸ His posthumously published *What Shall I Believe?* criticised both liberals and fundamentalists for ignoring the historical and doctrinal implications of the incarnation of Christ.

The doctrine of the Holy Spirit appears as a subsection of Strong’s treatment of the Trinity and covers issues of deity and personality.⁷⁹ On the Lord’s Supper, Strong takes a symbolic position after Ulrich Zwingli, and opposes open church membership. On eschatology, Garrett observes that Strong “was postmillennialist without a manifest golden age of the church, anticipated one general resurrection and one universal judgment, and taught heaven and hell while refuting annihilationism and eschatological universalism”.⁸⁰

Theologian Clark Pinnock draws on Strong in his advocacy of soteriological inclusivism.⁸¹ Despite the unorthodox constructive nature of some of Strong’s philosophical and theological views, his achievement is massive and his legacy profound, reaching even to shape Morling’s Christian thought in various ways. Theologian Timothy George observes that “despite

⁷⁶ A. H. Strong, *What Shall I Believe?* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1922), 85f, 91.

⁷⁷ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 843.

⁷⁸ Garrett, *Baptist Theology*, 299-301. This theory, informed by ethical monism, emphasises the love of God and is based on the notion of the union of the Logos with humankind in creation.

⁷⁹ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 315-317, 323-326.

⁸⁰ Garrett, *Baptist Theology*, 302.

⁸¹ Clark H. Pinnock, “Overcoming misgivings about evangelical inclusivism,” *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 2 (2), Summer 1998, 33.

countless splits and some doctrinal defections (e.g., the lapse of certain Baptists into universalism), there emerged among Baptists in late-nineteenth, early twentieth century America what might be called an orthodox Baptist consensus, represented in the North by Augustus H. Strong, in the South by E. Y. Mullins.”⁸²

(e) Edgar Young Mullins (1860-1928)

Described in 1929 as “the best known Baptist in the world,”⁸³ and in 1992 as “the Calvin or Luther or Wesley of the Southern Baptists,”⁸⁴ Mullins was born in Franklin County, Mississippi. Converted in Dallas at the age of 19, Mullins later described his experience: “My act of surrender to the will of Christ produced a new attitude toward my intellectual problems and difficulties. They were simply transcended by the new spiritual experience.”⁸⁵ Mullins had in mind a legal career, then missionary work in Brazil, before training for pastoral ministry and serving as a pastor for 15 years at Harrodsburg, Kentucky, Lee Street Baptist Church, Baltimore, and Newton Centre Baptist Church in suburban Boston. He and his wife Isla May Hawley had two sons, both of whom died in infancy. While in Boston Mullins also served as pastor of Newton Theological Seminary, the first Baptist seminary in the United States. In 1899 Mullins was elected president of the South’s only Baptist seminary, the Southern Baptist Theological Seminary (SBTS), where he remained until his death in 1928.

⁸² George, “The future of Baptist theology,” 3. On Strong see also D. Crerar (ed.), *Autobiography of Augustus Hopkins Strong* (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1981).

⁸³ W. O. Carver, “Edgar Young Mullins – Leader and builder,” *Review and Expositor* 26 (2), April 1929, 128.

⁸⁴ Harold Bloom, *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992), 199.

⁸⁵ E. Y. Mullins, “Why I am a Baptist,” in G. K. Chesterton, et al, *Twelve Modern Apostles and Their Creeds* (New York: Duffield & Co., 1926), 90.

A prolific author, Mullins's best-known works are *The Axioms of Religion* and *The Christian Religion in its Doctrinal Expression*.⁸⁶ He was a denominational statesman, instrumental in establishing the Baptist World Alliance (BWA) in 1905, president of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) 1921-1924, and BWA president 1923-1928. In 1925 Mullins chaired the committee that produced the SBC's first confession of faith, "Baptist Faith and Message," based substantially on the moderately Calvinist New Hampshire Confession of Faith. He died from illness in 1928. Morling was not introduced to Mullins's work at the Victorian College and may have first encountered his writings at a much later date. Morling quotes Mullins in documents 88:1; 92:1, 10, 20, 23, 35; 104:4, 11, 12; and 93:2 – all dated in the 1950s.

Mullins is a fine example of a mediating theologian, seeking to reconcile the world of objective propositions with that of subjective feelings.⁸⁷ While at Boston, he took an interest in the pragmatism of William James at Harvard University and the personalism of Borden Parker Bowne (1847-1910) at Boston University.⁸⁸ Freeman suggests that Mullins was suspicious of liberal accommodation to modernity but "saw experiential theology as offering a more promising alternative than systems based on common sense rationality."⁸⁹ Mohler concludes that Mullins's attempt to forge a mediating theological paradigm eventually failed because such positions are inherently unstable.⁹⁰ Morling appears to have entertained a

⁸⁶ E. Y. Mullins, *The Axioms of Religion: A New Interpretation of the Baptist Faith* (1908; ed. C. Douglas Weaver; repr. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2010); and *The Christian Religion in Its Doctrinal Expression* (Philadelphia: Roger Williams Press, 1917). The Southern Baptist Theological Seminary used the latter as its standard student theology textbook until 1947.

⁸⁷ Bebbington, *Baptists Through the Centuries*, 111.

⁸⁸ Albert Mohler, Jr., "Baptist theology at the crossroads: The legacy of E. Y. Mullins," *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 3 (4), Winter 1999, 8.

⁸⁹ Curtis Freeman, "E. Y. Mullins and the siren songs of modernity," *Review and Expositor* 96, 1999, 29.

⁹⁰ Mohler, "Baptist theology at the crossroads," 19.

similar vision for experiential theology, drawing on Mullins's insights and those of British theologian H. Wheeler Robinson (on whom see later in this chapter).

According to Timothy Maddox, Mullins represents “a view of Baptists that affirmed a high view of scripture, a conversionist theology, an affirmation of individual worth, an affirmation of the epistemic worth of religious experience, and demand for freedom of all religions in all lands.”⁹¹ Mullins shows little interest in trinitarian doctrine or in ecclesiology. He affirms the Bible as the “record of revelation of God to his people,”⁹² and shares James Orr's view that Scripture is “free from demonstrable error in its statements, and harmonious in its teachings.”⁹³ Mullins is sparing in his use of biblical references and other sources. He defends the apparent freshness and novelty of *The Axioms* against critics, stating, “My argument is my own. I did not get it from anybody else [. . . and no reader would] dispute the correctness of the Axioms.”⁹⁴ On creation and evolution, Mullins “adopted a position that resisted naturalistic reductions of Christian faith and the obscurantist rejection of the legitimate claims of history and science.”⁹⁵

At SBTS, Mullins used Boyce's Calvinistic *Abstract of Systematic Theology*⁹⁶ as a textbook for several years, but in the preface to his own 1917 *The Christian Religion*, he writes:

⁹¹ Timothy D. F. Maddox, “E. Y. Mullins: Mr Baptist for the 20th and 21st century,” *Review and Expositor* 96, 1999, 88.

⁹² Mullins, *The Christian Religion*, 140f.

⁹³ E. Y. Mullins, *Freedom and Authority in Religion* (Philadelphia: Griffith & Rowland Press, 1913), 380.

⁹⁴ Letter from Mullins to Rev. W. A. White, D. D., 20 April 1908, cited in Glenn Hinson, “E. Y. Mullins as interpreter of the Baptist tradition,” *Review and Expositor* 96, 1999, 115.

⁹⁵ Fisher Humphreys, “Edgar Young Mullins,” in George & Dockery (eds), *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition*, 185.

⁹⁶ James Petigru Boyce, *Abstract of Systematic Theology* (rev. F. H. Kerfoot; Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1899).

Arminianism overlooked certain essential truths about God in its strong championship of human freedom. As against it, Calvinism ran to extremes in some of its conclusions in its very earnest desire to safeguard the truth of God's sovereignty. We are learning to discard both names and to adhere more closely to the Scriptures, while retaining the truth in both systems.⁹⁷

Mullins sought to transcend the debate. While continuing to embrace Calvinist soteriology, he restated it in terms of his distinctive theology of experience.⁹⁸ This view is reflected in Morling's approach to theology which was neither Reformed nor Arminian. Unlike Morling, Mullins continued to affirm the doctrine of unconditional election, stating that "God's choice of a person is prior to that person's choice of God."⁹⁹

During Mullins's presidency, SBTS experienced rapid growth in endowments, and in faculty and student numbers.¹⁰⁰ Mullins oversaw relocation from an inner-city site to a 58-acre campus; and established the journal *Review and Expositor*, to which he contributed many articles and reviews. He was a master of theological compromise. According to theologian Curtis Freeman, "His wise leadership and theological direction steered the Southern Baptist ship around the rocky waters of fundamentalism and past the swirling currents of liberalism,"¹⁰¹ or, alternatively, "through the narrow straits between the crushing rock of common sense rationalism and the threatening swirl of experiential religion."¹⁰² He was a theologian whom Morling admired as he negotiated similar ideological struggles in Sydney.

⁹⁷ Mullins, *The Christian Religion*, vii; also Mullins, *The Axioms of Religion* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publishing Society, 1908), 14.

⁹⁸ George, "The future of Baptist theology," 8.

⁹⁹ E. Y. Mullins, *Baptist Beliefs* (1912; repr. Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1925), 26.

¹⁰⁰ Humphreys, "Edgar Young Mullins," 183.

¹⁰¹ Freeman, "E. Y. Mullins," 23.

¹⁰² Freeman, "E. Y. Mullins," 37.

(f) Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153)

St Bernard, the greatest monastic figure of the high Middle Ages, entered monastic life at 21 years of age and established a new branch of the Cistercian order at Clairvaux from which 68 branches sprang during his lifetime. Morling mentions him seven times. Disillusioned after sponsoring the disastrous Second Crusade (1147-1149), Bernard preached a long series of sermons on the Song of Songs “as the inspiration for a mystical contemplation of divine and human love.”¹⁰³ He wrote many other mystical, devotional and theological works. He was proclaimed a Doctor of the Church in 1830. His theology was treasured by Martin Luther and John Calvin, the latter quoting only Augustine more frequently.¹⁰⁴ Whereas Anselm (c.1033-1109) spoke of “*fides quarens intellectum*” (“faith seeking understanding”), Bernard preferred to speak of “*animaquaerens Verbum*” (“soul seeking Word”), Anselm’s speculative theology contrasting with Bernard’s affective approach and defence of the “old scholasticism.” It may be this distinction that appealed to Morling. Bernard is called “the last of the Fathers.”¹⁰⁵

(g) William Newton Clarke (1841-1912)

Clarke was a Baptist theologian and author of biblical commentaries on Mark and Luke, three seminal theology texts, and various articles in the first edition of the *International Standard*

¹⁰³ Hugh T. Kerr, *Readings in Christian Thought* (second edition; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990), 95.

¹⁰⁴ C. F. Allison, “Bernard of Clairvaux,” in Daniel J. Treier & Walter E. Elwell (eds), *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* (third edition; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017), 124.

¹⁰⁵ On Bernard see also Bruce A. Demarest, “Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153),” *DCS*, 303-304; N. S. Lane, “Bernard of Clairvaux,” *DHT*, 68f; Gillian R. Evans, *Bernard of Clairvaux* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000); Michael Casey, *Athirst for God: Spiritual Desire in Bernard of Clairvaux’s Sermons on the Song of Songs* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1986); *idem.*, “Cistercian spirituality,” *NWDCS*, 193-195; Brian Patrick McGuire, *Bernard of Clairvaux: An Inner Life* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020); and Bernard’s *Selected Works* (trans. Gillian R. Evans; New York: Paulist Press, 1987).

Bible Encyclopedia (1915) quoted by Morling.¹⁰⁶ Born in Cazenovia, New York, and educated at Madison University and Hamilton Theological Seminary, Clarke had an influential pastoral ministry at Newton, Massachusetts (1869-1880), adopting the liberalism of the Andover and Newton theologians. He was appointed professor at Toronto Baptist College and Colgate University (1890-1908), where he taught New Testament and homiletics. He also taught Christian ethics at Hamilton (1908-1912). His highly popular *Outline* was the first systematic theology of liberalism in America.

For Clarke, the sources of Christian theology are “the Christian revelation” and the universe (“man and nature”), and “God’s self-revelation [. . .] has been preserved in Christian experience and in Scripture.”¹⁰⁷ Following Schleiermacher, he takes religious experience as the starting point for theology; but where Schleiermacher regarded religious experience as essentially communal and felt with all creation, Clarke understands it as “private, personal, esoteric.”¹⁰⁸ On theological anthropology, Clarke was a dichotomist and traducianist. For Clarke, the Holy Spirit is not so much the third person of the Trinity as “God working in the spirit of man, and accomplishing the results that are sought in the mission and work of Christ.”¹⁰⁹ He was a cessationist with respect to gifts of the Spirit. His best-known student was Harry Emerson Fosdick.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁶ W. N. Clarke, *Outline of Christian Theology* (London: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1898); *The Use of the Scriptures in Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1905); and *The Christian Doctrine of God* (London: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1909).

¹⁰⁷ Clarke, *Outline*, 10-24.

¹⁰⁸ Clarke, *Outline*, 125.

¹⁰⁹ Clarke, *Outline*, 369-371; 376-427.

¹¹⁰ See Emily S. Clarke, *William Newton Clarke: A Biography* (New York: Scribner’s, 1916); Darrel Bingham, “Clarke, William Newton,” *NIDCC*, 231; and Garrett, *Baptist Theology*, 304-10.

(h) Brooke Foss Westcott (1825-1901)

Born in Birmingham, England, Westcott was educated at Trinity College, Cambridge, where he was elected fellow in 1849 and formed friendships with J. B. Lightfoot and F. J. A. Hort. He served 18 years at the Harrow School (1852-1869), during which he published several major works. Westcott was appointed canon of Canterbury Cathedral in 1869, and Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1870, and was consecrated Bishop of Durham in 1890, succeeding J. B. Lightfoot. Like Morling, Westcott expressed special affection for the Fourth Gospel, the Johannine Letters, and the Letter to the Hebrews. He demonstrated a mastery of primary sources and established the influential Westcott-Hort Greek text of the New Testament which replaced reliance on the Textus Receptus with more ancient readings as the basis for translation and commentary. His definitive contribution is *The History of the Canon of the New Testament*.¹¹¹ Along with Lightfoot and Hort, he showed “that historical-critical tools could be applied without the radical assumptions of their Continental counterparts.”¹¹² Westcott’s scholarship “inaugurated a new era for biblical exegesis in England” that “fully accepted the demands of the new historical criticism, and yet at the same time recognized that the New Testament is made up of documents written ‘from faith to faith’.”¹¹³ Biblical scholar C. K. Barrett argues that Westcott was “in danger of an Apollinarian doctrine of Scripture,” uncovering “a divine significance in every mood, tense, and case.”¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ Brooke F. Westcott, *A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament* (London: Macmillan, 1875). For a fine survey of New Testament studies for the period 1870-1940 see William Baird, *History of New Testament Research. Volume 2: From Jonathan Edwards to Rudolf Bultmann* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003). On Westcott see *idem.*, 73-82.

¹¹² C. L. Church, “Westcott, Brooke Foss (1825-1901), and Fenton John Anthony Hort (1828-1892),” in Donald K. McKim (ed), *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters* (second edition; Downers Grove: IVP, 2007), 1038. On the history of source and form criticism from an evangelical perspective see Iain Provan, *The Reformation and the Right Reading of Scripture* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2017), 455-485.

¹¹³ Graham A. Patrick, *The Miners’ Bishop: Brooke Foss Westcott* (Peterborough: Epworth, 2004), 68.

¹¹⁴ C. K. Barrett, *Westcott as Commentator* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 2f.

(i) Alfred Plummer (1841-1926)

Born at Heyworth, England, Plummer was educated at Lancing and Exeter Colleges, Oxford. He was elected fellow of Trinity College, Oxford, in 1865 where he served as tutor and later dean until 1874, when he was appointed Master of University College, Durham (1874-1902). Plummer devoted his academic life to textual criticism of the Gospels, with an emphasis on harmonistic rather than critical interpretation. He took issue with most of the multiple-document solutions to the Synoptic Problem and held to a slightly modified version of B. H. Streeter's two-source theory. He excelled in his treatment of philological data. Plummer wrote the volumes for the Cambridge Greek Testament on the Johannine Epistles (1886), Gospel of John (1877), 2 Corinthians (1912), and Gospel of Mark (1926), as well as three volumes in the prestigious International Critical Commentary series.¹¹⁵

(j) Burnett Hillman Streeter (1874-1937)

Born in Croydon, England, Streeter was educated at King's College, London, and Queen's College, Oxford, where he also served as a fellow (1905-1933) and provost (1933-1937). He was a collaborator with William Sanday's seminar on the Synoptic Problem.¹¹⁶ His classic work of textual criticism, *The Four Gospels*, built on the work of B. F. Westcott and F. Hort to develop a theory of "local texts."¹¹⁷ For Streeter, "the sources of the Synoptics were not merely of literary or historical interest; they were the most primitive articulations of what was eternally and absolutely true," and therefore of profound metaphysical significance.¹¹⁸ His

¹¹⁵ R. B. Vinson, "Plummer, Alfred," *DBI*, 2:289.

¹¹⁶ William Sanday (ed.), *Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911), vii-xxvii; also William R. Farmer, *The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis* (New York: Macmillan, 1964).

¹¹⁷ B. H. Streeter, *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins: Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship and Dates* (London: Macmillan, 1924).

¹¹⁸ B. Chilton, "Streeter, Burnett Hillman," *DBI*, 2:509.

theological convictions are evident in a long essay he wrote on “the historical Christ” in *Foundations*, a collection of essays he edited in 1912, in which he avoids discussion of the historicity of the Gospels as expressed by William Wrede and Julius Wellhausen but engages with the “eschatological school” of Johannes Weiss and Albert Schweitzer.¹¹⁹ For many years, Streeter was a leader of the liberal modernist faction of the Church of England. He was killed in an aircraft crash in Switzerland.¹²⁰

(k) W. H. Griffith Thomas (1861-1924)

Born in Oswestry, Shropshire, Thomas was an evangelical Anglican theologian, author and conference speaker. He experienced a dramatic religious conversion in 1878, followed 18 months later by an experience of sanctification that brought him in contact with the Keswick movement.¹²¹ He was educated at Oxford University and served as a curate at St Aldate’s, Oxford, for seven years. Ordained a deacon in 1895, he moved to London in 1896 where he served at an Anglican chapel at Portman Square while completing his doctoral dissertation.¹²² Here he also published a popular evangelical exposition of theology and the Christian life.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Streeter (ed.), *Foundations*, *op. cit.* See also Keith W. Clements, *Lovers of Discord: Twentieth Century Theological Controversies in England* (London: SPCK, 1988), 49-74.

¹²⁰ R. Morgan, “Streeter, Burnett Hillman,” *DMBI*, 949-952; and Baird, *History of New Testament Research*, 2:265f.

¹²¹ On his own recollection of his spiritual awakening see W. H. Griffith Thomas, “The Victorious Life, II,” *Bibliotheca Sacra* 76, 1919, 466f. See also Gillis J. Harp & Dwain Waldrep, “W. H. Griffith Thomas: Anglican fundamentalist,” *Anglican and Episcopal History* 80 (1), March 2011, 61-73; on Keswick note pages 65f.

¹²² Published as “*A Sacrament of Our Redemption*”: *An Enquiry into the Meaning of the Lord’s Supper in the New Testament and the Church of England* (London: Bemrose, 1903).

¹²³ W. H. Griffith Thomas, *The Catholic Faith: A Manual of Instruction for Members of the Church of England* (London: Longmans, Green, 1920).

In 1910, Thomas was appointed professor of theology at Wycliffe College, Toronto, and in 1913 delivered the Stone Lectures at Princeton, published as *The Holy Spirit of God*.¹²⁴ He was dismissed from his position in 1919, and moved to Philadelphia where he continued writing, led the Victorious Life conferences,¹²⁵ and with Lewis Sperry Chafer and others initiated plans for what became Dallas Theological Seminary. Thomas died suddenly in 1924; his posthumously published introduction to theology proved highly popular.¹²⁶ Although sometimes described as a fundamentalist, Thomas “often quoted Orr and Forsyth, moderate conservatives with whom he had a deep sympathy but who did not fit the agenda of many around him.”¹²⁷ One biographer notes that “he was never Calvinist enough for Benjamin Warfield or Pentecostal enough for zealots within the Victorious Life movement or dispensationalist enough for Charles Scofield and others with whom he agreed to cooperate.”¹²⁸ In this manner, and in his theological emphasis on the Holy Spirit and sanctification, Thomas provided a role model for Morling.

(I) G. Campbell Morgan (1863-1945)

Morgan was born in Tetbury, Gloucestershire. The son of a Baptist minister who resigned his pastorate and almost joined the Plymouth Brethren, Morgan first worked as a schoolteacher in Birmingham, and attended a D. L. Moody evangelistic mission there in 1883 where he assisted with enquiries. After rejection by the Salvation Army and the Methodists, he was

¹²⁴ W. H. Griffith Thomas, *The Holy Spirit of God* (London: Longmans, Green, 1913).

¹²⁵ A conference similar to Keswick, in Princeton, New Jersey. For selected addresses see W. H. Griffith Thomas et al, *The Victorious Christ* (Sunday School Times Co, 1923).

¹²⁶ W. H. Griffith Thomas, *The Principles of Theology: An Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles* (London: Church Book Room Press, 1930).

¹²⁷ P. H. Friesen, “Thomas, W. H. Griffith (1861-1924),” *BDE*, 667.

¹²⁸ Friesen, “Thomas, W. H. Griffith,” 667.

ordained by the Congregationalists in 1890. Morgan served in several country pastorates before being appointed minister of New Court Church, Tollington Park, London (1897-1901). He then served as a travelling speaker for the Northfield Bible Conference and accepted a doctoral degree from Chicago Theological Seminary in 1902. He was appointed minister of Westminster Chapel, London (1904-1917). Morgan was president of Cheshunt College, Cambridge, from 1911 to 1914. From 1919, he spent 13 years in itinerant preaching work and Presbyterian ministry in America. He returned to Westminster Chapel in 1932, retiring in 1943. His successor, Martyn Lloyd-Jones, called him “the last of the great pulpit personalities.”¹²⁹ He was a prolific author of sermons, Bible notes and commentaries.¹³⁰ His sermons were biblical in content and gave careful attention to variants in word meanings. He rejected the doctrine of reprobation. He held that baptism was essential to salvation and preferably performed by immersion. He took a premillennial view of eschatology but did not believe in a literal hell. He refused to sign declarations of faith.¹³¹

(m) Hugh Ross Mackintosh (1870-1936)

Born in Paisley, Scotland, and educated at the Universities of Edinburgh, Freiberg, Halle and Marburg, Mackintosh was a Free Church of Scotland minister and liberal evangelical theologian. He served as minister in Tayport and Aberdeen before being appointed to teach systematic theology at the Free Church of Scotland’s New College, Edinburgh (1904-1936).

¹²⁹ D. M. Thompson, “Morgan, George Campbell,” *BDE*, 440-442.

¹³⁰ Morgan’s works include *The Spirit of God* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900), *The Crises of the Christ* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903), *Lessons of the Welsh Revival* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1904), *The Analysed Bible*. 10 volumes. (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1907-1911), and *The Westminster Pulpit*. 10 vols. (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1954). His essay, “The purposes of the Incarnation,” was included in the famous collection, *The Fundamentals* (1910).

¹³¹ See R. E. D. Clark, “Morgan, George Campbell (1863-1945),” *NIDCC*, 677; J. Harries, *G. Campbell Morgan* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1930); J. Morgan, *A Man of the World* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1951); and D. M. Thompson, *BDE*, 440-442.

His key contributions lay in “the use of historical studies of the New Testament for the formulation of his Christology, his treatises on dogmatics, and his works on eschatology.”¹³² He was author of many works coinciding with Morling’s interests.¹³³ Mackintosh had a wide grasp of the teaching of German theologians. He was influenced by the personal idealism of Andrew Seth Pringle-Patterson (1856-1931). His theology “resists classification and offers instead a distinctive synthesis of biblical and modern thought leavened by historical theology.”¹³⁴ He rejected liberal Ritschlian theology in favour of Barth’s neo-orthodoxy.¹³⁵ His key contribution to Christology is the rehabilitation of kenotic Christology, positing an understanding of divine self-limitation in Christ which implicitly wrestles with Chalcedonian problems. For Mackintosh, Jesus “transposed” rather than set aside his attributes of deity upon incarnation.¹³⁶

(n) H. Wheeler Robinson (1872-1945)

Born in Northampton, and educated at the University of Edinburgh and Mansfield College, Oxford, and at the universities of Marburg and Strasbourg, Robinson was an English Baptist theologian and Old Testament scholar. He held Baptist pastorates at Pitlochry, Scotland, and St Michael’s Church, Coventry before appointment as tutor at Rawdon Baptist College

¹³² Felipe Martínez Arroyo, “Mackintosh, Hugh Ross (1870-1936),” in Justo L. González (ed.), *Westminster Dictionary of Theologians* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 230.

¹³³ H. R. Mackintosh, *The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912); *Immortality and the Future: The Christian Doctrine of Eternal Life* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1916); *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness* (London: James Nisbet, 1927); and *Types of Modern Theology: Schleiermacher to Barth* (London: James Nisbet, 1937).

¹³⁴ John L. McPake, “Mackintosh, Hugh Ross (1870-1936),” *DHT*, 347-348.

¹³⁵ J. W. Leitch, *A Theology of Transition: H. R. Mackintosh as an Approach to Barth* (London: Nisbet, 1952). See also T. F. Torrance, “Hugh Ross Mackintosh: Theologian of the cross,” *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 5, 1987, 160-173; and R. R. Redman, *Reformulating Reformed Theology: Jesus Christ in the Theology of Hugh Ross Mackintosh* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997).

¹³⁶ H. R. Mackintosh, *The Person of Jesus Christ* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912), 477.

(1906-1920). He was appointed principal of Regents Park College (1920-1942). He oversaw relocation of the College to Oxford in 1927-1928 and was reader in biblical criticism at Oxford (1934-1940). His many works include *The Religious Ideas of the Old Testament* (1913), *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit* (1928), *Redemption and Revelation* (1938), and *Suffering: Human and Divine* (1939).¹³⁷

Ron Rogers notes that a series of theological works, “The Library of Constructive Theology,” was of particular interest to Morling.¹³⁸ The series was edited in the 1920s by Anglican theologian Walter Robert Matthew, prominent British Baptist Sir Thomas Marchant, and H. Wheeler Robinson; the latter’s work on the Holy Spirit was the fourth volume published. The object of the series was “a candid, courageous, and well-informed effort to think out anew, in the light of modern knowledge, the foundation affirmations of our common Christianity.” The writers claimed a desire “to develop their theology on the basis of the religious consciousness.”¹³⁹ This accords with Morling’s “doctrinal-experimental” emphasis. Rogers notes, for example, that Morling

was convinced that theology had to be lived, not merely thought, that doctrine meant little unless it was experienced. For this reason he warmly welcomed the series of volumes published early in his principalship as The Library of Constructive Theology for they presented the experiential aspect of theological themes. He wrote in a diary: ‘There must be a very strong stand taken for doctrinal-experimental truth. I believe God is calling me to this distinctive work both in College and church’.¹⁴⁰

¹³⁷ J. D. Douglas, “Robinson, Henry Wheeler (1872-1945),” *NIDCC*, 852; Garrett, *Baptist Theology*, 350-355.

¹³⁸ Rogers, “Morling, George Henry,” *ADEB*, 267.

¹³⁹ Preface to the first volume, H. R. Mackintosh, *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness* (London: Nisbet, 1927), v, vi. Other volumes, all published by Nisbet, were Oliver C. Quick, *The Christian Sacraments* (1927); C. H. Dodd, *The Authority of the Bible* (1928); Stephen C. Neill, *The Christian Society* (1952); Simon E. Ulrich, *The End is Not Yet: A Study in Christian Eschatology* (1964); and Frederick W. Dillistone, *The Christian Understanding of Atonement* (1968).

¹⁴⁰ Rogers, “Morling, George Henry,” *ADEB*, 268; Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 80.

(o) Robert Murray M'Cheyne (1813-1843)

“As a ministerial student,” Morling writes, “Robert Murray M'Cheyne had, under God, awakened within a longing for a life of holiness. His own prayer was before me. I was also becoming aware that a holy life is possible only through the Holy Spirit who unites us with Jesus Christ in an Emmanuel-knot of union (doc 7:1).”¹⁴¹ M'Cheyne was a Scottish Presbyterian minister and a major participant in the Scottish revivals of 1839-1843. Born and educated in Edinburgh, he traced his evangelical conversion to the date of the death of his brother David in 1831. M'Cheyne was educated at the University of Edinburgh where he was greatly influenced by Thomas Chalmers, professor of divinity. He served at St Peter's Church, Dundee, where he engaged in preaching and evangelism, and where revival broke out in 1836 (he was visiting Israel at the time). M'Cheyne developed a strong missionary interest, especially toward the Jewish people, the start of an enduring Church of Scotland work. He liked to preach from the Song of Songs, although most of his extant sermons are from the New Testament. He died from typhus aged 30; his friend and colleague Andrew Bonar wrote a biography.¹⁴²

(p) Alexander Maclaren (1826-1910)

A leading English Baptist minister, Maclaren was born in Glasgow and educated at the University of Glasgow, Stepney College, and London University. He served 12 years as a

¹⁴¹ Also Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 311. Morling's use of the term “Emmanuel-knot of union” may derive from A. J. Gordon, *In Christ: The Believer's Union with His Lord* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1882), 10; or from Puritan divine Thomas Watson who described union with Christ as a “holy marriage and a marriage knot” in *The Godly Man's Picture* (1666; repr. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1992); or from Bernard of Clairvaux, for whom 1 Corinthians 6:17 described union with God.

¹⁴² Andrew Bonar, *The Memoir and Remains of Robert Murray M'Cheyne* (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1844). See also J. W. Meiklejohn, “M'Cheyne, Robert Murray (1813-1843),” *NIDCC*, 617; D. A. Robertson, “M'Cheyne, Robert Murray (1813-1843),” *BDE*, 381-383; and Todd Statham, “M'Cheyne, Robert Murray,” *DCS*, 605f.

Baptist minister in Southampton (1846-1858), then Union Chapel, Manchester (1858-1903) where he achieved international fame through his sermons and writing. According to historian John Briggs, Maclaren “had a Quaker-like disregard for the externals of ecclesiastical life, perhaps reflecting the parity of lay and ordained within his Scottish Baptist background.”¹⁴³ He was President of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland in 1875 and 1901, and the first President of the Baptist World Alliance in 1905. An interest in mysticism is evident in his sermons and writings, notably his 1901 presidential address.¹⁴⁴ An acquaintance with the literary and artistic culture of his age “helped Maclaren to understand and preach to the contemporary mind.”¹⁴⁵

According to Gaius Atkins, Maclaren’s sermons addressed the experiences and needs “of sinners wanting to be Christians and Christians wanting to be good Christians bravely meeting their trials [. . .] The sins he indicts are the lapses of the individual. The goodness he urges is an individual goodness.”¹⁴⁶ On the doctrine of eternal punishment, Maclaren held that the New Testament “affirmed both universal punishment and universal restoration.”¹⁴⁷ Maclaren received honorary doctorates from the Universities of Edinburgh, Manchester and Glasgow. He travelled to Australia in 1888 for the Victorian Baptist jubilee celebrations; his father had emigrated to Australia and returned to Scotland in 1842.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴³ J. Y. H. Briggs, “McLaren (Maclaren), Alexander,” *BDE*, 397. See also Elizabeth T. Maclaren, *Dr. McLaren of Manchester, A Sketch* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1911).

¹⁴⁴ Alexander Maclaren, “Evangelical mysticism,” Presidential address, Autumn Assembly of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Edinburgh, 9 October 1901 (London: Baptist Tract and Book Society, 1901).

¹⁴⁵ Briggs, “McLaren,” 398.

¹⁴⁶ Gaius Glenn Atkins (ed.), *The Best of Alexander Maclaren* (London: Religious Book Club, 1951), 16.

¹⁴⁷ Briggs, “McLaren,” 398.

¹⁴⁸ See also David Williamson & J. H. Shakespeare, *The Life of Alexander Maclaren: Preacher and Expositor* (1911; repr. London: James Clarke, c.1930).

(q) Frederick Brotherton Meyer (1847-1929)

Meyer was a Baptist minister educated at London University and Regents Park College. He served as pastor at Pembroke Chapel, Liverpool (1870-1872), Priory Street Baptist Church, York (where he helped launch the evangelistic campaigns of the relatively unknown D. L. Moody), and Victoria Road Nonconformist Church, Liverpool (1874-1878). In 1881 he opened Melbourne Hall, a new church in Leicester, “a center of social and evangelistic activity which was Meyer’s abiding memorial.” He was pastor of London’s Regents Park Baptist Church (1881-1892, 1909-1915); and of Christ Church, Westminster Bridge Road (1892-1907, 1915-1920). Meyer was President of the Free Church Council (1904), and of the Baptist Union of Great Britain (1906-1907). He wrote over 70 books and numerous pamphlets, chiefly devotional. Meyer’s “convictions were evangelical, but he drew from varied spiritual sources, especially those in the mystical tradition.”¹⁴⁹ Morling closely followed this model.

From 1887, Meyer spoke at 26 Keswick meetings, as well as others at Northfield and Portstewart, and in 1928 presided over the first ecumenical communion service at Keswick. Meyer promoted Keswick teaching within the Baptist denomination and became Keswick’s leading international representative. According to Ian Randall, “Following the Welsh revival of 1904-1905, Meyer reported in Los Angeles on what he had observed in Wales. His report encouraged future leaders of the Pentecostal movement.”¹⁵⁰ Meyer emphasised the experience of the Holy Spirit in one’s life, and “saw it as foolish for Christians to plunge into service until they had received power through their own anointing.”¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁹ Ian M. Randall, “Meyer, Frederick Brotherton,” *BDE*, 430.

¹⁵⁰ Randall, “Meyer,” 429f.

¹⁵¹ Randall “The myth of the missing spirituality,” 121.

(r) Andrew Murray (1828-1917)

Born in South Africa and educated at the University of Aberdeen, Murray was a Dutch Reformed minister, ordained in 1848. He experienced revival at Worchester in Western Cape in 1860 and led opposition to liberalism in his denomination in the 1860s. He was active in theological education, evangelism and holiness teaching, and was greatly influenced by the mystical Christianity of William Law and Nicholas von Zinzendorf (1700-1760). Murray described his conversion experience as being “led to surrender myself wholly to Christ,” and refers to a later “unspecified evening in his study in Cape Town” where he encountered “a new depth of Christian experience which caused him to affirm “the possibility of unbroken communion with Jesus personally.”¹⁵² For Murray, there are two stages to the Christian life: *belief*, and *indwelling*, the latter evidenced by the baptism of the Holy Spirit. Murray addressed “higher life” meetings at Keswick and Northfield in 1895. In later life he named his home ‘Clairvaux’ after the Cistercian monk St Bernard. He received honorary doctorates from the Universities of Amsterdam and Cape Town. Morling refers to him as “a wise teacher” (doc 49:188).¹⁵³ Murray is best known for his popular devotional book, *Abide in Christ*.¹⁵⁴

(s) Alexander Whyte (1863-1921)

Whyte was a Free Church of Scotland minister born at Kirriemuir, Angus, and educated at King’s College, Aberdeen and New College, Edinburgh. Described as “the last of the

¹⁵² D. J. Goodhew, “Murray, Andrew,” *BDE*, 461.

¹⁵³ See also J. Du Plessis, *The Life of Andrew Murray of South Africa* (London: Marshall, 1919); W. M. Douglas, *Andrew Murray and His Message: One of God’s Choice Saints* (London: Oliphants, 1926); and Tom Schwanda, “Murray, Andrew,” *DCS*, 628.

¹⁵⁴ Andrew Murray, *Abide in Christ* (1895; repr. Chicago: Moody Press, 1999).

Puritans,” he was “a graphic and compelling preacher to an extent probably unparalleled even in a nation of preachers.”¹⁵⁵ Whyte served as minister at Free Church St John’s, Glasgow (1866-1870), then at Free St George’s Church, Edinburgh where he remained for almost 40 years. He was Moderator of the Free Church General Assembly in 1898. In 1909, Whyte was appointed principal of New College, Edinburgh, where he taught New Testament. As well as sermons, Whyte authored devotional books.¹⁵⁶ Morling quotes him at least ten times, and in *QFS* acknowledges Whyte as one of his “revered spiritual masters.”¹⁵⁷

(t) James Hudson Taylor (1832-1905)

Along with Moule, Morling regards Taylor as his “chief spiritual master” (doc 30:127). Taylor was born in Yorkshire, the son of a Methodist chemist. He was a major spiritual influence on Morling, as evidenced by document 7 comprising ten pages of notes for an undated address titled, “What I owe to Hudson Taylor.” In his biographical sketch of Morling, David Nicholas notes that Morling was helped by two chapters in Mrs Howard Taylor’s biography of Hudson Taylor: “The darkest hour,” and “The exchanged life,” on Hudson Taylor’s initiation into “the abiding life” in Christ.¹⁵⁸ Converted to Christ at the age of 17, Taylor felt called to medical missionary service in China. He landed at Shanghai in 1854 but early efforts failed. He continued, founding the China Inland Mission in 1865. Despite opposition from Chinese officials and other missionaries, by 1895 Taylor led 641

¹⁵⁵ J. D. Douglas, “Whyte, Andrew,” *NIDCC*, 1045.

¹⁵⁶ Randall, “Meyer, Frederick Brotherton,” 1045. See also G. F. Barbour, *The Life of Alexander Whyte* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923). Works by Whyte include *A Commentary on the Shorter Catechism* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1856), *Characters and Characteristics of William Law* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893), *An Appreciation of Jacob Behmen* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1895), and *The Walk, Conversation and Character of Jesus Christ Our Lord* (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1905).

¹⁵⁷ Morling, *QFS*, 52.

¹⁵⁸ Nicholas, *Journeys with God*, 38f.

missionaries in China, approximately half of the Protestant missionaries. Among his chief emphases were a policy of radical contextualisation, dependence upon God alone for financial support, and the deepening of the Christian life in the home churches as a sure means of encouraging missionary vocations.

Taylor claimed to have had a post-conversion experience of “full identification with Christ,” or “the exchanged life.” This was apparently more than confirmation of union with Christ or assurance of salvation. It comprised “a new yieldedness, a glad, unreserved handing over of self and everything to [Christ].” Taylor wrote, “Never again did the unsatisfied days come back; never again was the needy soul separated from the fullness of Christ.”¹⁵⁹ He believed that “from the consciousness of union springs the power to abide.”¹⁶⁰ Morling drew inspiration from Taylor’s personal experience (doc 7:1) and his reliance on “two facts, closely associated: the fact of God, and the fact that God has spoken” (doc 7:4). Morling also found encouragement from Taylor’s stress on the need to balance “strenuousness” in ministry with deep repose, and his emphasis on union with Christ.

Conclusion

Generally, Morling drew his exegetical-biblical theology from Britain and his systematic theology from America. All those mentioned in this chapter were male, and all except Bernard were Protestant. Morling lived at approximately the same time as Barth, Brunner, Bultmann, Schweitzer and Tillich, but was drawn to the works of scholars who also possessed substantial pastoral and homiletical experience. Anglican and Scottish Free Church

¹⁵⁹ F. Howard Taylor & Mary G. Howard Taylor, *Hudson Taylor’s Spiritual Secret* (1932; repr. Chicago: Moody Press, 1989), 153, 154.

¹⁶⁰ J. Hudson Taylor, *Hudson Taylor’s Choice Sayings: A Compilation from His Writings and Addresses* (London: Morgan & Scott, n.d.), 7.

writers predominate. Only Strong, Mullins, Robinson, and Maclaren were Baptists. Of special significance are Moule, Orr, Forsyth, Strong and Mullins, as later chapters will establish. His chief spiritual mentors, by way of their writings, were Moule, Maclaren, Whyte, and Taylor. There are some affinities between Morling's experience and that of authors who experienced significant suffering, such as Moule, Thomas, and Taylor. Moule, Orr, Thomas and Murray were active in the Keswick movement. Forsyth's mid-life conversion experience is also notable. M'Cheyne, Thomas, Robinson, and Murray all emphasised the doctrine of the Holy Spirit in their theological writings, an emphasis also prominent in Morling's thought.

Chapter 6—Union with Christ

The preceding chapters have examined the background to Morling's intellectual and spiritual formation. This chapter argues that the doctrine of union with Christ lies at the heart of Morling's Christian thought and spirituality. It discusses the use of the term among Baptists in NSW during the first forty years of Morling's life, Morling's own use of the phrase, and its use in biblical and theological context.

1. Use of the term among Baptists in Australia

Morling's interest in the doctrine of the Holy Spirit is relatively well known. He was often asked to speak on the topic, and in 1972 he published a substantial booklet, *The Holy Spirit: Studies by Rev. G. H. Morling* (doc 110) which is discussed in chapter ten below.¹ Yet, the claim that Morling's "particular theological emphases were the Holy Spirit and the soul's union with Christ"² has never been critically examined. The concept of union with Christ was familiar to NSW Baptists, as attested by use of the term in *The Australian Baptist*, but has not previously been examined in detail.

¹ G. H. Morling, *The Holy Spirit: Studies by G. H. Morling* (Sydney: Baptist Union of NSW, 1972).

² Rogers, "Morling, George Henry," *ADEB*, 268.

This usage among Baptists in NSW relates to four theological themes: regeneration; baptism; sanctification; and ecclesiology. The first mention is in 1913, in a report of the Baptist Association of Queensland Annual Assembly, stating that the chief aim of Sunday School education was “the bringing of the child into mystical union with Christ,”³ probably a reference to religious conversion. In 1922, the published transcript of a sermon by Spurgeon claims that the Bible “talks personally to us; it deals with us, with the business of today – how sin may today be forgiven, and our souls brought at once into union with Christ.”⁴ In 1937, Rev. A. J. Waldock argues in a public address that Baptist church membership should be open only to those who have had “a definite spiritual experience – a personal one – we may call it conversion, being born again, or regeneration – but until one has had a spiritual experience that implies a definite personal union with Christ, he cannot be a Baptist.” Waldock adds that baptism by immersion symbolises such union.⁵ These references suggest a link between union with Christ and spiritual regeneration.

The second theme links baptism and union with Christ, and there are six notable references. First, in June 1914, the published transcript of a sermon by Rev. T. E. Ruth, titled “Why Baptist?” and expounding Romans 6:1-14, states:

it is union with Christ that is the hallmark of Christianity. [Christ’s] life, His death, His burial and resurrection, these are not events external to Christianity, not mere matters of history [. . .] They are repeated in the inner consciousness of every sincere Christian, and of those great spiritual realities, baptism is the public witness.⁶

³ AB, 14 Oct 1913, 7.

⁴ AB, 14 Feb 1922, 1.

⁵ AB, 4 May 1937, 1.

⁶ AB, 30 Jun 1914, 3, 15.

Second, in December 1914, the *AB* carried an article by Mullins titled, “The spiritual meaning and value of baptism,” in which Mullins identifies union with Christ as “the means” of the transformation entailed in the believer’s identification with Christ in baptism.⁷

Mullins’s transcript is continued the following week, where he states that, through water baptism, the believer “enters into mystic fellowship with his Saviour [. . .] Baptism is baptism into Christ. It is symbolic of union with Christ.”⁸ Third, in 1925, there is a report of Principal William Bell of the Baptist Theological College of Queensland defending the principle of believer’s baptism in the secular press, responding to Anglican disparagement of the practice. Bell states that the Baptist understanding of baptism is “a picture-symbol of union with Christ in His death and resurrection, a union made real by the faith of the subject.”⁹ Fourth, in the following year Bell is again quoted in relation to water baptism, where he states that union with Christ, symbolised by baptism, constitutes a “death-blow” to “the works of the flesh, which are the fruitful cause of separation and alienation among men.”¹⁰

The last two references are by Morling. In 1933, referring to Romans 6:1-14, he identifies water baptism as “a symbol of the fact of the mystical union of the soul with Christ.”¹¹ He argues that “baptism points to higher requirements in the life of the believer,” and, “above all, the baptised Christian has victory because he has, by virtue of his union with Christ, the Divine Life as his dear possession.”¹² Finally, in 1934, a report on an event at Albion Baptist

⁷ *AB*, 8 Dec 1914, 1.

⁸ *AB*, 15 Dec 1914, 10.

⁹ *AB*, 13 Jan 1925, 3.

¹⁰ *AB*, 23 Mar 1926, 3.

¹¹ *AB*, 7 Feb 1933, 6.

¹² *AB*, 7 Feb 1933, 6.

Church, Brisbane, on 20 September, notes that Morling preached on “the soul’s union with Christ” from Ephesians.¹³ These five references, including comments by Morling, indicate a strong sense of believer’s baptism as a symbol of what is meant by union with Christ.

On the third theme, linking union with Christ and sanctification, there are eight references. In January 1914, commenting on Romans 6, Victorian Baptist leader Rev. A. W. Bean contrasts the “shameful past” of unregenerate experience with “the moral freedom obtained by union with Christ.”¹⁴ In April 1914, there is a report of an address on consecration at Sydney’s Petersham Baptist Church by Rev. Stephen Sharp, who urged his audience “to dedicate what God has already consecrated,” explaining that “the incentive to heavenly-mindedness and other-worldliness [. . .] is derived from the doctrine of union with Christ in His resurrection life.”¹⁵ In 1928, the *AB* carried the transcript of a later address by Sharp, to the NSW School of Theology (a pastors’ conference), in which he argued that “the outward sign [of union with Christ] [. . .] is fully set forth in believer’s baptism, but not all who display the sign enter into its deep spiritual content.”¹⁶ These two references together suggest that Sharpe advocated a Keswick or “higher life” spirituality forged by spiritual discipline subsequent to conversion, a view which Morling may have shared.

Other references to the theme of sanctification are as follows. In 1918, Rev. W. H. Bain preached on “union with Christ” at “Spiritual Welfare Meetings” held from 4-6 June at

¹³ *AB*, 9 Oct 1934, 10. Morling often preached on this theme after 1932, on which see below. One *AB* reference links union with Christ and communion: in 1914, Rev. A. W. Bean identified perception of union with Christ as one of eight benefits of participation in the Lord’s Supper. *AB*, 24 Nov 1914, 7.

¹⁴ *AB*, 6 Jan 1914, 9.

¹⁵ *AB*, 7 Apr 1914, 8f.

¹⁶ *AB*, 3 Jul 1928, 5.

Mortdale Baptist Church (Sydney). Bain's address was accompanied by addresses by Rev. Henry Clark on "Progress in salvation," and Rev. William Higlett on "The Lordship of Christ."¹⁷ In 1927, there is a report of an address or essay by Victorian Baptist leader Rev. F. W. Boreham, "The eagle's nest," in which Boreham states that "Our religious works are wax works, but our Christian works are the fruit of our union with Christ."¹⁸ In 1929, a report by Rev. E. E. Watson on the Brahmanbaria Missionary Convention refers to a paper by Watson on "The quest of the soul," in which union with Christ is regarded as "the vital starting point of soul culture."¹⁹ In 1934, a column by British Baptist leader Dr F. Townley Lord, titled "A present reality," describes union with Christ as a "present experience" and "future triumph," suggesting that the term may have been used by some as equivalent to terms such as "redemption" or "salvation."²⁰ In October 1914, South Australian Baptist Union President Rev. A. H. Collins stated in the transcript of his presidential address that stronger Baptist commitment to world mission "would mean better Christianity, closer union with Christ, and speedier coming of the kingdom."²¹ These eight references suggest a causal link between union with Christ and the process of sanctification or Christian maturity.

Two texts link union with Christ to ecclesiology. In 1919, in the transcript of an address on the purpose of the church, Rev. Alexander Gordon notes with reference to Matthew 18:20 that a distinctive quality of churches in comparison to other social groups is their spiritual identity derived from union with Christ.²² Secondly, in 1929, in an article titled "Baptists and

¹⁷ AB, 18 Jun 1918, 8.

¹⁸ AB, 1 Nov 1927, 5.

¹⁹ AB, 15 Jan 1929, 6.

²⁰ AB, 29 May 1934, 3.

²¹ AB, 6 Oct 1914, 5.

²² AB, 20 May 1919, 2.

the need of the age,” Dr W. Hogarth of Manchester argues that, for “the true Baptist,” a church is not defined by creed or institution but is “rather an assembly of individuals having a common characteristic, the vital and mystical union with Christ.”²³ These references imply that union with Christ imparts a distinctive corporate identity, perhaps analogous to the individual identity with Christ expressed in believer’s baptism.

2. Morling’s use of the term

Morling’s public advocacy for the doctrine of union with Christ was slow to emerge. In the 1920s, he was accustomed to presenting sermons and addresses on topics such as “Aggressive Christianity,” “Strengthened by the Spirit for power,” and “The believer’s personal attitude towards Man.”²⁴ Key concerns among NSW Baptists in the 1920s included evangelism, church extension, overseas mission, and the defence of biblical authority and Baptist distinctives. The cultivation of spiritual inwardness, at least in a classical sense, was not a common feature of public Baptist discourse in NSW. Yet, for Morling, the theme of spiritual inwardness, and a sense of union with Christ coupled with victorious Christian living, became increasingly central to his theology and spirituality by the 1930s. In 1923, Morling records in his diary that he preached at Eastwood Baptist Church “for some to live the victorious life (my subject).”²⁵ This may indicate that he viewed the “higher life” teaching of the holiness and Keswick movements as novel or controversial for his audience.

²³ AB, 23 Jul 1929, 8.

²⁴ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 35; AB, 29 Jul 1924, 10; AB, 6 Jul 1926, 10.

²⁵ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 45.

In 1930, Morling addressed the Half-Yearly Assembly of the Baptist Union of NSW, as President, on the subject of “The culture of the soul.”²⁶ This marked the start of a period of increased emphasis on spiritual inwardness. As his fortieth year approached, Morling may have felt increasingly confident that he had secured the enduring favour of the denomination and its key leaders, had demonstrated his conservative Baptist credentials, and was able to exert a stronger personal influence beyond the College drawn from his personal spiritual convictions and mystical experience.

Around this time, Morling began publicly associating with the Keswick movement. When he first attended a Keswick-style meeting at Katoomba is unknown, but his first addresses at Katoomba (and at Upwey in Victoria) took place in the summer of 1932-33. Morling was appointed to the Katoomba Christian Convention Council in 1932, retiring from the Council in 1955.²⁷ According to Ron Rogers, Morling considered his association with the Katoomba Convention as a platform speaker to be divine confirmation of his desire to develop “a public ministry for the deepening of spiritual life.”²⁸ He wrote in his diary, “Now I feel that the Holy Spirit wants to show me a greater degree of intimacy with Christ,”²⁹ and he sought to share this doctrinal-experimental insight with others. At the 1932 Katoomba Convention, Morling presented four addresses on the theme, “Some great thoughts about Jesus Christ.” They were “Spiritual millionaires,” (doc 29), “The soul’s union with Christ: Christ in the believer” (doc 30), “True holiness” (doc 31), and “True consecration” (doc 32). The second address,

²⁶ AB, 8 Apr 1930, 3. A transcript exists of what appears to be a later address by Morling with the same title to a NSW Baptist Ministers’ School of Theology (doc 161).

²⁷ Braga, *A Century Preaching Christ*, 65-66.

²⁸ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 104, based on Morling’s diary entry for 26 July 1932.

²⁹ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 104. Note also the prayers written in his diary for the period October-December 1933, reproduced in Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 107-109.

drawing on Paul's teaching in Ephesians 2:19-22 and 3:14-17, is of particular interest. There Morling states that "the believing soul is joined with Jesus Christ in a mystic union." He outlines two obligations of this union: "We are to abide in Christ, and we are to fulfil the conditions of Christ abiding in us" (doc 30: 127).

In this address, Morling refers to key aspects of the person and work of Christ: his divine pre-existence, incarnation, "atoning death," resurrection, present session, and future Parousia (Ac 1:11). He then adds a further aspect, completing what he views as a "full-orbed view of Jesus Christ": "He is also the indwelling Christ" (doc 30: 128). Morling claims that Christ is now found "in the throne ... in the heavenly sanctuary," and "He abides in our hearts" (doc 30:128). Moreover, in the "olden days, God was simply the Divine Visitant" who "came and appeared to men of old" (doc 30: 129). Later, the Temple's Most Holy place was understood to be God's earthly abode. Later still, "when our Lord came He was here in person," but today God's dwelling place is "the Church, which is a spiritual fellowship ... of souls which have been regenerated and in which dwells the Divine Presence" (doc 30:129).

After a digression on Paul's ministry to Gentiles (Eph 3:1-13), Morling notes that Paul prays that God the Father will "strengthen" the believers at Ephesus "with might by His Spirit in the inner man; that Christ may dwell in your hearts by faith" (Eph 3:16-17a) (doc 30:130). He relates John's account of Jesus entering the home of Mary and Martha (Jn 12:1-8), and suggests that Christians today may experience "something better" than welcoming Jesus as a house guest, for after the descent of the Holy Spirit at Jerusalem on the Day of Pentecost (Ac 2:1-13), the Spirit "would be the Vicar of Christ; He would be the one called alongside to help, to dwell within, and his coming would mean the perpetual presence of the Lord Jesus, not just in the home, but in the heart" (doc 30: 130).

For Morling, “indwelling” is a mystical experience effected by the Holy Spirit who makes real the promise of “Christ in the believer.” The Spirit’s work of strengthening the believer’s “inner being” (Eph 3:16b) prepares the way for indwelling by Christ, although the latter is generally understood as both positional (a spiritual status conferred on the believer upon regeneration) and experiential (an ongoing interior experience associated with sanctification) (doc 30: 131). Morling claims that this indwelling is brought about by an act of Christian faith:

There is the suggestion that Christ does not dwell in the heart of every believer in this way. Of course, every believer has Christ, but the grammar indicates that every believer has not Christ in the sense that Paul is speaking of now. If we are to have Christ in the inmost being, right in the very centre of life, dwelling in the very heart, there must be the strengthening by the Holy Spirit so that there may be the reception [of] faith (doc 30: 131).

Further, one may be “in Christ” but not “indwelt” by Christ. Morling speaks of such an event as “a crisis,” and relates a personal experience:

I dare to say that my experience of past days is paralleled here this afternoon: there has been a deep dissatisfaction with the life; there is the realization that somehow Christ is not in the very centre, not influencing every action, not behind every motive. He is in the life, but not right in the heart (doc 30: 131f).

The step to the “deeper life” comes through apprehension of spiritual truth, an act of the will, and a mystical experience mediated by the Holy Spirit which Morling describes as “full satisfaction” (doc 30:132). He concludes:

God in Christ wants to possess your life and He knows you are not prepared for his coming, so in His wondrous grace He prepares the way through His Spirit for His own coming. It is all of God, all of God except the action of faith, and even that is inspired by God. But he wants your cooperation. Give it to Him this afternoon (doc 30:132).

His articulation of the doctrine of union with Christ, and associated mystical experience, did not evolve beyond this explication recorded in 1932.

In 1937, Morling published a paper on the Lord's Supper for young people in which he suggests that reflection on its celebration and theological significance entails entry "into one of the deep and blessed mysteries of the Christian faith." After dismissing the traditional Roman Catholic teaching on the mass as "unacceptable," Morling asserts that, although Christ is not present through transubstantiation, he is "really present at His Table." Further, he asserts that when the needy trusting heart responds in active love and receptive faith, there is a warm, vital laying hold of Christ, and even more, a real loving union with Him which may truly be called a participation in His body and His blood."³⁰ This reflects the principle enunciated by Bean in 1914.³¹

In 1943, Morling began publishing a series of articles in the *AB* on "The abiding life," outlining devotional thoughts on Johannine Christology and on Christian living.³² In 1949, he claims that the basis for the "peace of God" referred to in Philippians 4:7 is "the holy union with the Lord Jesus."³³ There were many opportunities for advocacy of "higher life" teaching beyond the main Keswick-style conventions, and Morling appears to have addressed some of these. In May 1955, for example, Morling is reported to have

³⁰ *AB*, 16 Feb 1937, 10.

³¹ *AB*, 24 Nov 1914, 7.

³² *AB*, 17 Aug 1943, 2.

³³ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 208.

spoken at a “Deeper Life Convention” at Maitland, a city 160 kilometres north of Sydney.³⁴

Finally, Rogers refers to a diary entry by Morling while on vacation on 22 January 1957 which indicates a strong link between Morling’s understanding of the experience of union with Christ and the work of the Holy Spirit in an individual’s consciousness. In the diary entry, Morling affirms his fear that devotional practices “might be self-regarding and minister to self-consciousness rather than to God-consciousness”; that “inner strength follows in the wake of warm intimacy with Jesus Christ,” and that he could be tempted to “live in a doctrine rather than in personal relations with Christ.” Moreover, he writes,

It seems to me that relations with the other members of the Godhead fail unless I have personal relations with the Holy Spirit. I must (i) abandon my inner life to Him as a whole, (ii) commit individual matters to Him, (iii) remember that He Has at His disposal all the mighty powers of the Cross and Resurrection for the conquest of inbred sin and ‘its grim reality’, (iv) quietly, confidently trust Him for inner life and outward events.³⁵

Five days later, Morling again expressed concern regarding the tension he discerned between self-consciousness and God-consciousness. As Rogers observes, his diary entry reads,

I find that in any approach to God or in any correction of inward state my first business is to give myself over to the Holy Spirit – else I am using self power instead of God’s. If I seek to abide in Christ it is the I, the Me, the Mine that seeks to do it. The first step must be the humble adoring use of the Holy Spirit. So with Christ; the I is too weak to engender trust.³⁶

³⁴ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 247.

³⁵ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 259.

³⁶ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 259.

3. *The Quest for Serenity*

Morling's most detailed treatment of the concept of union with Christ occurs in *QFS* (doc 144). This was published in 1951 by Young and Morling, a Sydney firm created to promote the book, when Morling was in his sixtieth year and had served as principal of the Baptist Theological College of NSW for thirty years. Originally titled "The rest of faith," *QFS* was immediately recognised as "[Morling] in miniature; a cameo of his own Christlikeness."³⁷ It was republished in 1965 by William B. Eerdmans Publishers, and again in 1989 by Word Books with notes and commentary by Ruth Bell Graham, the wife of Baptist evangelist Dr Billy Graham. A revised edition was published by Morling Press in 2002. According to Rogers, *QFS* "enshrined many of the Principal's deepest insights and convictions."³⁸ Morling often relied on Strong's *Systematic Theology* for insights into modern systematic and applied theology.³⁹ In 1907, in his preface, Strong asserted that

Theology is a science which can be successfully cultivated only in connection with its practical application. I would therefore, in every discussion of its principles, point out its relations to Christian experience, and its power to awaken Christian emotions and lead to Christian decisions.⁴⁰

Similarly, Morling observes that, "if intellectual theory does not provide an answer, the experience of life does: and, since life is larger than logic, the practical answer is of greater

³⁷ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 208, 222. Rogers claims that a sequel to *QFS* existed in draft form in 1958, and that Dr Leon Morris had read a manuscript of several chapters but adds that "the book was not completed and the manuscript has not survived." See Rogers, 265-267.

³⁸ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 206.

³⁹ Email from Ken R. Manley to the author, 30 March 2016.

⁴⁰ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, xi.

value.”⁴¹ This statement offers a key to understanding Morling’s epistemology and spirituality.

QFS was written for a literate Christian lay audience. It resembles a spiritual or devotional classic, or a Christian version of a secular self-help guide. It is an example of what theologian and church historian Jaroslav Pelikan calls “the affectational transposition of doctrine,”⁴² although Morling sought to ground personal experience in what he understood as the objective truth of ultimate reality and Scripture. The strengths of the book lie in its grounding in biblical theology, its emphasis on the affective and practical dimensions of biblical teaching, and a structure progressing from recognition of personal weaknesses to a full embrace of the practical implications of the doctrine of union with Christ. In the foreword, the Rev. Dr C. J. Tinsley, then President of the College, extols Morling as “a front rank Bible Teacher and a well-known speaker at the great Spiritual Conventions” who “speaks from the richness of a trained mind and with a deep understanding of the human heart and of the Christian’s needs.”⁴³

For Morling, the experience described in *QFS* was not a conversion experience, nor the assurance of salvation he encountered while riding his bicycle along the bank of the Peel River as a pastor in Tamworth,⁴⁴ but a growing awareness of the need and benefits of daily self-surrender to God as an intelligent form of worship. For Morling, “the Christian life is a

⁴¹ Morling, *QFS*, 56.

⁴² Jaroslav Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine. Volume 5: Christian Doctrine and Modern Culture (Since 1700)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), p. 119.

⁴³ Morling, *QFS*, 3.

⁴⁴ Nicholas, *George Henry Morling*, p. 2. Tamworth is a regional city approximately 420 kilometres north of Sydney.

matter of multiplied new beginnings.”⁴⁵ A reference to “Something Better” on page 27 of *QFS* probably relates in part to his Peel River experience.⁴⁶ There he apparently gained new insight into the meaning and implications of the imperative aspect of union with Christ.⁴⁷ This reflects a Reformed understanding of the relation of justification to sanctification. As Calvin observes,

Christ was given to us by God’s generosity to be grasped and possessed by us in faith. By partaking of him, we principally receive a double grace: namely, that being reconciled to God through Christ’s blamelessness, we may have in heaven instead of a Judge a gracious Father; and secondly, that sanctified by Christ’s spirit we may cultivate blamelessness and purity of life.⁴⁸

Morling celebrated this “double grace” in a notable passage:

The Something Better is bound up with the knowledge of, and the response to, all that is comprehended with the divine righteousness which is imparted ... If faith does not advance to lay hold of this second aspect of righteousness, which is nothing less than the holiness of God resident within the regenerated heart, then the Heavenly Father cannot satisfy the longing soul. It is not enough to have God’s gift of pardoning grace which, as a robe of righteousness, covers the sinful life. The sinful life itself must become righteous. Justifying righteousness brings only peace of conscience and the cessation of fear regarding the eternal future. It declares a divine amnesty and gives a title to heaven. We need more than that; and, in the opulence of grace there is something more, much more. There is sanctifying righteousness which, from within, transforms the life. If the one secures our title to heaven, the other procures our fitness for it and, in so doing, floods it with radiance.⁴⁹

⁴⁵ Morling, *QFS*, 84.

⁴⁶ *QFS*, 27.

⁴⁷ *QFS*, 27f.

⁴⁸ Calvin, *Institutes*, 3.11.1.

⁴⁹ Morling, *QFS*, 28.

If the notion of “Jesus Christ appropriated” through “constantly feeding on Christ and finding in Him such satisfaction that no trace of unrest remained” is “Paul’s secret,” as Morling intimated,⁵⁰ then the efficacious experience of “divine righteousness appropriated,” and the peace and power it releases, may be described as Morling’s secret.

QFS shows evidence of wide reading and familiarity with Scripture but is poorly referenced.⁵¹ The text reveals references to 77 Bible texts: 13 from the Old Testament (16.9 per cent), and 64 from the New Testament (83.1 per cent). Of the Old Testament texts, seven are from the Psalms, three from Isaiah, and there are no other references from the Wisdom literature or the Prophets. Given the subject and focus of the book, and Morling’s interest in a spiritual interpretation of the Song of Songs as representing the union of the believer with Christ, it is strange that there are no references or allusions to that biblical book. Of the New Testament references,⁵² 31 are from the Gospels (48 per cent), and 33 from the rest of the New Testament. There are no references from the books of Acts, Galatians, 1 Thessalonians, 2 Thessalonians, 1 Timothy, 2 Timothy, Titus, Philemon, James, 2 Peter, 1-3 John, Jude or Revelation.

Of the Gospels texts, five are from Matthew, two from Mark, seven from Luke and 17 from John. Of the other NT references, four are from Romans, two from 2 Corinthians,

⁵⁰ *QFS*, 74-75.

⁵¹ The Eerdmans edition has three footnotes: “Eccl 3:11” (p. 16); “John 14:9” (p. 19), and “From Andrew Murray’s *The Spirit of Christ*” (p. 69). For the 2002 edition, Bruce Thornton added many biblical references as endnotes to chapters, but some of these do not directly relate to the texts quoted or referred to by Morling, and not all explicit biblical references are identified by Thornton. For tables analysing Scripture, name, and subject references in Morling’s 1951 book, see Benson, “*The Quest for Serenity*,” 1-7.

⁵² Not instances, since two texts are mentioned more than once.

seven from Ephesians, eight from Philippians, nine from Hebrews, and one each from 1 Corinthians, Colossians and 1 Peter. Morling drew heavily on the Gospel of John and the Letter to the Hebrews, both of which portray key aspects of the glory of the Son of God, the enduring efficacy of his redemption through the cross and resurrection, and the present ministry of the Son from heaven through the Spirit in the life of the Christian. Only two references are mentioned more than once: Matthew 11:28 is mentioned twice; and Hebrews 4:14-15 has three mentions.

In the Matthew passage, Jesus offers rest to the weary and burdened, which provides the premise of the book and the rationale for the quest for serenity. In the Hebrews passage, the author of Hebrews assures his readers of the presence of a superior high priest, namely Jesus, who has ascended into heaven, who is able to identify with their human weaknesses, and who has been tempted in every way as they are. These related themes are explicitly and implicitly evident throughout the book. A central aspect of *QFS*, therefore, is the demonstration of the solidarity and empathy of Jesus Christ with his people, and the profound practical blessings which accrue from a growing awareness of the implications of what Morling calls “the Soul’s union with Christ.”⁵³

There is a logical structure to *QFS*. Chapters 1-5 set the scene for the resolution of the quest in chapters 6 and 7. Chapter 1, “Introductory to the quest,” casts the gracious call of Jesus in Matthew 11:28 as the universal call to seek rest, or serenity, in Christ. Morling describes this quest as a “high adventure,” and urges the reader to embark on his or her own “quest for serenity.”⁵⁴ Chapter 2, “The calm of sins forgiven,” outlines

⁵³ Morling, *QFS*, 29.

⁵⁴ *QFS*, 14. This is the title at the head of chapter one. The table of contents has “Introduction to the Quest.”

the need for a personal sense of “timelessness” (a deep-seated awareness of transcendence or “eternity”), of “the divine” (ultimate reality personally experienced as the God revealed in Scripture), and of a consciousness of personal “sin” (“man is never immune from the invasion of a sense of guilt”)⁵⁵ as preparation for the quest. The revelation of God in Christ, and the redemption procured through his death, meet our deepest needs and justify us in God’s sight, so that “the soul, not only forgiven but accepted in the Beloved, is able to repose in the heart of God with its last longing satisfied.”⁵⁶

Chapter 3, “Faith’s deepening rest,” notes how “an unrest of the saint” may be experienced subsequent to regeneration, referring to “an undefined sense of spiritual need”⁵⁷ apparent as “the sense of deficiency and defeat and futility,”⁵⁸ and “the consciousness of inner [moral] defilement.”⁵⁹ This is resolved, according to Morling, by a profound awareness of the reality of one’s union with Christ. He writes, “I rejoiced to learn that, as a believer, I was joined with my Lord in a holy union of love; that I was in Christ and that Christ was in me; that no union on earth was more real than this mystic union with Christ”.⁶⁰ He describes the affective relief of this experience as “a life anchored within the veil, kept steady and secure in times of storm.”⁶¹ Such awareness is, in principle, complemented by “an enlarged, more accurate and more experimental view

⁵⁵ QFS, 17f.

⁵⁶ QFS, 23.

⁵⁷ QFS, 25.

⁵⁸ QFS, 26.

⁵⁹ QFS, 26.

⁶⁰ QFS, 30.

⁶¹ QFS, 36, referring to Hebrews 6:19.

of the Third Person of the blessed Trinity,” and a perception of the present priestly ministry of Christ on behalf of his people (“a ministry of continual cleansing, giving of life, and of intercession exercised on the authority of a new Covenant”).⁶²

Chapter 4, “The adjustment to life’s burdens,” outlines how this serenity, once achieved, produces the necessary conditions for the preservation of repose or restfulness not only in the “inner room of life” but out in “the busy ways of the world.”⁶³ Morling notes various ways in which Jesus cultivated repose and relieved tension as indicated in the Gospels. He dismisses “quietism” as “a retreat from reality,”⁶⁴ and argues that the repose which Jesus exemplified and commends to all of God’s people is achieved through radical selflessness (altruism),⁶⁵ humble dependence on God,⁶⁶ and obedience to God.⁶⁷

In Chapter 5, “Leaving it all quietly to God,” Morling reflects on the teaching of Psalm 62 as it relates to spiritual disciplines. He cautions against quiescence, the cultivation of “a quiet which sits with folded hands in supine ease.” Instead, he urges engagement in “proper human activity” and in regular confession of our sins to God.⁶⁸ In response to “the perplexity which arises out of dark experiences,” he calls readers to eschew

⁶² QFS, 31, 33.

⁶³ QFS, 37.

⁶⁴ QFS, 39f.

⁶⁵ QFS, 40-44.

⁶⁶ QFS, 44-48.

⁶⁷ QFS, 48f.

⁶⁸ QFS, 50, 52.

stoicism, doubt and cynicism,⁶⁹ and to cease worrying about the “Giant agony of the world,” an unattributed quote from English poet John Keats.⁷⁰ He offers this response to such existential challenges: “when faith bravely, patiently, trustingly faces its personal problem, it finds that the problem disappears in an experience of God which dispels all doubts and resentments.”⁷¹

Chapters 6 and 7 provide Morling’s definitive solution to the problem of the elusiveness of inner serenity. Morling was known throughout his public ministry as an exponent of a distinctive evangelical emphasis on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit. It is notable, then, that *QFS* finds its locus in the person and work of Christ rather than specifically in the Spirit of Christ and in the Spirit’s work of indwelling and transforming the Christian. The person and work of the Holy Spirit are, however, mentioned on pages 31, 32 and 84, and in an extended treatment on pages 68-72 (chapter 6, “Living restfully with God”), where Morling outlines a method for cultivating serenity. He drew on the notion of “inwardness” or “the way of inwardness” as practised by Quakers, whereby one cultivates an attitude of quiet reflection and prayerful anticipation of the presence of God, patiently waiting for God “to disclose Himself.” Morling viewed the method as “the way of spiritual reality,” contrasting the practice of “saying formal words and phrases in prayer” with the experience of “coming into vital communion with God.”

For Morling, the way of inwardness implied comprehension of “the mystery of God’s Indwelling” of the Christian by the Spirit; “orientation around the Divine Centre within”

⁶⁹ *QFS*, 56.

⁷⁰ *QFS*, 56, quoting John Keats, “The fall of Hyperion – A dream” (1819), line 157.

⁷¹ *QFS*, 57.

as one invokes or welcomes the presence of God in a “Holiest of all” within their own body and mind; and a constant returning to this “Centre,” “walking every moment in holy obedience.” It does not appear to involve ecstatic language or physical action but rather an attitude of silence and passiveness, “living restfully with God” in place of striving, restlessness and frenetic action. He makes extensive reference to Quaker teacher Thomas R. Kelly’s *A Testament of Devotion*,⁷² while clarifying that God is not to be thought of as wholly immanent and subjective.⁷³

Morling claims that, through regeneration, the Holy Spirit creates a “temple within” the Christian person, in which “we find in holy immediacy the Indwelling God,” to whom we inwardly “surrender.”⁷⁴ He quotes Blaise Pascal, “We should not seek if we were not already found,” stating that “patient experimenting on the basis of this fact will revolutionise devotion.”⁷⁵ He denounces “religious busyness” and “over-activism” as signs of spiritual adolescence, arguing that “[m]aturity is marked by the repose in which lieth power.” Finally, he says that “[i]t is in the silence that the Father’s care, the Saviour’s cleansing and the Comforter’s strengthening are experienced, and worship becomes almost inevitable.”⁷⁶ This is his method for cultivating serenity.

Finally, in chapter seven, “Initiation into a secret,” Morling outlines the theology undergirding his method. He calls it “Paul’s secret.” Paul had learned to find

⁷² Kelly, *Testament of Devotion*.

⁷³ Morling, *QFS*, 66-71.

⁷⁴ *QFS*, 68-69.

⁷⁵ *QFS*, 71. See Blaise Pascal, *Pensées* 553, Section 7, “Morality and doctrine” (1670; trans. A. J. Krailsheimer; London: Penguin Books, 1995). The original English translation reads: “Console thyself, thou woudst not seek Me, if thou hadst not found Me.”

⁷⁶ *QFS*, 72.

contentment in all circumstances. In Morling's view, this contentment or serenity was achieved through the "initiation" which Paul had received into Jesus Christ through regeneration: "Paul's secret was Jesus Christ appropriated, obeyed, used, enjoyed."⁷⁷ In other words, Paul had begun to discover the significance and deploy the resources of the reality of his union with Christ. Further, "Paul was living in such contentment because his heart was constantly feeding on Christ and finding in Him such satisfaction that no trace of unrest remained."⁷⁸ The "appropriation" of Christ resulted in three "outworkings" in Paul's life: "the Rest of Heart Satisfaction, the Rest of Inner Harmony, and the Rest of Adequate Resources."⁷⁹

Morling illustrates what he means by these phrases on pages 75-81 of *QFS*, and concludes the chapter by explaining the nature of the power that made Paul's "poise" possible. It was

nothing less than Christ's own power communicated to him and into him through the medium of *mystic union* ... the power that made [Christ] competent for His tasks is available to make me competent for mine. Should I not live in Union with Him and use the power? Then I, too, shall have the rest of adequate resources.⁸⁰

The resolution of the individual's quest for serenity is achieved methodologically and theologically through application of the doctrine of union with Christ.

As well as Scripture references, the book contains many undocumented references to persons and quotations or allusions to their work. There are at least 57 identifiable textual references

⁷⁷ *QFS*, 73f.

⁷⁸ *QFS*, 75.

⁷⁹ *QFS*, 74.

⁸⁰ *QFS*, 81, emphasis added.

and eight additional references whose source is unknown.⁸¹ Of these, 47 were born during the nineteenth century, 10 in the eighteenth century, six in the seventeenth century, two in the sixteenth century and one (Martin Luther) in the fifteenth century. Eight others were born before 1400. Most are mentioned once; only seven are mentioned twice. These are St Francis of Assisi, J. H. Jowett, John Keble, John Keats, Robert Murray M'Cheyne, the Apostle Paul, Charles Haddon Spurgeon, and Alexander Whyte. The only Australian cited is the late-nineteenth century Victorian Baptist leader Rev. Samuel Chapman.⁸² Apart from Paul the Apostle, of the seven who are mentioned twice, those who exerted greatest influence on George Morling appear to have been Francis, Jowett and Whyte, although in the book Morling mentions Quaker leader Thomas Kelly's writing as especially significant, and he identified with the intense personal suffering and spiritual struggles of men such as the poet and hymn writer William Cowper and the poet John Keats. Morling mentions no NSW Baptist leaders by name in the book.⁸³

Five themes in *QFS* warrant brief comment. First, the book displays a growing emphasis on the doctrines of grace, and the ways in which reflection on these doctrines instils confidence and enables ministry. Second, there is a strong emphasis on the centrality of the person and work of Jesus Christ in redemption and intercession, a comprehensive understanding of divine priesthood whereby Christ brings the believer to God and God to the believer. Third, there is a corresponding emphasis, though less fully stated, on the person and work of the Holy Spirit indwelling the believer. The Spirit is "the Baptiser into union with Christ,

⁸¹ See Appendix 6 for an index of identifiable name references in *QFS*. Source information and/or biographical details are presently lacking for Joseph Brice, C. H. Morrison, Daniel Webster, and Edward Willet.

⁸² On Chapman see Ken R. Manley, "Chapman, Samuel," *ADEB*, 70.

⁸³ One unnamed reference may refer to an Australian Baptist colleague, or a local Anglican leader, or someone from overseas whom Morling met or whose works he read: "A revered elder friend helped me greatly when he taught me that the Holy Spirit works *in* us before he works *through* us." *QFS*, 31.

[making] actual in me what Christ, through His Cross, has made possible,”⁸⁴ realised through daily surrender to Christ. This process is driven by private prayer and reorients the prayer life. Morling advocates a regular morning ritual designed to “get the will functioning early,” whereby one prays the following “morning act of faith”:

I believe that with Christ living within me through the Holy Spirit, recognised, trusted and obeyed, my life today can be happy, restful and strong. Deliberately I surrender my life to Him and trust Him to do the mighty work within of cleansing and empowering.

I believe also that God will manage my affairs today if I hand over the control to Him. I do that now and refuse to take anything back into my own care.

In this faith I go out into the day with quietness and confidence as my strength.⁸⁵

Fourth, Morling concludes that to follow this spiritual practice is to achieve the “quest for serenity,” and to enjoy its pleasures including psychological repose and spiritual contentment. Fifth, undergirding the theology and praxis of the quest and its resolution is Morling’s affirmation of the doctrine of union with Christ, which he twice describes as a “mystical” experience.⁸⁶

4. The biblical context

The notion of union with Christ outlined above is a fine example of doctrinal-experimental theology. It is not surprising that it should lie at the heart of Morling’s thought. Theologians differ, however, as to the nature and goal of such union. There is also disagreement as to

⁸⁴ Morling, *QFS*, 32, reiterated on p. 68.

⁸⁵ *QFS*, 84. Quote from Handley C. G. Moule, “A Morning Act of Faith” (publication details unknown).

⁸⁶ *QFS*, 30, 81.

whether union with Christ is a discrete element in the *ordo salutis* (for example, synonymous with regeneration or adoption), or rather provides a unifying image for the whole sweep of salvation. There is also the question of a relationship between union with Christ and deification. Deification was a familiar concept to many in the ancient Greco-Roman world and took many forms.⁸⁷ The Christian doctrine of union with Christ has roots in the Hebrew Bible. In the Old Testament, the people of God may be said to share with Christians in “the reality for which they hoped in type and shadow.”⁸⁸ Fellowship with God is expressed through relationship (Gen 4:26; Ps 100:3; Isa 45:6f), covenant identity (Gen 12:1-8; 15:1-21; Ex 25:8f; 33:3f, 15f; Isa 7:10-14), incorporation or adoption (Gen 12:1-8; Isa 49:6; 53:3-6; Hos 11:1), and participation (Ezek 36:24-28; 37:11-14; Jer 31:33f). Yet the Old Testament seems to contain no specific idea of union with God comparable to the New Testament doctrine of union with Christ.⁸⁹

In the New Testament, the doctrine of union with Christ is found almost exclusively in the Fourth Gospel and the Pauline Letters. John’s language of abiding, engrafting and indwelling are significant. Morling notes an emphasis on “Christ-mysticism” in John 6:51, 15:5, and 17:23, and suggests that this has a parallel in Paul’s development of the doctrine (doc 105:26). The Johannine Letters also use the image of abiding. In the Fourth Gospel and the Johannine Letters, the expression “in him” occurs some 26 times, and the notion of “abiding” in Christ more than 60 times. Paul uses the phrases “in Christ” (38 times), “in Christ Jesus” (51 times), “in him” (21 times), “in the Lord” (44 times), and other similar expressions (216

⁸⁷ David Litwa, *We Are Being Transformed: Deification in Paul’s Soteriology* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012), 300.

⁸⁸ Michael Horton, *The Christian Faith: A Systematic Theology for Pilgrims on the Way* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2011), 187.

⁸⁹ James Leo Garrett, Jr., *Systematic Theology: Biblical, Historical, and Evangelical*. Volume 2 (fourth edition; Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1990), 358.

times) to refer to union with Christ. In the Pauline writings, Morling observes an absence of the Johannine theme of abiding but argues that Paul weaves Christ-mysticism into the whole scheme of salvation (doc 105:27).⁹⁰ Ladd suggests that “the unifying concept from which Paul’s theology could be developed” is either justification by faith or “the mystical experience of being in Christ.”⁹¹ Key Pauline texts include Galatians 2:20; 3:26f; Ephesians 5:31f; Colossians 3:1-4; Romans 5:12-21; 6:1-14; and 2 Corinthians 5:17. Paul also employs images or analogies such as building/superstructure (1 Cor 3:9-11; Eph 2:20), head/body (1 Cor 6:15), and marital sex (1 Cor 6:17, 19f).⁹²

5. The historical and theological context

Patristic soteriology developed the doctrine of union with Christ in terms of an idealist Platonic/Neoplatonic “ascent of mind” associated with Origen; and a realist notion of identification with Christ associated with Irenaeus, who coined the phrase, “The Word of God became man that man might become divine.” Two strands of thought developed:

- (a) the notion of a generic human nature created by God and now divinized, with salvation understood as absorption into God along with a loss of personal identity as individuals merge with deified humanity;

⁹⁰ See Constantine R. Campbell, *Paul and Union with Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2012), and Michael J. Gorman, *Participating in Christ: Explorations in Paul’s Theology and Spirituality* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2019).

⁹¹ George E. Ladd, *A Theology of the New Testament* (1974; rev. & ed. Donald A. Hagner; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 411.

⁹² For other New Testament references to union with Christ see Robert A. Peterson, *Salvation Applied by the Spirit*, 234-271.

(b) the notion of union and communion with the persons of the Trinity, “achieved in our sharing by grace the relation to the Father that the Son has by nature, thus retaining both personal and human identity.”⁹³

The realist approach was eclipsed by “a metaphysical conception that simultaneously downplayed our union with Jesus in the flesh in the power of the Spirit and fused the human spirit with Christ’s divinity,”⁹⁴ and the doctrine appears to have fallen into disuse in the West.

Two developments occurred in the late fourth and early fifth centuries. First, in response to the theological disputes of the fourth century, the Cappadocian fathers, sympathetic to Origen, formulated the Orthodox doctrine of *theosis*. This was to have profound implications for Orthodox theology and praxis. Norman Russell defines *theosis* as

our restoration as persons of integrity and wholeness by participation in Christ through the Holy Spirit, in a process which is initiated in this world through our life of ecclesial communion and moral striving and finds ultimate fulfilment in our union with the Father – all within the broad context of the divine economy.⁹⁵

The second development was that Maximus the Confessor (c.580-662) formally revived the doctrine of union with Christ in a monastic context as the goal of the spiritual life. Maximus distinguished divine essence from divine energies, which allowed for human participation in God without compromising absolute divine aseity and transcendence.

⁹³ Letham, *Union with Christ*, 92.

⁹⁴ Horton, *The Christian Faith*, 592.

⁹⁵ Norman Russell, *Fellow Workers with God: Orthodox Thinking on Theosis* (Crestwood: Saint Vladimir’s Seminary Press, 2009), 21. See also Vladimir Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1973); Norman Russell, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Daniel A. Keating, “Typologies of deification,” *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 17 (3), July 2015, 267-283.

In the West, the doctrine found renewed life in medieval spirituality, notably through the teaching of Bernard of Clairvaux and Thomas Aquinas. Scholastic theologians tended to emphasise union as the goal of the process of justification; Thomas focuses on this in the third and final section of his *Summa*. In communities influenced by Origen and Pseudo-Dionysius, the notion of union with Christ became identified with the *via negativa* of Christian mystics such as Meister Eckhart (c.1260-1327), Jean Gerson (1363-1429) and John of the Cross (1542-1591). English theologian Robert Grosseteste (c.1175-1253) observed that Christian theology involves a series of unions, including union with Christ, which together constitute “the very heartbeat of what God is and all that he has done for us.”⁹⁶ These differing emphases did not, however, cause notable conflict until the nineteenth century.⁹⁷

The Protestant Reformers viewed union with Christ as the source rather than the goal of salvation, grounding it in the incarnation of Christ. As Baptist historian and theologian Timothy George observes,

evangelical piety turns upside down the medieval paradigm of a pathway to God. There the journey of faith began with purgation, moved on to illumination, and finally ended in unification, that is, union with God. In the evangelical understanding, we begin with union with Christ (the new birth) and move on through Word and Spirit to illumination and the process of sanctification until, at last, in heaven we see Christ face to face.⁹⁸

Thus, there is no place for “the engagement of autonomous praxis [. . .] thought to be necessary in order to appropriate or attain *theosis* as a kind of reward for holy behavior.”⁹⁹

⁹⁶ Letham, Robert W. A., *Union with Christ in Scripture, History, and Theology* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2011), 38.

⁹⁷ Carl Mosser, “Deification: A truly ecumenical concept,” *Perspectives* 30, 2015, 8-14.

⁹⁸ Timothy George, “Introduction,” in Timothy George & Alister McGrath (eds), *For All the Saints: Evangelical Theology and Christian Spirituality* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003), 4.

⁹⁹ Gannon Murphy, “Reformed Theosis?” *Theology Today* 65, July 2008, 200.

Sixteenth century Catholic and Arminian theology, on the other hand, tended to conflate justification and sanctification. Socinians even held that believers were united to God through an impersonal power flowing to Christ.¹⁰⁰ For the Reformers, union with Christ imparts both justification and sanctification, but emphasis usually rests on forensic rather than restorative aspects. Martin Luther draws on Bernard's nuptial imagery.¹⁰¹ For Luther, union is first judicial, involving a "glorious exchange" (the imputation of sins to Christ and of his righteousness to sinners), allowing "a growing relationship of trust, love and good works in which the union is realized subjectively more and more."¹⁰²

The doctrine of union with Christ occupies a central place in the theology of John Calvin. He too draws on Bernard's mystical imagery, referring to his writings some 21 times in *The Institutes*, as well as to other advocates such as Irenaeus, Cyril of Alexandria, and Augustine in his exposition of the doctrine.¹⁰³ Calvin's correspondence with Continental and Scottish Reformers indicates the development of a common soteriology grounded in the doctrine of union with Christ.¹⁰⁴ Calvin moves beyond Bernard's mystical imagery to embrace a trinitarian explanation of union with Christ whereby "the Spirit unites the believer with the risen Christ, strengthening this union with Word and sacrament until its fulfilment in the eschaton."¹⁰⁵ For Calvin, believers "receive a double grace: namely, that being reconciled to

¹⁰⁰ J. V. Fesko, "Union with Christ," in Matthew Barrett (ed.), *Reformation Theology: A Systematic Summary* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2017), 423, 441-447.

¹⁰¹ For example, Martin Luther, *Against the Antinomians*, in *Luther's Works*, vol. 47:110; see also vols. 28:88-90 and 31:351.

¹⁰² Horton, *The Christian Faith*, 593.

¹⁰³ For example, Calvin, *Institutes*, 3.20.1; see also Dennis E. Tamburello, *Union with Christ: John Calvin and the Mysticism of St Bernard* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994).

¹⁰⁴ Julie Canlis, "Union with Christ," *EDT*, 909.

¹⁰⁵ Canlis, "Union with Christ," 909.

God through Christ's blamelessness, we may have in heaven instead of a Judge a gracious Father; and secondly, that sanctified by Christ's Spirit we may cultivate blamelessness and purity of life."¹⁰⁶ This "double grace" unites the retrospective and prospective aspects of salvation, rendering justification inseparable from transformation.

Calvin's eschatology is similarly grounded in union with Christ:

engrafted into [Christ], we are already, in a manner, partakers of eternal life, having entered the kingdom through hope. Yet more: we experience such participation in him that, although we are still foolish in ourselves, he is our wisdom before God; while we are sinners, he is our righteousness; while we are unclean, he is our purity [. . .] while we still bear about the body of death, he is yet our life.¹⁰⁷

This notion of "participation" refers to "intimacy and differentiation, not consubstantiality."¹⁰⁸ He employs terms such as "adoption" and "engrafting" to counter false notions of pantheism and panentheism in relation to the doctrine of union.

For Calvin, piety is grounded in union with Christ and comprises "that reverence joined with love of God which the knowledge of his benefits induces."¹⁰⁹ He refers to mystical union in terms similar to the terms used to describe the Orthodox doctrine of *theosis*.¹¹⁰ He argues that "It was necessary for the Son of God to become for us Immanuel [. . .] in such a way that his divinity and our human nature might by mutual connection grow together"; and "To

¹⁰⁶ Calvin, *Institutes*, 3.11.1.

¹⁰⁷ Calvin, *Institutes*, 3.15.5.

¹⁰⁸ Julie Canlis, *Calvin's Ladder: A Spiritual Theology of Ascent and Ascension* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010), 13.

¹⁰⁹ Calvin, *Institutes*, 3.2.14.

¹¹⁰ For example, Calvin, *Institutes*, 2.12.7; 3.11.10.

communicate with us what he had received from the Father he has to become ours and dwell within us.”¹¹¹ Thus authentic Christian life is not made possible by justification alone but by the believer’s union with Christ through faith.¹¹² Union with Christ is a “master key that opens many doors which had been closed for a long time” – not *the* central dogma of Calvin’s theology but *a* central doctrine around which other doctrines cluster.¹¹³

Despite its theological clarity, Calvin’s so-called “master key” failed to convince many of his seventeenth-century successors. A division emerged between those who espoused “federal union” (an intellectual approach emphasising justification, with union viewed as a mechanism for supplying the benefits of redemption) and those espousing “spiritual union” (a more mystical approach emphasising personal transformation through the cultivation of holiness). Yet, the immediate post-Reformation period witnessed a flourishing of Protestant scholarship on the doctrine of union with Christ and the role of the Holy Spirit in effecting sanctification. Notable among such scholarship are the writings of Richard Hooker (1554-1600), William Ames (1576-1633), Thomas Hooker (1586-1647), Thomas Goodwin (1600-1680), Samuel Rutherford (1600-1661), John Owen (1616-1683), Walter Marshall (1628-1680), Rowland Stedman (1630-1683), and John Flavel (1630-1691).

Marshall, perhaps the preeminent expositor of the classic doctrine, held that “All spiritual life and holiness is treasured up in the Fulness of Christ, and communicated to us by Union with

¹¹¹ Calvin, *Institutes*, 2.12.1; 3.1.1.

¹¹² Scott M. Manetsch, “John Calvin’s doctrine of the Christian life,” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 61 (2), 2018, 264-266.

¹¹³ Charles Partee, *The Theology of John Calvin* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008), xvi, 5. See also Marcus Johnson, “‘The highest degree of importance’: Union with Christ and soteriology,” in Myk Habets & Bobby Grow (eds), *Evangelical Calvinism: Essays Resourcing the Continuing Reformation of the Church* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2012), 222-249.

him; therefore, the accomplishing of union with Christ is the first work of saving Grace in our hearts.”¹¹⁴ Advocates of federal union insisted on justification as the centre of Pauline theology, and the two paths diverged. In the early twentieth century, Albert Schweitzer (1875-1965) sought to bring the two streams together, claiming that the forensic doctrine of justification by faith was a mere “subsidiary crater” within the “main crater,” the mystical doctrine of union with Christ.¹¹⁵ His attempts were unsuccessful, and the debate is far from over as evidenced, for example, by the ongoing conversations around the so-called New Perspective on Paul. Mention should also be made here of Jonathan Edwards’s doctrine of the Christian life, which has led some to suggest a connection between his soteriology and the patristic doctrine of *theosis*. For example, Robert W. Caldwell III argues that “it is not a stretch to say that Edwards affirmed a Reformed version of *theosis*, one that articulates the concept under the guise of other terms such as ‘union with Christ’.”¹¹⁶

In the twentieth century, Dutch Reformed theologian Herman Bavinck (1854-1921) adopted Calvin’s notion of double grace, and claimed that union with Christ implied a union of persons “not only in will and disposition but also in being and nature.”¹¹⁷ Swiss theologian Karl Barth (1886-1968) held that “fellowship” with Christ involves confrontation and encounter but not mysticism.¹¹⁸ Yet Barth declared Colossians 3:3 to be the centre of the

¹¹⁴ Walter Marshall, *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification* (London, 1692; repr. Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 1999), 46.

¹¹⁵ Albert Schweitzer, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (1931; repr. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 223-225.

¹¹⁶ Robert W. Caldwell III, “Pneumatology,” in Douglas A. Sweeney & Jan Stievermann (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Jonathan Edwards* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 161. See also James R. Salladin, *Jonathan Edwards and Deification: Reconciling Theosis and the Reformed Tradition* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2022).

¹¹⁷ Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics. Volume 4*, 577.

¹¹⁸ William B. Evans, *Imputation and Impartation: Union with Christ in American Reformed Theology* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster, 2008), 244.

gospel and “the basic Pauline perception.”¹¹⁹ American Reformed theologian Louis Berkhof (1873-1957), whose systematic theology was used by Morling’s students, considered mystical union to be the result rather than the source of justification. He accepted the Reformed consensus of his time that regeneration logically precedes effectual calling and justification in the *ordo salutis*.¹²⁰ He distinguished legal unity with Christ from spiritual oneness with Christ. For Berkhof, mystical union enables awareness of all that justification delivers, and secures for the believer “the continuously transforming power of the life of Christ, not only in the soul but also in the body.”¹²¹

Theologians of the Wesleyan tradition tend not to use the term “union with Christ” but may employ general terms such as “salvation” to convey a similar spectrum of meaning; or to refer to the presence of the Holy Spirit in the life of a regenerate person along with a concomitant experience of “holy love.” For example, in a noted sermon, John Wesley argues that “salvation” entails “the entire work of God, from the first dawning of grace in the soul, till it is consummated in glory.”¹²² Elsewhere, Wesley writes,

By salvation I mean, not barely, according to the vulgar notion, deliverance from Hell, or going to Heaven: But a present deliverance from sin, a restoration of the soul to its primitive health, its original purity; a recovery of the divine nature; the renewal of our souls after the image of God, in righteousness and true holiness, in justice, mercy, and truth.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Karl Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, II/1.149.

¹²⁰ Louis Berkhof, *Systematic Theology* (1932; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 452.

¹²¹ Berkhof, *Systematic Theology*, 452.

¹²² John Wesley, Sermon 43, “The Scripture way of salvation,” in N. Burwash (ed.), *Wesley’s 52 Standard Sermons* (Salem, OH: Schmuel, 1988), 441.

¹²³ John Wesley, “A farther appeal to men of reason and religion,” in John Emory (ed.), *The Works of the Reverend John Wesley. Volume 5* (New York: Emory & Waugh, 1831), 35.

These benefits of salvation are equally identifiable as benefits of union with Christ. Thus, the doctrine of union with Christ is present in Wesleyan theology, albeit by another name. A distinct order of salvation is also present, enriched at every point by the reality of union, although Wesley could not accept the notion of definite Christian perseverance as a normative benefit of such union.

Many of the devotional and theological writers on whose work Morling draws in his books and lecture notes also wrote about union with Christ. Baptist theologians Strong and Mullins are of particular interest since their writings shape Morling's theological outlook more than most. Strong regards union with Christ as the central, though neglected, truth of all theology. He argues that such union is the purpose for which God elects and calls persons. He regards such union as an experience "begun in regeneration, completed in conversion, declared in justification, and proved in sanctification and perseverance."¹²⁴ For Strong, echoing Calvin,

the majority of Christians much more frequently think of Christ as a Savior outside of them, than as a Savior who dwells within. This comparative neglect of the doctrine is doubtless a reaction from the exaggerations of a false mysticism. But there is great need of rescuing the doctrine from neglect. For this we rely wholly upon Scripture ... to deny [the doctrine of union with Christ] is to deny [biblical] inspiration itself.¹²⁵

Union with Christ features in Part 6 of Strong's *Systematic Theology*, on the doctrine of salvation through the work of Christ and the Holy Spirit. This follows discussion of election and calling, and precedes Strong's treatment of regeneration – a logical rather than chronological order.¹²⁶ He writes, "The one life which makes regeneration and all these

¹²⁴ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 795.

¹²⁵ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 795.

¹²⁶ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 793.

consequent blessings possible is the life of Christ who joins himself to us in order that we might join ourselves to him.”¹²⁷ While there is an appropriate response by the regenerate person, the initiative is entirely God’s: “union with Christ involves a change in the dominant affection of the soul. Christ’s entrance into the soul makes it a new creature, in the sense that the ruling disposition, which before was sinful, now becomes holy. This change we call regeneration.”¹²⁸

Strong emphasises the close relation of union with Christ to “Christian experience, and its power to awaken Christian emotions and lead to Christian decisions.”¹²⁹ According to Strong, union produces an experience of fellowship so profound “that Christ’s whole experience on earth is in some measure reproduced in [the believer] ... furnishing the basis for the spiritual unity of Christ’s people on earth, and for the eternal communion in heaven.”¹³⁰ The centrality of the doctrine and experience of union with Christ is summed up in this quote by Strong in his address to the inaugural Baptist World Congress in London in 1905:

Christianity is summed up in the two facts: Christ *for* us, and Christ *in* us – Christ *for* us upon the cross, revealing the eternal opposition of holiness to sin, and yet, through God’s eternal suffering for sin making objective atonement for us; and Christ *in* us by his Spirit, renewing in us the lost image of God, and abiding in us as the all-sufficient source of purity and power. Here are the two foci of the Christian ellipse: Christ *for* us, who redeemed us from the curse of the law by being made a curse for us, and Christ *in* us, the hope of glory, whom the apostle calls the mystery of the gospel.¹³¹

¹²⁷ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 794.

¹²⁸ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 804.

¹²⁹ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, xi.

¹³⁰ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 806.

¹³¹ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 806, original emphasis.

Strong also held that a universal “natural” union with Christ, prior to the incarnation, precedes the spiritual union made possible through the atonement.¹³² Morling did not share this view.

Mullins similarly refers to the “transformative power” of union with Christ, regarding the doctrine as an essential aspect of the order of salvation.¹³³ He places his treatment of the doctrine at the end of a chapter titled, “The beginnings of the Christian life,” following a chapter on divine election and preceding a chapter on sanctification and perseverance. The chapter on “beginnings” deals with the work of the Holy Spirit in salvation, “calling and conviction for sin,” and then his implicit *ordo salutis*: repentance, faith, conversion, regeneration, justification, adoption and sonship, and finally union with Christ. For Mullins, like Strong, union with Christ is an essential aspect of the experience of salvation:

In becoming a Christian a man enters into a new personal relation. Saving faith is not acceptance of a creed nor of a new intellectual belief of any kind. It is not joining the church nor receiving the ‘sacraments’ or ordinances. It is not ‘believing the Bible’ in a mere intellectual way. Becoming a Christian is entering a new personal relation to Christ.¹³⁴

Moreover, “All that has been said as to the beginning of the Christian life, and indeed all that has yet to be said as to its continuance, may be summed up in one phrase, union with Christ.”¹³⁵

¹³² Strong, *Christ in Creation and Ethical Monism*, 154.

¹³³ Mullins, *The Christian Religion*, 415.

¹³⁴ Mullins, *The Christian Religion*, 409.

¹³⁵ Mullins, *The Christian Religion*, 409.

Mullins preserves the Creator-creature distinction, noting that while the believer's "life is gathered up into [Christ's] life and derives its quality from the divine qualities in him," at the same time "[t]he mutuality of the relation accentuates our distinction from him while showing our personal union with him."¹³⁶ For Mullins, union with Christ is not "a vague and indefinite mysticism" but the definite action of the Holy Spirit "in our own consciousness," promoting activism, reproducing divine power in us "through acts of self-sacrifice, through putting away of sin, through Christian work, through loving deeds, and, in fact, in all the practical activities and strivings of the Christian life."¹³⁷

Mullins links the call to abide in Christ with the power of the Holy Spirit to effect this, noting that the permanence of the union, accompanied by strenuous effort on the part of the believer to abide in Christ, delivers assurance and enables perseverance. He says, optimistically:

the continuance of the union is based upon the grace and power of him with whom we are united. Its effect is to cancel and destroy every form of earthly union which opposes or contradicts it. We are gradually drawn away from all forms of sin and worldliness into a self-consistent unity of life with Christ.¹³⁸

The practical fruit of union with Christ, for Mullins, is holiness, missionary zeal, and blessing:

the consciousness of those who are united with Christ is a missionary consciousness. They share in his redemptive passion, his redeeming purpose for all mankind, and show it by devotion to the task of making Christ known to the ends of the earth.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ Mullins, *The Christian Religion*, 412, 414.

¹³⁷ Mullins, *The Christian Religion*, 414.

¹³⁸ Mullins, *The Christian Religion*, 414.

¹³⁹ Mullins, *The Christian Religion*, 415.

Mullins's exposition of the doctrine of union with Christ, and its place in his soteriology, resonates with that of Morling.

For H. R. Mackintosh, another of Morling's theological guides, union with Christ is "a brief name for all that the apostles meant by salvation."¹⁴⁰ In an important 1907 essay, Mackintosh recasts the doctrine in terms of personality rather than substance, arguing against the claims of Albrecht Ritschl and James Denney that the doctrine should be understood in moral rather than metaphysical terms.¹⁴¹ Mackintosh argues that his conception of the doctrine of union with Christ gives fresh meaning to the incarnation and atonement, especially the representative action of Christ in his sacrificial death.¹⁴² He also notes the implications of a personal and mystical understanding of the doctrine for justification and sanctification: the new relational union indicated by justification erases "the solitude of moral conflict," and all the resources of the Godhead become available to meet the challenge of holy Christian living.¹⁴³

Several other works referring to union with Christ, as Morling understood the doctrine, warrant brief notice. Those of a devotional style include a 1905 article by C. E. W. Dobbs, a book by A. J. Gordon, and another by James S. Stewart.¹⁴⁴ More theological works include

¹⁴⁰ Mackintosh, *Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ*, 334.

¹⁴¹ H. R. Mackintosh, "The Unio Mystica as a theological conception," *Biblical Studies* 7 (2), February 1909, 138-155, reprinted in *Some Aspects of Christian Belief* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923), 110.

¹⁴² Calvin says much the same in *Institutes*, III.i.1: "to share with us what he had from the Father, he had to become ours and dwell in us."

¹⁴³ Mackintosh, *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness*, 255.

¹⁴⁴ C. E. W. Dobbs, "The relation of the believer to Christ," *Review & Expositor* 2 (3), 1905, 371-379; A. J. Gordon, *The Twofold Life, or, Christ's Work for Us and Christ's Work in Us* (London: Fleming H. Revell, 1883); and James S. Stewart, *A Man in Christ: The Vital Elements of St. Paul's Religion* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935).

those by T. C. Hammond, an Anglican contemporary who may have influenced Morling's later thought, and A. W. Pink, who appears to have had minimal influence on Morling and who was not well appreciated among NSW Baptists despite occupying the pastorate at Ashfield Baptist Church for a short time.¹⁴⁵ Also worthy of mention is Baptist theologian George Eldon Ladd, whose work in New Testament theology developed in the 1960s and 70s, a generation or two after Morling's formative period, but which closely resembles Morling's position. For Ladd,

union with Christ in his death and resurrection, the indwelling of Christ in the Spirit, and the blessing of eternal life are different ways of describing the same reality: the situation of the person of faith who has become a new creation in Christ and entered the new era of salvation and life.¹⁴⁶

According to Ladd, scholarly support for a mystical or renovative interpretation of union with Christ had waned by the mid-twentieth century in favour of a forensic emphasis closely linked to justification. Where they refer to it, evangelical theologians since the 1970s have generally noted the doctrine's wide scope as an inclusive term for the whole of salvation.¹⁴⁷ A recent example of this is by Douglas Moo, who in his *magnum opus* on Pauline theology identifies union with Christ as "the centre" of Paul's theology,¹⁴⁸ and argues that "Paul uses this phrase to refer to virtually every aspect of Christian existence and theology."¹⁴⁹ Morling likewise

¹⁴⁵ Hammond, *In Understanding Be Men*, especially pages 145-151; and Arthur W. Pink, *Spiritual Union and Communion* (Grand Rapids: Guardian Press, 1976), especially pages 74-79.

¹⁴⁶ Ladd, *Theology of the New Testament*, 535.

¹⁴⁷ See, for example, Donald Guthrie, *New Testament Theology* (Leicester: IVP, 1981), 641-659; and Michael Bird, *Evangelical Theology: A Biblical and Systematic Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2013), 579.

¹⁴⁸ Douglas J. Moo, *A Theology of Paul and His Letters: The Gift of the New Realm in Christ* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic, 2021), 35-39.

¹⁴⁹ Moo, *Theology of Paul and His Letters*, 38.

appears to use the phrase in a broad biblical-theological sense, both as a theological category and as a subjective experience of salvation.

Conclusion

This chapter has demonstrated that the term “union with Christ” was used in publications by Baptists in NSW from about 1913. Most frequently it describes a state of being associated with the fact of regeneration and a subsequent process of sanctification. Occasionally the term is linked with the “higher life” spirituality popularised by the Keswick movement in Britain and Australia. The earliest reference to the term in Morling’s writings is in 1932, where he speaks of union with Christ in an address to the Katoomba Convention. The term recurs occasionally in his writings. Morling affirms the doctrine of union with Christ in the sense of divinely initiated objective participation in Christ, along with the evangelical activism of “abiding” in Christ. He also claims that one may be “in Christ” but not “indwelt” by Christ. For Morling, the attainment of such “abiding” accorded with the experience of “restfulness” that was his lifelong passion.

The Quest for Serenity emphasises the affective and practical dimensions of Christian life, offering guidance on realising the implied practical benefits of union with Christ through performance of spiritual exercises cultivating Christian piety. A central aspect of the book is the demonstration of the solidarity of Christ with his people, and the profound practical blessings which accrue from a growing awareness of the reality and implications of union with Christ. In the book, Morling advocates a regular daily ritual to help achieve the “quest” in one’s personal life, a practice grounded in a biblical understanding of the doctrine and its

expression in experimental piety. Morling twice describes such union as a “mystical” experience.

As for the biblical data, Old Testament writers use terms such as fellowship with God, covenant identity, incorporation, adoption, and participation to describe the relation between the divine and the human, but there is nothing comparable to the New Testament notion of union with Christ. In the New Testament, the doctrine appears almost exclusively in the Fourth Gospel and the Pauline letters. The concept of union with Christ has occupied Christian theologians for most of the past two thousand years, with significant diversity of opinion as to its nature, expression and goal. Morling drew on relevant aspects of this biblical and theological tradition in articulating his understanding of the doctrine. Ron Rogers was justified in claiming that union with Christ was one of two particular theological emphases in Morling’s theology. The doctrine is a fine example of Morling’s commitment to doctrinal-experimental theology and constitutes a central theme in his theology.

Chapter 7—God and revelation

The task of this chapter is to outline Morling's thought on the knowledge of God. It discusses how God is known, what God is like (the unity and trinitarian nature of God, divine attributes, and "fatherhood"), and what God does in terms of decree, providence and revelation. The doctrine of creation is discussed in chapter eight.

1. How God is known

Morling asserts that the notion of a supreme being is fundamental to human consciousness and that the "aspiring soul" naturally actualises "God-consciousness" (doc 85:1). He claims, however, that many fail to "sufficiently contemplate God as He is in Himself" (doc 87:2), and many worship false deities. He holds that "[a] people's conception of God determines their religious and moral and even, to some extent, their political life" (doc 92:1). He affirms classical Christian theism, the notion that the God of biblical revelation possesses an essential nature characterised by timelessness, pure actuality, immutability, impassibility, simplicity, necessity, omnipotence and omniscience.¹ Morling follows a logical order in addressing aspects of the doctrine of God but is wary of intellectual sophistication. His approach is similar to that of Strong, who orders his treatment of the doctrine of God in three parts: the

¹ Ronald H. Nash, *The Concept of God: An Exploration of the Contemporary Difficulties with the Attributes of God* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983), 19.

existence of God; the Scriptures as a revelation of God; and the nature, decrees and works of God (treating the Trinity under the nature of God, after discussing divine attributes).² In documents 85-92, he discusses theism, the knowledge of God, the being of God, the unity of God, the Fatherhood of God, attributes of God, Trinity, providence and prayer.

In Morling's view, God is profoundly hidden yet revealed to humans through reason ("corroborative [*sic*] evidences"), intuition, and "Special Divine Revelation" (doc 92:2-3). Morling follows Strong's order of four "probable" evidences, or logical proofs, for theism (the cosmological, teleological, anthropological/moral, and ontological arguments),³ and adds a fifth, the aesthetic argument, in which "the beautiful in Nature and Art points to an idea beyond itself ... an 'aesthetic necessity,' namely God" (doc (docs 85:2; 92:7-8). Here Morling draws on the thought of British psychologist Robert Henry Thouless (1894-1984) and his notion of "the mystic appeal of nature."⁴ Morling concludes that these proofs constitute "presumptive evidence of the reasonableness of belief in God," but adds, "The believing man attains to his knowledge of God in quite another way" (doc 92:8).

By intuition, Morling appears to mean what is often called common sense or non-inferential knowledge. He likens such knowledge to the self-evident proposition that two straight lines are unable to enclose a space, the awareness that two plus two equals four, or the conviction of an "absolute difference between right and wrong" (doc 56:2). He notes that such statements "do not admit of logical proof but they are established on deeper grounds" (doc 56:2). For Morling, personal knowledge of God is "the first and most deeply embedded of all

² Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 1-370.

³ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 71, 87.

⁴ Robert H. Thouless, *Introduction to the Psychology of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1923). Morling refers to pages 36-40.

such intuitions ... an assumption apart from which all other knowledge is impossible” (doc 85:1). Here Morling echoes Mullins, who orders theology according to the “central reality” of the “redemptive grace of God as manifested first in Jesus Christ himself, and secondly as manifested in the souls of believers.”⁵ Mullins distinguishes material principles (“fellowship with God as mediated through Jesus Christ”) from formal principles (“the Scriptures spiritually interpreted”), contrasting the method of an experiential theology from that of a merely critical or exegetical study of Scripture. Similarly, for Morling, theology and theologising properly arise through experience of the divine mystery. Part of theology’s work is to clarify or explicate, in rational terms, personal knowledge gained through experience and intuition.

There are potential dangers in embracing such convictions. As evangelical philosopher and theologian Edward J. Carnell observed in 1952, “The imminent danger one faces in revolting from an all-embracing absolute such as Roman Catholicism is that, having tasted the elixir of independence and freedom, one may become completely drunken with his own autonomy.”⁶ For Morling, the primary safeguard against doctrinal error for Baptists is a confidence in the veracity of the teachings of Scripture and a conviction that God mediates propositional truths and personal love at least in part through divine disclosure in the words and phrases of Scripture. Morling holds that a clear and reliable understanding of God and God’s ways “comes to fulness through Special Divine Revelation,” the personal self-disclosure of God who otherwise would remain unknown (doc 85:2). This is Mullins’s “fellowship with God as mediated through Jesus Christ.”⁷ Morling states that such revelation has been progressively

⁵ Mullins, *Christian Religion*, 29f.

⁶ Edward J. Carnell, *A Philosophy of the Christian Religion* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1952), 449.

⁷ Mullins, *Christian Religion*, 29.

given and “is now final” in the wake of the incarnation of Christ, but he entertains the hope that “There is still more light to break forth from [God’s] word” (doc 85:2).⁸

2. What God is like

(a) Essential being

On the nature and character of God, Morling expresses definite views regarding essential divine oneness, three-in-oneness, and attributes. Together these present a consistent and orthodox understanding of the God in whom he believes. He asserts that early modern humans “fell away from” rather than rose to embrace monotheism (doc 92:12). He suggests that the ancient Israelite community portrayed a developing understanding of God in the Mosaic, prophetic and post-exilic periods, arguing for growth in the notion of “abstract monotheism” in response to developments in theological ethics and increased contact with other cultures and societies (doc 92:12).⁹ Morling says little about the unity of God.

However, noting a trinitarian pattern of the prayer in Ephesians 1:15ff, he says, “Thus is Paul using every person of the Blessed Trinity, who are distinct but never separated. In v. 19 they are thought of in Unity because the Godhead is not three arithmetical units but one vital organic Unity” (doc 36:82). Undergirding Morling’s trinitarian theology is the confession that God is one being in essential nature.

⁸ A quotation from the Separatist pioneer John Robinson (1576-1625), pastor to the “Pilgrim Fathers” before embarking on the *Mayflower* in 1620.

⁹ For further reading Morling recommends relevant passages in Maldwyn Hughes, *Christian Foundations: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* (London: Epworth Press, 1956); A. B. Davidson, *The Theology of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904); Nathan J. Stone, *The Names of God in the Old Testament* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1944); and Frank Theodore Woods, *What is God Like? An Attempt at an Answer* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1928).

While Morling emphasises the relations and roles of the divine persons with respect to salvation history, in several places he directs attention to the nature of God. For example, when introducing the doctrine of Christ, he writes:

the work is closely associated with the Person but, doubtless few of us actually give time to the direct contemplation of God Himself as distinct from his various operations. We should accustom ourselves to turn from the glorious works of God in nature and in redemption as well as his gracious deeds in Providence to God Himself Who is the Author of them all. I hope that this course will result in our acquiring the holy habit of direct thought about God, of steady, patient, worshipful, reposeful contemplation of Him (doc 90:1).

When introducing the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, Morling similarly encourages contemplation of God in “this other fact of His Trinity,” adding that although such contemplation stretches human finitude to its limits, “we do well ... to direct reverent, adoring thought to God Himself and that must include consideration of God in His Eternal Being” (doc 91:1). This implies that theological precision and debate should take second place to simple adoring worship. He says, “We would cease to worship God if we had not a sense of wonder, and wonder comes out of mystery. More especially is this true of the doctrine of the Trinity” (doc 92:33). To talk about the unity of God is not merely to reflect on “the one” in contrast to “the many”; it is, for Morling, an invitation to repose in contemplation of the divine mystery.

(b) Three persons

Morling affirms that “God is one with three personal distinctions in his ineffable being” (doc 86:1). He considers the Christian doctrine of the Trinity to be a “Supra-Rational” but not “Contra-Rational” doctrine (doc 87:1). The defence of trinitarian doctrine is fundamental to Morling’s theology, though he notes in 1968 that in his early years he “tended towards a Unitarianism of Jesus Christ,” and later found that he “could not have a real Christ without

the doctrine of the Holy Spirit” (doc 131:2). He observes that “it is only of recent years that in a practical way I have been bringing the Father into the Trinity” (doc 131:2). Nevertheless, “to contend for [the doctrine of the Trinity] is not to split hairs but to conserve the faith itself” (doc 92:27). Morling addresses the doctrine toward the end of his exposition of the doctrine of God (doc 92), and in his discussion of the identity and work of the three persons of the Trinity (docs 85-91).

In his Ministers’ Wives Course, Morling introduces the notion of the Trinity by examining aspects of “the Fatherhood of God” (doc 89:1-3), “God the Son” (doc 90:1-2), and “God the Holy Spirit” (doc 91:1-2). He affirms the deity of Jesus and speaks of “the Saviourhood of God” (doc 90:1). He likewise affirms the deity of the Holy Spirit, referring the third person of the Trinity as “the Heart of God” (doc 91:1). Commenting on John 14:16-17, he writes:

God the Father is God *above* us, God the Son is God *for* us, God the Spirit is God *within* us. So we have a God who in his ineffable [*sic*] Trinity is a Father Who directs, cares for and protects us; Who is a Saviour Who through His Cross redeems, cleanses and as the ascended High Priest lives to intercede for us; Who is the Holy Spirit Who dwelling within enables us to have (a) immediacy [and] (b) communion. These merge into one (doc 91:2, original emphasis).

He notes that the Old Testament reveals God to be one while affirming relationship within the Godhead (e.g., Ps 2:7; Prov 30:4; Gen 1:1-2; Ps 33:6; Isa 48:16). He shows that the New Testament clarifies this plurality in the threefold baptismal formula (Mt 28:19), the Pauline benediction (2 Cor 13:14), and the “so-called trinitarian Pattern woven into the texture of the N.T.” (doc 56:4; see Jn 14:1, 16; Eph 1:1-3, 13, 17; 1 Pet 1:2). While noting that too much may be read into Old Testament passages in support of trinitarian doctrine,¹⁰ he quotes Reformed theologian B. B. Warfield (1851-1921) who warns against the opposite tendency

¹⁰ Possibly referring to Percy Hartill, *The Unity of God* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1952).

(doc 92:28).¹¹ Morling acknowledges what he perceives as “at least a Trinitarian direction” in Old Testament thought, noting that the New Testament writers “found no incongruity between their conception of God and that of the O.T.” (doc 92:28). He refers to Strong, who cites many Old Testament passages apparently implying a plurality of persons in the Godhead. Strong concludes, and Morling concurs, that “at least the germ of the distinctions in the Godhead afterward fully made known in the Christian revelation” is evident in the Old Testament.¹²

In document 92, dated 1957, Morling discusses “the ground of the doctrine” of the Trinity (doc 92:27-32) and “recent thought about [divine] unity” (doc 92:33-35). He notes that the biblical ideas of Jewish monotheism and divine transcendence, “created a problem for the thought of the Christian Church” (doc 92:27) since they worshipped and obeyed Jesus of Nazareth as God in human form.¹³ Thus “the early Christians came to believe in two Persons in terms of the Divine” (doc 92:27). Moreover, Jesus promised to send the Holy Spirit, who is also said to be God, into the world. As Morling puts it, “Jesus promised to reproduce in His disciples His own way of life on earth, i.e., seeking, finding and doing the Father’s will in the guidance and strength of the Spirit,” implying “a threefold distinction in God” (doc 92:27). It is imperative, Morling asserts, that “the glow of the rich spiritual experience of the first Christians” (doc 92:27) should lead to the rationalisation of belief. Early Christian thinkers formulated the classic doctrine of the Trinity through reflection on the revelation and experience of God in Christ. Morling directs students to Scottish Presbyterian theologian

¹¹ No reference is given, but see B. B. Warfield, “The biblical doctrine of the Trinity,” in James Orr *et al* (eds), *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (Chicago: Howard-Severance Co., 1915), repr. *The Works of Benjamin B. Warfield. Volume 2* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991), 133-172.

¹² Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 317ff.

¹³ Morling quotes [Percy?] “Hartill” and “Hodgson”; no references in original. He also refers to W. R. Matthews, *God in Christian Thought and Experience* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1930).

Henry J. Wotherspoon (1850-1930) for “an illustration from science,”¹⁴ and expounds “the limitations of Trinitarian doctrine in the O.T.,” its fuller revelation in the New Testament, and later development (doc 92:28-32).

Morling identifies three New Testament sources informing the doctrine of the Trinity: passages indicating that the Father, Son and Holy Spirit “are alike divine persons but distinct from one another”; those in which the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are mentioned in their closest association; and those implying the outlines of a “Trinitarian pattern” in the writings of Paul and the Fourth Evangelist (e.g., Rom 5:8; 1 Cor 2:12; 12:4-6; Gal 4:6; Eph 2:18; Jn 14:16, 24, 26; 15:26; 16:13-14, 28).¹⁵ On post-biblical developments in the doctrine of the Trinity, Morling refers to works by Anglican theologians W. H. Griffith Thomas (1861-1924) and James F. Bethune Baker (1861-1951),¹⁶ noting *inter alia* that the only reference to the Holy Spirit in the Nicene Creed is as “the Lord, the life-giver”; the Nicene Creed affirmed the hypostatic union of the Father and the Son, but not in relation to the Holy Spirit, a situation which led to the formal adoption of the classic formula *una substantia, tres personae*. Here Morling instructs his students to read “Hodgson pp. 80ff and Appendix VII,”¹⁷ and notes that “the Augustinian conception of the Godhead as a Community of Love should be mastered at this stage and his idea of inter-penetration” (doc 92:32).

¹⁴ Henry J. Wotherspoon & J. M. Kirkpatrick, *A Manual of Church Doctrine According to the Church of Scotland* (1920; second edition; revised & enlarged by Thomas F. Torrance & Ronald S. Wright; London: Oxford University Press, 1960).

¹⁵ See George S. Hendry, *The Westminster Confession for Today* (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1960).

¹⁶ Griffith Thomas, *Principles of Theology*, *op. cit.*, and J. F. Bethune Baker, *An Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine to the Time of the Council of Chalcedon* (1903; London: Methuen, 1929).

¹⁷ Leonard Hodgson, *The Doctrine of the Trinity* (London: Nisbet, 1943).

Morling returns to this thought later in the same document, noting that “Augustine saw the difficulty of God who is eternal love requiring an external object of love,” a problem solved by recognising the Godhead as “a community of love” (doc 92:35). He states his preference for the term “Triunity,” which for him dispelled notions of tritheism (doc 92:32). He notes Augustine’s emphasis on divine unity,¹⁸ and liberal Baptist theologian W. N. Clarke’s (1841-1912) alleged denial of divine personhood.¹⁹ He refers also to English theologians Robert C. Moberley (1845-1903) and Robert S. Franks (1871-1964) in support of the notion of “triunity.”²⁰ Morling acknowledges the decisive influence of Karl Barth on twentieth-century trinitarian thought, claiming that for Barth the divine persons were mere forms of revelation of the divine essence. Referring to Franks, and to American historical theologian Claude R. Welch (1922-2009), Morling suggests that Barth’s divine “moments” (that is, “modes of being”) are “not just phases of manifestations which do not touch the Divine Essence: they are necessary distinctions in the Essence, and as such they are eternal as God is eternal” (doc 92:33).²¹ Morling adds that Barth denies the charge of modalism, the view that the three persons of the Trinity are mere “modes” or names by which a unitary divine being is known.²²

On relations between the persons of the Trinity, Morling holds that “no Person of the Trinity has priority over another” (doc 89:1). He concedes to the logical priority in the eternal

¹⁸ See H. Maldwyn Hughes, *The Christian Idea of God* (London: Duckworth, 1936), 194-197; and “Hodgson, Lecture 6.”

¹⁹ Clarke, *Christian Doctrine of God*, *op. cit.*

²⁰ Robert C. Moberley, *Atonement and Personality* (London: J. Murray, 1901); Robert S. Franks, *The Atonement* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934).

²¹ Claude R. Welch, *In This Name: The Trinity in Contemporary Theology* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1952), ch. 6. Morling also recommends Hodgson, *The Doctrine of the Trinity*, and Matthew, *The Trinity and Human Thought* (publication details unknown), 90ff.

²² See Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, II/1:297.

generation of the Son from the Father (Jn 3:16; Heb 1:5), and the procession of the Spirit from the Father and the Son (Jn 15:26), to clarify aspects of the mystery of the inner relations of the Godhead. He remarks that “the Church has suffered badly from a legacy of subordinationism which came from the 2nd and 3rd Centuries,” (doc 92:34) and suggests that the classical view of the relations between the divine persons might be enhanced by the application of “the modern conception of personality as being inclusive of others” (doc 92:34). He concludes that “the moral life is essentially a social life. The Greeks saw this and refused to apply moral attributes to God. But there is such a life in God and His holiness is possible not only because of His relations with His creatures but because of His relations within Himself” (doc 92:34).

(c) Attributes

For Morling, the divine attributes “are those proclivities of the Divine character which account for the acts of God”; they are “manifestations” of the divine essence (doc 92:35). Further, all the attributes of God are said to co-inhere, but not all are equal. Morling observes, “There are inevitable tensions in our apprehension of God which can be resolved only by a clear view of the unity of God,” and by implication of the co-inherence of the divine attributes (doc 92:38).²³ He holds that Scripture privileged divine transcendence, securing the majesty of God (doc 88:2). He qualifies this by acknowledging the role of immanence in countering an extreme or misconstrued interpretation of the doctrine of divine transcendence. He declines to elaborate, but notes four points perhaps suggesting disapproval of Barth’s emphasis on transcendence:

²³ Morling’s typed notes refer to “Auters” [sic; Gustav Aulen], *The Faith of the Christian Church* (1924; second edition; trans. by Eric Wahlstrom; Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1948), 129f; and H. R. Mackintosh, *The Christian Apprehension of God* (London: SCM Press, 1929), 145ff.

1. Is God the Wholly Other as the Barthian insists?
2. Which doctrines of our faith emphasise Transcendence and which Immanence?
3. In which direction do you need strengthening?
4. Is the hymn, “There’s a friend for little children above the bright blue sky” helpful?

(doc 56:9)²⁴

Morling does not discuss whether divine attributes should be defined by way of negation or affirmation, but his approach is generally cataphatic.²⁵

Commenting on Hebrews 1:2f, Morling states that Christ is “the manifestation of the divine attributes” (doc 103:308). He claims “there are just three things which define the nature and character of God, and all occur in John’s writings:- ‘God is spirit,’ ‘God is love,’ ‘God is light’ ” (doc 31:160). He is inconsistent regarding the number and order of the divine attributes, but in lecture notes dated 1957 he identifies twelve attributes in three sets (doc 92:35). He speaks of *primary attributes* of personality, infinity, self-dependence, and unity; *quiescent attributes* (attributes of being), namely causelessness, eternity, freedom from change, pure spirit, and source of all life; and *active attributes* (attributes of doing), which he identifies as omnipotence, omniscience, and omnipresence. Following Strong, Morling rejects any “false notion of divine simplicity,” claiming that God never acts in response to an independent rule or principle, but only in accordance with and subject to his nature. Thus “justice cannot be conceived as requiring God to atone for sin. Divine justice is only God Himself being just” (doc 92:35).

²⁴ The author of the hymn was Albert Midland, 1859.

²⁵ See Karen Kilby, “Trinity and politics: An apophatic approach,” in Oliver D. Crisp & Fred Sanders (eds), *Advancing Trinitarian Theology: Explorations in Constructive Dogmatics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2014), 75-93.

In his lecture notes, Morling discusses eight divine attributes in detail, although it is unclear why he treats some in greater detail than others. A summary follows.

(i) *Holiness*

Morling offers detailed commentary on the divine attributes in two places. In document 92, he focuses on personality and infinity, with brief notes on omnipotence and impassibility. In documents 85-91, he discusses five aspects of the being and character of God, namely spirituality, personality, life, infinitude, and self-existence; and separately discusses attributes of holiness and love. Morling considered holiness and love to be preeminent attributes of God, arguing that holiness is

the sum of God's perfection and, as such, the background of all the attributes. Thus holiness and love while always in a certain 'tension' are not opposites but mutually inclusive. Holiness must be loving if it speaks of God's perfection and love must be holy if it is Divine love (doc 88:2).

Here Morling concurs with Mullins on two grounds.²⁶ First, he contends that "Strong is ... open to the criticism of subordinating love to holiness as an attribute of lesser importance. But there cannot be any conflict among the attributes if God is One" (doc 92:38). Second, he affirms the centrality of love and holiness for correctly understanding how God "redeems and keeps men" (doc 92:38).²⁷

²⁶ Mullins, *Christian Religion*, 243; Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 265, 268-275, 713.

²⁷ Morling refers to Aulen, *The Faith of the Christian Church*, 137f; and Mackintosh, *The Christian Apprehension of God*, 156f.

(ii) Spirituality

This is the first of five aspects of the being and character of God identified by Morling (doc 87:1), and his explanation reveals an aspect of his theological anthropology: “Because God is spirit we can enter into relations with Him because, in our own higher nature, we too are spirits” (doc 87:1). He also refers to John 4:24, affirming the immaterial nature of God in contrast to the teaching of the Mormon religion.

(iii) Personality

Morling claims that God possesses personal qualities like those of humans (e.g., intelligence, self-consciousness, self-determination and morality) since in some way humans reflect the image of God (Gen 1:27). He is critical of pantheism, and of modern cults such as Theosophy and Christian Science, for their denial of personality in God. Morling also takes biblical references to God as “my Shepherd” (Ps 23:1), “my God” (Ps 84), and “the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ” (Eph 1:3) as evidence for divine personality and the possibility of relationship (doc 87:1). He laments the influence of philosophical idealism on theology, and observes “a subtle, mystical appeal in this view. It avoids the exacting experience of a direct encounter with God as The Holy One since pantheistic views in aligning the Divine and the human take a low view of sin” (doc 92:36).

(iv) Life

This is the quiescent attribute, the “source of all life,” mentioned above (cf. Jn 4:6; Col 3:3f). It refers to God as active, dynamic, at work (cf. Isa 64:5). For Morling, separation from the God who is the source of all life renders humans spiritually dead, which is their natural state (Eph 2:1), and “Life is restored in regeneration” (doc 87:1).

(v) *Infinitude*

By this term Morling means “not bound in His action by time and space” (doc 87:1). God does not fill endless time; rather, “he is raised above the process of time: he is the ultimate condition of the existence of such a process, and therefore not himself subject to it.”²⁸

Infinitude also relates to the immensity of God, who is “not subject to any limitations of space but is Himself the cause of space, which is His own creation” (doc 92:38). Since God is separate from the observable universe, God can relate to it (Isa 92:15). God is therefore not “wholly other” (against Barth), but the “Beyond Who is Within” (doc 87:1). We may know God only insofar as God reveals God’s self, but we may be confident that God has withheld “nothing that we need fear to know” (doc 88:1).

Morling views this as pastoral comfort, and quotes Methodist minister and author Percy Ainsworth who wrote, drawing on Psalm 147:4, “only the Infinite can heal the soul ... The mystery of the stars and the mystery of human pain are parts of one great mystery that is no mystery to God, for he dwells beyond it in the light of perfect knowledge and penetrates it wholly with the warmth of perfect love.”²⁹ Morling also associates divine infinitude with glory (cf. Ex 40:34f; Ezek 1:4; Jn 1:14; 17:1-5; 2 Cor 4:6). For Morling, contemplation of the “fact” of divine infinitude “overwhelms the human mind and induces the sense of awe which is proper in our contemplation of God ... [and] brings infinite comfort to the human soul” (doc 92:37).

²⁸ Quoting George Galloway, *The Philosophy of Religion* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1914).

²⁹ Percy Ainsworth, *The Threshold Grace: Meditations in the Psalms* (London: Epworth Press, 1920).

(vi) *Omnipotence*

Morling affirms the absolute power of God, limited in three ways: God cannot act against reason; or against love; and God “has limited Himself by creating Free Will” (doc 92:36).

This is discussed below under the decrees of God.

(vii) *Impassibility*

The debate over whether God possesses similar emotions to those of humans has continued since the 1940s.³⁰ Morling apparently held that God is not impassible but free from independent change, or that the term refers to an aspect of divine immutability.³¹ See also the next paragraph on self-existence.

(viii) *Self-existence*

For Morling, divine self-existence was closely related to infinitude. He refers to Exodus 3:14a, where God says to Moses, “I am who I am,” and quotes George A. Chadwick’s (1840-1923) commentary on the passage, affirming the infinitude and immutability of God. Morling also quotes Mullins, who states that God “derives His being from no outside source [. . .]. He did not will Himself into existence [. . .]. He necessarily exists by reason of what He is in Himself” (87:3).³²

³⁰ For a summary of the major issues see Stephen Voorwinde, “Does God have real feelings?” *Vox Reformata* 67, November 2002, 24-51.

³¹ Morling directs interested students to Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 257f; Maldwyn Hughes, *The Christian Conception of God*, chapter 8, “Does God suffer?” 204ff; and H. R. Mackintosh, *The Person of Christ*, 472-474. See also Morling on the person of Christ, document 58:5f.

³² Mullins, *Christian Religion*, 223.

(d) God as Father³³

Morling prefers to consider God in relational terms as “Father” rather than in legal terms as “Sovereign.” He discusses at length the notions of divine fatherhood and divine kingship in the New Testament (doc 92:14-16). He notes that Old Testament writers cast God as acting in a father-like manner, such as chastening (Dt 8:5; Isa 64:8) and pitying Israel (Ps 103:13; cf. Dt 1:31; 32:6; Isa 63:16; Hos 11:1). In an exposition of Luke 11:11-13 on the readiness of God to give good gifts to those who ask, Morling speaks of “the fatherly goodness of God,” and comments: “This is the highest note of all. Jesus introduces the new revelation of God as Father” (doc 99:170). Jesus frequently spoke of God as his father and taught his disciples to address the God of Israel as “Father” (doc 92:14).

Morling identifies three aspects to this new teaching (doc 92:15). First, Jesus occupies a unique relationship to God the Father such that “In Christ we see not only what perfect sonship [is], but we know what the perfect Father is also” (doc 92:15). Second, a new family relationship to the divine Father is conferred upon and experienced by believers through the new birth, “realised and revealed originally and fully in Christ and derivatively and partially in believers.”³⁴ Third, there is a universal fatherhood, limited only by refusal of regeneration. All people are within “the care of God as Creator and preserver,” but not all are within “the redeemed family of God” (doc 92:15). He distinguishes potential sonship from actual sonship.

³³ On the Son, see chapter nine; on the Holy Spirit, see chapter ten.

³⁴ Morling cites no source.

In the New Testament, Morling argues, the fatherhood of God “is primary, but it carries with it authority, government, law and order, care and provision, to set up and organize a kingdom reflecting the Father’s love and expressing His will” (doc 92:16). For Morling, the Pauline phrase, “the kingdom of the Son of his love” (Col 1:13) unites the two ideas of divine fatherhood and kingship, reflecting the teaching of the Synoptic Gospels (doc 92:16). In relation to the life to come, Morling invites contemplation on the phrase “Father of glory” (Eph 2:17) and commends reflection on 1 John 3:1ff as a “noble passage” (doc 121:12).

In his later treatment of the doctrine of the fatherhood of God dated 1961, Morling outlines three aspects of divine fatherhood, and discusses human participation in the life of God through regeneration and adoption. First, God is the (unbegotten) “Eternal Father” within the Godhead, from whom the Son is eternally begotten (Heb 1:15; Jn 3:16), and from whom the Spirit proceeds (Jn 15:26). Second, the fatherhood of God is universal (Ac 17:29; Mal 2:10) in the sense that God is the father of every person by virtue of divine creation. Morling quotes Clarke, “To the child parenthood means brooding love and faithful discipline: to the parent it means all this, with the thrilling fact of life-giving as the secret of all other meanings that it may bear.” Morling adds, “Consider then the ‘feeling of Fatherhood’ in God even on this natural level” (doc 89:1). A third aspect is the notion of the spiritual fatherhood of God as a subset of universal fatherhood, seen in “germ form” in the Old Testament (e.g., Ex 4:22; Ps 68:5) and fully expressed in the New Testament (e.g., Mt 6:9; 5:45; Jn 20:17).

Morling laments that evangelical Christians tend to privilege divine sovereignty over divine fatherhood. He invites students to reflect on the statement, “God is just like Jesus” (in the sense of similarity, not justice), and to consider the implications of the “fear” of God in relation to divine fatherhood. Regarding human participation in the family of God, or “the entrance to the filial life,” as he called it, Morling asserts that John 3 and Philippians 2 refer

to spiritual birth, while Romans 8:15f refers to adoption. He mentions baptismal regeneration (a doctrine he rejects³⁵), and encourages students to investigate the nature of the “double witness” of Romans 8:16. He links the doctrine of divine Fatherhood to Christian discipleship, noting the Son’s desire to please the Father (Jn 8:29), his dependence on the Father (Jn 14:10), his passion to do the Father’s will (Jn 4:30; Heb 10:7), and his intimacy in prayer with the Father (Jn 12:37f; 17:1ff) (doc 89:2).

3. What God does

Morling holds that God is a personal being, and therefore capable of relationship with creatures, and that God’s chief actions may be described in terms of decree, providence, revelation and creation. The first three of these divine actions are discussed here, while the work of creation will be discussed fully in chapter eight in association with theological anthropology.

(a) Decree

Morling does not discuss the notion of divine decrees, though he occasionally refers to election, predestination, and divine freedom. He appears to deny the doctrine of reprobation, stating, “Election, which has not to do with the doom of the sinner so much as the dignity and security of the saint, depends on the sovereignty of God who irresistibly works out His beneficent purposes” (doc 179:356). The condition of divine election is foreknowledge (Rom 8:28f), the “atmosphere of the elect life” is sanctification of the spirit (Eph 1:4), and its

³⁵ See, for example, his statements on the subject in doc 140.

product is obedience – “not a passive fatalism but a life actively, constantly adjusted to God’s will” (doc 179:356).

In undated Bible study notes on Ephesians 2, Morling presents his most thorough commentary on “the sovereign action of God”:

On the one hand it is urged that in eternity God elected unto salvation those whom He knew would, of their own will, accept salvation offered in Jesus Christ. This view makes election subordinate to foreknowledge. On the other hand Paul’s word is interpreted to mean that, in eternity the sovereign God exercised His all-powerful will and chose out some for His saving operations. On this view election has precedence over foreknowledge (doc 34:78).

In response to this dilemma, he makes four statements. First, “God Himself is the one ultimate fact in salvation.” Second, the relation of divine sovereignty to human free will “is beyond our comprehension. He quotes Dr John A. Mackay: “We must allow some things to remain in that state of sublime paradox in which the New Testament leaves them.” Third, there is a universal offer of salvation (Jn 3:16), and “1 Timothy 2:4 gives the assurance that God will have all men to be saved and come to a knowledge of the truth. This should be our charter in personal soul-winning.” Fourth, the end of election is holiness; “Thus human responsibility and co-operation are demanded” (doc 34:78).

On the other hand, commenting elsewhere on the parable of the Sower (Mk 4:27), he suggests that:

certain forces, quite apart from us, determine spiritual growth. At a certain stage we can only step aside and see these forces operate. That should induce great humility – it is not we who produce results; and also great thankfulness because God has so designed seed and soil, word and heart, that one suits the other and fruit surely appears (doc 190:100f).

For Morling, God is fundamentally free, but has “limited himself by creating Free Will” (doc 92:36), and human agency and divine determination work together in history to effect God’s will (doc 100:229). Reflecting on what he views as an emphasis on human autonomy, Morling writes:

Much modern thinking makes God dependent upon His world and upon people. At all costs, it is insisted, people must be free. Edward Shillito has pointed out, however, that the older writers emphasized the freedom of God. In their thinking, God must be free. However, much of the divine freedom seemed to infringe on man’s sovereignty; and strangely enough, he added, whenever people have accepted such teaching, it has always made for their own liberty. God purposes ‘in himself.’ It is a deep and majestic statement. It follows that God need not and actually does not always supply reasons or give explanations for his actions (doc 147:79).³⁶

Occasionally Morling refers to Deuteronomy 29:29 to affirm the enduring mystery of the nature of God (e.g., docs 88:8; 101:256).

(b) Providence

The doctrine of providence examines what it means for God to love people, the extent to which God exercises a governing activity in human history and individual lives, the problem of suffering and injustice in a world sovereignly ordered by God, the role of prayer in evoking an appropriate human response to providence, and the realm of the miraculous in the natural world. American theologian Langdon Gilkey (1919-2004) claimed in 1963 “the curious fact that today the concept of Providence is notable mainly in its absence from theological discussion.”³⁷ This is not reflected in Morling’s thought. Strong wrote at length

³⁶ Edward Shillito (1872-1948) was an English Free Church minister and poet, perhaps best known for his poems “Hardness of heart” and “Jesus of the scars.”

³⁷ Langdon B. Gilkey, “The concept of providence in contemporary theology,” *Journal of Religion* 43 (3), July 1963, 171.

on providence, distinguishing it from the doctrine of preservation.³⁸ Mullins emphasised human freedom, claiming, “God has limited himself in his methods with free beings. Here compulsion is out of the question. Sovereignty and predestination do not annul freedom.”³⁹ Morling shared Strong’s concern to highlight providence among the works of God, and Mullins’s commitment to reconciling human freedom with divine sovereignty.

In document 92, Morling addresses the subject of providence under the doctrine of God after a discourse on prayer and before discussing the Trinity and divine attributes. For Morling, the doctrine of providence affirms an active divine interest in the broad sweep of human history, and, flowing from this, the notion that “man’s personal life is under the direction of a beneficent God Who concerns Himself even with its details” (doc 92:23). There is “a divine purpose running through all history and all life,” and “minute events are also within the scope of God’s providence” (doc 92:23). Morling includes a long quote from Mullins asserting that the logic of providence may be discerned through a combination of reason, Scripture and experience.⁴⁰

Similarly, in an address to a Katoomba Christian Convention audience in 1932, expounding Ephesians 1:10, Morling observes that “History is not mere chance ... there is the divine rulership of the ages. The world was prepared for the first coming of Jesus Christ, and God is controlling history” (doc 29:51). This divine control extends to the personal realm. Later in the same address, commenting on Paul’s divine calling to apostleship in Ephesians 1:1,

³⁸ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 419-443; on preservation see 410-419.

³⁹ Mullins, *Christian Religion*, 268.

⁴⁰ Mullins, *The Christian Religion*, 266.

Morling states that “Every man’s life is a plan of God,”⁴¹ and adds, “Even [NSW Premier Jack] Lang cannot do as he likes; there is a God above Mr Lang.”⁴² This, incidentally, is the limit of Morling’s overt commentary on political matters. He was virtually silent on political and social issues, and public policy matters, at least in the documentary record.

While affirming the biblical doctrine of divine providence, Morling acknowledges that it is “beset with difficulties” (doc 92:24). Two key problems, for him, are the presence of evil in a world created by God, and the relationship of divine sovereignty to human freedom. The problems are connected. On evil and suffering, Morling appears to draw on works by British philosopher and theologian Herbert H. Farmer (1892-1981) and British Presbyterian minister Carnegie Simpson (1865-1947).⁴³ Morling observes that God created a world which enabled human flourishing, but that world must therefore allow the possibility of frustration and defeat. Further, “God must express His benevolence through the ‘total drama of a world containing free agents in spite of and by means of their rebellion against Him’.” (doc 92:26). Additionally, natural disasters were indifferent to human wellbeing and appeared to “depersonalise man” (doc 92:26). On the other hand, “by and large nature is beneficent and is friendly to man” (doc 92:24); and humans may be directly responsible for some disasters, such as shipwreck, floods and bushfires. With respect to the apparent indifference of nature,

⁴¹ A quote originating from the title of an 1856 sermon on Isaiah 14:5 by Horace Bushnell, published in Bushnell, *Sermons for the New Life* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1858), 9-28.

⁴² John (Jack) T. Lang (1876-1975) was Labor Premier of NSW from 1925-27 and 1930-32. He was dismissed from office on 13 May 1932 following radical actions by the Lang Government to combat the economic effects of the Great Depression. See Jack Lang, *The Turbulent Years* (Sydney: Alpha Books, 1970).

⁴³ Carnegie Simpson, *The Facts of Life in Relation to Faith* (1913); and H. H. Farmer, *The World and God: A Study of Prayer, Providence and Miracle in Christian Experience* (London: Nisbet, 1936); and *Towards Belief in God* (London: SCM Press, 1942).

Morling says, “The mountain may crush a man but the man remains greater than the mountain in that he knows he is being crushed” (doc 92:24, quoting Blaise Pascal).⁴⁴

Regarding the problem of reconciling divine sovereignty and human suffering, Morling distinguishes physical suffering (and the associated “heart suffering,” presumably emotional in nature) from spiritual suffering. He speaks of the spiritual suffering of “great souls”⁴⁵ who find themselves to be “a permanent misfit” in their world (doc 92:24), and mentions melancholy moods and relevant biblical passages in Psalm 37 and the Book of Job. He offers five thoughts on personal suffering in the context of divine providence. First, “suffering must never be regarded as being the primary will of God” (doc 92:25). Second, “God takes suffering up into His providential planning for His children and makes it of positive value ... God allows suffering because this world is a ‘vale of soul-making’ ” (doc 92:25). That is, there is a creative purpose to suffering.⁴⁶ Third, there is no place in the biblical doctrine of providence for “a mechanistic arbitrary manipulation of ‘all things’: but to an overruling of ‘all things’ to those who love God in the interest of character development” (doc 92:25). Fourth, God participates in the suffering that humans experience.⁴⁷ Fifth, the solution to the human problem of suffering lies in “the Divine action of the cross, and, through the

⁴⁴ This seems to be a paraphrase of Pascal, *Pensées* 347, “Man is but a reed...”, in A. J. Krailsheimer (trans. & ed.), *Pensées*, *op. cit.*, 66.

⁴⁵ “Great souls,” for Morling, are those rare individuals able to express uncommon magnanimity toward others, after Aristotle’s use of the term *megalopsychos*, the “great-souled man.” See Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. W. D. Ross, in Jonathan Barnes (ed.), *The Complete Works of Aristotle: Revised Oxford Translation*, Vol. 2 (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 1767-1776.

⁴⁶ Morling has in mind John Keats’ philosophy of suffering as a creative force. See Jeffrey C. Johnson, “The vale of soul-making,” *The Paris Review*, 25 July 2014, text available online. The phrase “vale of soul-making” is from a letter by John Keats, the oldest brother of orphaned siblings, to his sister Frances in 1821 following the death of their brother Thomas.

⁴⁷ Morling draws on a monograph by Burnett H. Streeter, “The suffering of God,” *The Hibbert Journal* 12, April 1914, 603-611, and H. Wheeler Robinson, *Suffering Human and Divine* (London: SCM Press, 1940).

subsequent bestowal of the Holy Spirit, the recreation of rebellious man and the re-alignment of the human to the divine will” (doc 92:26).

Morling then encourages students to consider a paradox set forth by British apologist and novelist C. S. Lewis (1898-1963): “If God were good, He would wish to make His creatures perfectly happy, and if God were almighty He would be able to do what He wished. But the creatures are not happy. Therefore God lacks either goodness, or power, or both.”⁴⁸ For Morling, the resolution of the paradox lies in a proper understanding of divine omnipotence and love, but he declines to elaborate. Morling also refers to H. H. Farmer’s *The World and God*, where Farmer acknowledges the possibility that “the ultimate explanation to the mystery lies in the assumption of another dimension [of reality] which takes us beyond the material and the temporal” (doc 92:26).

Commenting on Romans 8:28, Morling expresses an optimistic view of fate, claiming that “although many things which come to us have not their origin in God, by the time they reach us who live in His will, God is in them and causes them to work for our good” (doc 34:77; cf. Gen 50:20). Elsewhere Morling attributes such good fortune to earnest Christian discipleship. Speaking on Romans 12:1-2 at Katoomba in 1932, he argued that full consecration to God results in a life of non-conformity to the world; a “transfigured” life whereby the inner beauty of Jesus shines forth outwardly in the Christian’s life; and “a life which realizes the Divine Will” (doc 32:183f). He adds, “It is a tragic thing to have life going on in a haphazard way. On the other hand it is glorious to be restfully living in God’s will and the consecrated life makes that possible” (doc 32:184). Morling maintains that providence finally remains a mystery: “it arises primarily out of the deep insights and necessities of the soul of man as

⁴⁸ C. S. Lewis, *The Problem of Pain* (London: Centenary Press, 1940), 16.

God calls it into awareness of Himself and of its own significance, and not from any observation of the general course of external events” (doc 92:24).

(c) Revelation

In his lecture notes on “What shall we believe?” Morling opposes Catholic teaching and celebrates “the virile Protestantism of the Reformation,” founded on the word of God, as the ultimate foil for Catholic error and a secure foundation for Christian faith (doc 74:2). He proposes four reasons why “the Bible as God’s written word, is the answer to the riddle of the ages” (doc 74:3-5) and affirms Scripture as an authoritative and reliable guide to faith and conduct (doc 74:5-7). But there is more to the revelation of God than accepting the words of Scripture as authoritative. According to Hebrews 1:1, God revealed God’s self to people in many modalities prior to the incarnation of Jesus Christ but, with the coming of the new covenant, there is now one preeminent modality of divine revelation, namely Jesus Christ. Millard Erickson speaks of the incarnation of Christ as “the most complete modality of divine revelation.”⁴⁹

Morling affirms this view. Commenting on 1 Peter 1:20f, he states that “the true knowledge of God, and the only satisfactory knowledge, comes through Christ, not through human research” (doc 179:368). In his “History of modern theology,” Morling notes H. R. Mackintosh’s view that the inspiration for the Protestant Reformation was not so much a triumph of the right of private judgment but a “new principle” whereby “truth revealed in Christ admits of no external proof but is made the inward possession of the believing mind by the convicting power of the Holy Spirit” (doc 93:7). Morling qualifies Mackintosh, preferring

⁴⁹ Millard Erickson, *Christian Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books), 190ff.

to say that such truth admits of no *merely* external proof. He cites Mullins, “The descending revelation is met by the ascending reason,” and adds, “Barth would not accept this.”

Document 92:8-14 gives extended attention to the doctrine of revelation, drawing on unnamed works by Strong, John Baillie, and Daniel Lamont.⁵⁰ For Morling, access to divine revelation is both reasonable and inevitable; without it, religion would be “a soliloquy and not a communion” (doc 92:9). Such revelation comes to us in natural and supernatural forms. Morling deals with the former under “man’s intuition of God and the proofs of God’s existence” (doc 92:4-8; cf. Ac 17:27; Ps 19:1-6). Natural revelation is perceived in the physical world, in the ordering of history, and through the insights into God expressed in literature, arts and science (doc 92:10). Yet religion based on natural revelation is insufficient to meet our spiritual needs. Morling points out the inadequacy of deism with a long quote from Mullins (doc 92:10).⁵¹

Humans therefore need supernatural revelation of God, and this comes through the biblical writings and preeminently in the person of Jesus Christ. For Morling, God personally communicates with humans through Christ who is “the focal and characteristic point of Divine revelation” (doc 92:10; cf. Heb 1:1; Jn 14:9). Moreover, “the Christian is not to be regarded as one searching for truth but one who in Christ has found Truth” (doc 92:9). Whereas God stands outside history, Jesus is “the consummation of the Divine Revelation” who through the incarnation stands pre-eminently in a historical sequence of events in which

⁵⁰ Possibly Strong, *Systematic Theology*; John Baillie, *Our Knowledge of God* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939); Daniel Lamont, *Christ and the World of Thought* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1934); and perhaps others. H. R. Mackintosh also published in this area.

⁵¹ Mullins, *Christian Religion*, 140.

God definitively speaks to us, revealing God and God's purposes for humankind and the world.⁵² Thus "revelation has a future as well as a past" (doc 92:11).

In relation to theories of inspiration, Morling's conclusions are restrained. Both Strong and Mullins adopted a dynamic view of inspiration, emphasising the creativity of the human author under the guidance of the Holy Spirit.⁵³ Morling preferred to emphasise the authority and trustworthiness of Scripture. The Bible is "a reliable guide"; and "in a world of godlessness and conflicting ideologies we need assurance in things spiritual, and the Scriptures claim to give this authoritatively" (doc 155:5). In a discussion of the history, faith and practice of Baptists, Morling argues that Jesus' teaching and trust were based on his confidence in Scripture as the word of God and asserts that "this has been the Baptist stand through the ages" (doc 167:79). He supports this assertion by quoting a statement reaffirmed by the 1939 Baptist World Congress, "For Baptists there is only one authority and final source of religious truth, and that source is the Bible" (doc 167:79).

Morling does, however, interact with the thought of one prominent twentieth-century theologian on divine revelation and theories of inspiration. In document 92, he includes an excursus on "the modern view of revelation," in which he assesses Anglican Archbishop William Temple's (1881-1944) articulation of revelation as "personal" rather than "propositional" (doc 92:11-12). A major debate had erupted in the middle of the century between Protestant theologians as to whether divine revelation should be understood as taking a personal/relational or propositional/conceptual form. As Baptist theologian James Leo Garrett explains, "Propositionalism holds that revelation as propositions or concepts is

⁵² A concept employed by Mullins, for example, in *Christian Religion*, 170f.

⁵³ See, for example, Strong, 211.

either the primary or sole characteristic of special revelation,” whereas relationalism considers special revelation to be primarily, if not solely “interpersonal, fiduciary, and encounter-centred.”⁵⁴ Temple held a relationalist view, along with other notable theologians such as Karl Barth (1886-1968), John Baillie (1886-1960), Emil Brunner (1889-1966) and William Hordern (b. 1920). Temple’s main defence of his view appears in his book, *Nature, Man and God*.⁵⁵

Morling favours a propositional approach and opposes Temple’s view in four ways. First, as noted above, he observes that evangelical scholars such as Benjamin B. Warfield and Griffith Thomas eschewed dictation theory and insisted on God’s respect for and use of human personality in the production of Scripture. Second, he affirmed the need for speech communication as well as “personal confrontation” in the expression of divine revelation. He refers to an article in which British theologian J. I. Packer (1926-2020) notes that special revelation necessarily entails “God’s personal self-disclosure to His rational creatures ... God must open His mind; He must speak ... It was not enough for Adam to see God in His works; he needed to hear His word, to receive verbal or propositional revelation.”⁵⁶ At the same time, “when God reveals His love to men, the depths of meaning contained in the words in which He avows it to them becomes clear only in the light of their experience of what He does for them.”⁵⁷ Third, “the distinction between natural and revealed knowledge cannot be erased in such a full way as the newer view teaches” (doc 92:12). Here Morling points to a

⁵⁴ James Leo Garrett, *Systematic Theology: Biblical, Historical, and Evangelical* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1990), 114f.

⁵⁵ William Temple, *Nature, Man and God* (London: Macmillan, 1934), 301-325.

⁵⁶ J. I. Packer, “Revelation” in F. Davidson, A. M. Stibbs & E. F. Kevan (eds), *New Bible Commentary* (second edition; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1954), 24-30.

⁵⁷ Packer, “Revelation.”

limitation of John Baillie's argument in favour of relationalism, wherein he fails to account for the divine choice of individual prophets and apostles in imparting revelation. Fourth, Morling expressed opposition to "the weakening of the conception of regeneration" implied by Temple's view and directed students to consult a passage from Baillie's *Our Knowledge of God*.⁵⁸ Morling eschewed a semi-Pelagian plea for "the naturalness of regeneration" which he thought disturbed the balance of the New Testament doctrine of regeneration emphasising divine intervention "from above" (doc 92:12; see also Jn 3:3).

Conclusion

Belief in a personal supreme deity was, for Morling, fundamental to human consciousness. Depravity disrupts such consciousness but divine self-revelation and sustained theological reflection on God's nature and works enable us to comprehend something of God insofar as this is possible. Yet reason is secondary to intuition and experience in attaining the knowledge of God. For Morling, reliable knowledge of God is mediated through biblical texts and preeminently through the incarnate Christ. God as thus revealed is one essential being known to us as three persons (Father, Son and Spirit). Morling affirms Augustine's notion of a Trinitarian "community of love," but prefers the term "Triunity." He affirms Mackintosh's preference for personality rather than substance in God-talk as it better captures the relational nature of the Trinity.

As for divine attributes, Morling takes a cataphatic rather than apophatic approach, and in one of several discussions of the attributes identifies three classes: primary attributes

⁵⁸ Baillie, *Our Knowledge of God*, 537ff. Baillie shared William Temple's "relationalist" view of divine inspiration.

(personality, infinity, self-dependence, and unity), attributes of being, and attributes of doing. He considers the preeminent divine attributes to be holiness and love, mutually inclusive. Morling presents a clear understanding of the Fatherhood of God in his writings, universally as Creator, and intimately for those whom God has redeemed and adopted into God's family. He also affirms the view that "God is just like Jesus." Morling says little regarding divine decrees, affirming that the doctrine of election relates to the security of the believer, and appearing to deny the Calvinist doctrine of reprobation. The life of active obedience to God's word, a life constantly adjusted to God's will, is what counts.

Regarding providence, Morling affirms God's interest in global history and in the lives of individuals "under the direction of a beneficent God Who concerns Himself even with its details." He addresses problems of evil and suffering, commending the benefits of accepting what fate appears to deliver while "restfully living in God's will" and diligently pursuing Christian discipleship. On the doctrine of revelation, Morling holds that natural revelation is insufficient to meet our spiritual needs, which may only be satisfied by special revelation in the form of Scripture and, preeminently, the incarnate Christ. He avoids divisive terms such as "inerrancy" and prefers to describe the Bible as authoritative, reliable and trustworthy. The Bible is, for Morling, "the final source of religious truth."

The significance of the doctrine of God for Morling's understanding of the concept of union with Christ is that, if "God is just like Jesus," as Morling implies, then those who are united with Christ by the saving actions of God are invited to participate in the life of God, imitate the communicable attributes of God, experience true intimacy with their eternal Father (e.g., through worship and prayer), and receive and respond to God's self-revelation in love and good works.

Chapter 8—Creation and alienation

This chapter discusses Morling’s understanding of the doctrine of creation, the doctrine of humanity, and the doctrine of sin and depravity. This provides a theological and anthropological context for discussion of the incarnation and redemptive work of Christ in chapter nine.

1. The doctrine of creation

According to Morling, “there is thought behind the universe” and that scientific evidence and natural beauty point to “a personal and beneficent Designer” (doc 92:7). The argument from design had been advanced for centuries and was not associated with the later twentieth-century movement known as Intelligent Design.⁵⁹ Morling holds that “the world was called into being by divine fiat” and “was not made out of the secondary or phenomenal but rather from the primary, the spiritual” (doc 67:4). He quotes Genesis 1:1 and Hebrews 1:1f, affirming the necessity of a personal transcendent God (doc 85:1).

Discussing Hebrews 2:5-9, Morling notes the “wonderful purpose God had for mankind,” highlighting the natural glory, honour and dignity of human persons. He contrasts the

⁵⁹ For example, Thomas Aquinas set forth the notion of an intelligent designer in his fifth proof for the existence of God; see *Summa Theologica* (trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province; New York: Benzinger Bros, 1947-1948), Q. 2. On intelligent design and creation science see Garrett, *Systematic Theology*, 1:368-372. Garrett suggests that the intelligent design movement emerged in the late 1990s.

psalmist's supernatural view of human origins with "the teaching of naturalistic evolution," and links creation and eschatology:

The scriptural doctrine of humanity does not allow for the emergence into life of a semi-brute to inaugurate the human race. Mankind came from the mind and heart of a wise and loving Creator, made in His own image, endowed with capacities for fellowship with God, and for cooperation with God so that, finally, the world to come, the New Dispensation, was to be made subject to Jesus Christ, humanity's highest representative. Such is humanity in God's original purpose (doc 103:313).

Strong located creation as an act of the Triune God, with "the Father as the originating, the Son as the mediating, [and] the Spirit as the realizing cause" of creation.⁶⁰ Morling likewise identifies the Father as "Source" (Rom 11:36), the Son as "Agent" (no text given), and the Spirit as the "effective Power" (Gen 1:2) (doc 55:2). Morling emphasises the role of the Son in creation (e.g., doc 55:2; 66:3f; 69:3), and seems to affirm philosophical monism (doc 92:23), but there is no indication that he was influenced by Strong's strange concept of "ethical monism," the view that the universe is a finite and temporal manifestation of God mediated by Christ.⁶¹ On the other hand, commenting on Colossians 1:15f, Morling notes the pre-eminence of Christ in creation, stating that Christ is the "creative centre," "the element in which, as in a reservoir, all creative force resided and was in a definite act put forth"; Christ is "the medium" or agent of creation, and "the ultimate purpose of creation ... He Who is the Creator, is also the Goal" (doc 41:33f).

2. The doctrine of humanity

For Morling, the human person is fully comprehended only from a theological perspective. He understands the appeal of beliefs and practices such as animism, fetishism, polytheism,

⁶⁰ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, p. 373.

⁶¹ Strong, *Christ in Creation and Ethical Monism*.

pantheism and deism, but dismisses these approaches to theology in favour of trinitarian theism informed by biblical revelation.

(a) Origin of humanity

Morling holds that Adam and Eve were literal persons created by God and rejects the notion of humankind as a product of theistic evolution (doc 103:313). He affirms that humankind “came from the mind and heart of a wise and loving Creator, made in His own image, endowed with capacities for fellowship with God, and for cooperation with God” (doc 103:313). He suggests that the divine purpose for humankind included “possibilities in personal character which, in that realm, would bring glory and honour; and that, in his position of pre-eminence in the world of creation mankind was to have supreme dignity” (doc 103:313; 66:6f). Morling does not explore the origins and qualities of the non-human creation.

(b) Consciousness of self

Central to Morling’s understanding of personhood is the experience of “conscious selfhood” evoked by external stimuli, especially through relations with other human persons (doc 92:36). Human consciousness encompasses thinking, feeling and willing (doc 34:77). He is wary of what he calls psychological “self-culture” based on “the divinity of the self” (doc 43:43).⁶² Following John Bernard Dalgairns (1818-1876), he asserts, “what makes our self-consciousness does not for that reason make our self” (doc 92:36).⁶³ Morling holds that

⁶² This may have been a reaction to the strong emphasis on intensive divine immanence embodied by the movement known as Boston personalism, under whose influence Strong had fallen. See Carl F. H. Henry, *Personal Idealism, op. cit., passim*.

⁶³ John B. Dalgairns, a Catholic philosopher and apologist, was the author of *The Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus* (London: 1853), and *The German Mystics of the Fourteenth Century* (London: 1858).

“behaviour is the self-expression of a conscious will ... the self-conscious thing exists only in being actively self-conscious” (doc 105:8). Since humans are uniquely relational creatures through participation in the image of God, the intentional self-conscious interaction of persons with persons strengthens conscious selfhood, promotes human flourishing, and encourages loving relationships (doc 92:37). In another place, commenting on John 17:20f, Morling refers to “the sacredness of personality and the preciousness of the individual soul,” and argues that the individual Christian “must give himself out for others and to others” (doc 22:134).

(c) Consciousness of God

For Morling, personal knowledge of God is possible for all humans by way of revelation, experience and intuition. He argues that “no people have ever been found without some belief in the supernatural” (doc 85:2) and speaks of an exclusive non-material “higher nature” enabling humans to enter into relationship with God (doc 87:2). He believes that “we can rise from a knowledge of ourselves to a knowledge of God with the aid of Divine revelation” (doc 147:159). Yet a person also comes to know God “from the evidence of his own being” (doc 85:2). A merely psychological account of religion or spirituality is unsustainable for Morling since it places religion in the realm of the subconscious and fails to account for “reality” (doc 92:18). Against Rufus Jones, whom he largely admired, Morling claims that “the enquiries into the activities of the human personality in its higher aspirations cannot be explained apart from the Divine Reality” (doc 92:19). He argues that “the indisputably moral nature of man points to a Supreme Lawgiver and Judge” (doc 86:1).

(d) Image of God

Whereas Morling affirms the intrinsic dignity of the human person (e.g., doc 66:7; 57:46; 114:49), he seldom discusses this in relation to the “image of God,” a phrase found in Genesis 1:27. There are two references in Morling’s writings. In 1948, he observes that “Man has been created in the image of God; and in that sense he has been made only a little lower than God. This likeness to God is seen particularly in the endowment of personality, which is man’s highest possession” (doc 11:19). Secondly, in *QFS* (1951), Morling states:

Men and women without God are restless because they are made in the image of God Who is their home and are fundamentally unhappy in the homelessness of a life away from Him and in the consciousness of sin which either brings in its train distressing fear or else leads to escapist habits of life in which there is no promise of rest (doc 144:18).

(e) The human constitution

For Morling, the body is not evil (doc 118:18; cf. doc 43:43), and the human person is a unity of the material and immaterial. He argues that “The body is first of all the vehicle of life ... [and] the means of the expression of the personality” (doc 32:182). The term “flesh” (e.g., Jn 1:14) means “human nature as a whole regarded under the aspect of its present corporeal embodiment” (doc 55:3). The “soul” (e.g., Jn 12:27) and “spirit” (e.g., Jn 11:33) are aspects of the personality “belonging to the totality of man” (doc 55:3). Yet all is not well. The restlessness mentioned above is a leading theme in *QFS*, in which Morling claims that “man’s unrest is traceable to the upsurge within him of desires and dissatisfactions, of hopes and fears, of sorrows of shames that take their rise in the unfathomable depths of his being” (doc 144:15).

Commenting on Paul's use of the terms "mind" and "flesh" in Romans 7:14-23, Morling cautions,

We must not seek for precise psychological analysis of a modern kind in all this. Paul thinks in terms of a central, responsible ego with the power of choice to live either in a lower self dominated by the flesh or a higher self dominated by the Holy Spirit (doc 62:25).

The will "implements" thoughts and feelings arising from human consciousness (doc 34:77; 147:165). Freedom of the will is essential to the human person, rendering humans "capable of taking their place in the fellowship of the family of God" (doc 147:165). Freedom of the will also offers "the choice of good or evil; that is to say, that people must be challenged with temptation" (doc 147:165). Morling states that the relation of divine election to free will is "beyond our comprehension," but affirms the imperative of "cooperative human responsibility" with the divine initiative (doc 34:80). He quotes Bernard of Clairvaux, "If there is no free will, there is nothing to save; if there is no free grace, there is nothing wherewith to save" (doc 55:26).⁶⁴

(f) Suffering and death

Morling claims that the causes of suffering are traceable to the moment "when man exerted his own will to thwart the beneficent will of God" (doc 147:170f).⁶⁵ He holds that "there is a divine will for every life. God who plans so wonderfully the minutest particle of inert matter most certainly has a will, a plan, for the life of every child of his." To heed "another voice" results in placing one's life "outside the possibility of God's blessing" (doc 24:7).

⁶⁴ Ellicott refers to this quote in his commentary on John chapter 6.

⁶⁵ On Morling's views regarding suffering and evil, see my series of nine online articles, "What would George do?" beginning with <https://rodbenson.com/2020/04/06/what-would-george-do-part-1/>, 6 April–3 August 2020.

Morling claims that “death had no part in the original Divine plan” (doc 62:19), and that, through the disobedience of Adam and Eve, “God’s design has been interrupted” and humankind was reduced to “a magnificent ruin” (doc 103:314). He asserts that the human “soul” has a definite beginning but exists forever after physical death (doc 84:98), and that “if Adam had stood fast, he would doubtless have been confirmed in holiness and never tasted death” (doc 84:103). According to Morling, human life is a transitory experience, “a pilgrimage or a voyage with home and rest ahead” (doc 39:139). At death, the “soul” of a Christian departs from this material world to be with Christ, conscious and active (doc 39:139; 84:102).⁶⁶ He views death as immediate blessedness for the Christian person and refutes the Catholic doctrines of limbo and purgatory (doc 84:100, 102).

3. The doctrine of sin and depravity

Systematic theologians typically discuss the doctrine of sin under the following headings: the nature of sin; the origin of sin and a literal and metaphorical “Fall”; the universality of sin (including the doctrine of imputation); and the magnitude and effects of sin. Some also address the social dimensions of sin, although Morling does so obliquely and only once, when he writes, “We do well to be angry with sin [. . .] Can we live in such a day as this [1948] and not pray such words as we have quoted?” (doc 11:20, referring to Ps 9:19f, presumably in response to recent wartime atrocities or the early days of cold war hostility). Theologian Bruce Milne observes that relatively little was written about the doctrine of sin between 1900 and 1975; Morling’s emphasis likewise lay elsewhere.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Individual eschatology is further discussed in chapter 11.

⁶⁷ Bruce A. Milne, “The idea of sin in twentieth-century theology,” *Tyndale Bulletin* 26, 1975, 3.

(a) Nature of sin

In his essay, “Living in the will of God,” Morling refers to Genesis 1:31, suggesting that “in the childhood of the human race, God designed life to be entirely happy” (doc 147:171). All human suffering and injustice, the result of sin, “came in to confuse and to destroy and to curse when man exerted his own will to thwart the beneficent will of God” (doc 147:171). As to the nature of sin, Morling first contrasts it with the holiness of God: “Sin is irreconcilable with God’s holiness. This is the starting point from which any consideration of sin either in the believer or the unbeliever must commence” (doc 49:160). Referring to 1 John 3:8, he says, “Sin has its source in the devil [. . .] Sin is a work of the devil” (doc 49:173).

On the other hand, Morling ascribes responsibility to those who commit sins. He speaks of sin as “missing the mark” (doc 11:4), and in terms of “disease,” “defilement,” “tyranny” and “guilt” (doc 28:31f); and, reflecting on John 16:8, he claims that since the advent of Christ “the chief sin now is unbelief” (doc 55:56). Moreover, he writes, “unbelief is essentially the rejection of Jesus the Supreme Good, the embodiment of all that is holy and lovely: and more, it is defiantly to reject the God of love who gave Him as Saviour” (doc 55:56).

(b) Origin of sin

Morling suggests without elaboration that “salvation was not an after-thought of the Sovereign God. It was planned in eternity. Man’s sin did not take God by surprise” (doc 35:80) – probably an allusion to divine sovereignty and omniscience (e.g., Gen 50:20; Ac 2:23; Eph 1:11). On the other hand, this notion must be held in tension with what Morling states in relation to the theme of Romans: “*One receives in reverent faith* the revelation that death had no part in the original Divine plan” (doc 62:19, my emphasis). This phrase, used by Morling in several places, signals the presence of what he regarded as theological paradox.

Elsewhere, Morling asserts that sin and its consequences “came about by one man [Adam],” who betrayed a position of trust to which God had appointed him, and “the ruinous result was evil and death” (doc 76:23f). Discoursing on the will of God, Morling explains the presence of suffering as, largely, the result of conflict between divine and human wills, in which people have “chosen the evil instead of the good, and frustrated the purposes of God” (doc 147:165). Morling thus affirms both divine sovereignty and human responsibility regarding original sin.

(c) Temptation to sin

Morling seldom writes about conscience in relation to sin. Commenting on John 3:17-19, he contrasts a person having an “aversion to the [moral] light” with one who sought “to live in the light of conscience [and who] learns to welcome the light because he is conscious that he is loyal to it in his inmost soul, or as John expresses it, because ‘his works are wrought in God’” (doc 55:14). He writes more frequently about the experience of temptation to sin, especially as it relates to Christians. For example, “there is a conviction of sin in the believer’s life far more constant and intense than in the life of the unbeliever,” and a corresponding desire for moral cleansing through penitent prayer (doc 103:346). Reflecting on 1 Peter 1:22, he writes, “An elastic conscience is of the Devil. An elastic love is of God” (doc 179:365).

On John 17:11, Morling speaks of “the subtle attraction of the world for the child of God [. . .] that evil system of things which sometimes, in subtle ways, with terrible directions, opposes God” (doc 22:124). This finds an echo in a comment on Ephesians 6:11, where he argues that the devil seeks to defile Christians through temptations of the “world” and the “flesh.” He views the world, in this sense, as “the evil system evident all around us” (doc

34:85), and “flesh” to mean “the flesh as an ally of Satan [. . .] the body as the instrument of unrighteousness unto sin” (doc 34:85). Often the seat of temptation is pride: “Satan always finds his best opportunities in the flush of people’s triumphs” (doc 98:54). Morling understands temptation to sin as a natural and universal human experience. Adam and Eve, and all their descendants, were susceptible to temptation.

(d) Effects of sin

Morling appears to affirm the doctrine of total depravity. He writes, “We look back and see humanity in God’s purpose – a magnificent creation. We look around and see humanity – a magnificent ruin” (103: 314). He affirms that sin is not merely a failure of humans to live up to their true nature but “a crime of infinite seriousness against a holy God.”⁶⁸ He writes,

“Man’s basic mistake is to forget God’s absolute hatred of sin and God’s decree which is summed up in that death-knell word, ‘The soul that sinneth, it shall die’” (doc 76:27).

Morling holds that people are “lost and degraded” because of their sin (doc 11:19); “depraved, i.e., man is bad even though he may have some pleasing qualities and even limited virtues. Man’s bent is to sin. This bent is reflected in his thinking, his emotional life, and his will” (doc 76:23). Sins are the result of “wilful blindness [. . .] due to a rooted alienation of the heart” (doc 22:82); and one “cannot produce a clean soul from a polluted life [. . .] Man’s mind, in its very nature, motives and impulses, is hostile to God” (doc 55:27).

Allied with this comprehensive sense of depravity is the notion of imputation of Adam’s sin to all his descendants. Morling affirms this doctrine but refrains from discussing the process in detail. For example, he writes:

⁶⁸ Holmes, *Baptist Theology*, 78.

We must and do allow for the fact of heredity and the fact of racial sin or the kingdom of sin that has come to be set up in the world in which we are all born, but we must yet maintain that every child of man is a responsible agent with such freedom of will as is necessary to make his life a probation and to make him a morally responsible being having a share in the shaping of his own destiny; the more so because there is always available the boundless grace of God as a counter-acting force (doc 95:5).

Morling again links divine sovereignty with active human responsibility. Elsewhere he claims that “By his trespass Adam made all mankind sinful, [and] brought on them a judgment, resulting in the dominion of death” (doc 62:18). He argues that this death refers to “much more than the end of physical life culminating in a burial or cremation: It means spiritual death – that eternal divorce from God, that ultimate state of being utterly God-forsaken and that forever [. . .] irrevocable banishment from God for all eternity [. . .] which is hell” (doc 76:24). Those who assert that Morling advocated universalism need to reckon with such statements indicating the finality and permanence of the outcome of divine judgment against sin.

Various specific effects of sin are identified. Morling states that “Man’s fall into sin has obscured the idea [of God] and even distorted it. This bespeaks the need of special revelation in order to educate and supplement [general revelation]” (doc 92:6). Sin interrupts communion with God (doc 69:24). Moreover, he suggests that whereas psychology teaches that the root cause of unhappiness is thwarted or conflicting interests, Scripture teaches that “the deepest instinct in the heart of man is [not a desire for happiness but] the instinct for God. Sin robs us of that instinct” (doc 103:335). Morling also notes the destructive effect of the divine law in “the psychological constitution of man” (doc 62:25, referring to Rom 7:14-23). He suggests that no one can match the perfect moral personality of Jesus “because of the ineradicable sense that his past shortcomings have altered his course and blurred his vision”

(doc 105:9). Further, he states that “Sin, either by direct assault or by subtle craft, takes men captive, and has a terrible power to hold in bondage” (doc 42:36).

Sin has ethical as well as spiritual effects. In *QFS*, Morling suggests that “Offences against [God] are not only offences against a person but against the moral law which must be safeguarded if there is not to be moral anarchy. Sin not only hurts the heart of God: it also disturbs the ethical order” (doc 144:21). In a discussion on Mark 14:10f, and the motive behind Judas’s betrayal of Jesus, Morling quotes English theologian George F. Maclear (1833–1902) who identifies three potential causes of the mental state of Judas: avarice; unmet hopes of fame; or “a withering of internal religion” (doc 51:63). On the last quote, Morling’s summary of Maclear’s reasoning highlights the dignity and depravity of the human person, the proclivity for virtues to be “choked with the thorns of greed and carnal longings,” and the potential for satanic influence to empower the sinful nature, magnifying vices in one who turns from “Goodness Incarnate” and allows “the mildew of his soul to spread apace” (doc 51:63).

Moreover, sin affects the natural world. Commenting on Romans 8:18-25, Morling observes that “physical nature is affected by man’s sin” (doc 147:167). He notes that nature

is now ‘subjected to vanity,’ that is, it misses its aim [. . .] Compare Genesis 3:17-18. Yet this subjection has an accompaniment of hope that the Creation itself shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption into the liberty of the glory of the children of God’ (v. 21)” (doc 62:29).

Morling argues that sin is a great leveller, and that “the Gospel has been the most potent force for democracy because it makes men equal both in sin and in grace” (doc 98:53).

Morling argues that sin comprehensively destroys the possibility of life with God. One who sins cannot know, please or obey God, cannot see the kingdom of God, and, “being what he is, he cannot inherit the kingdom of God” (doc 76:27f). He goes on:

The Bible teaches that man is totally bankrupt before God and that, despite his genius and ability, he can do nothing to save himself [. . .] Man crashed when he disregarded God’s way for living. In that crash he placed himself in a wrong relationship with God and because of that crash he cannot rectify the situation for himself. Help must come from outside [. . .] There has to be a complete revolution (doc 76:28f).

Conclusion

This chapter has addressed the doctrine of creation, which forms part of Morling’s doctrine of the works of God and has outlined his understanding of theological anthropology. It thus lays a foundation for the following two chapters on Christ and reconciliation with God, and on the Holy Spirit and the sanctification of those who are reconciled. Morling situates the human person as a created being capable of personal relationship with God but profoundly flawed by sin and incapable of knowing God in their natural state. He holds that God created from nothing all that exists, including humans who have a capacity to know and love God, and that humans are created in the image of God, opening the way for the incarnation of Christ as a human person to effect salvation, and permitting union with Christ as a benefit of salvation.

Morling affirms a classic Christian understanding of sin and depravity, holding that all people are depraved because of the sinful nature received from Adam, and are personally accountable for the sins they commit. Sin destroys all possibility of life with God who is holy. It is an enemy that must be vanquished. If union with Christ is the goal of salvation, humans need a divine champion capable of delivering redemption from the penalty of sin,

reconciliation with God, and all the benefits of union with Christ. Without such a doctrine of humanity, the notion of union with Christ is meaningless.

Chapter 9—Christ and reconciliation

This chapter discusses Morling's views on the deity, humanity, pre-existence, incarnation, mission, death, resurrection, ascension and exaltation of Christ. It explores Morling's approach to the atonement, the extent of the atonement, and the order of salvation. It considers the relevance of these doctrines to the doctrine of union with Christ.

1. The doctrine of Christ

(a) Morling's approach to Christology

For Morling, Jesus Christ is the unique incarnation of the one true God, the second person of the Trinity “manifest in flesh” (1 Tim 3:16). He states that Christ was preeminent in “the world of revelation” as the image of the invisible God, in “the world of creation” as the sovereign over creation, and in “the life of the new creation” through his resurrection, ascension to heaven, and session or reign (doc 41:33f). He describes Jesus as the Bridegroom, Christ, Divine Lover, Eternal Contemporary, “God in our hearts,” Head of the Church, the “inner thought of God,” the Lamb of God, *Logos*, Lord, Lord of nature, Messiah, Servant (of the Lord), Shepherd, Sin-Bearer, Son of God, Son of Man, “true Israel,” and Word of God.¹

It is difficult to systematise Morling's Christology. One way forward in such cases is to examine the degree to which a theologian emphasises metaphysical, anthropological or

¹ See Appendix 5, under “Christ,” for references in primary sources.

historical concerns. A *metaphysical* approach begins with abstract notions such as the eternal *Logos* and proceeds to examine what it means for the *Logos* to be human and to redeem persons. Also known as the Chalcedonian model, or “Christology from above,” this approach is influenced by the language and thought of Hellenistic philosophy. It typically focuses on Christ’s two “natures” within one “person,” and was most influential as a *via media* between heretical extremes in Christology set forth during the fourth and fifth centuries.² Emil Brunner’s *The Mediator* is an example of this approach.³ Formal declarations of Christian faith also often reflect this approach.⁴ Morling acknowledges the historical primacy of a metaphysical approach, but his theology is not governed by it.

An *anthropological* approach to Christology investigates the field “from below,” beginning with accounts of the human, historical Jesus and proceeds to examine what it means for Jesus to be divine. Christian theology customarily distinguishes the “person” of Jesus from his “work,” and this approach focuses on the former. It asks, “Who is Jesus?” and seeks to understand the sequence of events which constitute his earthly life and ministry. A twentieth-century example of this approach is Wolfhart Pannenberg’s *Jesus – God and Man*.⁵ According to Erickson, this approach is Thomistic, focusing on reason rather than faith, and emphasising the testimony of the Synoptic Gospels.⁶ It would be difficult to consistently reconcile Morling’s thought with this approach.

² Garrett, *Systematic Theology*, 1:451; see also Robert V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon: A Historical and Doctrinal Survey* (London: SPCK, 1953).

³ Emil Brunner, *The Mediator: A Study of the Central Doctrine of the Christian Faith* (trans. Olive Wyon; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1947).

⁴ For example, the *Westminster Confession* of 1647 (numerous editions, II, VIII); and the *Second London Confession* of 1677 (VIII.1-3).

⁵ Wolfhart Pannenberg, *Jesus – God and Man* (trans. Lewis L. Wilkins & Duane A. Priebe; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1968).

⁶ Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 609-612; see also Garrett, *Systematic Theology*, 1:607-624.

A third approach follows faith and historical reason together. Erickson calls this the *Augustinian* approach, whereby “Increased familiarity with the kerygmatic Christ will enable us to understand and integrate more of the data of historical research. Similarly, increased understanding of the Jesus of history will more fully persuade us that the apostles’ interpretation of the Christ of faith is true.”⁷ In this respect, Morling reflects Augustinian thought. He welcomes the integration of heart and mind, and theological consensus. Moule and Mullins also take this approach.

An approach to Christology of a different kind is worth noting at this point. A *kenotic* approach arose in the early twentieth century as “an attempt to refine the metaphysics of the incarnation in response to the historical and metaphysical problems caused to classical Christology by historical criticism and the critique of metaphysics,” and as a reaction to apparent neglect of the humanity of Jesus by nineteenth-century German Lutheran orthodoxy.⁸ Kenotic Christology was especially attractive to those familiar with the new discipline of psychology.

Two German theologians led the way. Gottfried Thomasius (1802-1875) taught that in his incarnation Christ surrendered his relative divine attributes (omnipotence, omniscience, omnipresence) but retained his immanent attributes (e.g., holiness, truth, love). Wolfgang Friedrich Gess (1819-1891) went further, arguing that the incarnation resulted in the surrender of both kinds of attributes, with the result that Christ was reduced “to the germ of a human soul.” Garrett comments:

⁷ Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 614f.

⁸ David R. Law, “Incarnation,” in Nicholas Adams, George Pattison & Graham Ward (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Theology and Modern European Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 599.

Kenoticism did give emphasis to a self-giving in the incarnation which was designed to demonstrate the genuine humanity of the incarnate Word as well as to show the glories of his preexistent state. But, on the other hand, it has been criticized for contravening the immutability of God, for teaching a “temporary theophany” instead of the incarnation, and for denying a genuine simultaneous union of the divine and the human in Jesus.⁹

Scottish Congregational minister and theologian P. T. Forsyth advocated a modified form of kenoticism described as “*plerosis*” or “self-fulfilment,”¹⁰ which may have influenced Morling’s thought. On the other hand, Baptist theologian Stephen Holmes suggests that it is difficult to find a serious Baptist exponent of kenotic Christology.¹¹ Alan Sell argues that, despite a proliferation of nonconformist Christology between 1890 and 1950, there is no distinctly nonconformist treatment of the field.¹² Kenotic theories are nevertheless in the background as Morling teaches and writes on the incarnation of Christ, and in the field of pneumatology he introduces the notion of “Spirit-kenosis” (e.g., doc 119:6; see also chapter ten). It seems, however, that enthusiasm for kenosis quickly waned. For example, H. R. Mackintosh, an early advocate of the new thinking, abandoned reference to kenotic theory in *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness*, and does not mention kenotic theologians in his influential last work, *Types of Modern Theology*.¹³

While acknowledging these approaches, Morling identifies with none. He defers to the categorisations of the metaphysical approach (especially in dialogue with the Johannine

⁹ Garrett, *Systematic Theology*, 695.

¹⁰ Forsyth, *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ*, 291-357. See also Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 701-706.

¹¹ Stephen Holmes, *Baptist Theology*, 75.

¹² Alan P. F. Sell, *Christ and Controversy: The Person of Christ in Nonconformist Thought and Ecclesial Experience, 1600–2000* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011), 1.

¹³ Redman, *Reformulating Reformed Theology*, 525.

writings), warms to the close attention given to the life of Jesus by the anthropological approach (notably in his close readings of the Synoptic Gospels), endorses the faith-and-reason, heart-and-mind approach of the Augustinian model, and draws on aspects of the kenotic approach in his treatment of the biblical data. In document 104, Morling offers a rare glimpse of the range of biblical and theological scholars on whose work he apparently drew in preparing lectures on Christology:

- Eternal pre-existence (104:1-3): Westcott, Strong, Moule
- Order within the Godhead (104:3f): Mackintosh
- The Incarnation (104:4-6): Hodgson, Warfield
- The union of the human and the divine in the Incarnate Christ (104:6f): Mullins, Edwin Lewis, Mackintosh, Dorner
- The kenotic Christology (104:8-11): Delitzsch, Fairbairn, Godet, Gess, A. N. Clarke, Gore, Martensen, Orr, Nathanael Micklem, H. A. A. Kennedy, A. B. Bruce, Digges La Touche, Warfield, Mullins
- The virgin birth (104:11f): Snaith
- The humanity of Jesus Christ (104:12f): Ottley, Mullins, Moule

Yet, Morling's Christological method most closely parallels that of Congregational theologian and pastor Walter F. Adeney (1849-1920), whom he occasionally mentions in his writings. Adeney held that biblical theology should precede systematic theology, for "here we have the stream at its fountain-head."¹⁴

The general aim of Morling's teaching and writing on Christology is to present "a full-orbed view of Jesus Christ" (doc 30:128) as an accurate reflection of the biblical data and a foil for

¹⁴ Walter F. Adeney, *The Theology of the New Testament* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1894), 2.

heresy (doc 66:11; cf. doc 34:84), and as a support of “the missionary motive” (doc 30:128). In document 30:128, dated 1932, he lists six elements of such a “full-orbed view” with key texts: eternal pre-existence (Jn 8:58), incarnation (Jn 1:14; cf. Lk 10:33), atoning death (quoting Moule on Heb 2:9), resurrection and lordship (Rom 1:4), future return (Ac 1:11), and present indwelling of believers (Jn 1:38). The remainder of this chapter, along with the aspects of the application of salvation discussed in the following two chapters, approximates to this outline.

(b) The pre-existence of Christ

For Morling, to deny the pre-existence of Christ “breaks the whole fabric of redemption” (doc 104:1), and a denial that Jesus shares “in the Godhead” is destructive to faith (doc 103:306). He affirms that Christ “shares the Being and inner life of the Godhead” (doc 104:3). He affirms an orthodox view of the Fatherhood of God, the eternal generation of the Son, and the procession of the Spirit (doc 89:10). He views Christ as “the inner thought of God [. . .] [having perfect knowledge of God [. . . coming] out of the Godhead to be the Uttered Word” (doc 55:1). Drawing on Johannine Christology, he infers the presence of the *Logos* prior to the creation of the universe, suggests that the *Logos* was coexistent with God and was “ever going out in communion with the Father,” and that John 1:1 is “an affirmation of the Deity of Jesus Christ” (doc 55:1).

In a discussion of the use of the term “Son” in Hebrews (doc 105:22f), Morling affirms the doctrine of the eternal Sonship of Christ, though he suggests a preference for confining subordination of the Son to the Father to the incarnate state (doc 104:4). He contrasts the glory of the “Eternal Being” of Christ with “the sorrow, tears, shame and death which He endured in the flesh” (doc 105:23). He states that the prayer of Jesus in John 17:1-26

demonstrates the divinity of Jesus and his subordination to the Father (doc 22:114).

Elsewhere he writes, “Though conscious of eternal Sonship, [Christ] accepted a position of subordination to His Father and lived in humble dependence upon Him” (doc 144:44; 105:25). Morling claims that the eternal Fatherhood of God indicates logical rather than metaphysical priority, and “Actually no Person of the Trinity has priority over another” (doc 85:10).

(c) Christ and creation

Morling speaks of “Divine Fatherhood” as a title related to creation (doc 89:10; see also chapter seven). Although they are distinct, he sees a profound link between Creator and creation; indeed, “Creation is a manifestation of God’s love” (doc 49:185). Morling affirms that creation was the work of the Triune God: “The Father is the Origin, the Son the Medium, and the Spirit the Executive” of creation (doc 121:4; cf. 55:2). Passages such as John 1:3, Colossians 1:15-17, and Hebrews 1:1-3 teach that Christ has pre-eminence in the realm of creation. Morling argues that Christ is the “creative centre of all things,” negating pantheism, and is “the ultimate purpose of creation” (doc 40:33f).

Christ is also the mediator in creation. Referring to Hebrews 1:1-3, Morling says that the universe is under “gradual development until it finds its fulfilment in the final triumph of the Son of God” (doc 69:2f; cf. 1 Tim 1:17; Rev 15:3). Further, Christ is “the Sustainer of the Universe”: in incarnate form, Christ remained “the Cosmic Lord. This has to be taken into account in estimating Kenoticism” (doc 69:3, quoting Wuest in support). Morling concludes that “we should love nature for Christ’s sake” (doc 40:34), and that the vastness and unknown qualities of the cosmos “need not terrify us for our Lord Jesus is its Maker and

Master” (doc 66:4). Perhaps this was a note of pastoral assurance in the light of his childhood terrors.

(d) The incarnation of Christ

Apart from a brief mention in document 104:6f, Morling does not refer to the four adverbs employed by the Council of Chalcedon to clarify the relations of the two natures and the one person of Christ – without confusion, without change, without division, without separation. He claims that Chalcedonian scholars were handicapped by the Platonic doctrine of disparity between the divine and the human. He argues, “if man, in God’s purpose, were not spiritually akin to God, he could not bear God’s image. But there is a spiritual kinship between God and man and because of it, the Son of God could take unto Himself human nature and express Himself in terms of man” (doc 104:6). Rather than embracing Christology “from above,” Morling discusses the doctrine of the incarnation primarily by way of the witnesses of the four Gospels, supplemented by references to the Pauline letters, the letter to the Hebrews, and extensive commentary from writers such as Forsyth, Maclaren, and Mackintosh.

Morling also employs an apologetic perspective. For example, in document 105:1-6, he refutes denials of the historicity of Jesus in four ways. First, on the denial of Jesus as a historical figure, he points to extrabiblical secular evidence of historicity, and to the early church’s own evidence of historicity. Second, to those who accept historicity but deny the “evangelic portraiture,” Morling states that the Synoptic Gospels have “more than withstood” the scrutiny of recent critical scholarship seeking to invalidate their testimony. Third, on the claim that historical facts are irrelevant because “Christianity is essentially an experience,” Morling responds that “the Christian religion is a blending of the historical and the spiritual.” Fourth, where critics attempt to diminish biblical testimony to Christ by noting extrabiblical

parallels, Morling asserts the uniqueness of Jesus. For Morling, in the incarnation, “something new has appeared in history – Jesus is an historical phenomenon who remains unexplained unless His own words are accepted: ‘I came from above’” (doc 105:6, quoting Jn 8:33).

In Morling’s estimation the incarnation serves three key purposes. First, it is the primary means by which God’s self is made comprehensible to humans. Indeed, “the incarnation of a personal character is the only possible medium of revelation of a personal God” (doc 104:4), it confirms “that God is just like Jesus” (doc 144:19), and it renders actual “the Saviourhood of God” (doc 89:14, cf. Tit 2:10). Second, the incarnation annuls the power of death, declaring victory over the devil since “the devil’s instrument was turned against him” (doc 69:11). Third, the incarnation comforts us in our human struggles since God has entered “into the inwardness of man’s experience” and therefore knows us “from the standpoint of one who has shared [our] life” (doc 104:4).

The incarnation of Christ represented the “highest point” of human evolutionary development (doc 105:9). In the incarnation, “Christ took on the whole nature of man, including its frailty: all that human nature in which He could grow, learn, struggle, be tempted, suffer and die” (doc 55:3). Morling claims that “human motherhood was necessary to ensure Jesus’s coming into the human race as one with man. The absence of human fatherhood was likewise necessary to allow a direct Divine intervention and the endowment of sinless personality” (doc 104:12). Moreover, the incarnation “was a moral reality, not a mere show” (doc 94:30). Yet Jesus was evidently more than human: he was without sin, possessing “a consciousness of entire harmony with the Holy Will of God” (doc 105:8), “free from all taint of sin” (doc 97:13).

(e) Kenotic Christology

The term *kenosis* derives from the Greek ἐκένωσεν, used in Philippians 2:7 of Christ “emptying himself” upon assuming human form in the incarnation. Kenotic theories seek to resolve the tension between the consciousness and attributes of the transcendent Logos and those of the human person of Jesus. They undermine Chalcedonian orthodoxy which insists that God is changeless and that any theory requiring change in the divine essence requires that God ceases to be God. As mentioned above, kenoticism survived the nineteenth century in modified form in the works of scholars such as Forsyth, and Congregational minister and theologian Alfred E. Garvie.¹⁵

For Garvie, the incarnation was the historic expression of an implied dialectic within the Trinity, whereas for Forsyth it was a biblically sound alternative to the apparently outmoded Chalcedonian two-natures definition. Forsyth held that the person of Christ was the product of the two natures rather than the agent of their union.¹⁶ H. R. Mackintosh also espoused moderate kenoticism in his earlier works, stating, for example, that “in Christ we are face to face with God, who in one of the distinguishable constituents of His being came amongst us by a great act of self-abnegation. But there is no possibility of forming a precise scientific conception of what took place.”¹⁷ Other early twentieth-century scholars critically addressed the question of the plausibility of kenotic theories.¹⁸

¹⁵ A. E. Garvie, *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1907).

¹⁶ Alan P. F. Sell, “Nonconformists and the person of Christ,” in Robert Pope (ed.), *T&T Clark Companion to Nonconformity* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 177 fn61.

¹⁷ Mackintosh, *Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ*, 470f.

¹⁸ For example, Orr, *Progress of Doctrine*, 337; Mullins, *The Christian Religion*, 184; William Temple, *Christus Veritas: An Essay* (London: Macmillan, 1924), 132; W. T. Conner, *Revelation and God: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1936), 193-195; L. S. Chafer, *Systematic Theology*, 1:373-381. See also the discussion in Welsh, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century*, 1:233-240.

Morling did not favour kenotic Christology. In document 104:1-4, he constructively explores the person and work of Christ by way of the “successive aspects” of the gospel events presented in Philippians 2:6-11 but does not promote kenotic theories. Later in the same document, he suggests that kenotic Christologies assume divine self-potential whereby the *Logos* ceases to possess divine powers and full self-consciousness except for an awareness of ontological unity with the Father and the Spirit, a portion of these powers, or within a restricted field of the being of Jesus (doc 104:8-11). Morling observes that Mullins “writes more helpfully than most” on kenotic Christology, and that *kenosis* is not “the fundamental fact” of the two natures of Christ (doc 104:11).¹⁹ He also observes that “kenotic theory in all its manifestations has been losing ground,” citing James Orr, *The Progress of Dogma* (doc 104:10).

Morling gives seven reasons for this disaffection. He argues that kenotic Christology lacks biblical support and denies the real humanity of Christ. He suggests that the reduction in the divine attributes required of kenotic theories renders it impossible for Jesus to reveal God in a final and authoritative manner. He further suggests that, if one of the Persons of the Trinity may be temporarily withdrawn from fellowship, even in parts of his being, monotheism is at risk of being lost. Finally, Morling suggests that kenotic theories raise difficult questions regarding Christ’s present state, make an unwarranted distinction between the physical and moral attributes of God, and raise more questions and dilemmas than they solve (doc 104:10). He seems quite convinced.

¹⁹ Mullins, *The Christian Religion*, 178f.

(f) The humanity of Christ

In his writings, Morling consistently affirms that Jesus was not only “a cultured man” (doc 41:30) but was, as the incarnate Logos, “fully and really human” (doc 55:3). But what of his human self-consciousness? In the temple visit story recounted in Luke 1:24-50, Morling perceives a nascent sense of divine Sonship in the boy Jesus (doc 97:38). At his baptism, Jesus “came to a fuller and more complete consciousness of Sonship” (doc 94:13). Morling discusses Jesus’s self-consciousness in moral, messianic, filial and soteriological dimensions (doc 105:6-13, although the soteriological dimension is not explored here).

For Morling, the life of Jesus was “so completely akin to ours that it was possible for Him to pass through all the stages of a normal human experience” (doc 104:12). Morling concludes that Jesus was fully human but perceived himself as categorically distinct from others: “[He] stood between men and God, not with men before God” (doc 105:6). Further, Jesus demanded personal loyalty and devotion, declaring that “confession of Him was bound up with man’s eternal destiny” (doc 105:6f).

From the recorded prayers of Jesus, Morling infers that his humanity and dependence were real, and that he was liable to physical weariness, subject to temptation to do wrong, and in need of divine guidance (doc 98:64; cf. doc 144:44f). Morling argues that “Temptation was part of the human experience which our Lord underwent in fulfilment of His preparation for the ministry of priesthood” (doc 58:13). Yet he was convinced that such temptation did not lead to sin since, unlike all others, Jesus was “exempt from any inward propensity to sin. In Him the will, the defect of which constitutes sin, was essentially good” (doc 58:13).

For Morling, the virgin birth of Jesus affirms the uniqueness of Jesus: the incarnation was “a new departure in human history” involving a new act of creation resulting in the birth of a second Adam who was able not to sin (doc 104:12). Those who refute the doctrine of the virgin birth, says Morling, are committed to “belief in a ‘closed universe’ in which there is no place for miracles” (doc 104:12). Further, “the sinless Jesus was the perfect home of the Holy Spirit. Not since Adam as he was created had there been a perfect embodiment of the Holy Spirit” (doc 120:10a). The final victory of the cross and the resurrection was possible only because Jesus had achieved victory at every point of his life (doc 120:10b).

The view that the will of Jesus, as a human person, possessed freedom not to sin appears to derive from the thought of English theologian Robert Lawrence Ottley (1856-1933), whom Morling quotes at length (doc 104:13). According to Ottley, in the power of the Holy Spirit the human nature of Jesus “was enabled to prevail over temptation, just as in a lower degree His members are enabled to prevail, through the power of the Spirit, yet not without acute suffering, and even an agony of conflict.” Ottley adds that “present with Christ’s human nature [was] a countervailing force which enabled Him to conquer the temptation [. . . by] acting upon it morally in the way of constraining appeal.”²⁰ These various factors converged to guarantee a “flawless” character in Jesus (doc 13:8). Morling concludes that in Jesus the divine purpose for humankind is fully realised: “Jesus is man – and in His earthly life [He] fulfilled God’s purpose in regard to goodness and in His present heavenly life [he fulfilled] that purpose in regard to dignity” (doc 103:314).

²⁰ Robert L. Ottley, *The Doctrine of the Incarnation* (London: Methuen, 1911), 13.

(g) The mission of Jesus

Morling would likely agree with American Baptist theologian Robert Duncan Culver that the person and work of Christ are “distinguishable but not separate.”²¹ Morling writes:

The Christian faith, unlike other religions, sets forth the person and work of its Founder as inseparably and vitally connected [. . .] As the eternal Son of God, possessing infinite personal holiness, He can draw near to God on behalf of man: as the Son of man sharing to the full our lot, yet without sin, He can act on behalf of man and offer to God a full atonement for sin” (doc 75:14).

This is the mission of Christ in summary. Morling refers to this mission in several places (e.g., doc 22:107; 97:39; 99:218), but says little about its nature. The most significant passage occurs in *QFS*, where the author suggests that the mission of Christ included bringing peace (or rest) for “the homeless and the burdened,” “showing us what God is like,” inviting “men and women to return to God,” procuring “salvation in which His atoning death is central”; and “[taking] us home to God [. . . where] the soul, not only forgiven but also accepted in the Beloved, is able to repose in the heart of God with its last longing satisfied” (doc 144:18, 20, 22, 23).

Another key reference to the mission of Jesus occurs in lecture notes on “The place of Christ in the purpose of God,” where Morling suggests that the mission of Christ involved provision of forgiveness and eternal life, reconciliation with God, and deliverance from divine wrath (doc 75:17-18). This mission was confirmed, suggests Morling, by the unusually authoritative nature of his teaching (e.g., doc 55:9, 30; 99:212; 140:1), by the miracles attributed to him during his public ministry (e.g., 24:7; 54:1; 57:12f, 33; 92:21; 97:6; 98:67,

²¹ Robert Duncan Culver, *Systematic Theology: Biblical and Historical* (Fearn, UK: Christian Focus Publications, 2005), 501.

102-105), and by the events surrounding his death and the meaning attributed to those events by his followers.

In 1922, very early in his principalship, Morling presented a paper on “The distinctive message and mission of the Baptists in this new era” to the third Australian Baptist Congress. In the paper he declared that “the world lacks a controlling force. The recognition of Christ, the world’s Sovereign King, will supply it. The world’s problems find their solution only in Him” (doc 132:6). The mission of Jesus becomes the mission of his people.

(h) The suffering and death of Jesus

Much of Morling’s thought on the suffering and death of Jesus relates to the application of redemption to the individual, which is discussed in later sections of this chapter. On the actual events of the arrest, trial and crucifixion of Jesus, Morling offers much description but little interpretation. His lecture notes on these topics are strongly devotional. He observes that the four Evangelists employ restraint in describing the events of the cross, “in striking contrast with many modern reconstructions [. . . since] we are not meant to magnify the physical sufferings to the detriment of the spiritual inwardness of the atoning deed” (doc 100:241). Perhaps this was an allusion to excessive Catholic celebration of the crucifixion. On the other hand, Morling has much to say on the blood of Christ. For example, on the letter to the Hebrews, he writes:

There can be no access of man to [God’s] presence apart from the ministry of blood. It is my firm conviction that the impotency of so much preaching today is due to the weakened conception of the Holiness of God, to the consequent lower view which is taken of sin, and to the further consequence of the loss of those vital truths associated with the blood of Jesus Christ (doc 103:343).

In his lecture notes on Hebrews, there is a long discussion on the meaning of “the blood of Christ,” culminating in a 60-line quote from Australian Anglican theologian Leon Morris, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross*, in which Morris explains how Christ, through his death, removed the barriers to reconciliation with God and enabled access to the divine presence.²² Morris’s scholarship in this field was significant in establishing that the New Testament usage of the term “blood” implied the “death” of Christ and not some mystical notion relating to substance.

There are various ways to consider the achievements of the death of Christ as attested by Scripture. It is difficult to identify which are most significant to Morling. For example, he states that “Through the cross God’s love is free to remedy the situation [of condemnation by sin, Rom 8:1-4]” (doc 62:27). On the sufficiency of Christ’s death to remedy the problem of sin, he states, “Man can add nothing to the finished work of the cross [. . .]. Away then with all good works or sacramental grace provided by human preparations to make oneself more worthy and better fitted to receive God’s salvation” (doc 75:18f). On the notion of the death of Jesus as paying a ransom, Morling views Mark 10:45 as significant since it goes beyond description to interpretation, and echoes Isaiah 53:11f and Psalm 49:7f (doc 94:14f).

Morling rules out “any idea that God ‘punished’ Jesus” on the cross (doc 94:15). However, on the notion of Jesus as a substitutionary sacrifice for sinners, Morling observes that, “when it is said that Christ bore our sins, it plainly signifies that Christ took upon Himself the consequences of punishment due for our sins” (doc 94:22). Finally, on the solidarity of humankind with Adam, Morling writes, “if man is included in universal guilt, no individual man will be lost because of inclusion in a condemned race. He will be lost, if he is lost,

²² Leon Morris, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross* (London: Tyndale Press, 1955).

because of his personal rejection of the Saviour, the Head of a new redeemed race of which He is the ‘Inclusive Representative’” (doc 62:19). Morling here follows the reasoning of Garvie.²³

(i) The resurrection, ascension and exaltation of Jesus

The resurrection of Christ, like the incarnation, is for Morling a prerequisite for the present work of Christ as Saviour and Priest. “It should be a denial of every principle of right,” he says, “if Jesus of Nazareth had not been raised from the dead” (doc 27:18). Yet Morling also observes the scant references to the resurrection event in the Gospels, in contrast to the detailed passion narrative. He views the resurrection as the outcome of “steadily pursuing the appointed cause [. . .] by way of the cross” (doc 72:16), and as the event which “puts the crown and seal to the Atonement” (doc 62:14). While he suggests elsewhere that the ascension and exaltation of Christ were “the crown of the work of atonement” (doc 27:19), he concludes here that the death of Christ is more significant than the resurrection or ascension, considering the atonement (doc 94:13).

Morling appears intrigued by the nature of the post-resurrection body of Jesus, suggesting that it was “not the same body as previously [. . .] Although there was identity, there was the print of the nails. On the other hand, it would not seem to be His full glorified form, for He ate food by the lakeside and He had flesh and blood [. . .] it would appear that it was an intermediate form. We must believe that now our Lord is clothed in a spiritual body” (doc 27:4). Commenting on John 15:5, 28, Morling states that the ascension “implied God’s approval of His perfect life, God’s standard for every life [. . . and] the acceptance of the

²³ Alfred E. Garvie, *Romans: An Introduction* (The Century Bible; Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1901).

Son's atoning work and its provision of righteousness for the [unrighteous] through faith in the Redeemer" (doc 55:57). Yet the ascension involved "more than a spiritual elevation" (doc 100:249). Morling claims that the ascension made possible the coming of the Holy Spirit who "perpetuated, intensified and enlarged the earthly ministry" of Christ (doc 105:13). Further, the resurrection and ascension confirm that "Jesus lives" – not now the "dread experience of the Cross" but "the radiant, enriched life of the Throne" (doc 180:1). This has implications for discipleship and invokes admonition: "One fears that the fact that Jesus lives is one of the spiritual realities to which we give merely an inoperative assent. A vivid realisation of it would transform life" (doc 180:1).

There is also an eschatological dimension to the resurrection and ascension. For Morling, the words of Philippians 2:10-11 constitute "Paul's final philosophy of history," suggesting an eschatological distinction between Christ's exaltation and final triumph (doc 39:146). For those united with Christ, the hope of final triumph is real and personal. In a handwritten note, Morling describes the resurrection of Christ as "a wholly new fact in biblical revelation [. . . in which Christ] showed that for man (a) there is possible a life beyond death; (b) that death is not to be feared; (c) [illegible] Our Lord, in His resurrection, consummated our salvation which makes possible for us a like resurrection" (doc 185:7).

This eschatological dimension permits Morling to engage with two of his leading themes: union with Christ, and "glory." He notes an association in the New Testament writings between ascension, exaltation and glory – a glory shared by the risen Christ with those who are united with him through faith. Commenting on Acts 2:36, he writes, "it is of supreme interest to notice that the first utterance after Pentecost has to do with the glory and sovereignty of Christ" (doc 27:19). Similarly, in response to the question posed in John 1:38, "Master, where abidest Thou?", Morling suggests that Christ principally abides "in the

throne” (that is, in heaven as Sovereign), and may be approached by his loyal subjects (doc 30:129). But he adds that there are two other places where Christ abides today: “in the heavenly sanctuary” and “in our hearts” (doc 30:129). These matters are discussed in the following section and in chapter 10.

In notes on the Fourth Gospel, Morling observes a significant difference between John’s mysticism and that of Paul, and that “there is not the same stress in John as in Paul concerning union with Christ as the means of salvation” (doc 105:26). Yet he maintains that such union is implied by John since “life union is unmistakeably connected with [Christ’s] Exaltation. It was not possible while He remained on earth. Rather was it a substitute for His actual presence” (doc 105:27).

(j) The present work of Jesus

A significant aspect of the post-ascension work of Christ is his continuing priesthood in the “heavenly sanctuary,” and this integrates well with Morling’s evangelical mysticism. Morling speaks of “the Jesus of Galilee [who] is also the Risen Saviour and Exalted High Priest” (doc 24:5) who, like the ancient king Melchizedek, is both king and priest, a ruler who serves his people (doc 66:17). Christ has passed “through the heavens into that which the Holy of Holies pointed, the actual presence of the Throne [. . .] in the Presence He exercises a ministry of combined majesty and tender compassion. He ministers at the throne of Grace. The Throne is the place of Divine majesty but the action of the Priest who was also Victim makes it a throne of grace” (doc 69:18).

The Letter to the Hebrews contrasts the Levitical and Melchizedekian priesthoods, demonstrating that through his death, resurrection and ascension, Christ has accomplished all that is foreshadowed and implied in the Levitical service (doc 64:8). The high priesthood of

Jesus delivers three benefits: “a new and living way” into God’s presence; the possibility of unembarrassed access into that presence; and the services of a perfect ministering High Priest over the House of God, the fellowship of believers (doc 67:1). For the writer to the Hebrews, the work of Christ is framed in high-priestly context:

As High Priest He administers a salvation wrought by Him in the days of His flesh as a High Priest after the order of Aaron. But now He is the Exalted One, Minister of the Heavenly Sanctuary. Sanctified a High Priest after the order of Melchizedek – constant divine helper of those whose life He has shared and with Whom therefore He has perfect sympathy (doc 105:21).

Morling also suggests that the eschatological world envisaged by the writer of Hebrews is “the manifestation of something which already exists in heaven” (doc 69:18).

The primary function of the mystical priestly work of Christ is, for Morling, intercession to the Father on behalf of the faithful. Christ is “our understanding Helper (Heb 4:16) [. . . who] enables us to have access to God. He is our forerunner into the presence of God within the veil, into the holiest of all (Heb 6:20) [. . .] He still exercises a ministry, the ministry of intercession (Heb 7:25)” (doc 66:9). The prayer of Jesus recorded in John 17 models this later high priestly ministry. Morling refers to Christ as “our Friend on high,” and finds “great rest in this special care of the faithful” (doc 22:122). This priestly care is predicated on three facts:

- a) the faithful belong to God and “there is always tender regard in the Father’s love which guarantees the answer to prayer on their behalf”;
- b) they have been given to Christ, and “Christ is glorified in them, because they show forth His character. For this reason, He has an interest in them and must pray for them”;

- c) they will be separated from Christ and will remain “in the world” after his ascension (doc 22:123).

A pastoral application of this doctrine is noted in a passage in document 66:17, where Morling writes,

True kingliness always serves. Royalty is best expressed in lowly service. In the days of His flesh Jesus said, ‘I am among you as one that serveth.’ Now He is set down at the right hand of the Majesty in the heavens, and He still lives to serve us. Neglected and despondent soul, remember that the Heavenly King lives ever to serve you as your understanding, sympathising Priest, touched with the feeling of your infirmities, and the High Priest as a King. He Himself ‘governs, depends and guides those for Whom He intercedes,’ and such a Priest Who is also a King has infinite power to help us.

These are the key aspects of the nature and life of Christ as Morling understood them. It remains now to explore his thought on the application of Christ’s salvific work: the meaning of the atonement, Morling’s approach to the logical “order of salvation,” and his views on key aspects of soteriology, namely predestination, election, effectual calling, conversion, repentance, faith, regeneration, justification, and adoption. Sanctification and perseverance are treated in chapter ten; glorification, the final aspect of the logical order of salvation, is addressed in chapter eleven.

2. The doctrines of grace

Theologian Stephen Holmes suggests that “Baptists have been more energetically engaged on questions of soteriology over the years than on most other theological topics, perhaps an indication of the missionary impetus at the heart of the tradition; that said, their debates have once again merely paralleled wider ecumenical debates.”²⁴ Morling follows this pattern. His

²⁴ Holmes, *Baptist Theology*, 76.

approach to the atonement, and to the application of redemption, displays less energy than his thought on the Holy Spirit, or sanctification, but definite views regarding soteriology were nevertheless central to his theological vision. He would certainly have affirmed Millard Erickson's later summary statement: "the human's basic deficiency is separation from God. As violation of the will of God, sin results in enmity toward God. What is needed is to restore the broken relationship between God and the creature."²⁵

(a) Theories of the atonement

Uncomfortable with modernism and wary of theological liberalism as his leadership stature grew in the 1920s and 1930s, Morling shared the conviction of the authors of *The Fundamentals* (1910–1915) that "The atonement is Christianity in epitome. It is the heart of Christianity as a system; it is the distinguishing mark of the Christian religion."²⁶ Despite his pleasure in encouraging students and others to engage with the more mystical passages in the New Testament and to know the indwelling Christ, it is hard to imagine Morling disagreeing with Forsyth's observation that "Christ is to us just what his cross is [. . .]. You do not understand Christ until you understand his cross."²⁷

Morling's soteriology is notable for its denial of the Augustinian-Calvinist doctrine of reprobation (doc 94:25), and for his assertion of an unlimited atonement (doc 95:12; 210:1). But there were also more contemporary theological ideas to assess and evaluate. For example, in 1907 and thereafter, R. J. Campbell's book, *The New Theology*, generated considerable

²⁵ Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 827.

²⁶ Dyson Hague, "At-one-ment by propitiation," in *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth*. Vol. 11 (ed. A. C. Dixon & R. A. Torrey; Chicago: Testimony Publishing Co., 1910), 23.

²⁷ Forsyth, *The Cruciality of the Cross*, 44-45.

interest and debate in theological circles. Campbell held that a Reformation-era understanding of the atonement “does not possess a living interest in the mind of to-day” and “has wrought a good deal of mischief in the past.”²⁸ For Campbell, the atonement had nothing to do with punishment and merely expressed the “fundamental oneness of God and man.”²⁹ To see the cross of Christ in action, he wrote, one should “go wherever love is ministering to human necessity.”³⁰ Campbell advocated an immanent soteriology in which the church’s task was “to en flesh the life of Christ, to realize his kingdom on earth, by improving the social conditions of the poor and dispossessed.”³¹ This was the religious vision promoted by Sydney leaders such as the Presbyterian theologian Samuel Angus³² and former Victorian Baptist minister T. E. Ruth,³³ which Morling opposed.

There were also more nuanced constructive approaches to soteriology in the first half of the twentieth century. For example, in *Christus Victor*, Swedish theologian Gustav Aulén affirmed the common interpretation of the significance of the cross as substitution and moral example, and added a new dimension whereby the atonement constitutes a “cosmic drama” in which Christ achieves decisive victory over the evil powers and brings about reconciliation between God and the world.³⁴ Similarly, British Baptist classical scholar T. R. Glover stressed

²⁸ R. J. Campbell, *The New Theology* (New York: Macmillan, 1907), 111.

²⁹ Campbell, *The New Theology*, 132.

³⁰ Campbell, *The New Theology*, 162.

³¹ David Ceri Jones, “Evangelicals and the cross,” in Andrew Atherstone & David Ceri Jones (eds), *The Routledge Research Companion to the History of Evangelicalism* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2019), 51. See also Keith Robbins, “The spiritual pilgrimage of Rev. R. J. Campbell,” *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 30, April 1979, 261-276.

³² On Angus see Emilsen, *A Whiff of Heresy*, *passim*.

³³ On Ruth, see Ken R. Manley, *T. E. Ruth (1875-1956): Preacher and Controversialist* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2021), *passim*.

³⁴ Gustav Aulén, *Christus Victor*, 21.

the human experience of encounter with Christ in contrast to the objective achievement of the cross.³⁵ Even Forsyth wrote that “the atonement did not procure grace, it flowed from grace [. . .] We must renounce the idea that [Christ] was punished by the God who was ever well pleased with His beloved Son.”³⁶ Barth favoured a forensic understanding of the atonement including the notion of substitution.³⁷ Meanwhile Spurgeon continued to exercise his Calvinistic influence from beyond the grave, not least in NSW where Morling’s friend and colleague, C. J. Tinsley, was an ardent fan.³⁸

A quote by Morling from an address at Katoomba in 1962 indicates his approach to soteriology. Preaching on Galatians 2:17-21, he states, “Salvation from first to last, in every phase of it, is of grace received as a gift through faith [. . .] And so is sanctification [. . .] Jesus Christ died once, and the one death covered not only justification; it covered our sanctification; and it covered our glorification. Salvation is unitary, and in every part of it[,] it is of grace received by faith as a gift” (doc 47:71). Elsewhere, Morling laments the influence of the Anglo-Catholic theological tradition, whose leaders “began as Evangelicals in the person of [Edward Bouverie] Pusey and [John Henry] Newman,” claiming that such scholars had too passionately embraced immanentism, and “all too often these modern thinkers place their emphasis on the Incarnation and not in the Cross” (doc 93:1).

³⁵ T. R. Glover, *The Jesus of History* (London: SCM Press, 1917); and *Jesus in the Experience of Men* (London: SCM Press, 1921).

³⁶ Forsyth, *Cruciality*, 41.

³⁷ Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV/1, 274; IV/1, 253; II/1, 403.

³⁸ See, for example, the account of celebrations of the centenary of Spurgeon’s birth in Sydney and other locations in 1934, in Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 471.

Morling suggests three reliable sources of information regarding the meaning of the atonement: the Bible, “the evidence of Christian experience,” and “the fact of moral consciousness” (that is, the experience of forgiveness on a just basis). He writes, “The death of Christ has a certain effect on men and women. The forgiveness which it mediates is an essential part of normal Christian experience [. . .]. One asks seriously [. . .] whether some modern doctrines of the atonement are calculated to give rise to the deep religious experience which alone accounts for the Christian thought” (doc 95:2). Finally, he adds a significant caveat: “doctrine determines the experience” (doc 95:2).

The doctrine of the atonement is treated at length only in documents 94 and 95. Morling notes the absence of the theme of atonement in the Lucan writings. On Pauline soteriology he sees three themes: a forensic element set forth in Romans 1-5 and Galatians (“the obedience of faith”); “a salvation which enters into Christian experience and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit”; and “the wider ranges of reconciliation set forth in Ephesians and Colossians” (doc 94:35). Morling writes that the doctrine of atonement has its roots in the Old Testament sacrificial system (doc 94:4). He notes anthropological theories (the “gift,” “table-bird,” and “sacramental communion” theories), and refers to the notion of “sacrifice as a universal form of religion” (doc 94:5f). He refers to “moral influence” theories (doc 95:12), “ransom” theory (doc 51:53; 62:11; 94:14-17; 95:11f), and the “Barabbas theory” (doc 42:37f), that is, substitution/identification.

In document 42, dated 1936, Morling outlines a four-stage process of salvation: *redemption*: deliverance from the bondage of sin, with the sinner’s freedom purchased with Christ’s blood; *remission*: the experience of forgiveness whereby guilt is removed, and the sinner pardoned; *reconciliation*: the natural outcome of redemption and remission of sins, and the ultimate restoration of order to the cosmos; and *presentation*: “one day we shall be presented, holy,

unblameable and unproveable in His sight [. . .] monuments through eternity to the power of His precious blood” (doc 42:38f).

Of greatest interest to Morling is the penal substitution theory of the atonement. In commentary on the atonement, he refers often to substitution (e.g., doc 28:32; 94:21f; 95:11; 128:3), expiation (e.g., doc 94:23; 95:9, 11), and propitiation (e.g., doc 49:186; 62:11, 12, 17; 94:23; 95:9, 14). In his “Quotations No. 1” notebook (one of two large exercise books in which he recorded various comments), Morling has four pages of handwritten notes on the theme, “Is substitution immoral?” (doc 5:20-23), and three pages on “Is substitution incredible?” (doc 5:24-26). In *QFS*, he writes, “the yearning love of God cannot release itself in forgiveness until the demands of the violated holiness of God, of which the moral law is an expression, are satisfied” (doc 144:21f). Morling does not support a shift away from emphasis on penal substitution as was demonstrated in the writings of Baptist theologians such as Alvah Hovey.³⁹ Morling welcomed other perspectives as elucidating a comprehensive perspective on the meaning of the atonement without relegating penal substitution to a secondary or irrelevant status.

Doctrinal emphasis is often determined by experience and social change, and there is often space for nuance. Where Hovey shifted his emphasis on the meaning of the cross from the turning aside of divine wrath to the noble act of a loving Saviour, Morling affirmed both. Similarly, F. B. Meyer “adopted Romantic modes of expression, discarding phraseology about the atonement out of keeping with the temper of the age [. . . while insisting] that the

³⁹ See Holmes, *Baptist Theology*, 77.

cross was a true sacrifice where Christ ‘put away the penal results of Adam’s fall’.”⁴⁰

Speaking to a Keswick audience in 1924, Meyer said, “Remember that, though you cannot understand the philosophy of the Atonement, you are saved by it. Enter upon your possession, and remember that intuition is stronger than intellect.”⁴¹ This is not dissimilar to the observation of liberal evangelical Jack Chapman in 1921, who wrote, “For too long we have been seeking a satisfactory theory of the Atonement when our vital need was a satisfying experience of the cross.”⁴² In document 95:12, Morling appears to lend support to the liberal evangelicalism of John McLeod Campbell (1800-1872) and Horace Bushnell (1802-1876), arguing that such theologians

wrote as a protest against commonly held views of Christ’s death on the ground that they did less than justice to Divine love and to our Lord’s teaching about the Fatherhood of God. There can be no doubt that the protest was justified. Even in Baptist circles it is only in the last decade of the 19th century that there was a general acceptance of the fact that Christ died for all and not only for the elect.

Yet Morling seems always to have favoured penal substitution as the chief theory among several which sought to make sense of the atonement.

(b) The order of salvation

Though not a systematician, Morling possessed an ordered mind and often created lists to clearly articulate his theological observations and convictions. In *QFS*, for example, he lists what he regards as three benefits of salvation:

⁴⁰ David Bebbington, “British Baptist crucicentrism since the late Eighteenth Century, Part 2,” *Baptist Quarterly* 44 (5), 2012, page 16 of 28 in manuscript, quoting F. B. Meyer, *The Way into the Holiest* (London: Morgan & Scott, n.d.), 141, 151.

⁴¹ F. B. Meyer, *The Keswick Week*, 1924, 155, quoted in Randall, *Evangelical Experiences*, 271f.

⁴² J. A. Chapman, *John Wesley’s Quest* (London: Epworth Press, 1921), 14.

- a) “a satisfying vision of God to the heart which is burdened by the unsolved riddle of the universe”;
- b) relief to the conscience of a sense of guilt for sins, such that “the moral problem created by their sin has vanished”;
- c) “He takes us home to God [. . .] the soul, not only forgiven but also accepted in the Beloved, is able to repose in the heart of God with its last longing satisfied” (doc 144:23).

A more formal list of aspects of the application of salvation is known as the *ordo salutis*, or order of salvation. The *ordo* is the logical, though not necessarily chronological, process in which the objective work of salvation is subjectively experienced by persons. Paul presented a basic order in Romans 8:29-30. Reformed theologians expanded on this, constructing various grand schemes of the process of salvation. Culver notes that “the order in which one conceives these aspects of the application of redemption decides which system of theology one adheres to, with great effect on the type of piety developed.”⁴³

The distinctions and logical order may be pressed too far, and in many cases the various aspects cannot be entirely separated from each other. Morling seems never to have used the phrase “order of salvation,” but in many places (see below) he demonstrates the utility of such a concept in explaining the processes deployed by God in the application of redemption. Perhaps he was influenced by J. S. Stewart, who like Morling emphasised mystical Christianity and the doctrine of union with Christ in his teaching. Stewart rejects attempts to construct an *ordo salutis*, arguing that such a system reduces “Christian experience to a drab, colourless uniformity” never intended by God. For Stewart, “endless misconceptions have

⁴³ Culver, *Systematic Theology*, 653.

been caused by isolating the various elements of the Christian experience from one another and assigning each its place on a chronological chart.”⁴⁴ It is more likely that Morling considered all rigid attempts to systematise Christian belief as flawed yet recognised their usefulness for learning and teaching. Strong and Mullins accepted the *ordo* as obvious.

Employing an *ordo salutis* to order one’s thinking has benefits. Some aspects of salvation are divine acts *for* us (e.g., justification), while others are divine works *in* us (e.g., sanctification). None are our own works, although repentance and faith are human responses to divine grace. Strong likens the individual aspects to the spokes of a wheel which, acting in unison, simultaneously enable the purpose of the wheel to be realised.⁴⁵ Mullins observes, regarding the aspects of the *ordo salutis*, that one should not envisage “any interval of time between God’s work in us and our response to it.”⁴⁶ Mullins also notably begins his discussion of the *ordo* with personal experience of the grace of God, expressed in repentance and faith, and traces these “effects” back to their cause (regeneration and related aspects).⁴⁷

There are five indications in the primary sources that Morling valued the notion of the *ordo salutis* for theological teaching and learning. First, in a series of lecture notes on “The history of modern theology,” dated 1957, Morling observes that one reaction to the spiritual gains of the Reformation, along with a reversion from vitality to “mere orthodoxy,” was the rise in the eighteenth century of an “age of vast dogmatic systems.” He elaborates:

True, the Reformation gave us systems like that of Calvin, but his was a system that was living and had an emphasis on the Holy Spirit. In the 18th [century]

⁴⁴ Stewart, *A Man in Christ*, 9-11.

⁴⁵ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 793.

⁴⁶ Mullins, *The Christian Religion*, 368.

⁴⁷ Mullins, *The Christian Religion*, 368.

there came a doctrine of the letter without the Spirit. The doctrine of the Atonement was mechanical and quantitative, in Christology there came a dreary formalism and dialectical refinements replaced the vital religion of the Reformation (doc 93:3).

While he may not have had the *ordo salutis* in mind here, Morling tended to privilege spiritual over academic interests, and experiential aspects of faith over dogma.

Second, in the same lecture series, Morling quotes Mackintosh, who argued that the creative Reformation period was followed by “a period of diminished originality but of larger discursive power in which the gains of the larger time were catalogued, arranged and valued” (doc 93:3). Mackintosh cautioned that Protestant speculative and scholastic theology failed to perceive “that most truths are known to us under the form of symbols with a penumbra of indefinable suggestion.” Mackintosh further warned of “[t]he assumption of omniscience in spiritual things, and the belief that hard problems are solved in precise logical terms. We must be content to leave some things in the state of sublime paradox as the New Testament leaves them, e.g., Predestination, election” (doc 93:3). In the latter half of his career, Mackintosh was increasingly influenced by Barthian theology. Barth rejected the idea of an *ordo salutis*, preferring the notion of *Geschichte*, “the undivided contemporaneity of salvation as a single event, the radical simultaneity of all its aspects (in this sense often termed ‘the Christ-event’).”⁴⁸ There is no evidence that Morling adopted such a view.

Third, in a series of lecture notes on the atonement dated 1960, Morling defines seven “terms commonly used in a study of the Atonement,” namely atonement, redemption, expiation, propitiation, justification, reconciliation, and regeneration. Morling sought to distinguish

⁴⁸ Richard B. Gaffin, Jr., “Systematic theology and biblical theology,” *Westminster Journal of Theology* 38 (3), Spring 1976, 271; see also Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, IV/2, 502f; and IV/3, 505f.

objective aspects of salvation from their subjective counterparts. Commenting on regeneration, he notes:

Salvation is never a mechanical process. Its full range of meanings include subjective as well as objective considerations ... If propitiation signifies a change in the attitude (though not in the nature) of God, regeneration refers to a change within man first of all of nature, and because of that fundamental change of attitude through a supernatural operation of God effected by the Holy Spirit, man receives a new nature, a divine nature so that he becomes a child of God not only by adoption as in Pauline thought but by the new birth as in Johannine thought (doc 94:24).

Fourth, in a 1962 address to the Katoomba Christian Convention, Morling stated that “sanctification is part of salvation, and salvation is one unitary. We can make logical distinctions, but they aren’t in fact” (doc 47:71). This indicates Morling’s awareness of theology’s hermeneutical foundation: doctrines are human creations and subject to modification.

Finally, in a series of lecture notes titled, “Doctrine of the Holy Spirit,” dated 1964, Morling relates the doctrine of sanctification to “other doctrines of salvation,” namely justification, regeneration and glorification, to aid “clarity of thinking” (doc 118:14). He concludes by noting that, “in distinguishing sanctification from the legal aspect of salvation we must not imagine that there is any division in the work of Christ. He died to accomplish the one all-comprehensive salvation, every part of which has its source in the blood of the Cross” (doc 118:15).

This is an apologetic for treating the so-called “golden chain of salvation” as a gradual unified process rather than a set of abrupt transitions. Whereas Morling does not subscribe to a particular *ordo salutis*, as a Reformed theologian might do, he does acknowledge “the plainly expressed New Testament fact that the believer possesses the complete heritage of faith from

the first moment of trusting Christ” (doc 117:88). At its heart, the *ordo salutis* celebrates the profundity, wonder and comprehensiveness of what Scripture teaches about the Christian experience of union with Christ. To take Strong’s wheel-and-spokes analogy, one may say that the centre of Morling’s “system” is union with Christ, and the spokes are the various aspects of salvation that enable such union to be realised and to function in the life of one who follows Christ. The remainder of this chapter outlines Morling’s understanding of predestination, election, effectual calling, conversion, repentance, faith, regeneration, and justification.

(c) Predestination

Millard Erickson defines predestination as “God’s choice of individuals for eternal life or eternal death.”⁴⁹ Morling says little on this topic. He regards Augustine’s concept of “double predestination” (that is, divine choice including reprobation) as

reading a terrible meaning into God’s sovereign will, a meaning which Charles Wesley rejected when he wrote:

Thy sovereign grace to all extends,
Immense and unconfined:
From age to age it never ends,
It reaches all mankind.
Throughout the world its breadth is known,
Wide as infinity,
So wide it never passed by one
Or it had passed by me (doc 147:161).⁵⁰

Morling states, “There will always remain an element of mystery in God. [. . .]. [His] will for us is always a Fatherly will [. . .] God wills nothing but our good” (doc 147:161, 162, 163).

⁴⁹ Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 841.

⁵⁰ Charles Wesley, “What shall I do my God to love?” in *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (Bristol, UK: Felix Farley, 1742), 24f.

He holds that the “ultimate purpose and end” of predestination is the sanctification of the people of God (doc 119:14). His repugnance toward the doctrine of reprobation is clear, as indicated in the following statement:

1. Much of the church’s teaching of judgment has derived from the middle ages and ‘vindictiveness and hard-heartedness have undoubtedly played a large part in fashioning it.’ There has been a doctrine of physical torture. There have been many who do not represent the Spirit of Christ.
2. We shall rule out all thought of predestined condemnation. He is the Saviour of all men.
3. There can be no thought cherished of any injustice. The God of all the earth will do right [Gen 18:23]. All is subordinate to His character.
4. However, that very character points to a fact of judgment (Isa 3:10). There is a certain retribution for sin. Holiness – Righteousness – condemnation (doc 185:14).

(d) Election

For Morling, divine election is a “majestic mystery [which] has to do not with the doom of the sinner so much as the dignity and security of the saint” (doc 179:355). Reflecting on Romans 9:19-29, he writes that “God exercises His sovereignty in ways of beneficence not of harsh injustice” (doc 62:34). On Romans 9-11, he argues:

1. God is absolutely free to elect or reject individuals or nations according to His own will (9:1-29) [. . .];
2. [Israel, through unbelief, deserved their] present exclusion from the blessings of the gospel (9:30–10:21) [. . .];
3. This exclusion is partial and temporary, as it is God’s purpose ultimately to include both Jew and Gentile in His grace (chap. 11) (doc 62:33).

Morling affirms a “universal offer of salvation,” and holds that the end of election is a community of redeemed people in the presence of God in love (doc 34:78).

(e) Effectual calling

On the divine summons to participate in the blessings of salvation, Morling holds that “the believer is a pilgrim who has received a heavenly calling, an ‘upward’ calling, and that every day represents a stage nearer home” (doc 11:6). He says no more about this. Other references to “calling” relate to ministry (doc 131b:1), or mission (doc 11:6).

(f) Conversion

Conversion is a term used to describe the subjective effect of the human response of repentance and faith to the revelation of the grace of God in the person and work of Christ. Its “preliminary condition was a disturbance or shock due to an extraordinary happening” (doc 57:46). Conversion may be expressed in various ways, from “the quiet opening of the heart to the Lord Jesus” to “the exorcising of an evil spirit” from the body” (doc 57:46). Paul’s conversion, recorded in Acts 9:1-9, serves as a “pattern” exhibiting “sovereign grace in the sense of a revelation of Christ *to* Saul” followed by “revelation of Christ *in* Saul” (doc 27:59, original emphasis). Conversion requires “a total surrender to Jesus Christ as Lord and Saviour” (doc 77:37) and subsequent “transformation of life” exemplified by the profound changes in Paul’s attitudes and actions (doc 27:64). See also repentance and faith below.

(g) Repentance

For Morling, repentance is not primarily a matter of feelings but commences with thoughts about one’s life in relation to God. The imperative of conversion becomes clear through awareness of “the sense of deficiency and defeat and futility,” and “the consciousness of inner defilement” (doc 144:26). “Maladjustments are recognised and readjustments are decided upon. Of course, in the process, there is the experience of sorrow for sin” (doc 98:52f). In an

address to Australian leaders of the IVF movement, Morling stated that there are “elements in human nature hostile to the Gospel,” which is received through conversion involving “a humbling admission of complete helplessness [. . .] Unless the Spirit of God breaks down [the natural man’s] resistance, he rejects the Saviour or seeks a palliative for conscience in a religion of works [. . .] The natural man is a born failure” (doc 159:3). Writing in response to growing interest by NSW Baptists in the Pentecostal movement, Morling says that one need not ask for the Holy Spirit to come; “the promise has already received fulfilment. To inherit it, all that we need to do is to repent and obey” (doc 111:6). He also stated that repentance and faith are symbolically expressed in baptism (doc 111:6).

(h) Faith

Reflecting on Hebrews 2:10, Morling suggests that “Faith begins with [Christ]. It is He through the Holy Spirit who awakens faith. He brings it into existence. It is bound up with Him [. . .] As He originates faith so he perfects it because He is its goal” (doc 67:6). He states that “Faith is never a meritorious work which wins salvation. This is a Roman Catholic error. Faith brings salvation only because it unites us with the Saviour. It is Christ not faith that saves us” (doc 55:25).

Yet, faith also has a profoundly human experiential dimension. Morling holds that “Belief or faith is always best understood as personal trust [. . .] it is awakened by deep desire for none enters into personal relations with Christ who has not conscious soul need; and it issues in the action of the committal of oneself to the inviting and welcoming Jesus” (doc 55:28, in relation to John 6:35, 40, 47). In 1948, he affirms the classic Protestant doctrine that salvation is by faith alone, and adds, “But faith is never alone. Why? Because faith is nothing less than the committal of the whole life to Jesus Christ. It is a union which takes us with Christ to the

Cross, through burial, and up to the resurrection life” (doc 28:33). Such faith is more than intellectual assent (doc 55:10). It is “a movement of the whole personality, including the will. In order to believe there must be a will to believe [. . .]. In the surrendered soul the divine activity and the human activity are completely merged” (doc 119:19).

Referring to the invitation to a personal response to the revelation of God’s love in John 3:16, Morling writes, “Love’s condition is faith. The range of God’s love is universal. It covers the whole world. The possibility of belief is for all. The ‘whosoever’ implies the universality. Yet eternal life is only for those who believe” (doc 55:14). In 1932, he writes:

It is this which always awakens my amazement that just a simple act of faith of mine brings me into such positions [seated with Christ in heavenly places, Eph 1:3 & 2:6]. We stand before people and beg them to accept Jesus Christ, and they seem to listen sometimes as though it scarcely mattered, when upon their act of belief all these glories depend (doc 29:47).

On John 8:30, Morling writes, “Genuine faith which leads to discipleship is more than a momentary acceptance of the spoken word, it is a personal committal as the ground of permanence [. . .]. Committal leads to knowledge of the truth [. . .]. Knowledge of the truth leads to freedom” (doc 55:35). Along with the positive human response, Morling acknowledged the role of divine sovereignty in prompting repentance and faith, effecting conversion. In an important passage linking conversion, incarnation, and union with Christ, Morling writes:

It is the Divine method to make the soul the repository, the medium of grace. Through these two words, ‘in Christ,’ we get profound insight into the divine method of salvation. God does not work upon the soul by itself; bringing to bear upon it, while yet in [its] alienation and isolation from Him, such discipline as shall gradually render it fit to be reunited to Himself. He begins rather by reuniting it to Himself, that through this union He may communicate to it that divine life and energy, without which all discipline were utterly futile.

The method of grace is precisely the reverse of the method of legalism. The latter is holiness in order to union with God; the former, union with God in order to holiness. Hence the Incarnation, as the starting-point and prime condition of reconciliation to God; since there can be, to use [Richard] Hooker's admirable statement, 'no union of God with man, without that mean between both which is both.' And hence the necessity of incorporation upon Christ, that what became possible through the Incarnation, may become actual and experimental in the individual soul through faith (doc 105:18).

(i) Regeneration

In 1922, in an address to the Third Australasian Baptist Congress, Morling confirmed his evangelical and Baptist credentials with these words:

Baptists have ever held that regeneration of the soul through the acceptance of Jesus Christ as personal Saviour is essential to Christian life. The sovereignty of Christ ultimately is exercised in the realm of personality and there must be preparation for the coming of the King into the human life. Sovereignty presupposes regeneration. Baptists increase not by natural birth, but by the operation of the Holy Spirit in new birth" (doc 132:6).

Subsequently he rarely uses the terms "born again" or "new birth," but prefers to speak of regeneration, which he defines as that "divine operation in which the soul is acted upon, but, simultaneously with this divine act the soul itself exerts its newly bestowed power. It becomes aware of Divine truth and in penitence and faith responds to it" (doc 119:11). He denies that baptism has any regenerative virtue (doc 55:12). In his 1929 Presidential address to the Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of NSW, he states, "Man is prepared to dwell in the Divine abode by a Holy Spirit's energies. These energies express themselves in conviction, in regeneration, and in sanctification [. . .] the work of the Holy Spirit is to effect in man what Christ has already made actual" (doc 107:12).

For Morling, from "the objective fact of the Cross" flow redemption, expiation, propitiation, justification and reconciliation: changes "effected within man before he is in a state of

salvation” (doc 94:23). Regeneration logically follows (doc 94:24). Morling holds that regeneration presupposes “the corruption of human nature and its state of death in consequence of corruption [. . . and] a human capacity for God” (doc 119:10f). He believes that “Before we can change, our nature must be changed [. . .]. We cannot love until we have the Divine nature given to us through the Holy Spirit [. . .]. The new birth is the impartation of the Divine Life, the essential feature of which is love” (doc 49:187; cf. doc 85:11).

In document 147, Morling contrasts this evangelical view with that of nineteenth-century German Protestant theology which, he says, speaks “without proper Scriptural safeguards of a universal Divine Fatherhood which takes no account of regeneration” (doc 147:162). In biblical texts such as John 3:3-8, Morling perceives

laws of natural and of spiritual generation [. . .]. There is no way from the fleshly to the spiritual level by cultural development either intellectual or moral. The only way is through a second birth in which spiritual life is imparted in a manner just as literal as physical life is imparted in natural birth (doc 55:12).

Further, at regeneration, the new believer is baptised with the Spirit in an act of divine sovereignty, welcomed into the family of God, and admitted into membership of the church universal (doc 27:5). Regeneration is “an instantaneous communication of life to the soul [. . .]. Sanctification, on the other hand, is a continuous divine operation. We are regenerated once for ever but we are not sanctified once for ever” (doc 119:14).

Yet, there are close links between regeneration and sanctification. Morling observes that “the ways of God are hidden in deep mystery [. . .]. But the fact is unmistakable [. . .]. The regenerate soul has clear evidence of the new birth, heart peace, love for Christ, aspiration after holiness, spiritual insight” (doc 55:13). Further, since “the New Testament anointing [the baptism with the Holy Spirit, at conversion] presupposes a spiritual new birth,” Morling says,

“let us deliberately practice the way of inwardness, for it is the way of spiritual reality. In the temple within, created by the Holy Spirit in regeneration, we find in holy immediacy the Indwelling God” (doc 147:67f).

(j) Justification

In undated notes on Ephesians, Morling describes what he terms four “facts” of salvation:

- a) *regeneration*: the giving of life to the [spiritually] dead (Eph 2:1-5)
- b) *forgiveness*: the personal costly pardon of offended love (Eph 1:7)
- c) *justification/redemption*: release from the bondage of sin (Eph 1:7)
- d) *adoption*: acceptance into the Father’s home (Eph 1:6) (doc 34:81)

For Morling, justification explains how such blessings are possible. Justification is “legal acquittal from the condemnation of guilt” (doc 62:17), the forensic aspect of union with Christ.⁵¹ Morling addresses justification at length in an exposition of Romans 1:18 – 5:21 (doc 62:7-19). He affirms the view that all have sinned, and stand condemned to suffer the just wrath of God against sin; but God imputes his own righteousness to sinners, “gratuitously on the basis of the redemption which is in Christ Jesus.” He argues that justification has “its deepest ground in propitiation” (doc 62:11). He provides this definitive explanation of the term, and a clear articulation of the penal substitution theory of the atonement:

Man stands helpless in his sin in a state of condemnation. He has broken the Divine law and a holy God has pronounced sentence upon him. In this case his need is met by the Son of God Whose atoning death satisfied all the claims of the law so that by virtue of His Son’s death, which made full reparation, God is able to declare that the sinner is now justified or made righteous.

The old distinction made between imputed and imparted righteousness is helpful. Justification before a holy God is possible because the Saviour’s

⁵¹ Horton, *The Christian Faith*, 620.

righteousness is imputed to the guilty sinner. He is never justified either by what he is or by what he becomes. His standing before a holy God is always in the righteousness [of] the atoning Christ. In this clear sense justification must be distinguished from sanctification which comes through Christ's imparted righteousness (doc 94:23).

In *QFS*, Morling expands on this notion of imputed/imparted righteousness.⁵² Describing the divine initiative and its outcome in the Christian life as “the opulence of grace,” and “Something Better,” he argues that Christ's righteousness is the quality necessary to “supply deficiency and correct uncleanness” in the human person (doc 144:27). Though distinct in nature and operation, justification and sanctification work together to deliver salvation in its fullness:

The older theologians used to speak about the distinction between our standing and our state, the one having to do with a divine righteousness *imputed*, issuing in justification, the other with a divine righteousness *imparted*, issuing in sanctification. The Something Better is bound up with the knowledge of, and the response to, all that is comprehended with the divine righteousness which is imparted. Paul speaks of a ‘righteousness of God revealed from faith on to faith.’ If faith does not advance to lay hold of the second aspect of righteousness, which is nothing less than the holiness of God resident within the regenerated heart, then the Heavenly Father cannot satisfy the longing soul.

It is not enough to have God's gift of pardoning grace which, as a robe of righteousness, covers the sinful life. The sinful life itself must become righteous. Justifying righteousness brings only peace of conscience and the cessation of fear regarding the eternal future. It declares a divine amnesty and gives a title to heaven. We need more than that; and, in the opulence of grace there is more, much more. There is sanctifying righteousness which, from within, transforms the life. If the one secures our title to heaven, the other procures our fitness for it and, in so doing, floods it with radiance (doc 144:27f, original emphasis).

Closely associated with justification in Morling's thought is the grace of adoption whereby the new status of the redeemed sinner creates a new filial relationship with God (see doc

⁵² See also Calvin's notion of “double grace,” *Institutes*, 3/11-17.

62:28; 85:11; 118:18, 20); and the experience of divine forgiveness (see doc 29:49; 94:18; 95:3; 144:21, 23, 55; 157:3). Through each of these aspects of salvation, God reconciles people to God's self, making possible

a life lived in relation to God with response to His claims instead of to the claims of sin [. . .]. Faith's reckoning includes both an acceptance of the fact of union with Christ in death and in life, and a bold application to personal life. On the basis of the great facts of union, sin is to be defied (doc 62:21f).

The two following chapters, on the Holy Spirit and sanctification, and on the church and eschatology, outline how this challenge finds its fulfilment according to Morling's thought.

Conclusion

To modern readers, the concept of union with Christ may be "less than lucid."⁵³ Not so for Morling, for whom "everything which we have in the way of salvation depends upon" such union (doc 29:48). Justification by faith, and penal substitutionary atonement, were essential doctrines expressing core biblical truths, but even these were eclipsed by the larger doctrine of union with Christ. "I believe the doctrine of substitution with all my heart," says Morling in 1932, "but that is not the deepest doctrine of the word of God. The deepest doctrine is the doctrine of identification" (doc 29:48). He never wavered from this conviction. For Morling, the purpose and goal of salvation is the union of the redeemed with Christ. Every aspect of the order of salvation, for him, serves this purpose. Justification and regeneration are mere beginnings. Sanctification and glorification are the true measure of the opulence of divine grace.

⁵³ Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 878.

Chapter 10—Spirit and sanctification

This chapter notes issues relating to the Holy Spirit and human experience in Morling's writings such as the notion of divine "indwelling," "kenosis of the Spirit," "baptism of the Spirit," and the doctrine of sanctification. It concludes by discussing the relation between Morling's approach to pneumatology and that of the Keswick movement.

1. Morling as a theologian of the Spirit

Writing in 1926, Morling suggests three ways to engage with a "great spiritual reality":

It may be made the sport of theological debate in which love of self-opinion counts for more than love of truth. It may be the plaything of a careless assent, a thoughtless belief which is inoperable in actual life, or it may be the cherished luxury of a religious sentimentalism which perhaps perceives something of its inner meaning, but which fails to fulfil its exacting demands (doc 106:8).

He adds, "with regard to the wondrous fact of the Holy Spirit the Church has been guilty in some degree of this practical sacrilege" (doc 106:8). For Morling, pneumatology was "a sublime theme" (doc 118:16) and a key to understanding the experiential dimension to evangelical Christianity. His Peel River experience proved formative, and the confidence gained at that time satisfied a thirst for experiential religion which appears never to have left him. It was, however, unusual to read books or hear preaching about the Holy Spirit in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. There were occasional emphases on aspects of

pneumatology, but Morling early identified this virtual silence as an impediment to advance in Christian theology and praxis, and sought to address it.¹

Ian Randall identifies seven “currents of spiritual life” among early twentieth-century English Baptists: preaching, singing, revival, the Keswick movement, the Oxford Group and Moral Rearmament, baptism of the Spirit, and the retreat movement.² Parallels may be detected in NSW Baptist life. Morling’s contribution was chiefly through expository preaching, the Keswick movement, and his perspective on Spirit-baptism.

Morling published a booklet on Pentecostalism in 1952 (doc 111), sponsored by the denominational Department of Evangelism,³ and another on the Holy Spirit in 1972 (doc 110). Yet there is evidence of a preoccupation with pneumatology from at least the 1920s. In July 1924, Morling addressed a Bible Convention at Burwood, Sydney, on the topic, “The Holy Spirit in relation to the individual.”⁴ In March 1925, he announced that the College’s motto would be, “Not slothful in business, kept at boiling point by the Holy Ghost.”⁵ In England, the principal of Regents Park College, H. Wheeler Robinson, was also expressing

¹ In the Church of England, the annual Islington Conference occasionally addressed pneumatological issues. For example, the topic of the 1884 Conference was “The ministry of the Holy Ghost in the Church”; in 1893, Handley Moule and E. A. Eardley-Wilmot spoke on the gifts of the Spirit; and in 1906 the theme was “The Person and work of the Holy Spirit,” with addresses by C. J. Procter, H. W. Webb-Peploe, H. J. R. Marston, Hubert Brooke, J. Stuart Holden and Harrington C. Lees. Then follows a long break until 1964 when the theme of the Islington Conference was “The Holy Spirit in the Life of the Church” with addresses by John R. W. Stott, J. I. Packer, and others. Nothing like this existed among Baptists. See Andrew Atherstone, “Appendix 1: The Islington Conference,” in Andrew Atherstone & John Maiden (eds), *Evangelicals and the Church of England in the Twentieth Century: Reform, Resistance and Renewal* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2014), 275.

² Randall, “The myth of the missing spirituality,” 109-125.

³ According to Ron Rogers, the booklet was forwarded to all NSW Baptist churches in 1952 at a time when the revered denominational evangelist John G. Ridley, had publicly identified with “Pentecostal meetings being held in Sydney.” Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 237f.

⁴ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 51.

⁵ AB, 31 March 1925, 2. This was Moule’s paraphrase of Romans 12:11.

keen interest in pneumatology and spiritual renewal. In Robinson's view, "issues of Christian experience" had been gathering force since the time of the Reformation, and it was "in experiencing the reality of the Spirit of God that the more theological thinker and the 'ordinary' Christian were brought together."⁶ This sentiment accorded with Morling's spiritual aspiration and vision for theological education in Sydney.

Theologians have historically incorporated pneumatological topics into discussions of the doctrine of the Trinity, revelation, and soteriology. Morling consistently elevates the doctrines of the Holy Spirit and union with Christ, reflecting his preference for experience as a test of theological orthodoxy. He promoted pneumatological themes throughout the 1920s, notably in his Presidential address to the BUNSW in September 1929 (doc 107).⁷ He emphasised praxis, as the conclusion of his address demonstrates:

Let us pray that this assembly shall bring to us such a vision both of our imperfections of life and service, and of gracious possibilities of the Divine Love, that we shall return to our churches filled with the Spirit to apply our new possession of power to the work to which we have set our hands (107:16).

In 1934, Morling addressed a meeting of the Queensland Baptist Ministers' Fraternal on the topic, "The modern accent in Christian experience." Handwritten speaker's notes of the address (doc 155) provide an insight into his thinking at the time. For Morling, "The central authority in religion" is "Christ made real to us in His Word by the Holy Spirit and confirmed in experience."⁸ The address, and thinking on pneumatology generally, was inspired by a book series, *The Library of Constructive Theology*, edited by Wheeler Robinson and W. R.

⁶ *The Baptist Times*, 17 April 1925, 251; see also *The British Weekly*, 19 November 1925, 178; *The Baptist Times*, 18 November 1926, 832.

⁷ The address was also published in *AB*, 1 October 1929, 1, 2, 16. See also *AB*, 5 January 1926, 3; 22 April 1930, 2.

⁸ Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 118.

Matthews. In the general introduction, the editors claim that neither apologetics nor affirmations of biblical or ecclesial authority provide an effective defence against secularism and modernism. The starting point of “reconstruction” of a robust Christian worldview is “the value and validity of religious experience” and a theology based on “the religious consciousness [. . .] in harmony with modern thought.”⁹ The editors held that the massive intellectual achievements of the past century rested upon “the method of observation and experiment, on experience, not on abstract a priori reasoning,” and contended that “the moral and spiritual experience of mankind has the right to be considered, and demands to be understood.” With this sentiment Morling readily concurred. In 1935, he presented another major address to the Triennial Meetings of the Baptist Union of Australia, on the topic, “The doctrine of the Holy Spirit” (doc 108).

Morling’s passion for the experience of the Holy Spirit arose during a period of doctrinal lassitude with respect to pneumatology. The classic creeds provide scant commentary on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, regarded by some as “the stepchild of theology.”¹⁰ No conciliar decision of the church ever stabilised the doctrine.¹¹ Even as late as 1956, it was said to be common when writing on pneumatology to begin by “deploring the neglect of this doctrine in the thought and life of the Church today.”¹² Moreover, among evangelicals in the twentieth century, the doctrine of the Holy Spirit had “bogged down in the sinking quagmire of debate

⁹ H. Wheeler Robinson, *Redemption and Revelation in the Actuality of History* (London: Nisbet & Co., 1942), v-vi.

¹⁰ Veli-Matti Kärkkäinen, *The Holy Spirit: A Guide to Christian Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012), 1.

¹¹ William H. Brackney, *The Spirit among the Dissenters: Other Voices in Understanding the Spirit of God* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2019), xiv.

¹² George Hendry, *The Holy Spirit in Christian Theology* (revised edition; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965), 11.

or hovered emptily in the stale air of banality.”¹³ Nevertheless, a contrary stream of constructive pneumatological thought is evident in the writings of Wheeler Robinson and others. For example, Dutch theologian Herman Bavinck argued that “after creation and incarnation, the outpouring of the Holy Spirit is the third great work of God.”¹⁴

In *Baptist Theology*, historian William H. Brackney mentions Morling, though not in relation to pneumatology. Among other Baptist scholars mentioned by Brackney in his section on pneumatology, Morling interacts with Clarke, Strong, Mullins, Gordon and Wheeler Robinson. Brackney observes that Baptists have expressed various doctrinal approaches to pneumatology, often reflecting “a strong Reformed dependence.”¹⁵ He concludes that, historically, Baptists have been less creative and experimental in their development and articulation of a doctrine of Holy Spirit than most other Christian denominations and movements.¹⁶

Similarly, in *Baptists and the Holy Spirit*, Douglas Weaver discusses Strong and Clarke, with passing reference to Gordon and F. B. Meyer. He notes the influence in North America of Vance Havner, J. B. Lawrence, Rosalee Mills Appleby and Bertha Smith, all contemporaries of Morling whose theology and spirituality share a family resemblance with his own.¹⁷ Alan

¹³ Terry Cross, “The Holy Spirit,” in Timothy Larsen & Daniel J. Treier (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Evangelical Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 93.

¹⁴ Herman Bavinck, *Reformed Dogmatics. Volume 3: Sin and Salvation in Christ* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2006), 500. Note Jürgen Moltmann’s innovative approach to the *ordo salutis* employing his “Spirit-Christology,” and the work of Paul S. Fiddes. See Moltmann, *The Spirit of Life: A Universal Affirmation* (London: SCM Press, 1991); and Fiddes, *The Spirit and the Letter: A Tradition and a Reversal* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).

¹⁵ Brackney, “Baptist contributions,” 121.

¹⁶ Brackney, “II: Crosscurrents,” 179.

¹⁷ C. Douglas Weaver, *Baptists and the Holy Spirit: The Contested History with Holiness-Pentecostal-Charismatic Movements* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2019), 50 and *passim*.

Sell's call for more historical research on the broader themes of "hinterland theology," including attention to what he calls "the spiritual dimension of life," is answered in a small way by attending to Morling's pneumatology.¹⁸ Morling's focus on the "Beyond Who is within," "the higher life," "Something Better," and "Something More" shows an Australian theologian unsatisfied with the *status quo*, consistently seeking to lead his generation forward in embracing a doctrinal-experimental faith.

Morling's pneumatology reflects his interest in the mystical aspect of evangelical faith. It draws on the "high priestly" teaching of Jesus in John 14-17 (doc 118:1). Morling links John 14:16 with the unfolding missional and ecclesial drama of the Book of Acts (doc 101:261). He views the Holy Spirit as "within the direct power of Jesus Christ" (doc 27:18; cf. Ac 2:35). The high-priestly post-ascension ministry of Christ is mediated by the Spirit (doc 101:268). Further, "The Holy Spirit not only mediates the presence of Christ and instructs in the things of Christ but He actually effects a union between the believer and Christ (Jn 15:1ff" (doc 55:52). For Morling,

the Holy Spirit is spoken of as another Comforter [Jn 14:16], and as truly a Divine Personality as the Lord Jesus, Whose alter ego He was said to be [. . .] the Holy Spirit was not a mere substitute or compensation for Christ, but rather a higher mode in which Christ Himself was perpetually present (doc 44:87).

Sell similarly describes the Holy Spirit as "the method of Christ's presence" which unites the Christian to Christ and to other members of Christ's body.¹⁹

¹⁸ Sell, *Hinterland Theology*, 633.

¹⁹ Alan P. F. Sell, *Doctrine and Devotion. Volume 3: The Spirit Our Life* (Shippensburg, PA: Ragged Edge Press, 2000), 8.

A 31-page booklet, published by the Baptist Union of NSW for the guidance of churches in 1972, distils Morling's mature thought on pneumatology, and illustrates his distinctive doctrinal-experimental approach to the Christian faith. The impetus for publication of the booklet was alarm at the rising incidence of "Pentecostal" experiences such as speaking in tongues among some NSW Baptists, concern to preserve the unity of doctrine and of practice among NSW Baptist churches, and concern regarding potential drift of members from Baptist to Pentecostal churches.²⁰ In the foreword, NSW Baptist President J. Allan Reid notes Morling's insistence that the doctrine of the Spirit is the "Doctrine of Experience," but added that an emphasis on Scripture as "the only starting point enables [Morling] to move with certainty and clarity in his exposition" (doc 110: 3). Publication was prompted by an assumed "lack of biblical teaching in many areas concerning the Person and Ministry of the Holy Spirit in contemporary religious life [. . . and a] rising tide of enquiry" among Baptists in NSW who sought "the Fulness of the Spirit" (doc 110: 3). The booklet contains six studies.

Study 1, the shortest (doc 110:5-7), affirms the personality and deity of the Holy Spirit, and states that the Spirit resides "WITHIN the redeemed human spirit" (doc 110:6, original capitalisation). Morling encourages the reader to "contemplate God not experience," whereupon "The Fact of the Spirit will take on new reality and richness" (doc 110:7). He refers to "the Beyond who is within" (cf. Isa 57:15) and asks what elements of experience indicate present "communion with the Holy Spirit" (doc 110:7).

²⁰ The following year, the Anglican Diocese of Sydney released a similar publication, *Both Sides to the Question: Official Enquiry into Neo-Pentecostalism* (Committee to Study the Neo-Pentecostal Movement; Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1973).

Study 2 (doc 110:6-13) recalls Morling's longing for "something more" as a student pastor, and his decision to eschew "outward demonstration" in favour of "inward transformation" (doc 110:8). He writes that God demands holiness which is "being like Jesus" (doc 110:9). The fruit of the Spirit are the virtues of Jesus, and are normative for the Christian (doc 110:9). The Holy Spirit "makes actual what Christ has made possible," effecting "a mystic yet most real union" between Christ and the Christian (doc 110:9-12). A balance is recommended between "the Rest of Faith and the Conflict of Warfare" – presumably referring to a balance between quietism and activism (doc 110:13).

Study 3 (doc 110:14-20), on the gifts of the Spirit, gets to the heart of the matter. Morling argues that every church member possesses at least one gift, the purpose of such gifts is edification, and the New Testament lists of gifts are not exhaustive (doc 110:14, 15). He argues that "the baptism of the Spirit" refers to initiation into the Christian fellowship at the time of regeneration, and not to a so-called "second blessing" (doc 110:19). On the gifts of healing and tongues, he denies cessationism and suggests that, in the twentieth-century rise of tongues-speaking, "God is saying something to the Church [. . . and] we should be sensitive to His voice and responsive to it" (doc 110:18). Morling praises the richer sense of God's presence, renewed love for Christ, and improved home and church life seen in tongues-speakers (doc 110:17f). He acknowledges the presence of counterfeit sign-gifts which "may be the result of artificially induced emotion" (doc 110:18). He suggests that the gift of tongues should be reserved for private use (doc 110:20) but says nothing about the practice of healing gifts. He quotes John Stott and recommends Stott's book, *The Baptism and Fullness of the Holy Spirit*.²¹

²¹ John R. W. Stott, *The Baptism and Fullness of the Holy Spirit* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1964).

Study 4 (doc 110:21-25) addresses the notion of the fullness of the Spirit. Morling encourages the reader to seek “the *Reality* behind the exceptional manifestations at Pentecost [. . .] in Fulness” (doc 110:23, original emphasis). He suggests that the fullness of the Spirit may be lost if the Spirit is resisted, grieved or quenched” (doc 110:23f). Yet “the reception of the Spirit into our hearts by faith – is capable of effecting an absolute transformation of our lives” (doc 110:25). Whereas Morling eschews second-blessing terminology, his explanation of “fullness” clearly echoes Keswick higher-life doctrine and reflects his quest for “Something More” in Christian experience.

Study 5 (doc 110:26-31), on the endowment of the Spirit for Christian service, focuses on power for evangelism. For Morling, Luke 24:48f “expresses a principle, failure to understand and practice which accounts for many a pathetic failure in Christian life and service [. . .] activity without the Holy Spirit is futility” (doc 110:26). He quotes George Truett, pastor of the First Baptist Church of Dallas, Texas, in the late 1910s, who said, “The Pentecostal power is given for the Pentecostal task,” namely world evangelism (doc 110:28). Morling states that the Holy Spirit grants spiritual insight and power for effective gospel proclamation (doc 110:29).²²

2. The Holy Spirit and experience

Several doctrinal themes emerge from Morling’s writings on pneumatology. One is his theological method, the primacy of experience in validating and constructing theology, discussed in a previous chapter. Morling sensed a deficit in the modern turn in theology, in

²² On Pentecostal influence in Queensland see Melvin Clarence Williams, “Neopentecostalism in Australia: A sociological investigation of the Charismatic Movement and its effects upon the established churches in Queensland,” MA thesis, University of Queensland, 1978. Williams wrote as a Baptist.

relation to the Holy Spirit. Garrett Green identifies the basis of this deficit, arguing that “The disappearance from theology of the ‘sense of the heart’, the temptation to approach God ‘disinterestedly,’ the desire to do theology from a neutral perspective – all these modern tendencies are symptoms of the neglect of the Holy Spirit.”²³

For Morling, “every believer has a conscious experience of the Holy Spirit [. . .] the sealing of [Ephesians] 1:13 is a mark and claim of possession. The quickening by the Holy Spirit in regeneration is the prelude to the presence of the Holy Spirit in the regenerate life. This presence is the seal” (doc 35:81). Such experience is vital since, in his view, a proper understanding of Scripture must be “subservient to the illumination of the Holy Spirit” (doc 55:31). This does not set aside a need for intellectual training and engagement with Scripture but “does necessitate a candid confession of helplessness and an honest, deliberate, reverent use of the Holy Spirit as the Spirit of illumination” (doc 55:31; cf. doc 149:5, 10). When faced with a sense of moral weakness or intellectual doubt, Morling counsels that “when the Holy Spirit, who is God within us, floods the life with Jesus Christ, there is no room for self and egocentricity gives place to Christo-centricity” (doc 38:111). The spiritual disciplines recommended in *QFS* had the same goal.

3. The Holy Spirit and indwelling

Morling claims that the incarnation, atonement, resurrection and ascension of Christ are a prelude to an “unspeakably wondrous thing [. . .] God – in our hearts” (doc 131c:4). Through the ministry of the Holy Spirit, actualising union with Christ, “we become incarnations of God, ‘temples of the Holy Ghost,’ receiving God Himself” (doc 131c:4). This is the

²³ Garrett Green, “Experience in theology,” in Mike Highton & Jim Fodor (eds), *The Routledge Companion to the Practice of Christian Theology* (London: Routledge, 2015), 321.

experience of “indwelling.” The doctrine of indwelling is closely related to that of union with Christ and was widely held by twentieth-century evangelical theologians. For example, in 1949, Henry Clarence Thiessen stated that the Holy Spirit regenerates, indwells, baptises and seals at conversion and continually works to fill, guide, empower and teach the “indwelt” Christian.²⁴ Half a century earlier, Strong observed that systematic theology did not treat union with Christ or indwelling as a distinct doctrine, and “the majority of Christians much more frequently think of Christ as a Savior outside of them, rather than as a Savior who dwells within,” a neglect which he attributed to “a reaction from the exaggerations of a false mysticism.”²⁵ Morling reflects Strong’s thought here, as Strong follows Calvin.²⁶ One example of many in Morling’s writings is his 1929 Presidential address, in which he claims that the Holy Spirit is “the Divine Agent in the mystical union of the soul with Christ,” and the “energies” of the Holy Spirit prepare the believer “to dwell in the Divine abode” through conversion, regeneration and sanctification (doc 107:12).

For Morling, the presence of the living Christ in one’s life, through the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, “supplies every requirement of the soul” (doc 107:2). Since the Spirit dwells within, “He sanctifies from within [. . .]. He produces the fruit of the Spirit” (doc 91:2). Indwelling delivers four additional benefits: the Christian becomes “rooted and grounded in love [Eph 3:17]; achieves strength to comprehend the love of God [v. 18]; develops “an experimental knowledge of the ‘knowledge surpassing love’ of Christ”; and gains “an ever increasing capacity for God which is progressively satisfied” (doc 35:83). Morling’s passion

²⁴ Henry Clarence Thiessen, *Lectures in Systematic Theology* (1949; ed. Vernon D. Doerksen; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979), 254-256.

²⁵ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 795.

²⁶ For example, Calvin, *Institutes*, 3.11.10.

for preaching on the doctrine of indwelling, linked to union with Christ, approached that of an evangelist's zeal, including the use of occasional "altar call" moments of challenge with a view to decision on the part of congregants. For example, at the close of a 1932 sermon on union with Christ, he says:

Let the Holy Spirit do His blessed work of strengthening the inner man so that there may be definite reception of Jesus Christ in this sense [that is, at the centre of one's life, controlling every action, behind every motive] by faith [. . .]. God in Christ wants to possess your life and He knows you are not prepared for His coming [. . .]. Let the Holy Spirit strengthen you to make the reception of faith (doc 30:132).

This illustrates the centrality of the normative experience of union with Christ and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in Morling's theology.

4. *Kenosis* of the Spirit

Kenotic Christology (see earlier discussion on pages 243-245, 250-251) was evident "from the earliest days" of the church,²⁷ with *kenosis* describing a rejection of the use of available divine power and authority,²⁸ illustrated in the humiliation of Christ in incarnation (Php 2:5-8). Kenotic Christology was popular in Germany and later in England between 1860 and 1910,²⁹ and among Morling's interlocutors is chiefly evident in the works of Forsyth, Mackintosh, Godet, and Bovon.³⁰ The notion of *kenosis* is also applied, though rarely, to the Holy Spirit. Just as God is said to self-limit God's self through incarnation as a human person, so too the Holy Spirit is said to limit the Spirit's self through indwelling redeemed

²⁷ Erickson, *Christian Theology*, 78.

²⁸ David T. Williams, "Kenosis and the nature of the Persons in the Trinity," *Koers* 69 (4), 2004, 629.

²⁹ Grudem, *Systematic Theology*, 550.

³⁰ For a survey of Christological kenotic theories see F. F. Bruce, *The Humiliation of Christ* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1955), 144-152.

sinner. For example, Russian theologian Sergius Bulgakov (1871-1944) observes that “the Son’s kenosis is matched by the corresponding kenosis of the Holy Spirit, who restricts his power and communicates himself to the incarnate Word, as he does in creation, in the form of finite gifts.”³¹

Moreover, kenosis and indwelling are discussed in two articles published by Herbert Clarkson in 1952. Clarkson notes the influence of Wheeler Robinson and Leonard Hodgson on Baptist pneumatology, and promotes the idea of kenosis of the Spirit, arguing that the Spirit is

hindered by the frailty of the human material [. . . and] suffers a kenosis in every individual [. . .]. At present we fall far short of all that the Spirit is capable of doing in and through us. But the power of the Spirit is present, and the more we understand, by experience and meditation, of the power of that Spirit the nearer we shall be to being the kind of people Jesus intended us to be.³²

Morling refers to kenosis of the Spirit only in document 119:6, in relation to pneumatological transcendence and immanence.³³ He notes the Quaker practice of inward prayer to the Holy Spirit, and contrasts this with a more general understanding of the Spirit as external and qualitatively different from humankind (doc 119:5). Morling argues that the biblical teaching on the Holy Spirit focuses on salvific issues, which “takes us into the realm of Divine immanence” (doc 119:5). He further argues that the three Greek prepositions in John 14:16f (*para*, *meta*, *en*) correspond to “Presence, Companionship, and an Indwelling,” and such

³¹ Paul L. Gavrilyuk, “The kenotic theology of Sergius Bulgakov,” *Scottish Journal of Theology* 58 (3), 2005, 263.

³² Herbert Clarkson, “The Holy Spirit and personal experience,” *Baptist Quarterly* 14 (7), 1952, 324. A similar thought is echoed in Andrew Murray, *The Spirit of Christ: Thoughts on the Indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the Believer and the Church* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1963).

³³ In conversation with the author, Ken Manley recalled hearing Morling refer to “kenosis of the Spirit” in lectures in about 1960.

“Divine Indwelling should be thought of as a kenosis comparable to that of the Eternal Son in His incarnation” (doc 119:6). He quotes Wheeler Robinson as suggesting that “there is an inevitable humiliation in the Divine Spirit assuming a material embodiment” (doc 119:6), and inserts into his lecture notes a 21-line quote from Robinson’s book on suffering.³⁴ He notes that Robinson accepts a statement by Horace Bushnell that the Spirit “has His Gethsemane” – an agony from age to age invoked by proximity to sin in the life of those whom the Spirit indwells (doc 119:6).

5. Baptism of the Spirit

A distinctive emphasis of modern Pentecostalism is the “baptism of the Spirit,” usually understood as a second-stage experience following conversion, often confirmed by speaking in tongues. There may also be an expectation of miracles, especially healings, as a normal part of Christian experience. At the turn of the twentieth century, most Protestant churches shared the view of the Reformers that miraculous gifts of the Spirit ceased with the completion of the New Testament writings. Even miraculous healing, through fervent prayer, was no longer deemed normative among Christians.³⁵ Baptists generally shared this heritage. Embrace of cessationism appeared to confine the work of the Holy Spirit to inspiration and illumination, and conflated Baptist pneumatology into ecclesiology.³⁶ Yet opinions for and against Pentecostal experience continued to be expressed by NSW Baptists throughout the

³⁴ Robinson, *Suffering, Human and Divine*.

³⁵ Damon S. Adams, “Divine healing in Australian Protestantism,” *Journal of Religious History* 41 (3), 2017, 362.

³⁶ Brackney, William H., “II: Crosscurrents of the Spirit,” *Baptist Quarterly* 51 (4), 2020, 164.

twentieth century. A 1976 report indicates that at least 80 of 250 NSW Baptist churches had been affected by the charismatic movement “to a definite or noticeable degree.”³⁷

In 1980, British theologian J. I. Packer published a detailed theological critique of the Pentecostal and charismatic movements which resonates with Morling’s perspective from the 1960s.³⁸ David Bebbington argues, however, that the charismatic movement was “a form of Expressivist revolution that was sweeping over Western countries during the 1960s, encouraging those affected by it to let their authentic feelings show in public.”³⁹ For Bebbington, “the charismatic movement, though often a disturbing influence, invigorated much of the [Baptist] denomination” in Britain.⁴⁰ This tension between doctrine and experience drew Morling’s interest and influence. He assumed the role of pneumatological guide for Australian Baptists in the 1960s and early 1970s. His approach to spirituality was widely respected, as Stuart Piggin remarks:

Morling, who longed for ‘definite power above mere influence,’ for whom truth had to be on fire, for whom doctrine had to be experimental, and for whom spirituality had to be efficient, by which he meant effective in the real world, created an evangelism so vital that no one felt the need for Pentecostal razzamatazz.⁴¹

Yet Morling wrestled an inability to experience the “fulness of the Spirit.” A 1942 diary entry reads:

³⁷ Baptist Union of NSW, *The Charismatic Movement* (Sydney: Baptist Union of NSW, 1976).

³⁸ J. I. Packer, “Theological reflections on the Charismatic Movement – Part 1,” *Churchman* 94 (1), 1980, 7-25; and “Theological reflections on the Charismatic Movement – Part 2,” *Churchman* 94 (2), 1980, 103-125.

³⁹ David W. Bebbington, “Baptists and the gospel in the twentieth century,” *Baptist Quarterly* 52 (1), 2021, 17.

⁴⁰ Bebbington, “Baptists and the gospel,” 17.

⁴¹ Stuart Piggin, “The role of Baptists,” 21.

I must be filled with the Holy Spirit; I cannot lead without His fullness. I may be filled; the promise is for me. I would be filled; that is the point reached. I shall be filled. If I entrust myself to Jesus, He cannot disappoint me. It is His very nature; it is his work in heaven. It is His delight to give souls the Holy Spirit.⁴²

Morling was not alone in expressing such longing. For example, A. J. Gordon taught a doctrine of “the fullness of the Spirit” as an anointing for service.⁴³ Australian theologian Charles Sherlock notes three ways in which one may interpret the question, “Have you received the Holy Spirit?”:

- (a) Have you consciously put your trust in Christ and so been given the Spirit he promises? (Acts 2:38);
- (b) Have you had a definite experience of God’s Spirit, perhaps ecstatic utterance, or unusually intense feeling of divine love and care? (Acts 19:1-7);
- (c) Have you been baptised into Christ and so drunk of God’s Spirit (1 Cor 12:13)?⁴⁴

Commenting on the “Toronto Blessing” phenomenon of 1995, Piggion and Linder observe that it “did remind evangelicals that vital faith is to be found in the affections and that Christians are to be sensitive to the supernatural within their own experience as well as doctrinal truth in their own intellect.”⁴⁵ This too was Morling’s passion.

Morling accounts for modern Pentecostal experience by distinguishing the “general fact” of the historic outpouring of the Holy Spirit (Acts 2:1-4) from the “personal experience” of the event in the lives of those present. Both, he argues, are vital (doc 101:264). There is one baptism of the Spirit, occurring at regeneration, but perhaps many subsequent experiences of

⁴² Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 176.

⁴³ A. J. Gordon, *The Ministry of the Spirit* (1894; repr. Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1949).

⁴⁴ Charles Sherlock, *God on the Inside: Trinitarian Spirituality* (Canberra, ACT: Acorn Press, 1991), 87-106.

⁴⁵ Piggion & Linder, *Attending to the National Soul*, 495.

“filling” with the Spirit. Speaking at the Katoomba Convention in 1937, on Acts 4:31, Morling justifies the notion of multiple fillings, arguing that “the special occasion may always have the special filling. We must never live on past experience” (doc 44:88). For Morling, “the fullness of the Spirit” may refer to a permanent endowment (e.g., 1 Cor 12-13; Ac 2:1-4), a special provision (e.g., Ac 4:31), or a continuous process (e.g., Eph 5:18). This view made room for the expression of sign gifts and other spiritual phenomena characteristic of the Pentecostal movement, which for some Baptist leaders threatened the stability and vitality of the Baptist movement, especially in the 1960s and 70s. Even Baptist evangelist John G. Ridley admitted to speaking in tongues and at one point publicly identified with an itinerant Pentecostal preacher, a move that led to the temporary withdrawal of his ministerial credentials.⁴⁶ Morling was obliged to bring wisdom and clarity to such situations. There is no indication that Morling spoke in tongues.

6. The Holy Spirit and sanctification

The second half of the nineteenth century saw a resurgence of interest in pneumatology among evangelical Protestants. Historian George Marsden traces this back to the theology of the Reformers.⁴⁷ Morling continues this phenomenon. In his 1929 Presidential address, for example, he extols the virtue of “saintliness,” a fruit of the Spirit’s work of sanctification. He argues,

If the doctrine of the Holy Spirit means anything, it means that the believing life may be a holy life, negatively, that there may be conquest over besetting sin; positively that the life may be robed in the beautiful grace of God. The Holy

⁴⁶ Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 709.

⁴⁷ George M. Marsden, *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism: 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 72-101.

Spirit makes of ordinary people men and women of radiant holiness (doc 107:12).

One purpose of the indwelling of the Holy Spirit, then, is empowerment for holy living. Moreover, for Morling, sanctification is an essential element of the *ordo salutis*: it is “related to predestination as its ultimate purpose and end [. . .] related to justification as its complement and necessary accompaniment [. . .] related to regeneration as its expression and development [. . . and] related to glorification as its prelude and preparation” (doc 119:14f). Morling affirms the view of Anglican pastor-theologian J. C. Ryle (1816-1900) that sanctification is “the only evidence of the indwelling of the Spirit” (doc 119:14).⁴⁸ Morling observes that there is also “a sentimental sanctification which has in it nothing of reality” (doc 32:181).

Morling links justification and sanctification. He states that there are two “great doctrines of the New Testament which have especially to do with power both for living and for service,” namely union with Christ and the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the believer (doc 157:3f). He further argues that “union with Christ makes possible the conquest of sin”; Christians “have potential victory over sin” and “fight not towards victory but from victory” (doc 157:3, 4). Here he reflects Calvin’s notion of *duplex gratia*, the double grace of justification and sanctification. For Calvin, “when we hear mention of our union with God, let us remember that holiness must be its bond.”⁴⁹ Barth similarly wrote of the “indolent quietism” and “illusory activism” of those who fail to appreciate the unity of justification and sanctification.⁵⁰ Strong argues that “we are justified by a Christ outside of us, as we are

⁴⁸ Quoting J. C. Ryle, *Holiness*, 18.

⁴⁹ Calvin, *Institutes*, 3.6.2; cf. 3.6.3; 3.16.1.

⁵⁰ Barth, *Church Dogmatics*, 4.2; and *The Doctrine of Justification* (trans. G. W. Bromiley; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1958), 505.

sanctified through a Christ within us.”⁵¹ Strong also notes that “sanctification is that continuous operation of the Holy Spirit, by which the holy disposition imparted in regeneration is maintained and strengthened.”⁵² Morling concurs (see further docs 40:40f; 49:162; 62:15, 19-32).

Such a “double” doctrine generates potential confusion which Morling is keen to dispel. For him, the key to clarity is to observe that the Pauline theme of identification in Romans 6 complements the doctrine of justification stated in Romans 1-5. Thus, to use Morling’s terms, “ethico-mystical salvation” complements “judicial salvation” and refers to “an unfolding of the possibilities of life which have been given in grace through the cross of Jesus Christ” (doc 94:31, citing “Pleiderer”⁵³). Moreover, whereas Romans 5 teaches the doctrine of justification by faith, Romans 8 teaches union with Christ which imparts “the righteousness of the law fulfilled in us” (doc 62:26). Morling posits “a preparatory external operation by God in regeneration and then, inseparable from it, a personal indwelling through the Spirit. See Ezek. 36:26, 27 [. . .]. We must always distinguish between the inworking and indwelling of the Spirit” (doc 119:12).

This understanding of the doctrine of sanctification conflicts with the view, common among early Keswick leaders, that sanctification constitutes a “second work of grace” following conversion. According to this view, one may be justified by faith through grace yet remain a “carnal” Christian unless one proceeds to “total surrender” to Christ, at which time one is

⁵¹ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 862.

⁵² Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 869.

⁵³ Possibly a reference to Otto Pfleiderer, *The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity* (The Hibberd Lectures, 1885; third edition; London: Williams & Norgate, 1897).

“‘filled with the Spirit’ and empowered for obedience and service.”⁵⁴ This abstraction of sanctification from justification was further fuelled in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries by the rising popularity of dispensational theology. Dispensationalism was profoundly shaped by John Nelson Darby (1800-1882), a strong Calvinist who opposed the theology of the Wesleyan and Keswick movements on the ground that they placed undue emphasis on the human capacity to achieve holiness through effort. Dispensational theology was widely embraced among NSW Baptists during the first half of the twentieth century.⁵⁵ Morling’s advocacy of the Keswick movement may have had the effect of ameliorating some of the worst deficiencies of dispensationalism in the realm of Christian living. Morling was not a dispensationalist, as chapter eleven of this dissertation will demonstrate.

If sanctification does not require a “second work of grace” for its effectiveness, why then does justification not produce ethical perfection from the moment of regeneration? In answer, Morling introduces the notion of a battle between the “flesh” and the “spirit” in the Christian. As his Sydney Anglican counterpart, T. C. Hammond, put it in 1953:

the New Testament obviously contemplates the Christian life as a life meant to be, not intermittently but normally, a ‘walk with God.’ [. . .]. But then Scripture has another side of hint and caution. While spreading before us the animating truth of the divine perfectness of grace, of God working within us, it intimates

⁵⁴ Evans, *Imputation and Impartation*, 254.

⁵⁵ Dispensationalism is a form of premillennialism holding that God’s dealings with humankind have proceeded through clearly defined time periods (“dispensations”) in each of which God has a distinctive purpose to be accomplished to which people respond in faith or unbelief. See Earl D. Radmacher, “The current status of dispensationalism and its eschatology,” in Kenneth S. Kantzer & Stanley N. Gundry (eds), *Perspectives on Evangelical Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1979), 163-176; Robert Saucy, “The crucial issue between dispensational and non-dispensational systems,” *Criswell Theological Review* 1 (1), 1986, 149-165; Mark S. Sweetman, “Defining dispensationalism: a cultural studies perspective,” *Journal of Religious History* 34 (2), June 2010, 191-212; and H. H. Rowdon, “Dispensationalism,” in Martin Davie, Tim Grass, Stephen R. Holmes, John McDowell & T. A. Noble (eds), *New Dictionary of Theology: Historical and Systematic* (second edition; Downers Grove: IVP, 2016), 258-259.

the humbling imperfection of our receptivity while as yet the redemption of our being from the effects of the Fall awaits actual completion (Rom 8:23).⁵⁶

Like Hammond, the mature Morling follows Moule's post-Keswick exegesis of Romans 7, arguing that the chapter describes the experience of a regenerate person (e. g., doc 62:22-26). Yet his early Keswick preaching indicates otherwise. For example, in 1933, Morling states that union with Christ "makes impossible a continuance in sin" (doc 133:6), and in the same year he claims elsewhere that "the baptised Christian cannot sin (i.e., as a habit of life)" (doc 180:1). Yet he acknowledges that sinning remains a problem for Christians and resolves it thus: "the flesh – that is, the unregenerate nature – still remains following regeneration [. . . and] sin still has its home in us" (doc 22:63f). Those who do not actively abide in Christ live in the "self life" (doc 6:63). Elsewhere, in a document dated 1954, he adds that this two-natures doctrine "rules out any doctrine of the eradication of the sinful nature during our present life" (doc 118:18). This suggests development in Morling's theology of sanctification, a shift from a Keswick approach to one reflecting a Reformed or Puritan perspective.

The resolution to the problem of post-regeneration sin is then, for Morling, the actualisation of what the Christian possesses in principle through union with Christ. He states that "resurrection with Christ makes possible a life lived in relation to God with response to his claims instead of to the claims of sin" (doc 62:21). Morling interprets Romans 7:19-25 as an "arid experience, the inner conflict of a regenerate person who acts "out of character [. . . who] depends upon self-effort, upon discipline and resolutions and psychological law, and does not humbly and reverently cease from self and live in the life of holy strength which is

⁵⁶ Hammond, *The New Creation* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1953), 130.

imparted by the Holy Spirit” (doc 62:26). Morling adds that there is no reference to the Holy Spirit in Romans 7 (doc 62:26).

In document 47:71, referring in 1962 to Galatians 2:17-21, Morling says,

Salvation is not of self-effort. We can do nothing whatever about achieving a holy life of ourselves. Many of us have tried. I have tried too, and I am old enough [aged about 71 years] to say that I know very well that I am altogether entirely helpless in regard to producing holiness myself. I can do nothing whatever about it. My heart is too bad. The older you get the more you understand the corruption of the human heart. Yet very often we try to achieve this ourselves (doc 47:71).

On the other hand, he affirmed that “the abiding life is the life which has ceased from self, has actually died to self [. . .]. To cease from self means sacrifice. To renounce self may cause initial pain, but afterward it spells joyous freedom from what is really a debasing tyranny” (doc 22:74f).

In Morling’s thought, five spiritual disciplines nurture such renunciation:

- (a) *The Bible*, which one should “read, mark, learn and inwardly digest,” and to the faithful preaching of which one should give “diligent attendance”;
- (b) *The ordinances*: baptism, representing a singular act of obedient love, a look back to the moment of conversion, and a sign and symbol that one is a Christian; and the Lord’s Supper, whereby, through regular participation, one looks back to the death of Jesus and forward to his return;
- (c) *Prayer*: “If the Word of God is the food which nourishes the soul, and Christian activity is the exercise which it requires, then prayer is the atmosphere which it is to breathe”;

- (d) *Christian fellowship*: “The true act of worship is not only upwards to God, but outwards to embrace our fellow Christians”; and
- (e) *Christian service*: “the opportunity to flex the muscles of our faith in spreading the message of God. We are saved to serve. How wrong it would be for us to be saved from sin, to have found the cure for cancer of the soul, and be so selfish and indifferent to all who suffer around us that we do not tell them” (doc 80:61-64) .

For Morling, “holiness is not a negative thing but a glad reception, through the Spirit, of the glorious Christ and a humble, believing drawing upon His blessed life. ‘Let all your enthusiasm be put into abiding.’ This is good advice. But, conversely, abiding is possible only when the body is continually being mortified” (doc 118:19). In *QFS*, speaking of “Paul’s secret,” Morling links “abiding” with “the rest of faith” (doc 144:77f).⁵⁷

Conclusion

The themes in this chapter complement those of the earlier chapter on union with Christ. Together they form the heart of Morling’s distinctive approach to Christian doctrine: his doctrinal-experimental approach to faith. For Morling, the indwelling personal Holy Spirit actualises and confirms union with Christ, delivering assurance of salvation and the possibility of holiness in defiance of the proclivities of sinful human nature which persist throughout life. Among Baptists, and other evangelicals, Morling became a leading spokesperson on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit, the baptism of the Spirit, the mystery of sanctification, and the positive and negative influences of the Pentecostal movement in

⁵⁷ The “rest of faith” was also a characteristic Keswick term. The “rest of faith,” contrasted with the “life of struggle,” is an experience which occurs following existential crisis; all early Keswick leaders recounted such experiences. See Andrew David Naselli, “Keswick theology: A survey and analysis of the doctrine of sanctification in the early Keswick movement,” *Detroit Baptist Theological Seminary Journal* 13, 2008, 22f, 30.

Baptist ecclesial life. His interest in pneumatology reflects his abiding interest in the mystical dimension of religious belief and concomitant experience.

Chapter 11—Church and consummation

This chapter explores Morling's understanding of the kingdom of God; the nature, ministry and mission of the church; and the last things including assurance of salvation, divine judgment, the return of Christ, glorification, and universalism.

1. The kingdom of God

Morling's articulation of the biblical term "kingdom of God" is significant for understanding his ecclesiology, ethics and eschatology. He equates the phrase with the "rule" or "realm" of God (doc 74:28; 98:56). He notes that, according to first-century Jewish thought, the "kingdom" is perceived by the prophets either as an ethical rule of life, a political entity to end the Roman occupation, or an apocalyptic kingdom which would overthrow all of God's enemies (doc 98:56; 105:10). Moreover, "there was an expectation of Divine intervention through a Messiah who would establish His rule over the world" (doc 98:56). Ideal citizens of this kingdom possess childlike qualities of trust, innocence and dependence upon God (doc 99:203).

The essential message of Jesus concerns the arrival of this kingdom in his person and mission. Morling construes this in spiritual terms, downplaying the kingdom's social and ethical dimensions. He claims that, apart from spiritual regeneration, people cannot "see," "enter" or "inherit" the kingdom (doc 74:28). Morling championed conversionism in the

context of church rather than kingdom. In 1922, in the context of postwar recovery and social reconstruction, he quotes a statement by Rev. Dr John Daniel Jones, minister of Richmond Hill Congregational Church in Bournemouth, England, who claimed that “the New Testament ideal is that of a redeemed individual in a redeemed society [. . . but] it is only through the redeemed individual that a redeemed society can come” (doc 132:6). Morling adds that “the primary function of the Church is an aggressive evangelism. The church must lend her support to the elimination of social evils such as the drink traffic, but it must be remembered that the first concern is the creation of new hearts” (doc 132:6).

Morling’s most detailed treatment of the kingdom of God occurs in undated lecture notes on the messianic consciousness of Jesus. He argues that Jesus retained the Jewish idea of an eschatological kingdom but perceived it as “spiritual and ethical” (doc 105:10). Further:

in the teaching of Jesus the externalism of Messianism gave place to a spirituality which was made possible through His own work as Redeemer [. . .] the Kingdom essentially is the rule of God and immediately one accepted the authority of Jesus for him already there was the inauguration of the Kingdom within his life [. . .]. The Kingdom comes in individual hearts [. . .] is a continuous process [. . . and] there will be the final catastrophic coming (doc 105:10).

In a commentary on Luke 13:18-21, Morling rejects the notion that the kingdom will work in the world until perfection comes. He states, “There is no encouragement for such a view either in Scripture or in the contemporary world situation” (doc 99:184). The mention of “leaven” in the parable implies, for Morling, merely “that the life of the Kingdom affects every part of society” (doc 99:184).

2. The church

(a) Nature of the church

The church is a true expression of God's kingdom but is not synonymous with it. All Christian traditions recognise local and universal dimensions of the church. Most Baptists assert the primacy of the local church, defined as a group of believers bound by a common baptism and covenanting together to fulfil the mission of God. For example, Morling suggests that Christ's current "dwelling-place on earth" is "the Church, which is a spiritual fellowship [. . .] of souls which have been regenerated and in which dwells the Divine Presence" (doc 30:129). Morling claims that the church is the New Israel, in continuity with ancient Israel but really "a *new* creation constituted at Pentecost, where the Holy Spirit made out of units a mystic but very real unity."¹

(b) Marks of the church

The New Testament writers employ various *metaphors* for the church and its functions (e.g., body, building, temple, bride), and theologians speak of four *marks* of the church (unity, holiness, catholicity and apostolicity). On the metaphors, Morling observes, for example, that "As a body the Church serves, as a building it worships, as a bride it loves" (doc 34:76; cf. Eph 1:23; 2:21; 5:23). But his ecclesiology is more fully expressed in terms of the four classic marks of the church, to which he adds a fifth, the indestructibility of the church.

(i) Unity

Inheriting the disunity endemic to the post-Reformation churches, members of the earliest Baptist churches sought a fresh spiritual unity based on a common confession of faith, first

¹ Prior, *Some Fell on Good Ground*, 9. Original emphasis. See also doc 66:16; 131b:9.

within local churches and then among churches of similar faith. This was a radical turn with lasting effects. For E. Y. Mullins, the resulting denominationalism expressed the right of private judgment in religion, and “If denominationalism ever ceases to exist and all Christians become one it will not be by means of artificial schemes of union, but through the gradual growth of unity of view, that is, through the operation of the voluntary principle.”² Morling concurs. In 1942, for example, he defends the separatist impulse and its enduring relevance:

Now we Baptists have not been particularly concerned about external unity [. . .]
We regard our Baptist Church only as a sectional branch of the visible Church [. . .]
[. . .] called into being to crown the Reformation Movement which, with all its
triumphant achievements, had serious deficiencies.

We would also insist that our existence as such a sectional branch of the Church
Universal has been justified by the power of the Baptist witness in establishing
liberty of conscience, in inaugurating the modern missionary movement and in
leading the modern evangelistic movement (doc 140:2).

Elsewhere, Morling urges “greater outward evidence” of spiritual unity within the church, but not “at the expense of revealed truth” (doc 81:68). He likens the unity imposed by the Catholic Church upon its members to that enforced by communist states on their citizens (doc 81:67).

(ii) Holiness

Of the four classic marks of the church, holiness is the least qualified in Morling’s thought. God commands every Christian to be holy (e.g., 1 Peter 1:13-16), and the church in all its forms is likewise to display holiness. A Baptist Union of NSW statement published in 1952 describes the church as a “holy society of believers [. . .] in which [Christ] dwells by His Spirit”; Morling describes the church as “a Holy Society” (doc 111:4), and as “the place of the

² Mullins, *Baptist Beliefs*, 8.

Presence” (doc 131d:3).³ The church’s “holiness will never be known where the Bible is a closed book” (doc 81:69). This aspiration to holiness relates not merely to personal morality but is expressed in the strong opposition of NSW Baptists to conciliar ecumenism, where several lines of argument against church union relate to potential spiritual defilement.⁴ Yet, when the purpose seemed justified, NSW Baptists made common cause with other denominations.⁵

(iii) *Catholicity*

The principle that the church as a whole is more than the local church challenges the Baptist doctrine of the primacy of the local church. As Baptist theologian Stephen Holmes argues, “A church that cannot gather for worship, mutual edification and discipline, and to discern the mind of Christ for its life cannot be a church.”⁶ Morling laments that “institutions tend to strangle the ideas that gave them birth” (doc 142:9), and says, “Efforts for a huge church organisation not based on the Scriptures can tend only to a weakening of the true church of Christ” (doc 81:69).

In his centenary address to the NSW Baptist Assembly in 1968, Morling calls on Baptists to reaffirm their faith, especially regarding the sovereignty of Christ, “soul competency” and “the gathered community” (doc 142:8-13). Baptists, he says, “emphasise the truth that the

³ Published as an appendix to Prior, *Some Fell on Good Ground*, 321. The statement closely reflects the wording of official statements released by the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland in 1926 and 1948, reprinted as Appendices B and D in Payne, *Fellowship of Believers*, *op. cit.*, 143, 152, 154.

⁴ Rod Benson, “Disavowing ecumenism: The fundamental reasons for NSW Baptist opposition to conciliar ecumenism 1945–1965,” unpublished paper, 2006.

⁵ Rod Benson, “Cooperation and cobelligence between NSW Baptists and other faith communities since the 1960s,” paper presented to ICOBS/ABRF Conference, “Interfaces: Baptists and others,” Whitley College, Melbourne, 17 July 2009.

⁶ Holmes, *Baptist Theology*, 97.

Church Universal which is the Temple of God, the Body of Christ, the Bride of Christ, comes to focal expression in multiplied local communities. And that every such gathered community possesses all the inspiring God given authority of the Church Universal” (doc 142:12f). In the same address he qualifies this statement, saying:

Increasingly I cherish the blessed fact that the whole church belongs to me and as one joined to Christ I belong to the whole church. But each church has its distinctions and holds them dear. We Baptists have our emphasis and, for the sake of the whole church, should maintain them with valiant forthrightness (doc 142:9).

On temporal catholicity, Morling refers to “the inter-knittedness of the people of God throughout the ages.”⁷ The use of the verbal noun, indicating the presence of mingled but separate sources rather than formal catholicity, precisely captures Morling’s vision for ecclesial coexistence. The term “knittedness” may derive from its use in *A Declaration of Faith*, a Baptist statement affirmed at Amsterdam in 1611.⁸

(iv) Apostolicity

New South Wales Baptists claimed to be apostolic in their faith. Their 1952 statement, “A Baptist view of the Church,” states that Baptists

claim as their heritage also the great central stream of Christian doctrine and piety through the centuries, and have continuity with the New Testament Church in that they rejoice to believe and seek faithfully to proclaim the Apostolic Gospel and endeavour to build up the life of their Churches after what seems to them the New Testament pattern.⁹

⁷ Prior, *Some Fell on Good Ground*, 9.

⁸ William J. Lumpkin (ed.), *Baptist Confessions of Faith* (second revised edition; ed. Bill J. Leonard; Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 2011), 111. Section 10 reads, “That the church off CHRIST is a compainy off faithful people [. . .] being knit vnto the LORD, & one vnto another, by baptism.”

⁹ Prior, *Some Fell on Good Ground*, 321.

For Morling, “The link with the apostolic doctrine is more important by far than any organisational connection” (doc 81:70). Moreover, he says, “The greatest glory of the true Church is that she has only one Head—the Lord Jesus Christ [. . .]. No one has a right to usurp His place. It is her close connection with Him which makes the Church the most glorious body on this earth” (doc 81:71). The church fulfils this task through faithful preaching of Scripture, administration of the ordinances and exercise of church discipline (doc 81:71).

(v) Indestructibility

Morling also spoke of the church’s indestructibility. Whereas he claims that the history of the first churches as recorded in the Acts of the Apostles depicts a transitional era, he views the full story of the true church as the radical continuation of the Jesus movement outlined in the four Gospels (doc 120:13). The risen and glorified Christ guarantees the church’s indestructibility: “Christ [. . .] is the Beginning, the Origin of the church, the First Fruits, the Guarantee of the great harvest. He is also the Head, the Saviour of its life, Who ensures its spiritual vitality, and the Director of its affairs, who leads and commands it” (doc 41:34). In response to the question, “Where dwellest thou?” (cf. Jn 1:38), Morling has Christ answer, “I dwell in the fellowship of the saints waiting to inspire worship and manifest myself in power” (doc 66:17). As to the future, Morling counsels, “We have no need to fear [. . .] The Great Builder will keep on adding to His Church, till finally the last contingent on earth of the church militant joins the church triumphant in glory” (doc 81:72).

(c) Membership and governance of the church

The events recorded in Acts chapter 2 are mystically linked in Morling’s thought with religious conversion. Pentecost marked “the Church’s baptism, a baptism once for all [. . .].

The believer is baptised with the Spirit when, at regeneration, he is included in the spiritual family of God and admitted to the Church” (doc 27:5). Moreover, argues Morling, “At Pentecost, the Christians were transformed from being an aggregation of unity into a spiritual unity” (doc 101:270). Admission to the local Baptist church is usually not so straightforward. Given the holiness expected of the local church, candidates must show fitness for membership by their manner of life, make an acceptable confession of faith in Christ, and agree to follow church rules.

Morling’s thought on church membership reflects this ecclesial ideal. In the earliest biblical times, he writes, “God was simply the Divine Visitant,” later manifesting his veiled presence among his people in the Tabernacle and Temple, and then through incarnation in the person of Jesus. Today, “[God’s] home is in the Church, which is a spiritual fellowship [. . .] of souls which have been regenerated and in which dwells the Divine Presence” (doc 30:129). This echoes his 1922 statement: “It is the Baptist belief that the presence of Christ with His people constitutes the Church. This doctrine makes necessary the confining of the privileges of Church membership to those with genuine Christian experience” (doc 132:6).

Church membership is also a solemn duty. Morling states, “Everyone who receives the Gospel is commanded to confess Christ before men. He is to make a public profession of the true faith. This would include associating with a faithful branch of the visible Church. The Word of God gives no place for free-lance isolationism” (doc 81:72). Indeed, all members are priests who together serve Christ and one another. While central to Baptist ecclesiology, this principle is not addressed in detail in Morling’s writings. Commenting on Hebrews 7:11, 19 in lecture notes, he observes that, by means of Christ’s perfect priesthood, believers have “a perfect approach to God,” and urges students to consult the works of Scottish Free Church

theologian Alexander Balmain Bruce (doc 69:27).¹⁰ From this isolated reference, it appears that Morling held an individualistic and vertical understanding of priesthood and spirituality. There is no mention of priestly ministry on behalf of others, nor of the ministry of representing God to people. Perhaps it was implicit in Morling's understanding of preaching and pastoral care, but it is not clearly stated.

The sole commentary Morling offers on church governance is instructive:

In Baptist Church life each congregation is independent and self-governing, deciding its own local affairs without interference from outside bodies [. . .] All members have equal privileges and there is no distinction between clergy and laity. The Baptist minister has no priestly powers but ministers by reason of recognized gifts of utterance and leadership. Membership of the local church is not automatic, application for membership must be made, and is decided after investigation by the church membership [. . .]

Whilst carefully safeguarding self-government, Baptist churches recognise the value of co-operation and are therefore linked together in State unions, Federal unions, and the Baptist World Alliance. In this way they are able to undertake projects at home and overseas which would be impossible to one small group. But all these unions are voluntary and cannot legislate for the local church (doc 82:89).

(d) Ordinances of the church

Morling recognised two church sacraments: baptism and the Lord's Supper (or "communion"). At times he follows a British tradition, speaking of "sacraments," reflecting the sacramentalist thought of Wheeler Robinson and Ernest Payne rather than the Calvinistic approach of C. H. Spurgeon.¹¹ At other times he uses the term "ordinances." He holds that

¹⁰ Morling states that "on this crucial matter [Bruce] is clearer than all other scholars," a probable reference to A. B. Bruce, *The Epistle to the Hebrews: The First Apology for Christianity: An Exegetical Study* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1889).

¹¹ See, for example, the "Statement of Belief" released by the Council of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland (1948), reproduced in Ernest A. Payne, *The Fellowship of Believers: Baptist Thought and Practice Yesterday and Today* (second edition; London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1952), 159.

“both the sacraments are forms into which we may put as much of the Gospel as they will carry and Paul for his part practically puts the whole of his gospel into each” (doc 94:27).

For Morling, baptism represents a singular act of obedient love expressed through immersion in water, as a backward look to the moment of conversion and a sign and symbol that one is a Christian (doc 80:62). It expresses union with Christ “in holy symbolism” (doc 22:11). It is associated with repentance but possesses no “regenerative virtue” (doc 55:10, 12; 79:57). As to mode, Morling regards immersion as the biblical norm commanded by Christ and practiced by the apostles (doc 79:55-59). In one place, he devotes three pages of typescript to denouncing “the Popish doctrines and practices” relating to baptism (doc 79:57-59). He speaks of baptism’s “double function” (doc 62:19; 180:1):

1. It brings the Christian into personal contact with Christ, so close that it may be fitly described as union with Him.
2. It expresses symbolically a series of acts corresponding to the redeeming acts of Christ:
 - Immersion – Death
 - Submersion – Burial (the ratification of Death)
 - Emergence – Resurrection.

The baptised person experiences these acts “in a moral and spiritual sense, and by means of union with Christ” (doc 62:20). He briefly mentions the notion of unbaptised believers (doc 27:20; 57:10), and the practice of infant baptism (doc 74:83; 132:6), eschewing both.

For Morling, the Lord’s Supper is a communal meal of bread and wine whereby, through regular participation, one looks back to the death of Jesus and forward to his return (doc 80:62). It is “a Sign and Seal of God’s promises in the Gospel” (doc 79:53). The Roman

Catholic “sacramentarian view [of the Lord’s Supper] is out of harmony with the evangelical insistence that personal faith not sacramentarian observance is central to the spiritual life” (doc 55:28). He outlines two aspects of the return of Christ: a perception that Jesus is both with us now (cf. Mt 28:20), and will come (Jn 14:3, 18). Both aspects of are expressed in the Lord’s Supper where “the Lord is the Host present but we partake of the Supper until He comes (1 Cor 11:26)” (doc 206:1). He appears to quote the mystic Madame Guyon, “Jesus will come visibly in the clouds of heaven; spiritually He comes every day. He may come today” (doc 206:2). The notion of union with Christ undergirds both aspects.

Morling does not comment on the practice of church discipline whereby persons are excluded from participation in the Lord’s Supper, although a “closed table” was the norm among NSW Baptist churches during his lifetime.¹²

(e) Ministry of the church

Ecclesiology is not a central theme in Morling’s thought but he comments in various places on the topics of preaching, worship, fellowship, ministry and mission.

(i) Preaching

On preaching, which Manley describes as “the central focus of Baptist worship,”¹³ Morling emphasises not the content of the sermon or the rhetorical style of the preacher but the preacher’s moral character and the immediate work of the Holy Spirit within the gathered community. He says, “Let those of us who preach and teach remember that there is a Spirit of

¹² On open/closed communion in Australian Baptist churches see Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 278-285.

¹³ Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 264.

truth without whose ministry in our lives we cannot ourselves have an inner perception of truth and, in consequence, cannot be blessed in imparting God's truth to others" (doc 22:100). Perhaps responding to criticism that his college was not producing the quality of preachers expected by some churches, Morling states his conviction that "the impotency of so much preaching today is due to the weakened conception of the Holiness of God, to the consequent lower view which is taken of sin, and to the further consequence of the loss of those vital truths associated with the blood of Jesus Christ" (doc 103:343). This may refer to the doctrine of substitutionary atonement.

(ii) Worship

On worship, Morling's focus is usually on the individual, employing the affections and leading to an experiential encounter with God. He argues that Paul's definition of the ideal "New Testament believer" (e.g., in Philippians 3:3) is "one who has no confidence in the flesh [. . . who] worships God in the Spirit" (doc 157:2). He casts the words of Jesus to the Samaritan woman in John 4:23f as "a revelation of the essential nature of worship [. . . whereby] worship is not confined to one place or bound up with any system but is 'in spirit and in truth'" (doc 55:16). His distaste for dedicated "sacred" spaces and official worship liturgies is strong. He argues, for example, that the shrines associated with Bethel, Gilgal and Beersheba in biblical narrative "can avail nothing" in facilitating encounter with God (doc 155:10). He warns of the "constant danger" of becoming "satisfied by the means of worship and not the end" (doc 155:10).

Prayer is, for Morling, a key aspect of private and public Christian worship. Most prominent in prayer should be "the contemplation of our glorious and gracious God so that we may be drawn out in worshipful heart devotion" (doc 145:8). He promotes a contemplative style of

worship, drawing on resources from the English mystic Evelyn Underhill and from Quaker spirituality.¹⁴ He speaks of the importance of cultivating “a life in God” that is not easily maintained, “a catholic outlook in regard to devotion” (doc 131b:6). In the early 1960s he expresses a fear that “we are drifting towards a religion which consciously or unconsciously keeps its eye on humanity rather than on Deity. We have laid all the stress on service and hardly any of the stress on awe, and that is a type of religion which in practice does not wear well” (doc 131b:6). He recommends study of “a helpful little book,” by Quaker leader Douglas V. Steere (doc 46:4).¹⁵

Morling sought holy intimacy in worship, preferring forms expressing spontaneous spiritual vitality, fervency and passion. In 1948, commenting on Song 1:7, Psalm 107:2 and John 12:3, he writes, “We should do well to kneel also at [Jesus’s] feet and there, shatter our cold conventionalities, tell Him of our love, and allow its fragrance to be released” (doc 12a:5). Following a visit to the Enga region in the remote highlands of New Guinea, an early missionary outpost of the Australian Baptist Missionary Society, he recounts having found there “a reverence for worship that stirred me. I have never experienced such devoutness in congregational singing as I did in some Enga services. The reality of experience moved me” (doc 4:5). Yet, Morling also encouraged silence and stillness in worship. In 1951, he writes in *QFS*,

Maturity is marked by the repose in which lieth power. Therefore, I believe that, increasingly, I should endeavour to be silent unto God and should take time for that blessed culture. Already I have found that, when calm is upon the spirit, one is drawn out more readily in adoration.

¹⁴ For example, Evelyn Underhill, *Worship* (London: Nisbet, 1937). Underhill (1875-1941) was an English mystic, fellow of King’s College, London, raised in the Anglican tradition but from 1911 drawn increasingly to Roman Catholic spirituality.

¹⁵ Douglas V. Steere, *Prayer and Worship* (New York: Association Press, 1947).

It is in the silence that the Father's care, the Saviour's cleansing and the Comforter's strengthening are experienced, and worship becomes almost inevitable (doc 144:72).

Perhaps these reflections on worship say as much about the prevailing condition of Baptist church worship in Sydney as it does about Morling's spirituality. Regarding the latter, themes of contemplation, silent prayer and Quaker spirituality are prominent.¹⁶

(iii) Fellowship

Fellowship between Christians is, for Morling, an expression of their shared experience of union with Christ and of the spiritual unity common to believers through the outpouring of the Holy Spirit on the Day of Pentecost (doc 22:134). Elsewhere he describes this unity as "joint participation in the Spirit" (doc 120:23). He states that "the true act of worship is not only upwards to God, but outwards to embrace our fellow Christians" (doc 74:63). Yet, he also states that fellowship with God precedes fellowship with other Christians and the condition of fellowship with God is walking in holiness (doc 49:156). Further, he argues that "We cannot abide in Christ's love unless we love one another," and "our union with Christ cannot be considered apart from our union with one another" (doc 22:77). Fellowship, then, rests on positive mutual relations between God, others and oneself.

For Morling, spiritual unity is paramount. Commenting on Acts 1:14, he observes that "the Spirit comes to a people who are one in a holy desire, in ardent expectation" (doc 27:9). The resulting fellowship arises from "the natural communion of hearts who loved Christ. They would meet in homes not simply for instruction and exhortation, but for spiritual intercourse,

¹⁶ On Morling and prayer, see also Rod Benson, "'The vital breath of the church': Prayer, personalism and spiritual power in the thought of G. H. Morling," online article available at <https://rodbenson.com/2021/03/06/the-vital-breath-of-the-church/>, accessed 6 March 2021.

a pattern of which would be Malachi 3:16. Some practice of that kind in the modern church seems desirable” (doc 57:11). The absence of such fellowship may arise from the “disturbance of an atmosphere of love” caused by “things such as suspicion, refusal to forgive, jealousy [. . .] indications that we walk in darkness” (doc 49:157). The remedy is to walk in the light, which exposes those things for what they really are (doc 49:157). Reflecting on the prayer of Jesus in John 17, Morling suggests that the unity for which Jesus prayed is “that deep fellowship of the Spirit which ensures the effective operation of God and wins belief from those in the world” (doc 55:59). Disunity causes great harm to the ministry and mission of the church.

(iv) Service

Morling says little on church order. He equates the role of bishop and elder, viewing both as “shepherds” whose primary responsibility is to feed and protect “the flock of God” (doc 27:132). He regards Luke’s distinctive portrayal of women in Luke-Acts as indicating “the absence of intolerance at the heart of the gospel” (doc 52:3). He suggests that Paul’s gospel ameliorated the subjugation of women and inspired the abolition of slavery (doc 57:46). He adds, “Our women are queens of the home only because of the ministry of Christ in the world. Women really owe more as a class to Christ than men; and they have paid their debt more adequately to Christ than men” (doc 57:46). Morling lived at a time of nascent feminism when traditional sex roles were the norm. He expected most women to be homemakers, supporting their husbands in their more public duties. Here, he implies that the advent of Christ has liberated women from worse servitude than they previously experienced. He considers Christian women of his own time as deserving high honour for the godly discharge of social duties. Morling benefited from this social arrangement. On page one of *QFS*, he dedicates his book “to my wife to whom I owe the blessing of a restful home.”

Morling indicates a preference for good character over giftedness in church administration (doc 110:14; 118:22f). Yet, “For the effective functioning of the church, gifts are necessary [. . .] When they are least in evidence it is because the Church is without the conscious Presence of the Spirit. A Spirit-filled Church is a Church enriched with spiritual gifts” (doc 110:14). He suggests that every Christian possesses at least one gift (doc 147:93), that the gifts are intended for the common good (doc 123:2), and that the Holy Spirit should receive more attention than the gifts (doc 123:1). He praises the charismatic movement for raising the profile of spiritual gifts in the contemporary church (doc 123:2f).

Occasionally Morling strikes a prophetic note. On maintaining “balance” in ministry, Morling counsels ministers to practice devotion to prayer and a diligent work ethic. He says, “Many a man, under the cover of piety, makes a cheap excuse for laziness. If a man prays aright he will go from his knees to his desk, and work hard for Christ’s sake” (doc 150:7).

(v) *Mission*

The chief task of the church is, for Morling, “to secure the recognition of the sovereignty of Christ in human affairs” (doc 132:6). By this he means individual human affairs, whether locally or in foreign fields. In his centenary address, Morling urges his audience to “acknowledge the crown Rights of Jesus the Redeemer” as “the one bed rock position of authentic Baptists” (doc 142:10). Further, Baptists must employ “a steadfast determination to secure the complete and consistent recognition of [Christ’s] personal, direct and undelegated authority over the souls of men” (doc 142:10). Elsewhere, Morling argues that “special missions” are a sign of the church’s failure (doc 101:273). As early as 1922, he stated that the church’s mission to convert people to Christ “is not possible by the adoption of cheap, sensational experiments. It is possible through a vital religion which has in it something of

Pentecostal exhilaration and magnetism” (doc 132:6). He had in mind the experience of Acts 2, not Azusa Street. He argues that church extension (that is, evangelism and church planting) “must never be carried on to the neglect of the intense building up of the more spiritually intelligent and devoted. It is through these that extension becomes possible” (doc 98:86). Here he may have been reflecting a tension among leaders of the Baptist movement in NSW, signalling a need for balance.

Morling espoused a form of “Lordship salvation.” He emphasised a need for public confession of faith as well as an initial belief and trust in Christ for salvation. He writes, “The New Testament knows nothing of secret discipleship [. . .] Jesus, as Saviour, cannot be dissociated from Jesus as Lord. Faith must submit to the sovereign as well as accept the Saviour. The message of Lordship is an integral part of evangelism” (doc 62:35). He also emphasised holiness, “the sanctifying of the life,” as a prelude to evangelism (doc 22:132). The offer of salvation ought to be universal (doc 34:78), and success depends upon the empowerment of the Holy Spirit (doc 27:7). Such empowerment is “only granted for witnessing,” and “Christ cannot be seen apart from the Holy Spirit” (doc 27:7).

Morling describes the result of effective witnessing, from a human perspective, as follows:

Man realizes his spiritual need. Like the prodigal, he comes to his senses. He repents of his own selfish, sin-filled way. He responds to God’s love and salvation in Jesus Christ, that is, he puts his faith in Christ. He stakes his life on the Saviour. In other words, he commits himself, utterly and entirely, to Jesus Christ as Saviour and Lord. The Bible tells us that God says, “My son, give Me your heart.” That is, “Give Me yourself, give Me all” (doc 77:36).

This accords with what Morling understood to be the mission of Jesus outlined in chapter nine: urging the acknowledgement of divine sovereignty with a focus on procuring heavenly bliss for individuals.¹⁷

(f) Union with Christ and ecclesiology

The theme of union with Christ has been noted in the discussion above, and earlier in chapter six, in relation to baptism, the Lord's Supper, worship and fellowship. Theologian Peter Ross notes John Calvin's conviction that "The union of the believer and Christ cannot be separated from the church and always occurs through a real connection *via* the church."¹⁸ Morling expresses this conviction in a different way. What matters for him is the presence of Christ in the life of the believer, and where this is reflected corporately one may discern the presence of Christ in the gathered community. He writes, "It is the Baptist belief that the presence of Christ with His people constitutes the Church" (doc 132:6).

Similarly, "When the Church loses the presence of Christ, it is not part of the body of Christ, but part of the hostile world [. . .] A careful distinction must be drawn between what is merely religious and what is truly Spirit" (doc 22:89). Commenting on John 15:2, he warns, "Fruitlessness is a sign of lifelessness, which, in turn, indicates that there is no full union with Christ. The breaking of association with the people of God is really God's action in taking away the dead branch" (doc 22:59).

¹⁷ For historical and contemporary perspectives on mission articulated by later Australian Baptist leaders see Chatfield (ed.), *Mission: The Heart of Baptist Identity*.

¹⁸ Peter Ross, *Pneumatology and Union: John Calvin and the Pentecostals* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2019), 22.

3. The last things

(a) Morling, NSW Baptists and eschatology

Eschatology traditionally addresses issues relating to death, judgment, heaven and hell. It anticipates a future free from the problems of sin and where justice is no longer delayed or denied. For Morling, the focus is on assurance of salvation, the application of divine justice, and the phenomenon of “glorification,” the telos of union with Christ. His perspective on “the last things” illustrates his exegetical approach to theology. On prophetic and apocalyptic texts, he holds that there is usually “a primary reference to the immediate age” in which the author lived, but also a more distant future application (e.g., doc 51:59, commenting on Mk 13:14-23).

NSW Baptists during Morling’s lifetime were predominantly premillennialists, a subset of millenarianism.¹⁹ Some leading pastors and laymen were ardent “Second Coming” advocates, regarding its demise as a sign of encroaching theological liberalism and apostasy.²⁰ In 1920, following the resignation of the first principal of the NSW Baptist college, the College Council announced the addition of “special lectures on Evangelism and Second Advent teaching” to the curriculum. Principal Gordon had allegedly resigned “because his views on our Lord’s Second Coming did not agree with those of leading members of the NSW Baptist denomination.”²¹ The influential British Baptist pastor and Keswick preacher, W. Graham

¹⁹ Millenarianism is the belief in a future “millennium,” a literal or metaphorical thousand-year utopia ruled by Christ. It has a long and controversial history within mainstream Christianity. See “Millenarianism,” in F. L. Cross & E. A. Livingstone (eds), *Dictionary of the Christian Church* (1997; repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), 1086f.

²⁰ See, e.g., Michael J. Petras, “The life and times of the Reverend William Lamb (1868-1944),” *The Baptist Recorder* 101, 2008, 1-11; and the *Herald of Hope* magazine published by leading Sydney Baptist premillennialists.

²¹ *Australian Christian World*, 11 February 1921, quoted in Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 487f.

Scroggie, spoke for many in NSW when he said, “Post-Millennialism is a taunting dream. Pre-Millennialism is an energising hope [. . .] genuine belief in a Pre-Millennial coming of Christ promotes an attitude of watchfulness, a spirit of earnestness, practical holiness of life, and missionary enthusiasm.”²²

Premillennialism flourished among evangelicals in NSW between 1900 and 1939. Second Advent conventions were regular events, with speakers usually adopting a literal interpretation of apocalyptic scriptures, insisting on the imminent return of Christ in visible bodily form, and urging their audiences to prepare for the event by ensuring their conversion to Christ. Speakers at Second Advent conventions represented all major Protestant churches. For example, the Eighth Annual Second Advent Convention held in Sydney in 1920 featured the following clerics as speakers: H. S. Begbie, D. H. Dillon and H. G. J. Howe (Anglican), G. A. Craike, W. Lamb and J. D. Mill (Baptist), C. Benson Barnett (Congregational), and E. C. Ettman and R. J. J. McGowan (Presbyterian).²³ Many who attended these gatherings also attended Keswick conventions, and from its beginning Keswick, in Britain and Australia, often featured millenarian and dispensational speakers.²⁴ Some NSW Baptist churches also held Second Advent conventions. Morling appears not to have spoken at these, but scandal erupted in 1962 when Morling’s successor as principal of the NSW Baptist College, Rev Dr Edward Roberts-Thomson, spoke at a Second Coming convention at Burton St Baptist Tabernacle in Sydney, announcing that he was unsure whether the return of Christ “would be physical and within history,” and that “the hope of the world lay in the World Council of

²² W. Graham Scroggie, *The Lord’s Return* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1938), 122.

²³ *Australian Christian World*, 15 October 1920, 8, quoted in Hansen, “The churches and society,” 60.

²⁴ On the Keswick movement and the return of Christ, see Henry Orton Wiley, *Christian Theology. Volume 3* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press, 1940), 282-287.

Churches and the Second Coming of Christ.”²⁵ This incensed members of the audience and he was forced to resign as principal.

In contrast, although Morling held premillennialist views, he seldom spoke on millenarian themes, and there is no conclusive evidence in primary sources that he held dispensationalist views regarding the future of Israel, the “rapture” of the church, or a final conflagration.

However, following the outbreak of war with Germany in 1914, along with 24 NSW Baptist pastors, at the age of 22, he had co-signed a statement titled, “A Simple Confession of Faith,” which included the explanation, “We are fast approaching the supreme crisis in the history of this dispensation,” and claiming that this war was “one of the fast multiplying signs of the end, and may immediately precede the great final conflict.” Manley suggests that this may be one reason for his appointment as principal at such a young age.²⁶

This context is important for locating Morling’s distinctive approach to eschatology and the restrained and scholarly way in which he conveyed his eschatological convictions. The remainder of this chapter outlines his thought on assurance of salvation, the administration of divine judgment, the return of Christ, the glorification of God’s people, and the doctrine of universalism.

(b) Assurance

Assurance of salvation, closely linked with his Peel River experience and with the notion of union with Christ, was a key doctrine for Morling. He affirms that one who has experienced

²⁵ Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 572; Rod Benson, “Dawn of a new era or recipe for disaster? The rise and demise of Edward Roberts-Thomson as Principal of the Baptist Theological College of New South Wales,” *The Baptist Recorder* (Baptist Historical Society of NSW), No. 87, May 2004, 10.

²⁶ Manley, *From Woolloomooloo*, 489.

regeneration cannot lose their salvation. There are five elements to his defence of the doctrine of eternal security. First, a sense of the profundity and power of divine love convinces him of the veracity of the doctrine. He draws a parallel between the sacrifice of Isaac and that of Christ (Gen 22:12; Rom 8:32), stating that the death of Christ is “the greatest conceivable gift” whose blessings in this life and in “future glory” cannot be withdrawn (doc 62:32). Nor can Morling envisage a genuine Christian ever finally concluding that God had forsaken them (doc 62:32). He states that God’s gracious care “knows no intermission” (doc 11:7) and affirms his belief in the constancy of God’s care of his people and the certainty of their inheritance (doc 11:8; he cites Psalm 121; Heb 7:16; 1 Pet 1:3-5; and Jude 24).

Second, Morling notes the logical evidence of biblical promises regarding salvation (doc 75:20f, citing Rom 5:1; 8:1; Jn 5:24; 2 Tim 1:12). His view of biblical authority assures him that such promises will not be broken. Similarly, he states that “the N. T., in the balance of its teaching, declares the eternal security of the true believer” (doc 69:23b). He recommends reflection on T. C. Hammond, *In Understanding Be Men*, and John Watson, *The Doctrines of Grace*.²⁷ He lists biblical passages supporting the trustworthiness of divine promises to those who are redeemed, and corresponding assurances of salvation based on this trust (2 Tim 3:14f; Lk 1:3f; 1 Jn 5:13; Rom 15:4). He says, “In a world of godlessness and conflicting ideologies we need assurance in things spiritual, and the Scriptures claim to give this authoritatively” (doc 74:5).

Third, in several places Morling suggests the possibility of experiential evidence of the veracity of the doctrine of assurance. There are two aspects to this argument. The first is

²⁷ Hammond, *In Understanding Be Men*; John Watson, *The Doctrines of Grace* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900).

simple: commenting on Romans 8:12-17, he claims that “the Holy Spirit, as the Spirit of Adoption, brings the consciousness of acceptance as a child in the Father’s family” (doc 62:28). Likewise, he views the teaching of Romans 8:31-39 as “the final assurance of faith,” the climax of Paul’s masterful exposition of assurance in Romans chapters 5-8.

The second aspect is less simple. Although, as noted in chapter three, Morling feared over-reliance on religious experience, he granted an authority to experience in confirming the veracity of spiritual and theological claims and affirmed that experience may serve as a direct source of divine knowledge. There is, however, another side to his commitment to “doctrinal-experimental” truth. In document 95:2, he appears to argue a contrary point: that “doctrine determines the experience.” He gives an example. Commenting on the doctrine of the atonement, he argues that the experience of forgiveness of sins through trust in the atoning work of Christ *produces* assurance of salvation. He asks,

If the Cross is not a substitutionary bearing of the penal consequences of sin will it produce in us the experience of the love of God which is central in the Moral Influence Theory [of the atonement]? We love much when we are forgiven much with a forgiveness which is infinitely costly (doc 95:2).

He then says,

Closely related to religious experience is the fact of moral consciousness. When we study the Atonement in its own light, some of that light has to do with the moral consciousness. The sinful soul sees the Crucified, confesses, believes and has the sure conviction that his sin has been put away. And together with this there is a deep sense of satisfaction that somehow there is no violation of the innate justice of things. Somehow he feels that not only is he forgiven but that he is forgiven justly. Previously there has been the sense of guilt. This sense of guilt proceeds from man’s instinctive sense that the universe is grounded on moral principle which has its source in God himself. He could not have any adequate assurance of salvation unless he knew, as part of his experience, that the claims of this ultimate reality had been met (doc 95:2).

Thus, for Morling, the truthfulness of a doctrine determines the experience of its application, and this experience in turn confirms the truthfulness (or otherwise) of the doctrine. Of course, not all doctrines can be empirically verified.

Fourth, Morling appeals to the doctrine of union with Christ in confirming the truth of the doctrine of assurance. This is, in a way, an example of the principle stated in the previous point, but the focus on union warrants a separate point. He argues that, given the reality of union with Christ in one's experience, there is every possibility that the full order of salvation will run its course from predestination in the mind of God through to glorification in the life to come. This realisation galvanises assurance of one's salvation. For example, commenting on Romans 5:9-11, Morling casts justification as the "initial act in a process [. . . that] will be completed [. . . due to] the continuing power of Christ's life which we, through incorporation into Him, actually share," producing "assurance of ultimate salvation from wrath" (doc 62:17; he cites Col 3:3f; Rom 5:3f). For Morling, salvation is assured and encompasses the appeasement of divine anger, legal acquittal from the condemnation of guilt, reception of reconciliation with God, release from the bondage of guilt and from the power of sin, and rescue from future wrath (doc 62:17).

Fifth, regarding the warning passages in the Letter to the Hebrews, Morling acknowledges the fact of "doctrinal difficulties" but claims that "the Christian privilege is bound up with continuance" which constitutes "the only proof of faith" (doc 66:11). That is, the proof of assurance rests upon the continued faithfulness, fruitfulness and perseverance which are natural to genuine Christian life. He says that "the truth of God is too vast and manifold to be compressed into a formula" (doc 66:14), and, "Divine truth is so vast and majestic that completely logical schemes cannot be expected" (doc 69:23b). Morling acknowledges the existential difficulty that this claim poses and finds the solution in the notion of Christ as

High Priest in heaven, “infinitely sympathetic and infinitely powerful” (doc 66:11).

Commenting on Hebrews 6:13-20, he says, “Here is the way of steadfastness in the spiritual hope which has its centre in Jesus our High Priest who has entered for us within the veil.

Now let us follow” (doc 66:15). The key to assurance of salvation is to trust God’s providential care and embrace the fullness of union with Christ.

(c) Judgment

Morling defends the biblical doctrine of divine wrath against sin, a subject which he suggests is eschewed by “the shallow sentimentality of much modern thinking about God” (doc 11:17). Divine wrath is “an indispensable element in the holiness of God” (doc 95:7). Divine judgment is just, inescapable, and not ruled out by divine goodness, and its administration is unaffected by “knowledge or ignorance of Divine law” (doc 62:8f). For Morling, “It is a fundamental conviction that God must be conceived as like Jesus, and it is incontestably plain in the Gospel record that Jesus flamed with indignation” (doc 95:7). This wrath finds its expression in punishment of the wicked, which may be retributive, preventative or educational (doc 95:7). Morling observes that the former is unpopular but, appealing to H. R. Mackintosh, claims that “punishment which is merely based on utility cannot really be either preventive or educative.”²⁸ Further,

The loss of a living connexion with God is par excellence the punishment of sin. For Christian faith recognises eternal life in God and His Kingdom as the highest good and ultimately the only true good. Forfeiture of communion with God is the punishment of sin that includes all others. We cannot think of this state without using the terrible word “death” (doc 95:8).

²⁸ He cites “Mackintosh chapter 7,” and James Denney, *The Christian Doctrine of Reconciliation* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1917), 207ff.

However, Morling also claims that much of the church's teaching on judgment derives from medieval culture and "vindictiveness and hard-headedness have undoubtedly played a large part in fashioning it" (doc 185:14). He rules out "predestined condemnation" (that is, reprobation) since Christ is "the Saviour of all men" and it is impossible for God to act unjustly (doc 185:14, citing Gen 18:23). All divine action accords with the divine character and requires judgment. The criterion of divine judgment is "the degree of light men possess; the degree of fidelity to that light; the use of his opportunities and powers with which they are blessed; the circumstances which condition their lives; in a word, every fact which has a bearing upon human guilt and responsibility will be considered" (doc 185:15). Moreover, "whatever tends to tamper with [the certain principle of retribution for sin] or weaken its hold upon conscience is alien to the Christian view" (doc 185:16). Retributive justice is necessary, according to Morling, because "love must be pure" (doc 85:9).²⁹

Christians also face divine judgment, although their sins have been propitiated by Christ's death. This judgment is based on divine assessment of faithfulness in life and service, and the outcome is reward or loss of reward in the life to come (doc 196:1-4, citing Rom 14:10, 12; 1 Cor 3:8, 13-15; 9:27; 1 Pet 1:7; 1 Jn 2:28; 4:16-19; Rev 3:11). He says, "There will be degrees of blessedness in heaven dependent on our capacity for blessedness" (doc 196:3). Following this judgment, administered by Christ, all of God's people will experience the fullness of immortality as "partakers of the Divine nature," (doc 84:98, 100, citing Heb 9:27;

²⁹ In doc 94:2, Morling recommends R. V. G. Tasker's Tyndale Biblical Theology Lecture, *The Biblical Doctrine of the Wrath of God* (London: Tyndale Press, 1951), and chapter one of Harold E. Guillebraud, *Why the Cross* (second edition; London: inter-Varsity Fellowship, 1946). He also refers, in doc 94:9, to H. H. Rowley, *The Faith of Israel* (London: SCM Press, 1956) to show from Israel's national life that failure to reflect the character of God in practice results in failure to prosper, and to show that wrath is necessary if God is to express moral character.

2 Pet 1:4). Until that day, the faithful anticipate the return of Christ who will “bring salvation to those who are waiting for him” (doc 69:41, citing Heb 9:28).

A different fate awaits those who reject God’s offer of salvation in Christ. Commenting on Psalm 8:5, Morling notes that the likeness of God is evident in the endowment of human personality, but especially in the freedom to choose. He says our will gives us incalculable powers for good or evil. He states that “[Man] has the capacity of choosing Christ and raising himself to heaven, and of rejecting Christ and condemning himself to hell” (doc 11:19).

Commenting on John 3:18, he says, “despite God’s loving purpose in Christ, those who refuse to believe [. . .] pass judgment on themselves [. . .] the practice of what is evil tends to create an aversion to the light lest his evil works should be exposed and condemned (compare Eph 5:13) whereas the man who seeks to live in the light of conscience learns to welcome the light because he is conscious that he is loyal to it in his inmost soul” (doc 55:14). Moreover, there is “eternal fire prepared for the devil and his angels” (Mt 25:41) in which the unregenerate will suffer divine wrath, an outcome “utterly without remedy” (doc 185:16; 84:104).

(d) *Parousia*

On the doctrine of the *Parousia*, or return of Christ, Morling claims that “the fact of the Advent is woven intimately into the whole fabric of Scripture [. . . and its delay] in no way weakens the certainty of the coming” (doc 183:1f). Yet, he acknowledges that the doctrine, “in its full millennial expression,” has fallen into disfavour because of “the former enthusiastic belief in human progress” and “the weakening of supernaturalism which prevailed in theology,” presumably in the late nineteenth century (doc 200:1). He attributes the revival of millenarian thought to the collapse of humanism, a return to “a strong supernaturalism” under Karl Barth and his school, the new perspective on the parabolic

teaching of the Gospels under C. H. Dodd, and “because of the atmosphere that prevails” (doc 200:1). He does not explain the nature of this atmosphere. Morling argues that his view of the *Parousia* is that which “predominated in the church through the ages: that there will be a personal, bodily, visible coming in two aspects:

- (a) for the believing Church, the rapture of the saints for whom it is a blessed hope (Tit 2:13);
- (b) then a coming to the world with the raptured saints to inaugurate a millennial earthly reign of triumph, of peace, of blessedness, leading to an eventual heavenly eternal kingdom (doc 206:5).

This is the only reference to the word “rapture” in his writings.

Morling is confident in the biblical promises that Christ will return from heaven “in power and glory to receive His people to Himself, to bring an end to the sinfulness of men in a great final judgment, and to usher in ‘new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth righteousness’” (doc 83:90, citing 2 Pet 3:14). Following the return of Christ, death will be “destroyed,” the ungodly will face final judgment, and the people of God “shall share the glory of the Lord throughout the eternal ages” (doc 83:93). The *Parousia* initiates “the soul’s perfect union with the Saviour” (doc 22:11).

In one primary source, Morling presents an unusual mystical perspective on eschatology. In document 69, he suggests that the eschatological world envisaged by the writer of Hebrews is “the manifestation of something which already exists in heaven” (doc 69:18). He appears to abandon the notion of a linear futurist eschatology in favour of a realised and spiritualised eschatology in which the “main thought is not the future age but the higher world” (doc 69:18). For Morling, “this makes the *Parousia* take a secondary place. In the same breath in which [the author of Hebrews] speaks of the *Parousia* [Heb 10:27], he says the High Priest

abides for ever in the heavenly sanctuary” (doc 69:18). Christ is the “High Priest of the soul” (doc 69:27), here and now, and Christianity is the “religion of access” (doc 69:28).

Elsewhere, he refers to Christ’s

present ministry from the Throne and within us. The one is evangelical – the other is based upon the Cross but is exercised within us, so it is mystical as well as evangelical. Romans 5:10 mentions both ministries. The one is associated with the fact that we are in Christ – the other is the fact that Christ is in us (doc 34:81).

The mysticism and dualism evident in the Letter to the Hebrews accords with Morling’s vision of union with Christ, drawing attention away from the Parousia as a world event, and from speculation regarding apocalyptic details.

(e) Glorification

Culver notes that the doctrine of glorification is not highly developed in Scripture.³⁰ For Morling, glorification was an essential feature of the doctrines of grace and the culmination and fulfilment of the individual experience of union with Christ. In a 1936 address to a Keswick audience, Morling speaks of a “glorious sequence” of four aspects of salvation: redemption, remission, reconciliation, and “presentation” (doc 42:36-39). He looked forward to a time and place when all of God’s people would be presented perfect to God, ultimately united with Christ in a manner beyond human conception, and “glorified” (Rom 8:30). In document 118:20, he mentions Paul’s notion of “the Spirit of Adoption” (Rom 8:12-17) and adds the notion of “the Spirit of Anticipation” (Rom 8:18-25). He notes that sonship implies heirship and acknowledges the “ascending scale of salvation,” a reference to the *ordo salutis*

³⁰ Culver, *Systematic Theology*, 764. See also Hammond, *The New Creation*, 166-178.

(Rom 8:28-30). Yet, he adds that “to share Christ’s glory is more than to be glorified.

Consider Colossians 3:4” (doc 118:20).

“Glory” is, for Morling, a tangible manifestation of the nature and character of God.

Eschatological glory is an expression of Christian hope (Rom 5:2), and the glorification of the people of God is the goal of salvation. Physical death is not to be feared since, “through union, we share in [Christ’s] life” (doc 190:4). Indeed, although death involves sadness and separation, it “is something to be greatly desired by the Christian because it ushers his soul into such unspeakable glory” (doc 84:103). The redeemed will see the face of God and reflect the glorious light of the divine countenance. Recalling John 17:24, Morling says, “Our Lord’s words signify that in that future glorious life [. . .] the oneness of believers persists and also that personality, perfected in that place where salvation is consummated, will never cease to enrich and beautify that eternal unity” (doc 22:137). It is ultimate union with Christ in the life to come that enables such participation in Christ’s “glorified life” (doc 180:1).

(f) Universalism

Among Morling’s papers is a 16-page booklet by George Christian Weiss titled, *Are the Heathen Lost?*³¹ This publication explores biblical teaching on the mercy, judgment and justice of God, concluding that “the heathen” are not guiltless and will be judged and eternally separated from God in view of the light God gave them and the sins which they deliberately committed. Such a doctrine is unpalatable to many, and there is anecdotal evidence that Morling may have espoused a form of universalism, believing that the love and

³¹ G. Christian Weiss, *Are the Heathen Lost?* (Lincoln, NE: Back to the Bible Publishers, n.d. [c.1959]).

mercy of God may allow opportunity for people, after death, to find salvation in Christ.³² If so, he would not be alone. The enormous number of casualties, many of them young men, from World War I and other violent twentieth-century conflicts caused many people of faith to avoid speaking of the state of the dead and to re-evaluate the imagery of the afterlife.³³

Theologians known to Morling through their works endorsed universalism. For example, James Orr, one of Morling's heroes, stated, "We may be absolutely certain that the mercy of God will reach as far as ever it is possible for it to reach."³⁴ A. H. Strong endorsed universal salvation and suggested that Christ "moves even those who are unconscious of his influence."³⁵ E. Y. Mullins affirmed God's "universal salvific intention."³⁶ Theologian J. H. Leckie argued that "universal restoration" of all souls to God in the afterlife "belongs to a strain of optimistic thought which is a legitimate part of the Christian tradition."³⁷ H. R. Mackintosh stated, "No one certainly is in a position to affirm that there must be those who eternally remain unsaved."³⁸ Karl Barth and Emil Brunner regarded the final salvation of all people as a possibility.³⁹ H. Wheeler Robinson rejected the doctrine of eternal punishment in favour of "a revised form of conditional immortality," arguing that "we have no sufficient

³² Ken Manley and Vic Eldridge separately suggested to the author, based on recollections of attendance at college lectures given by Morling around 1960, the opinion that "deep down he was a universalist."

³³ Georgina Byrne, *Modern Spiritualism and the Church of England, 1850-1939* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2010), 182.

³⁴ James Orr, *Sidelights on Christian Doctrine* (London: Marshall Bros., 1909), 179.

³⁵ Strong, *Systematic Theology*, 772; and *Christ in Creation*, 109.

³⁶ Mullins, *Christian Religion*, 34, 368-392.

³⁷ J. H. Leckie, *The World to Come and Final Destiny* (second edition; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1922), 252f. The first edition was published in 1918.

³⁸ H. R. Mackintosh, "Studies in Christian eschatology," *The Expositor* 8, 1914, 128-143.

³⁹ Richard J. Bauckham, "Universalism: A historical survey," *Themelios* 4 (2), 1978, 52.

ground for asserting that the final decision is always made at the present stage of our development.”⁴⁰ Similarly, American Baptist theologian W. O. Carver argued that “God might have a way of salvation unrevealed in the biblical text.”⁴¹ Scholarly arguments for (and against) universalism could be multiplied.

The question remains as to where Morling stands, according to the primary sources, on the doctrine of universalism. He affirms the exclusivity of the way of Christ (e.g., doc 22:15), unlimited atonement (e.g., docs 95:12; 210:1), and a universal offer of salvation (doc 34:78), but states that “there is no word that the response will be universal” (doc 55:46). Three key documents shed light on the question of universalism in Morling’s thought. First, in a discussion of various biblical words used for salvation, he writes, “Reconciliation has in view the harmony which exists between the redeemed soul and God upon the basis of the reconciling work of the Cross. In one sense all men are reconciled to God just as all men are redeemed” (doc 94:23). In the same document, discussing redemption, he states, “men are redeemed, whether believers or unbelievers, simply because they belonged to the redeemed race. All men are redeemed but all men are not saved” (doc 94:23). Morling presumably means that Christ died for all, but not all avail themselves of salvation. He refers to unlimited atonement, not to universalism.

Later still in document 94, commenting on the theology of the letter to the Hebrews, Morling notes the emphasis on the moral effect of Christ’s death and the perpetual nature of Christ’s

⁴⁰ Wheeler Robinson, *Redemption and Revelation*, 310.

⁴¹ Quoted in John N. Johnson (ed.), *God’s Glory in Missions: In Appreciation of William Owen Carver* (Louisville, KY: privately published, 1985), 9, 23f.

high priestly ministry (doc 94:35). He further notes that, whereas in the Pauline writings the content of faith is the historical Christ,

in Hebrews the object of faith has a wider significance. It is a faith which passes beyond the historical Christ into [the] Divine world. It is a faith which looks not back to a work of redemption effected in time, but a faith with its roots in God, in a more transcendental sense of faith which looks upwards and forward.

But it is especially in his Doctrine of the High Priesthood of Christ that the author seems to go beyond Paul and indeed throws a new light on the Doctrine of the Atonement (doc 94:36).

Morling contrasts Christ as an Aaronic priest, in which he is both priest and sacrifice, with Christ as a priest after the order of Melchizedek, serving as “Minister of the Heavenly Sanctuary” to administer the salvation accomplished by his death (doc 94:36). The author of Hebrews indicates that the work of Christ is completed in heaven (doc 94:36, citing Heb 9:12). Moreover,

Paul’s thought of a perfect atonement effected once for all is on the one hand repeated here [that is, in heaven], but also supplemented by the thought Christ is in Heaven ever presenting His sacrifice before the Father, perpetually exercising His High Priestly ministry. Thus not merely appealing to a past finished act (doc 94:36).

Morling affirms that the work of Christ is finished but suggests that “there is something more in this Epistle” (doc 94:36). He concludes that “religious interest has sought for some work worthy of the ascended Christ and has found it in the perpetual presentation of the sacrifice” (doc 94:36). It could be inferred from this argument that Morling is suggesting an ongoing need for atonement in the life to come. It appears that this is the “new light on the Doctrine of the Atonement” to which he refers. If so, this may refer to the salvation of the ungodly, but it is a tenuous argument.

Second, in an undated hand-written document titled “Illimitable salvation,” Morling further reflects on the theology of Hebrews (doc 210:1-2). He affirms divine omnipotence, indicated by the phrase in Hebrews 7:25, “[Christ] is able to save completely those who come to God through him,” and quotes Ephesians 3:20, which states that God “is able to do above and beyond all that we ask or think.” He considers three distinct ministries of Christ: a ministry of “understanding sympathy” (Heb 2:16f; 5:2; 4:15f), of “atoning sacrifice” (Heb 1:3), and of “present life” (Heb 7:1, 16; Lk 22:31). Morling’s argument seems to proceed as follows:

- (a) Following his ascension into heaven, Christ sat down at God’s right hand after “making purification for sins” (Heb 1:3);
- (b) Christ now serves in heaven as a merciful and faithful high priest, reaching out to help “Abraham’s offspring,” and “able to deal gently with those who are going astray” (Heb 2:16f; 5:2);
- (c) Christ, having returned from defeating his enemies through his death on the cross, is blessed by God, his priesthood is “based on the power of an indestructible life,” and he lives to make intercession for those in need of mercy and grace (Heb 7:1, 16; 4:15f). The reference to Luke 22:31 refers to Jesus’s prayer for the reconciliation of the apostate Peter.

This is a possible argument supporting the doctrine of universalism, in which those in need of divine mercy and grace are the ungodly who after death receive a further offer of salvation.

Third, however, an undated document indicates that Morling did not affirm the doctrine of universalism, at least at the time of its composition. It states, in note form, “Neither universalism or conditional immortality can be proved. The first presupposes future probations [and there are] not enough Scriptures. If universal, what certainty that future painless? The other, that man is not naturally immortal” (doc 185:15).

Conclusion

The ecclesiology reflected in the primary sources reflects a Protestant, nonconformist and baptistic approach. Morling's concern is for processes that work, nurturing personal faith, unity and evangelism. The theme of union with Christ is prominent. Baptism and the Lord's Supper symbolise this union, worship is viewed as an encounter with God expressing union with Christ, and fellowship is a communal expression of such union. Regarding eschatology, Morling articulates a conservative evangelical approach with a futurist, premillennial but not dispensational emphasis. Again, the doctrine of union with Christ comes into play. Assurance of salvation is confirmed by subjective experience of such union, the personal return of Christ initiates the individual believer's "perfect union" with Christ in the eschaton, and glorification is portrayed as the telos of union with Christ. Rumours of Morling's universalism are not supported by the evidence of primary sources.

Chapter 12—Conclusion

The memory of George Henry Morling is secured in the theological college that now bears his name, but the nature of his distinctive spirituality is scarcely known and his theological contribution to the church is poorly understood. The present study is a theological biography, an exercise in retrieval, and a celebration of the intellectual dimension to religious history. It has analysed primary sources to construct a systematised account of Morling's theology, identifying its key features. It has situated him in his social, cultural and religious context, illuminating the likely nature and origins of his spirituality. In doing so, it has sought throughout to express the contours of his thought in his own words.

Moreover, this study establishes a new orthodoxy for Morling and fills a significant lacuna in Australian evangelical history and theology. There is no previous critical analysis of Morling's Christian thought. I have demonstrated that Morling is to be considered a worthy candidate for identification as a "hinterland theologian" whose contribution has continuing relevance for enquiry into the historical and theological development of Australian evangelicalism, pneumatology and spiritual renewal. The organised primary sources, exhaustively indexed by name, subject and Scripture reference, together with the bibliography of sources quoted or cited by Morling in his writings, and the list of hymns and poems quoted in primary sources, provide valuable information to inspire and facilitate a wide range of future Morling studies.

For Morling, the central authority in religion is Christ made real to us in Scripture by the Holy Spirit and confirmed in experience. From the perspective of the ecumenical creeds, there is nothing novel or controversial about his theology. He maintained a reverent and exegetical approach to theology with an emphasis on union with Christ and the Holy Spirit. Whether behind a pulpit or a lectern, he found favour with various audiences and was able to avoid the potential dangers posed by “ivory-tower” learning in the church, and by religious fundamentalism in the academy. Generally, Morling drew his biblical theology from Britain and his systematic theology from America. Apart from references to St Bernard, and a single quote from St Thomas Aquinas, all the theologians and biblical scholars whose works he quotes were Protestant. He was drawn to the works of earlier scholars who also possessed substantial pastoral and homiletical experience. His involvement in the Keswick movement in Australia gave Morling opportunities to explore and promote a distinctive evangelical spirituality informed by personal experience of union with Christ.

This study argues that Morling’s most notable contribution to Baptist theology is not his well-known emphasis on the Holy Spirit but his articulation of the doctrine of union with Christ of which life in the Spirit is a part. He regards it as the “deepest doctrine” of Scripture. It is union with Christ as a soteriological concept that draws together the disparate elements of Morling’s theology and gives cogency to his religious beliefs and practices. His teaching on union with Christ draws together all elements of the order of salvation. The tension expressed in the objective and subjective dimensions of salvation, and the indicative and imperative aspects of Christian living, exemplify Morling’s strong commitment to doctrinal-experimental theology. Union with Christ is a theological doctrine, but it is more. It is a constellation of truths that can be felt and put to the test in the face of all of life’s challenges. It is a gift to be experienced. It perfectly expresses the opulence of divine grace as expressed

in Morling's thought. What his theology appears to lack is the extension of this application of divine grace from the realm of the individual to the community and the wider world, informing and motivating holistic mission.

Morling's theological legacy may be summed up in two phrases that he occasionally uses in the primary sources. First, it is his conviction that Scripture bears accurate and powerful testimony to the "opulence" of divine grace (doc 144:28). There are two aspects to this opulence: its audacious provision to fallen humankind through the mercy and wisdom of a sovereign and holy God; and its gratuitous availability to all without limit. Second, it is his conviction that the ideal Christian, the ideal Baptist, is who is one known as "evangelical, forthright and balanced" (doc 142:8). Morling defined his personal approach to the Christian life, and to his teaching vocation, as "Scriptural, positive and balanced" (doc 123:1). These qualities, along with his conviction that "the true Christian is always a mystic" (doc 121:9), profoundly shaped his theology and spirituality, and continue to challenge and inspire Baptist leaders today in the church, the academy, and the world.

APPENDIX 1

List of primary sources

A. PERSONAL

Published documents

- 001 "A visit to the Australian Baptist mission stations," parts 1-3, *The Australian Baptist*, 30 Mar 1926, p. 3; 6 Apr 1926, p. 2; 13 Apr 1926, pp. 2f.
- 002 "These forty years," *Summa Supremo* [1960] pp. 3-4; repr. in E. Ron Rogers, *George Henry Morling*, 40-42.
- 003 "These fifty years," *Summa Supremo* 18, Nov 1966, pp. 23-26.
- 004 "Impressions of New Guinea," 2pp. pamphlet, Australian Baptist Missionary Society, Melbourne, n.d.

Unpublished documents

- 005 "Quotations. No. 1," 32pp. manuscript (handwritten in an exercise book), n.d. [some pages intentionally blank].
- 006 "Quotations. No. 2," 39pp. manuscript (handwritten in an exercise book), n.d. [some pages intentionally blank].
- 007 "What I owe to Hudson Taylor," 11pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 008 "New Guinea diary," 13pp. typescript, n.d.

B. OLD TESTAMENT

Published documents

- 009 "Studies in the Second Book of Samuel," 31 studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 7 Nov 1944, p. 2; 14 Nov 1944, p. 2; 21 Nov 1944, p. 2; 28 Nov 1944, p. 2; 5 Dec 1944, p. 2; 12 Dec 1944, p. 2; 19 Dec 1944, p. 4; 2 Jan 1945, p. 2; 9 Jan 1945, p. 2; 16 Jan 1945, p. 2; 23 Jan 1945, p. 2; 30 Jan 1945, p. 2; 6 Feb 1945, p. 2; 13 Feb 1945, p. 2; 20 Feb 1945, p. 2; 27 Feb 1945, p. 2; 6 Mar 1945, p. 2; 13 Mar 1945, p. 2; 20 Mar 1945, p. 2; 27 Mar 1945, p. 2; 3 Apr 1945, p. 2; 10 Apr 1945, p. 2; 17 Apr 1945, p. 2; 24 Apr 1945, p. 2; 1 May 1945, p. 2; 8 May 1945, p. 2; 15 May 1945, p. 2; 22 May 1945, p. 2; 29 May 1945, p. 2; 5 Jun 1945, p. 2; 12 Jun 1945, p. 2.
- 010 "Studies in the Psalms," first series, 23 studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 7 Dec 1943, p. 2; 14 Dec 1943, p. 2; 21 Dec 1943, p. 2; 4 Jan 1944, p. 2; 11 Jan 1944, p. 2; 18 Jan 1944, p. 2; 25 Jan 1944, p. 2; 1 Feb 1944, p. 2; 8 Feb 1944, p. 2; 15 Feb 1944, p. 2; 22

- Feb 1944, p. 2; 29 Feb 1944, p. 2; 7 Mar 1944, p. 2; 14 Mar 1944, p. 2; 21 Mar 1944, p. 2; 28 Mar 1944, p. 2; 4 Apr 1944, p. 2; 11 Apr 1944, p. 2; 18 Apr 1944, p. 2; 25 Apr 1944, p. 2; 2 May 1944, p. 2; 9 May 1944, p. 2; 16 May 1944, p. 2.
- 011 “Studies in the Psalms,” second series, 22 of 23 studies (no. 10 was not published), *The Australian Baptist*, 20 Jul 1948; 27 Jul 1948; 3 Jun 1948; 10 Aug 1948; 17 Aug 1948; 24 Aug 1948; 31 Aug 1948; 7 Sep 1948; 14 Sep 1948; 21 Sep 1948; 5 Oct 1948; 12 Oct 1948; 19 Oct 1948; 26 Oct 1948; 2 Nov 1948; 9 Nov 1948; 16 Nov 1948; 23 Nov 1948; 30 Nov 1948; 7 Dec 1948; 14 Dec 1948; 21 Dec 1948.
- 012 “The Song of Solomon,” seven studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 2 Sep 1941, p. 2; 9 Sep 1941, p. 2; 16 Sep 1941, p. 7; 23 Sep 1941, p. 2; 30 Sep 1941, p. 2; 7 Oct 1941, p. 2; 14 Oct 1941, p. 2.
- 012a “The romance of the soul: Studies in the Song of Solomon,” eight studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 25 May 1948, p. 2; 1 Jun 1948, p. 2; 8 Jun 1948, p. 2; 15 Jun 1948, p. 2; 22 Jun 1948, p. 2; 29 Jun 1948, p. 2; 6 Jul 1948, p. 2; 13 Jul 1948, p. 2.
- 013 “The Song of Songs,” nine studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 13 Jul 1983, p. 10; 27 Jul 1983, pp. 10, 12; 10 Aug 1983, p. 10; 24 Aug 1983, pp. 10, 11; 7 Sep 1983, pp. 10, 11; 21 Sep 1983, p. 10; 5 Oct 1983, p. 10; 19 Oct 1983, p. 10; 2 Nov 1983, p. 10.
- 014 “Studies in the Book of Amos,” 11 studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 15 Oct 1946, p. 2; 22 Oct 1946, p. 2; 29 Oct 1946, p. 2; 5 Nov 1946, p. 2; 12 Nov 1946, p. 2; 19 Nov 1946, p. 2; 26 Nov 1946, p. 2; 3 Dec 1946, p. 2; 10 Dec 1946, p. 2; 17 Dec 1946, p. 2; 7 Jan 1947, p. 2.
- 015 “Studies in the Prophecy of Hosea,” 16 studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 15 Apr 1947, p. 2; 22 Apr 1947, p. 2; 29 Apr 1947, p. 2; 6 May 1947, p. 2; 13 May 1947, p. 2; 20 May 1947, p. 2; 27 May 1947, p. 2; 3 Jun 1947, p. 2; 10 Jun 1947, p. 2; 17 Jun 1947, p. 2; 24 Jun 1947, p. 2; 1 Jul 1947, p. 2; 8 Jul 1947, p. 2; 15 Jul 1947, p. 2; 22 Jul 1947, p. 3; 29 Jul 1947, p. 2.

C. NEW TESTAMENT

Published documents

- 016 “The treasury of the New Testament,” book review, *The Australian Baptist*, 8 May 1934, p. 3.
- 017 “Studies in Mark’s Gospel,” 28 studies [no. 10 is in two parts, and nos. 23-29 are incorrectly numbered], *The Australian Baptist*, 4 Sep 1945, p. 2; 11 Sep 1945, p. 2; 18 Sep 1945, p. 2; 25 Sep 1945, p. 2; 2 Oct 1945, p. 2; 9 Oct 1945, p. 2; 16 Oct 1945, p. 2; 23 Oct 1945, p. 2; 30 Oct 1945, p. 2; 6 Nov 1945, p. 2; 13 Nov 1945, p. 2; 20 Nov 1945, p. 2; 27 Nov 1945, p. 2; 4 Dec 1945, p. 2; 11 Dec 1945, p. 2; 24 Dec 1945, p. 2; 8 Jan 1946, p. 2; 15 Jan 1946, p. 2; 22 Jan 1946, p. 2; 29 Jan 1946, p. 2; 5 Feb 1946, p. 2; 12 Feb 1946, p. 2; 19 Feb 1946, p. 2; 26 Feb 1946, p. 2; 5 Mar 1946, p. 2; 12 Mar 1946, p. 2; 19 Mar 1946, p. 2; 26 Mar 1946, p. 2.
- 018 “Expositions in Luke’s Gospel,” 41 studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 4 Jan 1949, p. 2; 11 Jan 1949, p. 2; 18 Jan 1949, p. 2; 25 Jan 1949, p. 2; 1 Feb 1949, p. 2; 8 Feb 1949, p. 2;

- 15 Feb 1949, p. 2; 22 Feb 1949, p. 2; 1 Mar 1949, p. 2; 8 Mar 1949, p. 2; 15 Mar 1949, p. 2; 22 Mar 1949, p. 2; 29 Mar 1949, p. 2; 5 Apr 1949, p. 2; 12 Apr 1949, p. 2; 19 Apr 1949, p. 2; 26 Apr 1949, p. 2; 3 May 1949, p. 2; 10 May 1949, p. 2; 17 May 1949, p. 2; 24 May 1949, p. 2; 31 May 1949, p. 2; 7 Jun 1949, p. 2; 14 Jun 1949, p. 2; 21 Jun 1949, p. 2; 28 Jun 1949, p. 3; 5 Jul 1949, p. 3; 12 Jul 1949, p. 2; 19 Jul 1949, p. 2; 26 Jul 1949, p. 3; 2 Aug 1949, p. 2; 9 Aug 1949, p. 3; 16 Aug 1949, p. 3; 23 Aug 1949, p. 2; 30 Aug 1949, p. 2; 6 Sep 1949, p. 2; 13 Sep 1949, p. 2; 20 Sep 1949, p. 2; 27 Sep 1949, p. 9; 4 Oct 1949, p. 6; 11 Oct 1949, p. 3.
- 019 “Studies in our Lord’s discourses in the Upper Room,” 37 studies on John 14-15, *The Australian Baptist*, 16 Mar 1943, p. 2; 23 Mar 1943, p. 2; 30 Mar 1943, p. 2; 6 Apr 1943, p. 2; 13 Apr 1943, p. 2; 20 Apr 1943, p. 2; 27 Apr 1943, p. 2; 4 May 1943, p. 2; 11 May 1943, p. 2; 18 May 1943, p. 2; 25 May 1943, p. 2; 1 Jun 1943, p. 2; 8 Jun 1943, p. 2; 15 Jun 1943, p. 2; 22 Jun 1943, p. 2; 29 Jun 1943, p. 2; 6 Jul 1943, p. 2; 13 Jul 1943, p. 2; 20 Jul 1943, p. 2; 27 Jul 1943, p. 2; 3 Aug 1943, p. 2; 10 Aug 1943, p. 2; 17 Aug 1943, p. 2; 24 Aug 1943, p. 2; 31 Aug 1943, p. 2; 7 Sep 1943, p. 2; 14 Sep 1943, p. 2; 21 Sep 1943, p. 2; 28 Sep 1943, p. 2; 5 Oct 1943, p. 2; 12 Oct 1943, p. 2; 19 Oct 1943, p. 2; 26 Oct 1943, p. 2; 2 Nov 1943, p. 2; 9 Nov 1943, p. 2; 16 Nov 1943, p. 2; 23 Nov 1943, p. 2.
- 020 “Studies in John 16,” 9 studies [those published on 27 Jun and 4 Jul are both numbered “6”], *The Australian Baptist*, 23 May 1944, p. 2; 30 May 1944, p. 2; 6 Jun 1944, p. 2; 13 Jun 1944, p. 2; 20 Jun 1944, p. 2; 27 Jun 1944, p. 2; 4 Jul 1944, p. 2; 11 Jun 1944, p. 2; 18 Jun 1944, p. 2.
- 021 “Studies in John’s Gospel: Exposition of the Prayer of the Great High Priest,” 15 studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 25 Jul 1944, p. 2; 1 Aug 1944, p. 2; 8 Aug 1944, p. 2; 15 Aug 1944, p. 2; 22 Aug 1944, p. 2; 29 Aug 1944, p. 2; 5 Sep 1944, p. 2; 12 Sep 1944, p. 2; 19 Sep 1944, p. 2; 26 Sep 1944, p. 2; 3 Oct 1944, p. 2; 10 Oct 1944, p. 2; 17 Oct 1944, p. 2; 24 Oct 1944, p. 2; 31 Oct 1944, p. 2.
- 022 “The Upper Room Discourses,” in *The Upper Room Discourses* (ed. Bruce Thornton; Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2010), pp. 3-142.
- 023 “Jesus and the life of prayer,” 7 studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 14 Jan 1947, p. 2; 21 Jan 1947, p. 2; 28 Jan 1947, p. 2; 4 Feb 1947, p. 2; 11 Feb 1947, p. 2; 18 Feb 1947, p. 2; 25 Feb 1947, p. 2;
- 024 “Studies in the prayer life of our Lord,” typescript notes for five lectures, Baptist Theological College of NSW Bible School, n.d. [1947], 8pp.
- 025 “Studies in the prayer life of our Lord,” six studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 4 Mar 1947; 11 Mar 1947; 18 Mar 1947; 25 Mar 1947; 1 Apr 1947; 8 Apr 1947.
- 026 “Studies in the Acts of the Apostles,” 57 studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 3 Feb 1942, p. 2; 10 Feb 1942, p. 2; 17 Feb 1942, p. 2; 24 Feb 1942, p. 2; 3 Mar 1942, p. 2; 10 Mar 1942, p. 2; 17 Mar 1942, p. 2; 24 Mar 1942, p. 2; 31 Mar 1942, p. 2; 7 Apr 1942, p. 2; 14 Apr 1942, p. 2; 21 Apr 1942, p. 2; 28 Apr 1942, p. 2; 5 May 1942, p. 2; 12 May 1942, p. 2; 19 May 1942, p. 2; 26 May 1942, p. 2; 2 Jun 1942, p. 2; 9 Jun 1942, p. 2; 16 Jun 1942, p. 2; 23 Jun 1942, p. 2; 30 Jun 1942, p. 2; 7 Jul 1942, p. 2; 14 Jul 1942, p. 2; 21 Jul 1942, p. 2; 28 Jul 1942, p. 2; 4 Aug 1942, p. 2; 11 Aug 1942, p. 2; 18 Aug 1942, p. 2; 25 Aug 1942, p. 2; 1 Sep 1942, p. 2; 8 Sep 1942, p. 2; 15 Sep 1942, p. 2; 22

- Sep 1942, p. 2; 29 Sep 1942, p. 2; 6 Oct 1942, p. 2; 13 Oct 1942, p. 2; 20 Oct 1942, p. 2; 27 Oct 1942, p. 2; 3 Nov 1942, p. 2; 10 Nov 1942, p. 2; 17 Nov 1942, p. 2; 24 Nov 1942, p. 2; 1 Dec 1942, p. 2; 8 Dec 1942, p. 2; 15 Dec 1942, p. 2; 22 Dec 1942, p. 2; 5 Jan 1943, p. 2; 12 Jan 1943, p. 2, 19 Jan 1943, p. 2; 26 Jan 1943, p. 2; 2 Feb 1943, p. 2; 16 Feb 1943, p. 2; 23 Feb 1943, p. 2; 2 Mar 1943, p. 2; 9 Mar 1943, p. 2.
- 027 *The Acts of the Holy Spirit* (ed. Bruce Thornton; Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2011).
- 028 "Free from sin's dominion: An address at Last Upwey by Principal G.H. Morling, M.A. Scripture Reading: Romans 6:1-14," *Keswick Quarterly*, November 1948, pp. 31-38 [missing pp. 35-38].
- 029 "Spiritual millionaires," in H. S. Begbie et al, *The Katoomba Convention 1932: Notes of some of the addresses revised by the speakers* (Sydney: Katoomba Convention Council, 1932), pp. 46-52.
- 030 "The soul's union with Christ," in H. S. Begbie et al, *The Katoomba Convention 1932: Notes of some of the addresses revised by the speakers* (Sydney: Katoomba Convention Council, 1932), pp. 127-132.
- 031 "True holiness," in H.S. Begbie et al, *The Katoomba Convention 1932: Notes of some of the addresses revised by the speakers* (Sydney: Katoomba Convention Council, 1932), pp. 160-166.
- 032 "True consecration," in H.S. Begbie et al, *The Katoomba Convention 1932: Notes of some of the addresses revised by the speakers* (Sydney: Katoomba Convention Council, 1932), pp. 181-185.
- 033 "The greatest themes of Ephesians," 21 studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 2 Apr 1946, p. 2; 9 Apr 1946, p. 2; 16 Apr 1946, p. 2; 23 Apr 1946, p. 2; 30 Apr 1946, p. 2; 7 May 1946, p. 2; 14 May 1946, p. 2; 21 May 1946, p. 2; 28 May 1946, p. 2; 4 Jun 1946, p. 2; 11 Jun 1946, p. 2; 18 Jun 1946, p. 2; 25 Jun 1946, p. 2; 2 Jul 1946, p. 2; 9 Jul 1946, p. 2; 16 Jul 1946, p. 2; 23 Jul 1946, p. 2; 30 Jul 1946, p. 2; 6 Aug 1946, p. 2; 13 Aug 1946, p. 3; 20 Aug 1946, p. 2.
- 034 "Great themes of the Epistle to the Ephesians. Study No. 1: The sovereign will of God," *Bible Studies* [source unknown], n.d., pp. 76-79.
- 035 "Great themes of the Epistle to the Ephesians. Study No. 2: The riches of grace in Christ *Bible Studies* [source unknown], n.d., pp. 79-81.
- 036 "Great themes of the Epistle to the Ephesians. Study No. 3: The indwelling Christ," *Bible Studies* [source unknown], n.d., pp. 81-83.
- 037 "Great themes of the Epistle to the Ephesians. Study No. 4: The spiritual conflict," *Bible Studies* [source unknown], n.d., pp. 83-86.
- 038 "Great themes in Ephesians," in Bruce Thornton (ed.), *The Franciscan Spirit and Other Writings* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2008), pp. 65-127.

- 039 "Christ in Philippians," in Bruce Thornton (ed.), *The Franciscan Spirit and Other Writings* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2008), pp. 129-154.
- 039a "Studies in the Epistle to the Philippians," 16pp. transcript, n.d. (see doc 039).
- 040 "Bible readings in the Epistle to the Colossians. No. 1: Christ and our questionings," in *Katoomba Convention Council, In the Mount with God: The Katoomba Convention Book 1936* (Glebe, NSW: Australasian Medical Publishing Co., 1936), pp. 27-32.
- 041 "Bible readings in the Epistle to the Colossians. No. 2: Christ and our loyalties. The primacy of the Divine Son," in *Katoomba Convention Council, In the Mount with God: The Katoomba Convention Book 1936* (Glebe, NSW: Australasian Medical Publishing Co., 1936), pp. 32-35.
- 042 "Bible readings in the Epistle to the Colossians. No. 3: Christ and our sins," in *Katoomba Convention Council, In the Mount with God: The Katoomba Convention Book 1936* (Glebe, NSW: Australasian Medical Publishing Co., 1936), pp. 35-39.
- 043 "Bible readings in the Epistle to the Colossians. No. 4: Christ and our aspirations," in *Katoomba Convention Council, In the Mount with God: The Katoomba Convention Book 1936* (Glebe, NSW: Australasian Medical Publishing Co., 1936), pp. 39-44.
- 044 "The fullness of the Spirit," in *Katoomba Convention Council, Christ Pre-eminent: The Book of the Katoomba Convention January 1937* (Glebe, NSW: Australasian Medical Publishing Co., 1937), pp. 87-91.
- 045 "Studies in the Epistle to the Colossians," 11 studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 19 Jun 1945, p. 2; 26 Jun 1945, p. 2; 3 Jul 1945, p. 2; 10 Jul 1945, p. 2; 17 Jul 1945, p. 2; 24 Jul 1945, p. 2; 31 Jul 1945, p. 2; 7 Aug 1945, p. 2; 14 Aug 1945, p. 2; 21 Aug 1945, p. 2; 28 Aug 1945, p. 2.
- 046 "The antecedents of holiness," in *Katoomba Christian Convention Addresses* (Stanmore, NSW: Gospel Tape Ministry, 1962), pp. 61-67.
- 047 "Holiness is by faith," in *Katoomba Christian Convention Addresses* (Stanmore, NSW: Gospel Tape Ministry, 1962), pp. 69-74.
- 048 "Studies in the Epistle of James," 26 studies [no study was published on 3 Feb 1947, and the next column was no. 12 on 10 Feb, followed by no. 14 on 17 Feb], *The Australian Baptist*, 11 Nov 1947, p. 2; 18 Nov 1947, p. 4; 25 Nov 1947, p. 2; 2 Dec 1947, p. 2; 9 Dec 1947, p. 2; 16 Dec 1947, p. 4; 23 Dec 1947, p. 2; 6 Jan 1948, p. 2; 13 Jan 1948, p. 2; 20 Jan 1948, p. 2; 27 Jan 1948, p. 2; 10 Feb 1948, p. 2; 17 Feb 1948, p. 2; 24 Feb 1948, p. 2; 2 Mar 1948, p. 2; 9 Mar 1948, p. 2; 16 Mar 1948, p. 2; 23 Mar 1948, p. 2; 30 Mar 1948, p. 2; 6 Apr 1948, p. 2; 13 Apr 1948, p. 2; 20 Apr 1948, p. 2; 27 Apr 1948, p. 2; 4 May 1948, p. 2; 11 May 1948, p. 2; 18 May 1948, p. 2.
- 048a "Studies in the First Epistle of Peter," ten studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 21 Oct 1941, p. 2; 28 Oct 1941, p. 2; 4 Nov 1941, p. 2; 11 Nov 1941, p. 2; 18 Nov 1941, p. 2; 25 Nov 1941, p. 2; 2 Dec 1941, p. 2; 9 Dec 1941, p. 2; 16 Dec 1941, p. 2; 23 Dec 1941, p. 2.
- 049 "The First Epistle of John," in *The Upper Room Discourses* (ed. Bruce Thornton; Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2010), pp. 145-195.

- 049a “Studies in Great Realities from the First Epistle of John,” 14 studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 22 Oct 1940, p. 2; 29 Oct 1940, p. 2; 5 Nov 1940, p. 2; 12 Nov 1940, p. 2; 19 Nov 1940, p. 2; 26 Nov 1940, p. 2; 3 Dec 1940, p. 2; 10 Dec 1940, p. 2; 17 Dec 1940, p. 2; 24 Dec 1940, p. 2; 7 Jan 1941, p. 2; 14 Jan 1941, p. 2; 21 Jan 1941, p. 2; 28 Jan 1941, p. 2.

Unpublished documents

- 050 “Introduction to Mark’s Gospel,” 7pp. typescript, n.d.
- 051 “Mark’s Gospel,” 80pp. typescript, n.d.
- 052 “Luke’s Gospel: Introduction,” 7pp. typescript, n.d.
- 053 “Expositions in Luke’s Gospel,” 62pp. typescript, n.d.
- 054 “John’s Gospel: Introductory,” 3pp. n.d.
- 055 “John’s Gospel,” 60pp. typescript, n.d.
- 056 “Preparatory study of the Acts,” 8pp., n.d.
- 057 “Studies in the Acts of the Apostles,” 79pp. typescript, n.d.
- 058 “The period of transition, Ch. 8:4-11:30,” 6pp. typescript fragments, n.d.
- 059 “Examination in the Acts of the Apostles,” 2pp. typescript, n.d.
- 060 “Annual examinations – Session 1946: Subject: New Testament exegesis.”
- 061 “Romans: Bibliography,” 1p. typescript, n.d.
- 062 “Lectures on the Epistle to the Romans,” 38pp. typescript, n.d.
- 063 “The Epistle to the Ephesians,” 40pp. typescript, n.d. [see doc 038]
- 064 “The Epistle to the Hebrews: The literary problems,” 10pp. typescript, n.d.
- 065 “Hebrews,” 6pp. typescript, n.d.
- 066 “The Epistle to the Hebrews,” 23pp. typescript, n.d.
- 067 “The Epistle to the Hebrews,” 12pp. typescript, n.d.
- 068 “The Character of the Epistle: Hebrews,” 6pp. typescript, 1957.
- 069 “The Epistle to the Hebrews,” 43pp. typescript (on Heb 1:1 – 10:18) and 12pp. typescript (on Heb 10:19-13:25), 1957.
- 070 “Notes on the Epistle to the Hebrews,” 27pp. manuscript, n.d. [covers Heb 11:39-13:5; missing pp. 1-11].
- 071 “The Epistle to the Hebrews (10:19-13),” 12pp. handwritten, n.d.
- 072 Untitled handwritten notes on Hebrews 11:39-13:6, pages numbered 12-27.

D. THEOLOGY/SOTERIOLOGY

Published documents

- 073 “Union with Christ,” repr. in E. Ron Rogers (ed.), *George Henry Morling: The Man and His Message for Today* (Forest Lodge, NSW: Greenwood Press, 2011), 78-83.

Unpublished documents

- 074 “What shall we believe? Lesson 1: The Bible is the answer,” 13pp. typescript, n.d.
- 075 “What shall we believe? Lesson 2: The place of Christ in the purpose of God,” 8pp. typescript, n.d.
- 076 “What shall we believe? Lesson 3: The need for salvation,” 8pp. typescript, n.d.
- 077 “What shall we believe? Lesson 4: The way of salvation,” 9pp. typescript, n.d.
- 078 “What shall we believe? Lesson 5: The Holy Spirit,” 8pp. typescript, n.d.
- 079 “What shall we believe? Lesson 6: The two ordinances,” 13pp. typescript, n.d.
- 080 “What shall we believe? Lesson 7: The life of a Christian,” 5pp. typescript, n.d.
- 081 “What shall we believe? Lesson 8: The true church,” 8pp. typescript, n.d.
- 082 “What shall we believe? Lesson 9: The history, faith and practice of the Baptists,” 17pp. typescript, n.d.
- 083 “What shall we believe? Lesson 10: The return of Christ,” 8pp. typescript, n.d.
- 084 “What shall we believe? Lesson 11: The life after death,” 8pp. typescript, n.d.
- 085 “The Doctrine of God. Lecture 1: Theology – The doctrine of God,” Ministers’ Wives course, 1961, 2pp. typescript.
- 086 “The Doctrine of God. Lecture 2: God is one,” Ministers’ Wives course, 1961, 2pp. typescript.
- 087 “The Doctrine of God. Lecture 3: The being and character of God,” Ministers’ Wives course, 1961, 2pp. typescript.
- 088 “The Doctrine of God. Lecture 4: The infinitude of God,” Ministers’ Wives course, 1961, 2pp. typescript.
- 089 “The Doctrine of God. Lecture 5: The Fatherhood of God,” Ministers’ Wives course, 1961, 3pp. typescript.
- 090 “The Doctrine of God. Lecture 6: God the Son,” Ministers’ Wives course, 1961, 2pp. typescript.
- 091 “The Doctrine of God. Lecture 7: God the Holy Spirit,” Ministers’ Wives course, 1961, 2pp. typescript.

- 092 "The doctrine of God: The doctrine of the Trinity; The Attributes of God," 38pp. typescript, n.d.
- 093 "The history of modern theology," 3pp. typescript, 1957.
- 094 "The atonement," 40pp. typescript, 1960.
- 095 "The atonement – Constructive," 14pp. typescript, n.d.
- 096 "Our surrender to Christ (Song of Songs) – K," 5pp. manuscript on union with Christ, missing pp. 1-2.

E. CHRISTOLOGY (see also D. above)

Published documents

- 097 "From birth to baptism," in *The Incomparable Christ: Selected Scripture Studies* (ed. Bruce Thornton; Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2010), 1-43. Originally published in *The Australian Baptist*, Jan-Apr 1949.
- 098 "The divine worker," in *The Incomparable Christ: Selected Scripture Studies* (ed. Bruce Thornton; Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2010), 45-153. Originally published in *The Australian Baptist*, Sep 1945-1946.
- 099 "From Galilee to Jerusalem," in *The Incomparable Christ: Selected Scripture Studies* (ed. Bruce Thornton; Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2010), 155-221. Originally published in *The Australian Baptist*, Apr-Aug 1946.
- 100 "The passion," in *The Incomparable Christ: Selected Scripture Studies* (ed. Bruce Thornton; Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2010), 223-249. Originally published in *The Australian Baptist*, Jul-Oct 1946.
- 101 "Christ's continuing ministry: Acts 1:1 – 2:47," in *The Incomparable Christ: Selected Scripture Studies* (ed. Bruce Thornton; Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2010), 251-273. Originally published in *The Australian Baptist*, Jan-Mar 1942.
- 102 "The preeminent Christ," in *The Incomparable Christ: Selected Scripture Studies* (ed. Bruce Thornton; Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2010), 275-302. Originally published in *The Australian Baptist*, Jun 1945. Reprint of doc 040, dated 1936.
- 103 "The high priesthood of Christ (Hebrews 1-10)," in *The Incomparable Christ: Selected Scripture Studies* (ed. Bruce Thornton; Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2010), 303-352. Originally published in *The Australian Baptist*, Nov 1939-1940.

Unpublished documents

- 104 "The Person of Christ – Constructive," 13pp. typescript, n.d.

- 105 “The Person of Christ: Tutorial notes,” 28pp. typescript, n.d.

F. PNEUMATOLOGY

Published documents

- 106 “Playing with the Holy Ghost,” *The Australian Baptist*, 5 Jan 1926, p. 3.
- 107 “The church’s heritage of power,” *The Australian Baptist*, 1 Oct 1929, pp. 1-2; repr. in E. Ron Rogers (ed.), *George Henry Morling: The Man and His Message for Today* (Forest Lodge, NSW: Greenwood Press, 2011), 51-63.
- 108 “The doctrine of the Holy Spirit,” transcript of an address presented at the Triennial Meetings of the Baptist Union of Australia, 1935.
- 109 “Studies in the Holy Spirit,” 7 studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 27 Aug 1946, p. 2; 3 Sep 1946, p. 2; 10 Sep 1946, p. 2; 17 Sep 1946, p. 2; 24 Sep 1946, p. 2; 1 Oct 1946, p. 2; 8 Oct 1946, p. 2.
- 110 *The Holy Spirit: Studies by Rev. G. H. Morling* (Sydney: Baptist Union of NSW, 1972). Republished as *Living with the Spirit* (ed. Bruce Thornton; Macquarie Park, NSW: Morling Press, 2002).
- 111 *Pentecostalism* (Sydney: Department of Evangelism, Baptist Union of NSW, n.d.).
- 112 “Filled with the Spirit,” repr. in E. Ron Rogers (ed.), *George Henry Morling: The Man and His Message for Today* (Forest Lodge, NSW: Greenwood Press, 2011), 100-106.
- 113 “The fulness of the Spirit,” repr. in E. Ron Rogers (ed.), *George Henry Morling: The Man and His Message for Today* (Forest Lodge, NSW: Greenwood Press, 2011), 107-112.
- 114 “Who is the Holy Spirit?” repr. in E. Ron Rogers (ed.), *George Henry Morling: The Man and His Message for Today* (Forest Lodge, NSW: Greenwood Press, 2011), 64-66.
- 115 “The Holy Spirit – A basic declaration,” repr. in E. Ron Rogers (ed.), *George Henry Morling: The Man and His Message for Today* (Forest Lodge, NSW: Greenwood Press, 2011), 67-74.
- 116 “The Holy Spirit and the holy life,” repr. in E. Ron Rogers (ed.), *George Henry Morling: The Man and His Message for Today* (Forest Lodge, NSW: Greenwood Press, 2011), 75-77.
- 117 “The gifts of the Spirit,” repr. in E. Ron Rogers (ed.), *George Henry Morling: The Man and His Message for Today* (Forest Lodge, NSW: Greenwood Press, 2011), 84-89.

Unpublished documents

- 118 “The Holy Spirit – Public Bible Class,” 25pp. typescript, 1953.
- 119 “Doctrine of the Holy Spirit,” 22pp. typescript, 1964.

- 120 "Person and work of the Holy Spirit," 51pp. typescript, n.d.
- 121 "Doctrine of the Holy Spirit," 9pp. typescript, n.d.
- 122 "The Holy Spirit and his gifts," version 1, version 2, 2pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 123 "A conversation about the Holy Spirit and his gifts," 3pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 124 "Charismata: An intimate conversation about the gifts of the Spirit," version 3, 3pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 125 "A conversation about the Holy Spirit and his gifts," version 4, 2pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 126 "A conversation about the Spirit and His gifts," 5pp handwritten manuscript, n.d. [probably post-1967]
- 127 "Be filling," 4pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 128 "Teaching mission on the Holy Spirit – Aberdeen St. Study 2: The Holy Spirit and the holy life," 5pp. typescript, 21 October 1970.
- 129 "The Holy Spirit as the minister of Jesus," 6pp. typescript, n.d. [see also doc 131]
- 130 "The Spirit of Christ," 22pp. typescript [missing pp. 1-14]
- 131 "The application of the work and ministry of the Holy Spirit in the lives of all church ministers," transcript of an address by G. H. Morling to the NSW Baptist Ministers' School of Theology, early 1968 (possibly transcribed from an audio recording), 8pp; also in the same document are transcripts of three other addresses on the topic, namely "The Holy Spirit's ministry in the life and work of the minister" (7pp); "The Holy Spirit as the minister of Jesus Christ," 7pp); and "The significance of the Holy Spirit in the office and work of the diaconate as a spiritual ministry," 8pp.

G. ECCLESIOLOGY

Published documents

- 132 "The distinctive message and mission of the Baptists in the new era: Second paper," *The Australian Baptist*, 29 Aug 1922, p. 6.
- 133 "The spiritual significance of believer's baptism," *The Australian Baptist*, 7 Feb 1933, p. 6.
- 134 "The Lord's Supper: Words of help for young people," *The Australian Baptist*, 16 Feb 1937, p. 10.
- 135 "Taking heed to the ministry," *The Australian Baptist*, 22 Dec 1925, pp. 5f.

Unpublished documents

- 136 "The doctrine of the church," 13pp. typescript, 1964.

- 137 "The doctrine of the church, ministry & sacraments," 18pp. typescript, 1955.
- 138 "The ordinances," 15pp. typescript, n.d.
- 139 "Baptists and loyalty to the message of baptism," address at Loyalty Night, opening celebrations of Central Baptist Church, Sydney, 1937.
- 140 "Substance of an address given by Principal G.H. Morling M.A., at a Conference between the Representatives of the Churches of Christ and the Baptist Church," Central Baptist Church, Sydney, 3 December 1942.
- 141 "The Centenary address," 20pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 142 "The Centenary Address – By Principal-Emeritus Rev G.H. Morling O.B.E., M.A.," 14pp. typescript, n.d.
- 143 "Report for Baptist Ministers' Fraternal on Pentecostal influence in our churches," 3pp. typescript, September 1970 (produced for the Executive Committee of the Baptist Union of NSW; on stylistic grounds possibly not written by G. H. Morling).

H. SPIRITUALITY, MINISTRY & CHRISTIAN LIVING

Published documents

- 144 *The Quest for Serenity* (Sydney: Young & Morling, 1951; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965; revised edition: Macquarie Park, NSW: Morling Press, 2002).
- 145 *Appointment with God* (Clifford Press, n.d.), 11pp.
- 146 *Be Still and Know: Techniques for Private Devotion* (Clifford Press, n.d.), 11pp.
- 147 "Living in the will of God," in Bruce Thornton (ed.), *The Franciscan Spirit and Other Writings* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2008), pp. 155-199.
- 148 "Studies in the will of God," 14 studies, *The Australian Baptist*, 5 Aug 1947, p. 2; 12 Aug 1947, p. 2; 19 Aug 1947, p. 6; 26 Aug 1947, p. 2; 2 Sep 1947, p. 2; 9 Sep 1947, p. 2; 16 Sep 1947, p. 2; 23 Sep 1947, p. 2; 30 Sep 1947, p. 2; 7 Oct 1947, p. 2; 14 Oct 1947, p. 2; 21 Oct 1947, p. 2; 28 Oct 1947, p. 2; 4 Nov 1947, p. 2.
- 149 "How to study your Bible," *Christian Education* No. 6, June 1950, 12pp. pamphlet.
- 150 "How study and devotion combine to make a good minister," *The Australian Baptist*, 17 Aug 1937, p. 7.
- 151 "The minister and the mystics," repr. in E. Ron Rogers (ed.), *George Henry Morling: The Man and His Message for Today* (Forest Lodge, NSW: Greenwood Press, 2011), 113-119.
- 152 "Leaving it all quietly to God," repr. in E. Ron Rogers (ed.), *George Henry Morling: The Man and His Message for Today* (Forest Lodge, NSW: Greenwood Press, 2011), 123-130.

- 153 "Living restfully with God," repr. in E. Ron Rogers (ed.), *George Henry Morling: The Man and His Message for Today* (Forest Lodge, NSW: Greenwood Press, 2011), 131-136.
- 154 "God and physical healing," repr. in E. Ron Rogers (ed.), *George Henry Morling: The Man and His Message for Today* (Forest Lodge, NSW: Greenwood Press, 2011), 90-99.

Unpublished documents

- 155 "The modern accent in Christian experience," an address to the Baptist Ministers' Fraternal, Baptist Union of Queensland, 13pp. manuscript, 14 September 1934.
- 156 "Release (religious experience)," 1p. manuscript, n.d.
- 157 "Resources for heroic living, being chapter two of Australian Baptist Young People's Board Special Youth Conference Studies, 1949," 5pp. typescript, 20 July 1948.
- 158 "House of New World Retreat," an address on spiritual formation, 11pp. manuscript [including several unnumbered pages], n.d.
- 159 "The I.V.F. and the Evangel," address to a meeting of the Inter-Varsity Fellowship, 13pp typescript, n.d. [missing p. 1].
- 160 "The Divine Lover," 5pp. typescript, n.d. [missing pp. 1-2].
- 161 "The culture of the soul," transcript of an address by G. H. Morling, possibly at a NSW Baptist Ministers' School of Theology (n.d.), typed by Rev. Ron Hansard, 2003.
- 162 "Morling.. Preaching," 13pp. transcript of addresses by G. H. Morling at a NSW Baptist Ministers' School of Theology (n.d.), typed by Rev. Ron Hansard, 2003. Summary notes on four topics: Prayer; the will of God; the Pauline doctrine "in Christ"; and the church.
- 163 "The necessity of balance in an effective ministry," 2pp. transcript of an address by G. H. Morling, possibly at a Northern NSW Baptist Ministers' annual gathering (n.d., possibly 1961), typed by Rev. Ron Hansard, July 2003.
- 164 "Intercession," handwritten notes for an address, 4pp, n.d.

I. HISTORY

Published documents

- 165 "The Franciscan Spirit," Master of Arts essay, University of Sydney, 1926(?), in Bruce Thornton (ed.), *The Franciscan Spirit and Other Writings* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2008), pp. 1-61.

Unpublished documents

- 166 "The rise and progress of liberty of conscience in the Puritan era," Master of Arts essay, University of Sydney, n.d. (1924?). 137pp.
- 167 "Studies in early church history," 40pp. typescript, n.d.
- 168 "Outline of church history – The Dark Ages, medieval and modern periods," 51pp. typescript, n.d.
- 169 "Church history – Modern period," 44pp. typescript, n.d.
- 170 "Beginnings of the Baptist church," 17pp. typescript [includes 4pp. handwritten notes], n.d.
- 171 "History of Baptist beginnings and of the English Baptists," 19pp. typescript, n.d. [possibly 1954].
- 172 "Anabaptists," 1p. manuscript, n.d.

J. PHILOSOPHY & ETHICS

Published documents

- 173 "The deceitfulness of riches," *The Australian Baptist*, 25 May 1926, p. 2.

Unpublished documents

- 174 "Revolutions in thought: In philosophy," 2pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 175 "Baptists and the social order," 9pp. manuscript, n.d. [missing pp. 1-2].
- 176 "The Baptist contribution to the modern state," address to the Citizenship Rally, Annual Assembly of the Baptist Union of Queensland, September 1945, 5pp. manuscript.
- 177 "Baptist contributions as citizens," 9pp. manuscript, n.d. [missing pp. 1, 4].
- 178 "Christian ethics," 7pp. typescript, n.d. [including 1p. handwritten].

K. ESCHATOLOGY

Published documents

- 179 "The Christian hope," in *The Incomparable Christ: Selected Scripture Studies* (ed. Bruce Thornton; Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2010), 353-370. Originally published in *The Australian Baptist*, Oct-Dec 1941.
- 180 "The likeness of his resurrection: An Easter message," *The Australian Baptist*, 11 Apr 1933, p. 1.

- 181 “When the dawn comes,” epilogue of *The Quest for Serenity*, repr. in E. Ron Rogers (ed.), *George Henry Morling: The Man and His Message for Today* (Forest Lodge, NSW: Greenwood Press, 2011), 175-176.

Unpublished documents

- 182 “Will this world end?” version 1, 3pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 183 “Will this world end?” version 2, 3pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 184 “Will this world end?” version 3, 3pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 185 “The immortal life,” 16pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 186 “The immortal life,” 1p. manuscript, n.d.
- 187 “The immediacy of blessedness,” 2pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 188 “Heaven is not static,” 1p. manuscript, n.d.
- 189 “Inferential,” 2pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 190 “Is man, whose powers, capabilities, desires stretch far beyond...” 4pp. typescript, n.d.
- 191 “Will the world come to an end?” version 1, 1p. manuscript.
- 192 “Will the world come to an end?” version 2, 1p. manuscript.
- 193 “What is after?” 1p. manuscript, n.d.
- 194 “Canon Battersby in a paper prepared for Keswick...” 1p. manuscript, n.d.
- 195 “With Christ,” provisional title of untitled 3pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 196 “Concerning the judgment associated with the resurrection,” 4pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 197 “The fact of the resurrection,” 2pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 198 “Spurgeon’s attitude towards the coming,” 2pp. manuscript, n.d.
- 199 “The glory yet to be (1 John 3:1-3) – A,” n.d., 2pp. manuscript.
- 200 “Address on the glory yet to be: A study on the doctrine of the Lord’s return – B,” n.d., 3pp.
- 201 “The glory yet to be (1 John 3:1-3) – C,” n.d., 4pp. manuscript.
- 202 “The glory yet to be (1 John 3:1-3) – D,” 7pp. manuscript.
- 203 “The glory yet to be (1 John 3:1-3) – E,” 4pp. manuscript.
- 204 “The glory yet to be (1 John 3:1-3) – F,” 1p. manuscript.
- 205 “The glory yet to be (1 John 3:1-3) – G,” 2pp. manuscript.

- 206 "The glory yet to be (1 John 3:1-3): A study on the Lord's return – H," 8pp. manuscript.
- 207 "The glory yet to be," transcript by Rod Benson of a 28-minute audio recording of a sermon preached by G. H. Morling at Ulverstone Baptist Church, Tasmania, on 6 Feb 1966.
- 208 "The world strange to us (1 Peter 2:11)," 3pp. manuscript.
- 209 "That you may achieve strength (Eph 3:14-21) – J," 7pp manuscript, missing p. 1.
- 210 "Illimitable salvation (Heb 7:25) – L," 2pp. manuscript.

L. PRIMARY SOURCES NOT AUTHORED BY MORLING

Published documents

- 211 Tokeetos, "President Morling as I knew him," *The Australian Baptist*, 24 September 1929, 2.
- 212 "The late Mrs. C. A. Morling," *The Australian Baptist*, 6 August 1935, 3.
- 213 S. S., "Principal Morling's Bible School," *The Australian Baptist*, 8 September 1936, p. 6.
- 214 "Our Bible School," *The Australian Baptist*, 25 October 1949, 9.
- 215 "*The Quest for Serenity*, by Rev. Principal G. H. Morling, M.A.," *The Australian Baptist*, 5 September 1950, 9.
- 216 "Principal Morling farewelled," *The Australian Baptist*, 7 Sep 1960, 3.
- 217 Baptist Union of NSW, "Order of Service for Denominational Farewell to Principal G. H. Morling, M.A., Upon His Retirement as the Principal of the Baptist Theological College of New South Wales," Central Baptist Church, 2 December 1960. 4pp.
- 218 "The Ministry of the Holy Spirit," advertising flyer for four addresses by Rev. Principal-Emeritus G. H. Morling, O.B.E., M.A., Flinders Street Baptist Church, Adelaide, 18-22 October 1966. Subjects were "Basic facts concerning the Holy Spirit," "The Holy Spirit and Christian character," "The gifts of the Spirit; with special reference to spiritual healing and speaking in tongues," and "A life filled with the Holy Spirit: A denominational sense of commitment."
- 219 Order of Service for Memorial Service, Rev. George Henry Morling, O.B.E., M.A., held in the G. H. Morling Chapel, Baptist Theological College, Herring Rd, Eastwood, 10 April 1974. 4pp.
- 220 "Memorable funeral service: Glowing tributes to a saint," *The Australian Baptist*, 17 Apr 1974, 1, 3, 5.
- 221 *Epping Evangel Baptist Church News*, vol. 33, no. 5, May 1974, 4pp.

- 222 Morling, Trevor, "Official launching: *For the Highest: A History of Morling College*," *The Baptist Recorder* 131, November 2015, 6-9.
- 223 Payne, E. A., "Christian tasks and prospects in a world of change," The Holdsworth-Grigg Memorial Lecture, Whitley College, Melbourne, 22 September 1967.
- 224 Jones, Rufus, *The Meaning and Value of Mysticism* (extract).
- 225 Spurr, F. C., "A Baptist's outlook on the modern world," Presidential address, Annual Assembly, Baptist Union of Victoria, 1913.
- 226 Doery, G. H., "The common ministry of every Baptist man and woman," Presidential address, Annual Assembly, Baptist Union of Victoria, 1914.
- 227 Dybing, E., "Applied Christianity," Presidential address, Annual Assembly, Baptist Union of Victoria, 1915.
- 228 Rorie, D., "Heritage and duty," Presidential address, Annual Assembly, Baptist Union of Victoria, 1916.
- 229 Blumer, C., "The presence of God," *The Australian Baptist*, 25 Apr 1933, p. 6.
- 230 "Upwey Convention – Sydney Baptist Leader Here," *The Herald* (Melbourne, 29 Dec 1932, 13.
- 231 Photograph of G. H. Morling with other Katoomba Convention leaders (1937).

Unpublished documents

- 232 "Morling, George Henry. Age 21," single page document held in an unnumbered archive box, G. H. Morling collection, Baptist Archives of NSW, Morling College, Sydney.
- 233 Olford, Stephen F., "Speaking in tongues," 8pp. typescript, Calvary Baptist Church, New York, n.d.
- 234 McDonald, S. A., "G. H. Morling," 2pp typescript, n.d.
- 235 "Discovering the God of the Old Testament Prophets," transcript of notes on an address by G. H. Morling c.1960, typed by Ron Hansard in 2003.
- 236 Email from Ken R. Manley to the author regarding G. H. Morling's use of A. H. Strong's *Systematic Theology*, 30 March 2016.
- 237 Email from Michael Petras to the author regarding C. H. Spurgeon's preaching style and G. H. Morling, 4 Nov 2018.
- 238 "A few gleanings from an address by Principal Morling at last Upwey Convention: An empty net," *The United Aborigines' Messenger*, 1 May 1933, 8.
- 239 "Seeds gathered – conference, 1936," *The United Aborigines' Messenger*, 1 April 1936, 6.

- 240 "N.S.W. Annual Meetings and Conference, 1937," *The United Aborigines' Messenger*, 1 April 1937, 5.
- 241 "The wider religious outlook: Observations on the contemporary situation in Great Britain," unpublished manuscript, 1951.

APPENDIX 2

Documents referenced in primary sources

In his lecture notes and other writings, Morling rarely provided full author, title and publication data for works cited. Often, he provided a surname and a direct quote, or a surname and a book title; at times not even the author's name or book title is mentioned. This bibliography of cited sources lists works to which Morling probably had access at some time during his academic career. It seeks to be exhaustive, but some titles may have been omitted due to lack of data. It includes titles directly referenced by Morling, titles of works where the author's name is given and the context indicates a probable title, and authors and titles of unreferenced works where Morling has provided a direct quote and the title has been verified through online search. It excludes works cited in Morling's two Master of Arts essays. In some cases, Morling may have obtained references or direct quotes from sources other than the original works, but it is the original works that are listed here. In a small number of cases, Morling may have consulted other editions of the works which are cited here.

Adeney, Walter F., *St. Luke: Introduction, Authorized version, revised version with notes, index and maps*. The Century Bible (ed. W. F. Adeney; London: The Caxton Publishing Co., 1903).

Ainsworth, Percy C., *The Threshold Grace: Meditations in the Psalms* (London: Epworth Press, 1920).

Alford, Henry, *The Greek Testament with a Critically Revised Text, a Digest of Various Readings, Marginal References to Verbal Idiomatic Usage, Prolegomena, and a Critical and Exegetical Commentary*. 4 volumes (London: Rivingtons, 1863).

Allis, Oswald T., *God Spake by Moses: An Exposition of the Pentateuch* (Nutley, NJ: Presbyterian & Reformed Publishing Co., 1958).

Andrews, Charles Freer, *Christ in the Silence* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1933).

Angus, Joseph, *The Bible Hand-book: An Introduction to the Study of Sacred Scripture* (ed. Samuel G. Green; London: Religious Tract Society, 1910).

Angus, Samuel, *The Environment of Early Christianity* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1915).

Augustine, *Confessions* (ET 1961; trans. R. S. Pine-Coffin; London: Penguin Books, 2010).

Augustine, *On the Free Choice of the Will, On Grace and Free Choice, and Other Writings* (ed. & trans. Peter King; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

Aulén, Gustav & Baillie, John, *Revelation* (London: Macmillan, 1937).

- Aulén, Gustav, *The Faith of the Christian Church* (1924; second edition; trans. by Eric Wahlstrom; Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1948).
- Bacon, B. W., *The Making of the New Testament* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1912).
- Baillie, John, *And the Life Everlasting* (London: Oxford University Press, 1932).
- Baillie, John, *Our Knowledge of God* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939).
- Baillie, John, *The Idea of Revelation in Recent Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1956).
- Barclay, Robert, *The Possibility and Necessity of the Inward and Immediate Revelation of the Spirit of God...* (London: s. n., 1686).
- Barclay, William, *The Letter to the Romans* (Louisville, KY: Westminster Press, 1957; reprint, Wells, UK: St Andrews Press, 1975).
- Barrett, C.K., *A Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1962).
- Barth, Karl, *A Shorter Commentary on Romans* (trans. D. H. van Daalen; London: SCM Press, 1959).
- Barth, Karl, *Christ and Adam: Man and Humanity in Romans 5* (trans. T. A. Smail; New York: Harper & Bros, 1956).
- Barth, Karl, *Church Dogmatics* (trans. G. T. Thomson; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1936).
- Barth, Karl, *The Epistle to the Romans* (trans. Edwyn C. Hoskyns; London: Oxford University Press, 1933).
- Baur, Ferdinand C., *The Church History of the First Three Centuries* (1853; third edition; trans. Allan Menzies; London: Williams & Norgate, 1878).
- Beeching, Henry C. (ed.), *Lyra Sacra: A Book of Religious Verse* (London: Methuen, 1895).
- Beet, J. Agar, *A Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1877).
- Bengel, Johann A., *A Vindication of the Holy Scriptures* (publisher unknown, 1755).
- Bengel, Johann A., *Gnomen of the New Testament* (1742; trans. James Bandinel; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1858).
- Bernard, Thomas D., *The Progress of Doctrine in the New Testament: Considered in Eight Lectures Presented Before the University of Oxford, 1864* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1864).
- Bleek, Friedrich, *Introduction to the New Testament*. 2 volumes (second edition; trans. William Urwick; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1869).
- Bonar, Andrew A., *Letters of the Reverend Samuel Rutherford, with a Sketch of His Life* (New York: Robert Carter & Bros, 1875).
- Bonar, Horatius, *God's Way of Holiness* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1883 [1864]).

- Bousset, Wilhelm, *Jesus* (trans. Janet P. Trevelyan; London: Williams & Norgate, 1911).
- Bousset, Wilhelm, *Kyrios Christos: A History of the Belief in Christ from the Beginnings of Christianity to Irenaeus* (1913; trans. John E. Steely; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1970).
- Bowne, Borden P., *Personalism* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1908).
- Boys, Ernest, *Filled with the Spirit: Or, Scriptural Studies about the Holy Ghost* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1883).
- Boys, Ernest, *The Consecrated Life; Or, Thoughts on Practical Religion* (London: Nisbet & Co., 1851).
- Brown, Charles R., *The Art of Preaching* (London: Macmillan, 1922).
- Brown, William A., *The Life of Prayer in a World of Science* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1927).
- Bruce, Alexander B., *The Epistle to the Hebrews: The First Apology for Christianity: An Exegetical Study* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1899).
- Bruce, Alexander B., *The Humiliation of Christ in its Physical, Ethical and Official Aspects* (second edition; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1889).
- Bruce, Alexander B., *The Training of the Twelve* (1871; second edition; New York: A.C. Armstrong, 1908).
- Brunner, Emil, *The Letter to the Romans: A Commentary* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959).
- Brunner, Emil, *The Mediator: A Study of the Central Doctrine of the Christian Faith* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1934).
- Budge, Frances Anne, *A Missionary Life: Stephen Grellet* (London: Nisbet, 1888).
- Bunyan, John, *The Pilgrim's Progress from This World, To That Which Is to Come* (1678; ed. Roger Sharrock & J. B. Wharey; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1960).
- Bushnell, Horace, *Sermons for the New Life* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1858).
- Buttrick, George A., *So We Believe, So We Pray* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1951).
- Calvin, John, *Acts of the Council of Trent with the Antidote* (Geneva: Iehan Girard, 1547).
- Calvin, John, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*. 2 volumes (ed. John T. McNeill; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1960).
- Campbell, Alexander, *Christianity Restored* (Bethany, VA: M'Vay & Ewing, 1835).
- Cannon, William Walter, *The Song of Songs Edited as a Dramatic Poem* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1913).
- Cassels, Thomas, *Men of the Knotted Heart: A Recollection and Appreciation of Alexander Duncan Grant, and John Paterson Struthers* (Greenock, Scotland: J. McKelvie, 1915).
- Cave, Sydney, *The Doctrine of the Person of Christ* (London: G. Duckworth, 1930).

- Cave, Sydney, *The Doctrine of the Work of Christ* (London: University of London Press, 1937).
- Cave, Sydney, *The Doctrines of the Christian Faith* (1931; London: Independent Press, 1952).
- Chadwick, George A., *The Epistle to the Hebrews: A Devotional Commentary* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1907).
- Chadwick, George A., *The Expositor's Bible: The Book of Exodus* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1890).
- Chadwick, George A., *The Gospel according to St. Mark* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1896).
- Christmas, F. E. *et al.*, *Hear My Prayer: A Book to Help You Pray* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1938).
- Clark, Henry William, *History of English Nonconformity*. 2 volumes (London: Chapman, 1911).
- Clarke, William N., *An Outline of Christian Theology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1898).
- Clemen, Carl, *Religions of the World: Their Nature and Their History* (trans. A. K. Dallas; London: Harrap, 1931).
- Cumming, James Elder, *Through the Eternal Spirit: A Biblical Study on the Holy Ghost* (Minneapolis, MN: Bethany Fellowship, 1965).
- Cunningham, William, *Historical Theology: A Review of the Principal Doctrinal Discussions in the Christian Church Since the Apostolic Age*. 2 volumes (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1864).
- Dale, R. W., *The Atonement* (1875; sixth edition; London: Congregational Union of England and Wales, 1914).
- Dalgairns, John Bernard, *The Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus* (London: Thomas Richardson & Son, 1853).
- Dalgairns, John Bernard, *The German Mystics of the Fourteenth Century* (London: Thomas Richardson & Son, 1858).
- Dante Alighieri, *The Divine Comedy: Inferno, Purgatorio, Paradiso* (1320; trans. Robin Kirkpatrick; New York: Penguin Classics, 2012).
- Davidson, Andrew B., *The Epistle to the Hebrews* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1851).
- Davidson, Andrew B., *The Theology of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904).
- Davison, W. T., *The Indwelling Spirit* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1911).
- Dawson, William H., *Matthew Arnold and His Relation to the Thought of Our Time* (New York: G. P. Putnam, 1904).

- Dehn, Günther, *Man and Revelation* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1936).
- Deissmann, Gustav A., *Light from the Ancient East: The New Testament Illustrated by Recently Discovered Texts of the Graeco-Roman World* (trans. Lionel R. M. Strachan; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910).
- Denney, James, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans*. The Expositor's Greek Testament (ed. W. R. Nicoll; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, n.d. [1900]).
- Denney, James, *Studies in Theology* (New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1901).
- Denney, James, *The Christian Doctrine of Reconciliation* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1917).
- Denney, *The Death of Christ* (revised & enlarged edition; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1911).
- Digges La Touche, Everard, *The Person of Christ in Modern Thought* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1912).
- Dodd, Charles H., *The Authority of the Bible*. Library of Constructive Theology (London: Harper & Bros., 1929).
- Dodd, Charles H., *The Bible and the Greeks* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935).
- Dodd, Charles H., *The Epistle of Paul to the Romans*. Moffatt New Testament Commentary (London: Harper Collins, 1959).
- Dods, Marcus, *The Expositor's Bible: The Gospel According to St John*. 2 volumes (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1897).
- Dorner, Isaak A., *A System of Christian Doctrine*. 4 volumes (London: T. & T. Clark, 1881).
- Dorner, Isaak A., *History of the Development of the Doctrine of the Person of Christ*. 5 volumes (1839-1856; trans. D. W. Simon; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1862).
- Drews, Arthur, *The Christ Myth* (1909; trans. Cecil D. Burns; London: T. F. Unwin, 1910).
- Drummond, Henry, *Natural Law in the Spiritual World* (New York: Hurst & Co., 1883).
- Durkheim, Émil, *The Elementary Forms of Religious Life* (1912; trans. Joseph W. Swain; London: George Allen & Unwin, 1915).
- Edersheim, Alfred, *The Life and Times of Jesus the Messiah* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1896).
- Edman, V. Raymond, *They Found the Secret: 20 Transformed Lives That Reveal a Touch of Eternity* (1960; repr. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1984).
- Ellicott, Charles J., *A New Testament Commentary for English Readers*. 3 volumes (London: Cassell, 1878).
- Ellicott, Charles J., *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians: With a Revised Translation* (Andover, UK: Warren F. Draper, 1865).
- Faber, Frederick, *Growth in Holiness, or the Progress of the Spiritual Life* (Baltimore: Murphy & Co., 1864).

- Fairbairn, Andrew M., *The Place of Christ in Modern Theology* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893).
- Farmer, Henry Herbert, *The World and God: A Study of Prayer, Providence and Miracle in Christian Experience* (London: Nisbet, 1936).
- Farmer, Herbert H., *Towards Belief in God* (London: SCM Press, 1942).
- Farrar, Frederick W., *The Early Days of Christianity* (London: Cassell, Peter, Galpin & Co., 1882).
- Farrar, Frederick W., *The Gospel According to St. Luke* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1902).
- Findlay, George G., *The Apostle Paul: A Sketch of the Development of His Doctrine* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893).
- Findlay, George G., *The Epistle to the Ephesians* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1892).
- Findlay, J. Alexander, *Jesus as They Saw Him* (London: Epworth Press, 1919).
- Finney, Charles G., *Lectures on Systematic Theology* (London: William Tegg & Co., 1851).
- Finney, Charles G., *Principles of Union with Christ* (1846; repr. Ada, MI: Bethany House Publishers, 1985).
- Fisher, George P., *History of Christian Doctrine* (1896; repr. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911).
- Fison, J. E., *The Blessing of the Holy Spirit* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1950).
- Forrest, David W., *The Christ of History and of Experience* (third edition; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1901).
- Forsyth, P. T., *Faith, Freedom and the Future* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1912).
- Forsyth, P. T., *The Soul of Prayer* (1916; second edition, London: Independent Press, 1949).
- Forsyth, P.T., *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910).
- Forsyth, P.T., *The Taste of Death and the Life of Grace* (London: J. Clarke, 1901).
- Fosdick, Harry Emerson, *The Meaning of Prayer* (New York: Association Press, 1917).
- Francke, Herman A., *Christ the Sum and Substance of All the Holy Scriptures in the Old and New Testament* (London: J. Downing, 1732).
- Franks, Robert S., *The Atonement* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934).
- Fraser, James O., *The Prayer of Faith* (1958; ed. Mary E. Allbutt; London: OMF Books, 1975).
- Freeman, John D., *Concerning the Christ* (Toronto: William Briggs, 1908).
- Freud, Sigmund, *The Future of an Illusion* (trans. James Strachey; New York: W.W. Norton & Co., 1961).
- Frost, Henry W., *Miraculous Healing* (London: Evangelical Press, 1972).

- Galloway, George, *The Philosophy of Religion* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914).
- Garvie, Alfred E., *A Handbook of Christian Apologetics* (London: Duckworth & Co., 1913).
- Garvie, Alfred E., *Romans: An Introduction* (The Century Bible; Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1901).
- Garvie, Alfred E., *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1907).
- Garvie, Alfred E., *The Christian Belief in God in Relation to Religion and Philosophy* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1933).
- Glover, Terrot R., *Paul of Tarsus* (fourth edition; London: Student Christian Movement, 1938 1925]).
- Glover, Terrot R., *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire* (London: Methuen, 1910).
- Glover, Terrot R., *The Jesus of History* (New York: George H. Doran Co., 1917).
- Godet, Frédéric L., *A Commentary on the Gospel of Luke*. 2 volumes. (trans. E. W. Shalders & M. D. Cusin; New York: I. K. Funk & Co., 1881).
- Godet, Frédéric L., *Commentary on Paul's Epistle to the Romans* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1883).
- Godet, Frédéric L., *Commentary on the Gospel of John with an Historical and Critical Introduction* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1886).
- Gordon, Adoniram J., *In Christ; or, The Believer's Union with His Lord* (Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1880).
- Gordon, Samuel D., *Quiet Talks on Power* (revised edition; London: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1903).
- Gore, Charles, *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation* (tenth edition; London: J. Murray, 1890).
- Gore, Charles, *The Incarnation of the Son of God* (London: John Murray, 1922).
- Grensted, Laurence W., *Psychology and God: A Study of the Implications of Recent Psychology for Religious Belief and Practice* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1936).
- Grensted, Laurence W., *The Person of Christ* (London: Nisbet, 1933).
- Griffith, Gwilyn O., *St. Paul's Gospel to the Romans* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1949).
- Guillebaud, Harold Ernest, *Why the Cross?* (London: IVF, 1946).
- Guyon, Madame, *A Short Method of Prayer* (trans. A. W. Marston; London: James Clark, 1902).
- Haldane, Robert, *Exposition of the Epistle to the Romans* (London: W. Oliphant, 1874).
- Hallesby, Ole, *Temperament and the Christian Faith* (Minneapolis, MN: Augsburg, 1962).

- Hanna, William, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Thomas Chalmers, D.D., LL.D.* 4 volumes. (New York: Harper & Bros, 1852).
- Harford, John B. & Macdonald, Frederick C., *Handley Carr Glyn Moule, Bishop of Durham: A Biography* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1922).
- Harries, John, *G. Campbell Morgan: The Man and His Ministry* (London: Fleming H. Revell, 1930).
- Hartill, Percy, *The Unity of God: A Study in Christian Monotheism* (London: Mowbray, 1952).
- Hartmann, Nicolai, *Ethics* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1932).
- Hendry, George S., *The Holy Spirit in Christian Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1956).
- Henley, William E., "Invictus," in *A Book of Verse* (London: D. Nutt, 1888).
- Herman, Emily, *The Meaning and Value of Mysticism* (London: J. Clarke, 1915).
- Hobart, William K., *The Medical Language of St. Luke* (Dublin: Hodges, Figgis, & Co., 1882; Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2004).
- Hodge, Archibald A., *Outlines of Theology* (New York: Robert Carter & Bros, 1866).
- Hodge, Charles, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (Philadelphia: Alfred Martien, 1873).
- Hodgson, Leonard, *The Doctrine of the Trinity* (London: Nisbet, 1944).
- Hooker, Richard, *The Works of that Learned and Judicious Divine Mr Richard Hooker in Eight Books of Ecclesiastical Polity* (London: Robert Scot et al, 1682).
- Hopkins, Evan H., *The Law of Liberty in the Spiritual Life* (London: Marshall Bros, 1884).
- Hort, Fenton J.A., *The Christian Ecclesia: A Course of Lectures on the Early History and Early Conceptions of the Ecclesia, and One Sermon* (1889; London: Macmillan, 1914).
- Hügel, Baron Friedrich von, *The Life of Prayer* (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co., c.1929).
- Hügel, Baron Friedrich von, *The Mystical Element of Religion as Studied in Saint Catherine of Genoa and Her Friends*. 2 volumes (second edition; London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1923).
- Hughes, H. Maldwyn, *Christian Foundations: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* (London: Epworth Press, 1956).
- Hughes, Maldwyn, *The Christian Idea of God* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1936).
- Hunter, Archibald M., *Interpreting the New Testament, 1900-1959* (London: SCM Press, 1958).
- Hunter, Archibald M., *The Epistle to the Romans: The Law of Love* (London: SCM Press, 1955).
- Hunter, Archibald M., *The Unity of the New Testament* (London: SCM Press, 1943).

- Jacks, Lawrence P., *The Lost Radiance of the Christian Religion* (London: Lindsey Press, 1921).
- James, William, *The Varieties of Religious Experience: A Study in Human Nature* (New York: Longmans, 1902).
- Jensen, Peter C. A., *Hat der Jesus der Evangelien wirklich gelebt? Eine Antwort an Jülicher* (Frankfurt: Neuer Frankfurter Verlag, 1910).
- Jones, E. Stanley, *A Song of Ascents: A Spiritual Autobiography* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1968).
- Jones, Rufus M., *Studies in Mystical Religion* (London: Macmillan, 1909).
- Jones, Stanley, *The Christ of Every Road: A Study in Pentecost* (New York: Abingdon Press, 1930).
- Jowett, John Henry, *Apostolic Optimism* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901).
- Jowett, John Henry, *The Passion for Souls* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1905).
- Jung, Carl G., *Psychology and Religion* (Yale: Yale University Press, 1938).
- Jung, Carl G., *Psychology of the Unconscious* (trans. Beatrice M. Hinkle; London: Kegan Paul Trench Trubner, 1916).
- Jung, Carl G., *Symbols of Transformation*, in *Collected Works of C. G. Jung. Volume 5* (1956; ed. Gerhard Adler & R. F. C. Hull; Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1967).
- Kay, William, *The Psalms Translated from the Hebrew, with Notes, Chiefly Exegetical* (London: Rivingtons, 1877).
- Kelly, Thomas R., "Holy obedience," the William Penn Lecture, delivered at the Arch Street Meeting House, Philadelphia Religious Society of Friends, Philadelphia, 1939. Available at <http://www.quaker.org/pamphlets/wpl1939a.html> (accessed 16 June 2017).
- Kelly, Thomas R., *A Testament of Devotion* (1941; repr. New York: HarperOne, 1996).
- Kennedy, Harry A. A., *The Expositor's Greek Testament: The Epistle to the Philippians* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903).
- Knox, Ronald, *The Holy Bible: A Translation from the Latin Vulgate in the Light of the Hebrew and Greek Originals* (London: Burns & Oates, 1950).
- Lamont, Daniel, *Christ and the World of Thought* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1934).
- Leacock, Stephen B., *Nonsense Novels* (London: John Lane, 1911).
- Leckie, J.H., *The World to Come and Final Destiny* (second edition; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1922).
- Leighton, Robert, *A Practical Commentary on the First Epistle General of Peter*, in John N. Pearson (ed.), *The Whole Works of the Most Reverend Father in God, Robert Leighton, D.D., Archbishop of Glasgow*. 4 volumes. (London: James Duncan, 1830).

- Lewis, C. S., *Mere Christianity* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1952).
- Lewis, C. S., *The Problem of Pain* (London: Centenary Press, 1940).
- Lewis, C. S., *The Screwtape Letters* (London: Geoffrey Bles, 1942).
- Lewis, Edwin, *A Christian Manifesto* (London: SCM Press, 1934).
- Lewis, Edwin, *The Faith We Declare: The Fondren Lectures for 1939* (Nashville: Cokesbury Press, 1939).
- Liddon, Henry P., *The Divinity of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (fourth edition; London: Rivingtons, 1869).
- Lightfoot, Joseph B., *Saint Paul's Epistle to the Philippians: A Revised Text with Introduction, Notes, and Dissertations* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1888).
- Litton, Edward A., *Introduction to Dogmatic Theology* (ed. Philip E. Hughes; Greenwood, SC: Attic Press, 1960).
- Luther, Martin, *Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (trans. J. Theodore Mueller; Grand Rapids: Zondervan Publishing House, 1954).
- Luther, Martin, *On the Bondage of the Will* (1525; trans. Henry Cole; repr. London: W. Simpkin & R. Marshall, 1823).
- M'Cheyne, Robert Murray, *The Life and Remains, Lectures, Letters, and poems of the Rev. Robert Murray M'Cheyne, Minister of St Peter's Church, Dundee* (New York: R. Carter, 1851).
- MacGregor, George H. C., *The Gospel of John*. Moffat New Testament Commentary. (London: Harper & Bros, 1929).
- Machen, J. Gresham, *The Origin of Paul's Religion* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1921).
- Machen, J. Gresham, *What is Faith?* (New York: Macmillan, 1925).
- Mackintosh, Hugh Ross, "Studies in Christian eschatology," *The Expositor* 8, 1914, 128-143.
- Mackintosh, Hugh Ross, *Immortality and the Future* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1915).
- Mackintosh, Hugh Ross, *The Christian Apprehension of God* (London: SCM Press, 1929).
- Mackintosh, Hugh Ross, *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness* (London: Harper & Bros., 1927; reprint, Nisbet & Co., 1934).
- Mackintosh, Hugh Ross, *The Doctrine of the Person of Jesus Christ* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1912).
- Mackintosh, Hugh Ross, *The Originality of the Christian Message* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1920).
- Mackintosh, Hugh Ross, *Types of Modern Theology: Schleiermacher to Barth* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1937).
- Maclaren, Alexander, *Evangelical Mysticism* (London: Baptist Tract and Book Society, c.1901).

- Maclaren, Alexander, *Expositions of Holy Scripture: Philemon, Hebrews, James, 1 Peter* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900).
- Maclaren, Alexander, *Expositions of Holy Scripture: Romans and Corinthians* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1912).
- Maclaren, Alexander, *Expositions of Holy Scripture: Second Corinthians, Galatians, and Philippians* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900).
- Maclaren, Alexander, *Expositions of Holy Scripture: St Luke* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1894).
- Maclaren, Alexander, *Expositions of Holy Scripture: St Mark* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893).
- Maclaren, Alexander, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Ephesians* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1909).
- Maclaren, Alexander, *The Epistles of St. Paul to the Colossians and Philemon* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1890).
- Macleary, George F., *The Gospel According to St. Mark* (London: C. J. Clay & Sons, 1890).
- Maltby, William R., *The Significance of Jesus* (second edition; London: Student Christian Movement, 1929).
- Manley, George Thomas, *The Return of Christ* (London: IVP, 1960).
- Marshall, Walter, *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification* (Grand Rapids, MI: Reformation Heritage Books, 2013 [1692]).
- Martensen, Hans L., *Christian Dogmatics: A Compendium of the Doctrines of Christianity* (trans. William Urwick; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1874).
- Matthews, Walter R., *God in Christian Thought and Experience* (London: Nisbet & Co., 1930).
- Matthews, Walter R., *Our Faith in God* (London: SCM Press, 1936).
- Matthews, Walter R., *The Hope of Immortality* (London: SCM Press, 1936).
- Mauro, Philip, *The 'Wretched Man' and His Deliverance* (London: Samuel E. Roberts, 1910).
- McClymont, James A., *St John* (The Century Bible; Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1901).
- McClymont, James A., *The New Testament and Its Writers* (London: A. & C. Black, 1899).
- McConkey, James H., *Life Talks: A Series of Bible Talks on the Christian Life* (Harrisburg, PA: F. Kelker, 1911).
- McConkey, James H., *The Surrendered Life: Bible Studies and Addresses on the Yielded Life* (Pittsburgh, PA: Silver Publishing Society, 1927).
- McGiffert, Arthur C., *Protestant Thought Before Kant* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911).

- McNeile, Alan H., *The Gospel According to St Matthew* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1915).
- Meyer, Heinrich A. W., *Critical and Exegetical Handbook to the Epistle to the Ephesians and the Epistle to Philemon* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1880).
- Micklem, Nathanael, *What is the Faith?* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1936).
- Mill, John Stuart, *Nature, the Utility of Religion, and Theism* (London: Longmans Green, Reader & Dyer, 1874).
- Moberly, Robert C., *Atonement and Personality* (London: J. Murray, 1901).
- Moberly, Walter H., "God and the absolute," in Burnett H. Streeter (ed.), *Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought: By Seven Oxford Men* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1912), 423-524.
- Moberly, Walter H., "The atonement," in Burnett H. Streeter (ed.), *Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought: By Seven Oxford Men* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1912), 265-336.
- Moffat, James, *The Holy Bible Containing the Old and New Testaments, a New Translation* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1922).
- Morgan, G. Campbell, *Great Chapters of the Bible* (London: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1935).
- Morgan, G. Campbell, *The Crises of the Christ* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1903).
- Morgan, G. Campbell, *The Epistle of Paul the Apostle to the Romans* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1909).
- Morgan, G. Campbell, *The Gospel According to Luke* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1931).
- Morgan, G. Campbell, *The Gospel According to Mark* (London: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1927).
- Morgan, G. Campbell, *The Spirit of God* (London: Fleming H. Revell, 1900).
- Morgan, G. Campbell, *The True Estimate of Life and How to Live* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1903).
- Morris, Leon, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross* (London: Tyndale Press, 1955).
- Morris, Leon, *The Wages of Sin: An Examination of the New Testament Teaching on Death* (London: Tyndale Press, 1955).
- Morrison, George H., *The Wings of the Morning: Addresses from a Glasgow Pulpit* (1907; repr. Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1970).
- Moule, Handley C. G., "A Morning Act of Faith" (publication details unknown).
- Moule, Handley C. G., *Outlines of Christian Doctrine* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1890).
- Moule, Handley C. G., *Outlines of Theology* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1890).
- Moule, Handley C. G., *Studies in Hebrews* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1909).

- Moule, Handley C. G., *The Epistle of St Paul to the Romans*. Expositor's Bible. (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1894).
- Moule, Handley C. G., *The Epistle to the Ephesians with Introduction and Notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1891).
- Moule, Handley C. G., *The Epistle to the Philippians with Introduction and Notes* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1893).
- Moule, Handley C. G., *The Epistle to the Romans* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1861).
- Moule, Handley C. G., *The Holy Spirit and the Church* (originally titled *Veni Creator: Thoughts on the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit*; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1890).
- Moule, Handley C. G., *Thoughts on Union with Christ* (New York: J. Pott, 1886).
- Moule, Handley C. G., *To My Younger Brethren: Chapters on Pastoral Life and Work* (fourth edition; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1902).
- Moule, Handley C. G., *Veni Creator: Thoughts on the Person and Work of the Holy Spirit of Promise* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1928).
- Mullins, Edgar Y., *Baptist Beliefs* (Louisville, KY: Baptist World Publishing Co., 1912).
- Mullins, Edgar Y., *The Axioms of Religion* (ed. C. Douglas Weaver; Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2010 [1908]).
- Mullins, Edgar Y., *The Christian Religion in its Doctrinal Expression* (Philadelphia: Roger Williams Press, 1917).
- Murray, Andrew, *Holy in Christ* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1887).
- Murray, Andrew, *Love Made Perfect* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1897).
- Murray, Andrew, *The Holiest of All: An Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (London: J. Nisbet, 1895).
- Murray, Andrew, *The Power of the Blood of Jesus* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1935).
- Murray, Andrew, *The Spirit of Christ: Thoughts on the Indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the Believer and the Church* (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., 1888).
- Murray, Andrew, *With Christ in the School of Prayer: Thoughts on Our Training for the Ministry of Intercession* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1895).
- Murray, John, *The Epistle to the Romans*. 2 volumes. New Testament Commentary (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1968).
- Myers, Frederick W. H., *The Renewal of Youth, and Other Poems* (London: Macmillan, 1882).
- Nairne, Alexander, *The Epistle to the Hebrews*. Cambridge Greek Testament (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1957).

- Nash, C. H., *Christ Interpreted: A New Translation and a Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1950).
- Neander, August, *The Life of Jesus Christ in its Historical Connexion and Historical Development* (1837; trans. John McClintock & Charles E. Blumenthal; London: Henry G. Bohn, 1852).
- Neve, Juergen L. & Heick, Otto W. *A History of Christian Thought*. 2 volumes (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1946).
- Newell, William R., *Romans Verse by Verse* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1938).
- Nicol, Robertson, *The Princes of the Church* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1921).
- Nolloth, Charles F., *The Person of Our Lord and Recent Thought* (London: Macmillan, 1908).
- Nygren, Anders, *Commentary on Romans* (Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1949).
- Orr, James, *The Christian View of God and the World* (New York: Anson D.F. Randolph & Co., 1893).
- Orr, James, *The Progress of Dogma* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901).
- Orr, James, *The Resurrection of Jesus* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1912).
- Ott, Ludwig, *Fundamentals of Catholic Dogma* (St Louis, MO: B. Herder Book Co., 1955).
- Ottley, Robert L., *The Doctrine of the Incarnation* (London: Methuen & Co., 1911).
- Otto, Rudolf, *The Idea of the Holy* (trans. John W. Harvey; London: Oxford University Press, 1923).
- Packer, J. I., "Revelation" in F. Davidson, A.M. Stibbs & E. F. Kevan (eds), *New Bible Commentary* (second edition; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1954), 24-30.
- Paley, Frederick A., *The Gospel of John: A Verbatim Translation from the Vatican ms.* (London: S. Sonnenschein, 1887).
- Pascal, Blaise, *Pascal's Pensées* (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1931).
- Paterson, William P., *The Rule of Faith: Being the Baird Lecture for 1905* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1912).
- Paxson, Ruth, *Called unto Holiness* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1936).
- Paxson, Ruth, *Life on the Highest Plane: A Study of the Spiritual Nature and Needs of Man*. 3 volumes (Chicago: Moody Press, 1928).
- Pearse, Mark G., *Thoughts on Holiness* (London: T. Woolmer, 1884).
- Pennington, Isaac, *Works of Isaac Pennington*. 4 volumes (Glenside, PA: Quaker Heritage Press, 1995-1997).
- Perkins, J. R. C., *Study Notes on Romans* (London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1958).

- Pfleiderer, Otto, *The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity*. The Hibberd Lectures, 1885 (third edition; London: Williams & Norgate, 1897).
- Pierson, Arthur T., *The Acts of the Holy Spirit* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1896).
- Plummer, Alfred, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Luke* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902).
- Plummer, Alfred, *Epistles of St. John* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1890).
- Porritt, Arthur, *John Henry Jowett, C.H., M.A., D.D.* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1926).
- Quick, Oliver C., *The Christian Sacraments*. Library of Constructive Theology (London: Harper & Bros., 1927).
- Rackham, Richard B., *The Acts of the Apostles: An Exposition* (London: Methuen, 1901).
- Ramm, Bernard, *Special Revelation and the Word of God* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961).
- Ramsay, William M., *Pictures of the Apostolic Church: Studies in the Book of Acts* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910; repr. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1959).
- Rashdall, Hastings, *The Idea of the Atonement in Christian Theology* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1919).
- Rawlinson, A. E., *The Gospel According to Mark* (London: Westminster Press, 1927).
- Reed, James A., "The later life and religious sentiments of Abraham Lincoln," *Scribner's Monthly* 6 (3), July 1873, 340.
- Rees, Thomas, "God," in James Orr, John Nuelsen, Edgar Y. Mullins, Morris Evans & Melvin G. Kyle (eds), *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1939), pages unknown.
- Reid, James, *Memoirs of the Lives and Writings of Those Eminent Divines, who Convened in the Famous Assembly of Westminster, in the Seventeenth Century* (Paisley: Stephen and Andrew Young, 1811).
- Renan, Ernest, *The Apostles, Including the Period from the Death of Jesus Until the Greater Missions of Paul* (trans. John H. Allen; Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1903).
- Riddle, K. Wilkinson, *A Popular Dictionary of Protestantism* (London: Arco Publications, 1962).
- Rigg, James M., *St. Anselm of Canterbury: A Chapter in the History of Religion* (London: Methuen & Co., 1896).
- Robinson, Archibald T., *Word Pictures in the New Testament*. 6 volumes (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1930).
- Robinson, H. Wheeler, *Suffering, Human and Divine* (London: SCM Press, 1940).
- Robinson, H. Wheeler, *The Christian Doctrine of Man* (third edition; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1958).

- Robinson, H. Wheeler, *The Christian Experience of the Holy Spirit*. Library of Constructive Theology (London: Nisbet & Co., 1928).
- Ross, John M. E., *The First Epistle of Peter: A Devotional Commentary* (London: Religious Tract Society, 1918).
- Ross, John M. E., *The Gospel According to St. Luke: A Devotional Commentary*. 3 volumes (London: Religious Tract Society, n.d.).
- Rowe, Charles A., *A Manual of Christian Evidences* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1887).
- Rowley, H. H., *The Faith of Israel: Aspects of Old Testament Thought* (London: SCM Press, 1956).
- Rutherford, Samuel, *Letters of Samuel Rutherford with a Sketch of His Life and Biographical Notices of His Correspondents* (1783; repr. ed. Andrew Bonar; London: Oliphants, 1891).
- Salmon, George, *The Infallibility of the Church: A Course of Lectures Delivered in the Divinity School of the University of Dublin* (London: John Murray, 1888).
- Sanday, William & Headlam, Arthur C., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1902).
- Sanday, William, *The Criticism of the Fourth Gospel* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1905).
- Sangster, W. E., *The Path to Perfection: An Examination and Restatement of John Wesley's Doctrine of Christian Perfection* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1943).
- Schmiedel, Paul W., "Acts," in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (11th edition; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1911).
- Scroggie, W. Graham, *The Lord's Return* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1938).
- Seeley, John R., *Ecco Homo: A Survey of the Life and Work of Jesus Christ* (Boston: Roberts Brothers, 1866).
- Selbie, William B., *The Psychology of Religion* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1924).
- Shafer, Lewis Sperry, *Systematic Theology* (8 vols.; Dallas: Dallas Seminary Press, 1947).
- Sharp, J. Alfred, *A Group Speaks* (London: Epworth Press, 1931).
- Shedd, William G. T., *Dogmatic Theology* (New York: Charles Scribner's, 1888).
- Sheed, Francis J., *Theology and Sanity* (London: Sheed & Ward, 1947).
- Shirley, John A., *The Second Man* (Boston: R.G. Badger, 1919).
- Simpson, P. Carnegie, *The Facts of Life in Relation to Faith* (New York: Hodder & Stoughton, 1913).
- Singh, Sundar, *The Cross is Heaven: The Life and Writings of Sadhu Sundar Singh* (ed. Aiyadurai J. Appasamy; London: Lutterworth Press, 1956).
- Smeatham, James, *Letters of James Smeatham: With an Introductory Memoir* (ed. Sarah Smeatham & William Davies; London: Macmillan, 1892).

- Smith, David, *The Gospels According to St. Mark and St. Luke* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1928).
- Smith, David, *The Historic Jesus* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1919).
- Smith, George A., *The Expositor's Bible: The Book of Isaiah*. 2 volumes (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1893).
- Smith, Hannah W., *The Christian's Secret of a Happy Life* (n.p.: Christian Witness Co., 1875).
- Smith, Hannah W., *The Unselfishness of God and How I Discovered It: A Spiritual Autobiography* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1903).
- Smith, Henry B., *System of Christian Theology* (fourth edition; ed. William S. Karr; New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1890).
- Snaith, Norman H., *The Distinctive Ideas of the Old Testament* (London: Epworth Press, 1944).
- Snaith, Norman H., *The Inspiration and Authority of the Bible* (London: Epworth Press, 1958).
- Speer, Robert E., *The Finality of Jesus Christ* (London: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1933; repr. Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1968).
- Spurgeon, Charles H., *The Treasury of David* (London: Passmore & Alabaster, 1887).
- Stalker, James, *The Life of Jesus Christ* (London: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1909).
- Stanley, Arthur P., *Sinai and Palestine in Connexion with their History* (1856; second edition; London: John Murray, 1875).
- Steere, Douglas V., *Prayer and Worship* (New York: Association Press, 1947).
- Stewart, James S., *A Man in Christ: The Vital Elements of St. Paul's Religion* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935).
- Stewart, James S., *Lectures on Preaching* (London: English Universities Press, 1958).
- Stewart, James S., *The Strong Name* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1940).
- Stibbs, A. M., *The Meaning of the Word Blood in Scripture* (London: Tyndale Press, 1962).
- Stone, Nathan J., *The Names of God in the Old Testament* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1944).
- Stott, John R. W., *The Baptism and Fullness of the Holy Spirit* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1964).
- Strauss, David S., *The Life of Jesus, Critically Examined* (1835; trans. from the fourth German edition by George Eliot; New York: C. Blanchard, 1860).
- Streeter, Burnett H. (ed.), *Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought: By Seven Oxford Men* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1912).
- Streeter, Burnett H., "The suffering of God," *The Hibbert Journal* 12, April 1914, 603-611.

- Streeter, Burnett H., *Reality* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1926).
- Streeter, Burnett H., *The Buddha and the Christ: An Exploration of the Meaning of the Universe and the Purpose of Human Life* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1932).
- Streeter, Burnett H., *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship, and Dates* (1924; fourth revised edition; London: Macmillan & Co., 1930).
- Strong, Augustus H., *Systematic Theology: A Compendium* (Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1907).
- Swete, Henry B., *The Gospel According to St Mark* (London: Macmillan, 1913).
- Swift, C. E. Graham, "Mark," in *The New Bible Commentary: Revised* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1970).
- Tasker, R. V. G., *The Biblical Doctrine of the Wrath of God* (London: Tyndale Press, 1951).
- Taylor, F. Howard & Taylor, Mary G., *Hudson Taylor in Early Years: The Growth of a Soul* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1911).
- Taylor, F. Howard & Taylor, Mary G., *Hudson Taylor's Spiritual Secret* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1932).
- Taylor, Hudson, *God's Fellow Workers* (Philadelphia: Overseas Missionary Fellowship, n.d.).
- Taylor, Mary G., *Hudson Taylor and the China Inland Mission: The Growth of a Work of God* (London: Morgan & Scott, 1918).
- Taylor, Vincent, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation* (London: Macmillan, 1946).
- Taylor, Vincent, *Jesus and His Sacrifice: A Study of the Passion-Sayings in the Gospels* (London: Macmillan, 1937).
- Taylor, Vincent, *The Epistle to the Romans* (London: Epworth Press, 1955).
- Taylor, Vincent, *The Formation of the Gospel Tradition* (London: Macmillan, 1935).
- Temple, William, "The church," in Burnett H. Streeter (ed.), *Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought: By Seven Oxford Men* (London: Macmillan, 1912), 337-360.
- Temple, William, "The divinity of Christ," in Burnett H. Streeter (ed.), *Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought: By Seven Oxford Men* (London: Macmillan, 1912), 211-264.
- Temple, William, *Christ's Revelation of God* (London: SCM Press, 1925).
- Temple, William, *Nature, Man, and God* (London: Macmillan, 1953).
- Tersteegen, Gerhard, *The Quiet Way: A Christian Path to Inner Peace* (London: Epworth Press, 1953).

- Thomas, W. H. Griffith, *Life Abiding and Abounding: Bible Studies in Prayer and Meditation* (Chicago: Bible Institute Colportage Association, 1910).
- Thomas, W. H. Griffith, *St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans: A Devotional Commentary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1947).
- Thomas, W. H. Griffith, *The Apostle John: Studies in His Life and Writings* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1881).
- Thomas, W. H. Griffith, *The Holy Spirit of God* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1913).
- Thomas, W. H. Griffith, *The Principles of Theology: An Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles* (Longmans, Green & Co., 1930).
- Thouless, Robert H., *An Introduction to the Psychology of Religion* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1923).
- Torrey, Charles C., *The Composition and Date of Acts* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1916).
- Tozer, A. W., *The Pursuit of God* (Harrisburg, PA: Christian Publications, 1948).
- Trench, Richard C., *Notes on the Miracles of Our Lord* (1850; London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1895).
- Trine, Ralph Waldo, *In Tune with the Infinite, Or Fullness of Peace, Power and Plenty* (New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1897).
- Truett, George W., *A Quest for Souls* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1917).
- Underhill, Evelyn, *Mysticism: A Study of the Nature and Development of Man's Spiritual Consciousness* (1911; London: E.P. Dutton, 1930).
- Underhill, Evelyn, *Worship* (London: Nisbet, 1937).
- Van Dusen, Henry P., *Spirit, Son and Father: Christian Faith in the Light of the Holy Spirit* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958).
- Voysey, Charles, *An Examination of Canon Liddon's Bampton Lectures on the Divinity of Our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1872).
- Warfield, B. B., "The biblical idea of revelation," in *The Works of B.B. Warfield. Volume 1* (1927; repr. Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1981).
- Warfield, B. B., *Biblical Foundations* (London: Tyndale Press, 1958).
- Watkins, H. W., *The Gospel According to St John* (London: Cassell, Peter, Galpin & Co., 1910).
- Weatherhead, Leslie D., *Psychology, Religion and Healing* (New York: Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, 1951).
- Welch, Claud, *In This Name: The Doctrine of the Trinity in Contemporary Theology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952).
- Westcott, Brook F., *The Gospel According to St John* (London: John Murray, 1882).

- Whittier, John G. (ed.), *The Journal of John Woolman* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1871).
- Whyte, Alexander, *Jacob Behmen: An Appreciation* (third edition; Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1895).
- Whyte, Alexander, *The Walk, Conversation and Character of Jesus Christ Our Lord* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1905).
- Williams, Isaac, *Thoughts on the Study of the Holy Gospels* (London: Rivingtons, 1870).
- Woods, Frank T., *What is God Like? An Attempt at an Answer* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1928).
- Wotherspoon, H. J., *What Happened at Pentecost* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1938).
- Wrede, William, *The Messianic Secret* (1901; trans. James C. G. Grieg; Cambridge: James Clarke & Co., 1971).
- Wuest, Kenneth S., *Romans in the Greek New Testament for the English Reader* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1955).

APPENDIX 3

Scripture index to primary sources

Numbers in bold type refer to primary sources as listed in Appendix 1.

Genesis

1:1 **55:1**; **85:2**, 4;
121:4; **185:1**
 1:1f **85:4**; **118:3**
 1:2 **53:22**; **55:2**;
85:15; **92:28**; **118:9**;
120:3 (three times);
121:4
 1:2f **120:6**
 1:3 **118:9**
 1:6 **118:9**
 1:9 **118:9**
 1:26 **85:4**; **92:13**;
190:2
 1:26f **11:18**
 1:28 **11:18**
 1:3 **92:28**
 2:3 **31:161**
 2:7 **119:10**; **120:3**, 44
 3:17f **62:29**
 3:22 **85:4**; **92:13**
 4:4f **94:4**
 5:24 **185:5**; **190:4**
 6:3 **120:6**, 10
 9:26 **92:13**
 12 **94:6**
 14:17-20 **103:331**
 14:18 **66:15**; **92:1**;
103:332
 17 **53:8**; **97:16**
 17:1 **92:13**
 17:1-5 **62:14**
 17:9-11 **53:14**; **97:28**
 18:2-22 **72:27**
 18:23 **185:14**
 19:1f **67:11**; **72:27**
 19:24 **85:4**
 20:13 **85:4**
 22:9 **11:14**
 22:12 **62:32**
 24:12 **92:13**
 26:19 **159:2**
 27:35 **55:7**
 27:36 **55:7**
 32:27 **92:13**
 33:20 **92:13**

35:7 **85:4**

42:36 **22:7**
 49:24 **92:13**

Exodus

183:1
 3 **99:216**
 3:6 **92:13**
 3:10 **69:13**
 3:13-15 **92:13**
 3:14 **144:51**; **147:160**
 3:14f **185:2**
 3:18 **92:13**; **119:12**;
120:45
 3:20 **11:21**
 4:22 **62:33**; **85:10**
 6:1 **92:13**
 6:2f **92:13**
 7:11, 22 **49:182**
 8:7 **49:182**
 12:18 **51:64**
 12:26 **51:64**
 12:27 **51:64**
 12:43-45 **55:27**
 13:2 **53:14**; **97:28**;
119:12; **120:45**
 13:8 **51:64**
 17:1-7 **69:14**
 19:6 **120:45**
 19:22 **119:13**; **120:46**
 20:7 **92:13**
 20:11 **119:13**; **120:46**
 20:12 **98:126**
 21:17 **98:126**
 21:5 **12a:1**
 23:14-17 **55:30**
 23:17 **53:18**; **92:13**;
97:36
 24 **94:16**
 24:1-11 **69:33**
 24:3-8 **94:20**
 24:8 **94:16**
 24:16-27 **53:13**
 24:16f **97:24**
 24:8 **100:228**

24:9-11 **22:17**

24:16 **69:2**
 25:22 **49:153**
 28:3 **120:3**
 29:4 **66:23**; **67:2**
 29:20 **66:23**
 29:21 **67:2**
 29:37 **119:13**; **120:46**
 29:44 **119:13**; **120:46**
 30:3 **67:2**
 30:12 **94:15**
 31:2-4 **118:9**; **120:4**
 31:3 **120:3**
 33:7f **67:12**
 33:17 **120:6**
 33:19ff **69:2**
 33:22 **22:17**
 34:6 **55:4**
 34:34 **92:29**
 35:31 **118:9**; **120:3**, 4
 40:30 **67:2**
 40:38 **53:7**; **97:13**

Leviticus

1:5 **94:7**
 1:8 **11:14**
 2:13 **51:49**
 4:35 **94:8**
 6:12 **11:14**; **67:12**
 6:23 **67:12**
 6:30 **67:12**
 8:30 **67:2**
 11:44 **119:13**; **120:46**
 16 **66:23**; **69:33**;
103:347
 16:4 **66:23**; **103:350**
 16:15 **69:41**
 16:21 **94:29**
 16:27 **67:12**
 16:29 **99:203**
 17:11 **69:35**; **94:8**
 17:14 **69:35**
 20:7 **119:13**; **120:46**
 20:25 **119:13**; **120:46**

21:1-8 **119:13**;
120:46

21:4 **119:13**; **120:46**
 22:32 **119:13**; **120:46**
 27:14 **119:13**; **120:46**

Numbers

3:11-13 **53:14**; **97:28**
 3:12f **119:12**; **120:46**
 3:13 **119:12**; **120:46**
 6:24-26 **85:4**; **118:3**
 11:26 **69:1**
 12:5 **97:24**
 12:6-8 **103:320**
 12:8 **53:13**
 12:14 **51:70**
 13:8 **53:6**
 13:30 **29:51f**
 14:34 **94:21**
 15:30 **67:2**
 15:30f **69:19**
 18:5 **53:14**
 18:15 **97:28**
 18:22 **67:1**
 19:11 **51:76**
 20:1-13 **69:14**
 23:19 **152:123**
 24:8 **53:9**; **97:18**

Deuteronomy

1:6 **147:160**
 1:31 **92:14**
 6:1-5 **118:3**
 6:3-5 **85:4**
 6:4 **92:27**
 6:5 **51:57**
 7:6 **119:12**; **120:46**
 8:2 **142:3**
 8:5 **92:14**
 13:1-3 **55:10**
 16:16 **53:18**; **97:36**
 17:12 **69:19**
 18 **99:212**

21:17 72:22
 21:23 94:20
 22:4 99:187
 25:5 99:215
 25:9 51:70
 27:16 98:126
 29:18 67:8; 72:22
 29:29 27:6; 57:2;
 85:8; 101:256; 206:6
 32:6 92:14
 32:43 69:5
 33:8 69:14
 33:17 53:9; 97:18
 33:27 85:8

Joshua

1:2 62:3
 8:33 55:17
 24:29 62:3

Judges

3:10 118:9; 120:4
 6:11-20 67:11; 72:27
 6:34 118:9; 120:4
 13:2-14 67:11; 72:27
 13:25 120:4

1 Samuel

1:9 11:13
 2:1-10 53:8
 3:3 11:13
 3:18 53:7; 97:14
 10 120:4
 16:7 53:5; 81:66;
 97:8
 16:14 120:7
 17:45 92:13
 20:29 72:22

2 Samuel

7:14 69:5
 15:12 11:9
 18:1-8 11:9

1 Kings

7:14 118:9; 120:4
 8:27 85:8; 92:37, 38;
 121:5
 22:19f 92:13
 22:19-23 120:7
 22:21 120:5

2 Kings

1:8 98:53
 1:10-14 99:160
 17:6 53:17; 97:34
 17:24 99:159
 17:24-41 55:16
 19:14-29 11:2, 3
 19:34f 11:2

1 Chronicles

16:29 110: 9; 128:2

2 Chronicles

25:9 127:2
 26:18 53:4; 97:8
 34:22 53:17; 97:34
 36:22 121:4

Ezra

4 55:16
 4:2 99:159
 4:10 99:159

Nehemiah

6 55:16
 8:10 12a:7
 9:20 120:5, 6

Esther

Job

5:9 11:21
 11:7-9 92:37
 19:25 190:4
 19:25-27 11:17
 24:8 92:13
 26:12 121:4
 26:13 118:9; 120:3
 27:3 120:3
 30:6 92:13
 33:4 120:3
 37:14 120:3
 38:12 144:84
 39:9-11 53:9; 97:18
 39:29 120:3

Psalms

185:6

1 11:4, 5
 1:1-3 11:5
 1:2 11:5
 1:4-6 11:5
 2:1-6 147:174
 2:5 67:9
 2:6 72:24
 2:7 69:5; 85:4; 94:13;
 118:3

2:8 69:1
 2:9 166:63
 3 11:9, 10
 4 11:10, 11, 12
 4:1 11:10
 4:2f 11:10
 4:3 11:11
 4:4f 11:11
 4:6f 11:11
 5 11:13, 14
 5:1-3 11:13
 5:4-6 11:13
 5:7 11:14
 5:7-9 11:13
 5:10-12 11:13
 6 11:15, 16
 6:2 11:15, 16
 6:3 11:15
 7 11:17
 7:1 11:17
 7:3-5 11:17
 7:6-10 11:17
 7:11-17 11:17
 7:17 92:13
 8 11:18, 19; 85:8
 8:5 11:18, 19
 8:7f 11:18
 9 11:20, 21
 9:3 11:21
 9:9-12 11:21
 9:10 55:28
 11:1 11:6
 16:5 64
 17:15 49:171; 199:2;
 208:5
 18:9-12 120:3
 18:10 22:125
 19:1-6 92:10
 19:11 92:22
 21:5f 11:18
 22:22 69:10
 23 55:39; 85:6; 92:23
 23:2 144:75, 54;
 146:4
 23:2f 57:31
 23:5 51:64; 152:125
 27:10 92:14
 32:3 49:158
 33 92:26
 33:3 119:9

33:6 85:4; 92:28
 (twice)
 34:4 46:62
 34:8 12a:5
 36:5 142:4
 37 92:25; 185:3;
 190:3
 37:3-5 85:13
 37:5 154:98
 37:7 121:9; 161:2
 37:24 53:8
 39:6 99:177
 40:6-8 69:42
 42:1 131b:6
 42:1f 112:100
 42:1f 110:21; 161:3
 45:6f 69:6
 46 11:3
 46:7 11:2, 3
 46:10 11:3
 46:11 11:2, 3
 48:2 67:9; 72:24
 49:7f 94:14
 50 66:21; 103:348
 51:10 120:8
 51:11 120:5, 6, 10
 57:7 144:49
 62 85:2
 62:5 144:50; 146:4;
 151:118; 152:123;
 194:1
 62:8 115:73
 63:8 110:21; 112:100
 68:5 85:10
 69 22:127
 69:9 55:10
 71:16 157:2
 72 11:1
 72:18f 2:5
 73:25f 110:6; 114:66
 78 62:3
 78:1 92:13
 78:4 11:21
 78:11 11:21
 78:13 118:15
 78:32 11:21
 78:68 67:9; 72:24
 80:8-19 22:52
 84 85:6
 84:1f 161:3
 85:9 69:2
 89:52 11:1
 90:1 144:16; 159:11
 97:2 147:170
 97:7 69:5
 102:25-27 69:6
 103:1 146:8
 103:3 146:8
 103:13 85:10; 92:14

104:4 **69:6**
 104:29f **120:6**
 104:30 **121:4**
 105:15 **69:1**
 106:28-30 **118:9**
 107:2 **12a:5; 13:3**
 107:20 **92:28**
 109 **22:127**
 110 **64:9; 69:25**
 110:4 **66:15; 69:20,**
 25; 103:332
 110:6 **69:21**
 111-114 **92:9**
 115-118 **51:65**
 116:13 **51:64**
 118 **51:54**
 119:32 **49:192; 118:7**
 119:54 **11:5; 118:7**
 119:87 **92:28**
 121 **11:6, 8**
 121:2 **11:8**
 121:4 **144:89**
 121:5 **11:8**
 125:1 **67:9; 72:24**
 132:2 **92:13**
 132:14 **67:9**
 137-138 **97:8**
 138:7f **147:185**
 138:8 **144:63;**
 152:130
 139:7 **120:6, 8**
 143:10 **118:9; 120:5**
 145:3 **85:8; 92:37**
 145:5 **11:18**
 145:12 **11:18**
 147:4 **85:8**
 147:15-18 **92:28**

Proverbs

3:11 **67:7**
 3:11f **72:18**
 3:34 **11:4**
 9:7f **11:4**
 13:1 **11:4**
 14:12 **11:5**
 14:30 **119:9**
 15:12 **11:4**
 17:22 **119:9**
 19:25 **11:4**
 19:29 **11:4**
 21:11 **11:4**
 21:24 **11:4**
 27:17 **147:194**
 30:4 **85:4**

Ecclesiastes

3:11 **57:71; 144:16;**
 159:11

Song of Songs

22:65
 1:2-6 **12a:3**
 1:2-7 **12a:4**
 1:3 **12a:4**
 1:4 **12a:2**
 1:4-17 **13:1**
 1:5 **12a:2**
 1:6 **12a:2**
 1:6-7 **13:1**
 1:7 **12a:2, 5 (twice);**
 13:2
 1:7-8 **12a:3**
 1:8 **12a:6; 13:3**
 1:9 **13:4**
 1:9-2:6 **12a:6**
 1:11 **12a:3**
 1:13-17 **13:2 (twice)**
 1:16-17 **12a:6; 13:4**
 2:1ff **13:2**
 2:1 **13:9**
 2:1-4 **12a:8**
 2:1-7 **13:1**
 2:2 **12a:6**
 2:2-4 **13:4**
 2:3 **12a:2; 13:9; 22:75**
 2:9 **12a:5; 13:3**
 2:16 **13:8; 160:4**
 3:1-11 **13:6**
 4:1ff **13:6**
 4:12 **12a:6; 13:4, 7;**
 110:9; 128:2; 160:5

5:1 **13:7 (twice)**

5:2-9 **13:8**

5:5 **13:8**

5:10-16 **13:8**

6:1 **12a:2**

6:1-3 **13:8**

6:3 **13:8; 28:34f;**
 160:4

6:4-12 **13:9**

6:9 **13:9**

6:11-13 **12a:2**

6:13 **12a:2; 72:24**

7:10 **13:8; 160:4**

8:6-7 **12a:2; 13:6, 9**

8:11 **12a:2**

8:13 **12a:2, 6; 13:4**

Isaiah

1:15 **94:11**

1:24 **92:13**

2:10 **105:17**

2:12 **92:13**

2:19 **105:17**

2:21 **105:17**

3:10f **185:14, 15**

5:1f **22:55**

5:1-7 **22:52**

5:7 **22:55**

5:16 **92:13**

5:24 **92:13**

6:1-8 **49:153**

6:3 **85:4; 92:13; 118:3**

6:5 **92:13; 202:8**

6:6 **94:15**

6:8 **92:13**

6:9f **98:87**

7:14 **11:2**

7:14 **92:28**

8:8 **11:2**

8:10 **11:2**

8:14 **53:16; 97:32**

8:14f **99:213**

8:17 **69:10**

8:18 **69:10**

9:2 **144:29**

9:6 **92:28**

10:16 **92:13**

10:23 **92:13**

10:33 **92:13 (twice)**

11:1-5 **120:5**

11:2-5 **118:9; 120:5**

11:6-9 **98:54**

11:7 **121:4**

14:14 **92:13**

20:2 **94:15**

24:5 **147:168**

25:7 **53:16; 97:32**

26:3 **146:4**

26:8 **119:10; 120:44**

28:16 **179:370**

29:15 **98:126**

30:15 **11:3; 144:84**

31:3 **120:6**

32:15 **118:9; 120:5, 8**

32:18 **146:4**

32:2 **92:13**

32:15 **120:3**

33:17 **144:91**

40:1 **53:15**

40:3 **98:51; 104:2**

40:5 **69:2**

40:12-17 **85:2**

40:13 **105:17**

41:9f **69:11**

42:1 **120:2120:5**

42:1ff **94:13**

42:1-4 **94:11**

42:6 **53:16; 97:31**

43:3 **55:5**

44:3 **120:5**

44:3-5 **118:9; 120:5**

44:28 **121:4**

45:5 **147:185**

45:11 **154:95**

48:16 **85:4; 92:28;**
 119:2

49:1-6 **94:11**

49:15 **92:14**

50:4-9 **94:11**

51:15 **118:9**

52:13 **55:5**

52:13-53:12 **94:11**

52:14 **51:70**

53 **27:53; 94:18f;**
 94:32; 94:39;
 100:242; 105:10;

53:4 **154:95**

53:5 **94:11; 154:95**

53:11 **95:11; 184:3**

53:11f **94:13, 14**

53:12 **51:53; 55:5**

54:5 **12a:1; 13:1**

55:11 **92:28**

56:7 **51:54**

57:15 **85:6; 110:7;**
 121:3; 161:1

57:19 **51:57**

59:20 **120:5, 8**

60:3 **53:16; 97:31**

61:1 **92:28**

63:10 **92:28; 120:6**

63:10f **120:5**

63:14 **121:4; 120:8**

63:16 **92:14**

63:9-12 **92:28**

64:1 **11:9**

64:4 **120:8**

64:5 **85:6**

64:8 **92:14**

65:16 **55:7**

66:1 **92:37**

66:13 **92:14**

Jeremiah

1:4 **120:4**

2:12 **22:82**

2:13 **120:28**

2:21 **22:52**

6:19 **94:11**

7:11 **51:54**

10:23 **2:3; 147:188**

17:12 **69:18**

19:10 **94:15**

20:9 **110:24; 112:104**

21:34 **120:8**

23:1 **55:38**

23:5 **184:3**

31:31 65:4; 100:228;
120:1
31:31-36 118:6
31:32 69:11
31:33 55:12; 118:7;
119:1; 120:8; 121:1
31:33f 120:8
31:34 94:16
32:28 120:8

Lamentations

3:16 144:25

Ezekiel

1:4 85:8
1:26f 120:6
2:1 67:8; 72:21
2:2 92:28; 118:9
(twice); 120:4
2:11 105:11 (twice)
3:12 118:9
3:14 118:9
4:3 94:15
8:3 92:28; 118:9;
120:4
11:1-24 118:9; 120:4
11:19 120:1
11:20 120:8
13:3 118:9; 120:4
36:25 55:12; 121:1
36:26 118:7, 9; 120:1,
5
36:26f 119:1, 12;
120:8, 45
36:27 120:6
36:28 118:7; 119:1;
120:8; 121:1
37:26 120:8

Daniel

2:44 99:213
4:8 120:4
7:13 51:70

Hosea

13:9
183:1
1:7 85:4
2:9 12a:1
2:19 13:1
5:13-6:1 98:76
9:7 118:9; 120:4
11:1 85:10; 92:14

11:4 13:1
14:8 22:54

Joel

2:28 55:12; 57:7
2:28-32 120:5
2:32 67:9; 72:24;
105:17

Amos

5:4 155:5
5:24 94:11
8:9 51:75

Obadiah

17 110:24, 25

Jonah

4:11 85:11

Micah

4:7 67:9; 72:24
6:7 94:6

Habakkuk

2:3f 67:3
2:4 62:6
3:1 11:17

Haggai

1 73:81
1:6 110:12
2:5 120:5
2:5f 92:28
2:6 67:11

Zechariah

3 69:11
3:1 53:6
4:6 120:4
7:12 92:28
8:8 120:8
9:9 99:209; 51:54;
55:44
12:10 120:5
13:9 120:8

Malachi

184:2
1:7 105:17
1:12 105:17
2:10 85:10
3:1 98:52
3:1f 51:54
3:6 92:14; 152:124
3:8 119:12; 120:45
3:16 27:22; 57:11;
101:272
4:2 53:10; 97:19

Tobit

1:2 53:17; 97:34

Matthew

1:34 97:21
2:22f 97:35
3:4-11 110:18; 111:3;
117:87
3:7 34:85
3:7-12 55:4
3:11 120:9, 10a
3:13-17 120:10
3:15 94:13; 120:10a
3:17 24:5; 25d:2;
55:46; 104:3
4:12 99:157; 53:23;
120:12
5:3 52:1
5:6 110:21; 112:100
5:8 67:8; 72:21
5:10-12 118:20
5:11f 55:55
5:13 99:190
5:13-15 34:85
5:45 85:11; 92:14, 15
(twice)
5:48 69:22; 92:14, 15
6:1 92:14, 15
6:4 92:15 (twice)
6:5 164:2
6:5ff 85:12
6:8 164:2; 199:2;
202:2
6:9 25a:2; 85:11;
92:14
6:9f 92:16
6:10 146:10
6:11f 22:129
6:12f 98:88
6:13 164:4
6:14 92:14
6:18 92:15
6:18-21 99:177

6:19 55:24
6:19-34 51:63
6:25 204:1
6:26 92:14 (twice),
15; 199:2
6:26-31 202:2
6:27 204:1; 205:2
6:28 144:61
6:28ff 152:129
6:31 199:2
6:32 92:14, 15; 205:2
6:34 144:87
7:3 69:13
7:7 146:9
7:8 164:3
7:11 92:14 (twice)
7:21 92:14, 15, 16
7:32 69:22
8:3f 69:3
8:12 185:16
8:17 110:17; 119:20;
154:95
9:32f 98:67
9:37 99:163
10:1 154:92
10:3 22:36
10:7f 110:16
10:16 55:5
10:20 120:9, 11
10:29 92:14; 99:175;
154:96
10:29f 147:176
10:32 105:7, 12
10:34-39 55:29
11:13 120:9
11:18 66:10
11:20-24 55:9
11:20ff 85:11
11:27 54:1; 92:15;
105:12 (three times)
11:27-30 22:4
11:28 69:15; 105:7;
144:13, 40; 146:4;
161:3
12:2 120:9
12:13 98:67
12:28 120:10
12:38-42 98:138
12:40 51:60
12:50 92:15; 105:12
13 99:184
13:22f 51:63
13:55 55:30
14 25c:2
14:13-23 55:22
14:23 24:4; 55:23
15:18-20 118:7
16:13-28 55:32
16:16 51:70

16:18 **98:145**
 16:20 **55:17**
 16:23 **34:85; 62:27**
 16:27 **94:14**
 17:1-13 **193:1**
 17:2 **49:153**
 17:5 **24:5; 25c:2; 25d:2**
 17:21 **24:8; 25f:2**
 17:24-27 **29:47**
 18:10-14 **51:49**
 18:19 **154:94**
 18:20 **34:82; 66:17; 103:340; 131d:3, 7; 142:12**
 18:35 **92:14**
 19:1-20:34 **99:158**
 19:3-12 **99:196**
 19:9 **51:50**
 19:13 **69:22**
 19:28 **51:52, 63**
 19:29 **98:57**
 20:20-23 **51:52**
 20:28 **94:14; 144:41**
 21:1-11 **55:44**
 21:15 **51:61**
 21:34-36 **99:179**
 21:38 **66:3**
 22:5 **69:7**
 22:21 **166:35**
 22:41-46 **99:216**
 22:43 **120:9**
 22:46 **51:58**
 23:23 **99:203**
 23:38 **55:9**
 23:45 **69:25**
 24 **99:201**
 24:3-14 **99:220**
 24:17-21 **100:228**
 24:25 **100:239**
 24:42 **179:369**
 25:1 **94:13; 200:3**
 25:1-13 **106:8**
 25:5-19 **99:179**
 25:6 **200:3**
 25:41 **185:16**
 26 **25c:2**
 26:2 **100:225**
 26:7 **100:236**
 26:8 **55:44**
 26:10 **55:44**
 26:13 **55:44**
 26:15 **51:63**
 26:26 **100:228; 55:28**
 26:26-29 **94:15**
 26:28 **94:16**
 26:36-46 **24:4**
 26:41 **34:86**
 26:44 **55:17**

26:50 **100:234**
 26:53 **62:20**
 26:59-68 **100:235**
 26:61 **55:10**
 26:69-75 **146:5**
 26:70 **100:236**
 27:14 **98:139; 110:21; 112:100**
 27:22 **100:239**
 27:36 **51:74**
 27:42 **144:41; 51:74 (twice)**
 27:44 **51:74**
 27:46 **22:108; 94:17**
 27:51-53 **51:76**
 27:54 **100:242, 244**
 27:62-66 **51:77**
 28:1 **100:246**
 28:9f **51:78**
 28:16-20 **51:78**
 28:18 **27:12; 57:6; 101:262**
 28:18-20 **94:18; 142:13**
 28:19 **85:4; 92:30; 110:5; 114:64; 118:3; 120:9, 11; 121:2**
 28:19f **27:42**
 28:20 **11:2; 12a:5; 13:3; 146:5; 206:1**

Mark

1 **158:2**
 1:1 **98:119**
 1:2-8 **98:51-53**
 1:4-6 **55:4**
 1:6-8 **110:18; 111:3**
 1:8 **120:9, 33**
 1:9-11 **120:10**
 1:9-13 **98:54**
 1:10 **98:48; 144:38**
 1:12 **98:47; 120:10a; 144:38**
 1:12f **120:10**
 1:13 **11:19; 24:2; 25b:2; 98:49**
 1:14 **53:23; 99:157**
 1:16 **158:3**
 1:16-20 **98:56-58**
 1:16-45 **98:48**
 1:18 **98:47; 144:38; 158:3**
 1:20 **98:47; 158:3**
 1:21-35 **98:59-64**
 1:22 **55:9; 105:5**
 1:27 **51:55**
 1:28 **98:47; 158:3**

1:31 **98:47**
 1:32 **154:92**
 1:34 **110:16**
 1:35 **24:2, 3, 4; 25b:2; 25c:2 (twice)**
 1:36-45 **98:65-68**
 1:38 **54:1; 104:1**
 1:40 **98:153**
 1:42 **98:47**
 1:43 **98:47**
 2:1-12 **98:69-73**
 2:5-9 **69:7**
 2:5-10 **55:20**
 2:8 **98:152**
 2:10 **105:7**
 2:13-17 **98:74-76**
 2:16 **98:152**
 2:18 **98:152**
 2:18-22 **98:77-79**
 Mk 2:18ff **120:29**
 2:19 **94:13**
 2:23-28 **87:80f**
 2:24 **98:152**
 2:24ff **120:29**
 3:1-6 **98:82-84**
 3:5 **55:9**
 3:7-12 **98:85-87**
 3:13-19 **98:88-91**
 3:14 **98:117; 120:30**
 3:16 **98:57**
 3:17 **99:160**
 3:20-30 **98:92f**
 3:21 **159:5**
 3:22 **98:103**
 3:22ff **105:7**
 3:28-30 **66:13**
 3:29 **69:23b; 120:10**
 3:32-35 **99:172**
 3:33 **100:227**
 4:1f **98:56**
 4:1-9 **173:2**
 4:1-11 **120:10**
 4:1-20 **98:94-98**
 4:8f **57:47**
 4:10 **98:117**
 4:10-12 **98:86**
 4:19 **51:65**
 4:21-25 **98:99-101**
 4:34 **98:117**
 4:41 **205:1**
 5:1-13 **98:102-105**
 5:22-41 **98:109-112**
 5:25-34 **98:106-108**
 5:29 **98:67**
 5:31 **98:117**
 5:34 **119:20**
 6 **25c:2**
 6:1 **98:117**
 6:1-5 **98:113-116**

6:1-8 **117:87**
 6:3 **55:30**
 6:6-13 **98:117f**
 6:14-17 **98:119f**
 6:26-30 **98:129-131**
 6:30-46 **55:22**
 6:39 **55:23**
 6:45-56 **98:121-124**
 6:46 **24:4**
 6:68 **34:83**
 7:1-12 **980:125-128**
 7:8-13 **98:189**
 7:18 **130:18**
 7:24-30 **98:129-131**
 7:31-37 **98:132-135**
 7:35 **98:67**
 8:1-9 **98:136-139**
 8:3 **100:246**
 8:12 **98:72**
 8:14-21 **98:140f**
 8:22-26 **98:142-144**
 8:27-30 **98:145-147**
 8:27-9:1 **55:32**
 8:29 **105:10**
 8:31 **94:14**
 8:34 **98:57**
 8:34-38 **98:146f**
 8:35 **105:7**
 9:1 **98:147**
 9:2 **98:119; 49:153**
 9:2-8 **98:148-150**
 9:14-29 **98:151-153**
 9:29 **98:79**
 9:31 **94:14**
 9:48 **185:16**
 9:50 **51:65; 99:190**
 10:2-12 **51:50f**
 10:13-16 **51:52; 105:5**
 10:17-22 **51:52**
 10:18 **92:14**
 10:23 **51:65**
 10:23-31 **51:52**
 10:25 **51:63**
 10:32 **99:159**
 10:32-34 **51:52**
 10:33f **94:14**
 10:35-40 **51:52f**
 10:45 **51:53; 69:7; 94:14**
 10:46-52 **51:53**
 11:1-11 **51:53f; 55:44**
 11:12-14 **51:54**
 11:15-19 **551:4**
 11:17 **51:61, 65**
 11:22 **62:11**
 11:22-26 **51:55**
 11:23 **164:3**
 11:23ff **164:3**

- 11:24 **25f:2; 146:9**
 11:27-33 **51:55**
 12:1-12 **51:55f**
 12:13-17 **51:56f**
 12:18-27 **51:57**
 12:28-34 **51:57f**
 12:35-37 **99:216**
 12:35-40 **51:58**
 12:36 **120:9**
 12:38f **98:71**
 12:41 **99:218**
 12:43 **51:65**
 13:1-37 **51:58-60**
 13:3-13 **99:220**
 13:11 **120:9, 11**
 13:26 **206:4**
 13:37 **34:86**
 14 **25c:2**
 14:1 **100:225;**
 14:1f **51:61f**
 14:1-72 **51:60f**
 14:3-9 **51:62**
 14:7 **51:65**
 14:8 **99:208**
 14:10f **51:62f**
 14:12-16 **51:63f**
 14:17-21 **51:65f**
 14:22 **94:15; 110:24;**
 112:105; 120:32
 14:22-25 **51:66; 94:15**
 14:24 **94:16**
 14:26-31 **51:66f**
 14:32-42 **24:4; 51:67f**
 14:36 **62:29; 144:45**
 14:43-52 **51:68**
 14:53-65 **51:68-71;**
 100:235
 14:70 **100:236**
 14:72 **51:71; 100:236**
 15:1-15 **51:71f**
 15:16-20 **51:73**
 15:21-32 **51:73f**
 15:32 **51:74**
 15:33-41 **51:75f**
 15:34 **51:75; 94:17**
 15:42-47 **51:76f**
 15:6-15 **51:72f**
 16:1-8 **51:77f**
 16:9-11 **51:78**
 16:12f **51:78**
 16:14-18 **51:78f**
 16:15 **94:18**
 16:17 **122:2**
 16:19f **51:79**
 16:20 **57:45**

Luke
 1:1-4 **53:1f; 97:3f**
 1:5-7 **97:6f**
 1:5-25 **53:3-6**
 1:6 **97:35; 120:10**
 1:8-12 **97:7f**
 1:13f **97:8f**
 1:15 **97:27; 110:23;**
 112:103
 1:16f **97:20**
 1:17 **97:9**
 1:19 **97:26**
 1:23-25 **97:9f**
 1:26-29 **97:11**
 1:26-45 **53:6f**
 1:30 **97:26**
 1:30-33 **97:12**
 1:32 **97:27**
 1:34-38 **97:13**
 1:35 **97:18**
 1:38 **97:27**
 1:39-45 **97:14**
 1:41 **97:18; 110:23;**
 112:103
 1:45 **53:7**
 1:46-55 **53:8; 97:14f**
 1:57-66 **97:16f**
 1:57-80 **53:8-11**
 1:67 **110:23; 112:103**
 1:67-80 **97:17-20**
 1:78 **144:29**
 1:78f **4:3**
 2:1-5 **97:21f**
 2:1-7 **53:11f**
 2:6-8 **97:22f**
 2:7 **34:82; 100:226**
 2:8-20 **53:12-14;**
 97:23f
 2:9 **69:2; 97:27**
 2:10 **97:26**
 2:10-12 **97:24f**
 2:14 **97:27**
 2:19 **97:39**
 2:21-24 **53:14**
 2:22 **62:37**
 2:22-24 **97:35**
 2:32 **97:40**
 2:34f **97:32, 33**
 2:36-38 **53:17; 97:34f**
 2:39f **53:17; 97:35**
 2:40f **120:10**
 2:41-50 **53:18f;**
 97:36-38
 2:41-52 **105:12**
 2:46 **99:211**
 2:49 **55:9**
 2:50-52 **97:39f**
 2:51f **120:10**
 2:51-53 **53:19f**
 2:52 **49:175; 55:31;**
 120:10a
 3:1-4:13 **53:20-23**
 3:2 **97:19**
 3:15 **55:2**
 3:16 **55:12; 110:18;**
 111:3; 117:87
 3:21 **24:5; 25d:2**
 3:21f **120:10**
 3:21-23 **97:41**
 3:23-28 **97:42**
 4:1-3 **99:157**
 4:1-13 **53:22f; 97:42f;**
 120:10
 4:13 **51:67**
 4:14 **99:157**
 4:14f **120:10**
 4:14-18 **120:10b**
 4:14-9:50 **53:23f**
 4:16 **98:115**
 4:16-22 **120:10**
 4:18 **120:5**
 4:28f **98:115**
 5:6 **24:4; 25c:2**
 5:7 **69:13**
 5:8 **144:24**
 5:16 **24:2; 25b:2**
 6:12 **24:3; 25c:2**
 6:20 **52:1**
 6:35 **53:6; 97:12**
 7:36-39 **55:44**
 7:36-50 **51:62**
 9:10-17 **55:22**
 9:18 **24:3; 25c:2;**
 99:169
 9:18-27 **55:32**
 9:21 **99:159, 205**
 9:28f **98:148**
 9:29 **24:6; 25d:2**
 9:31 **67:12**
 9:32 **55:32**
 9:44 **99:205**
 9:49 **27:48**
 9:51 **99:159, 184**
 9:52-55 **99:159f**
 9:54 **27:48**
 9:57-62 **98:56;**
 99:160f
 10:1-16 **51:50**
 10:1-20 **99:162-164;**
 154:92
 10:18 **22:98**
 10:21-24 **99:164**
 10:22 **54:1**
 10:25 **99:216**
 10:25-37 **99:164-166**
 10:33 **30:128**
 10:34 **97:22**
 10:38-42 **30:130;**
 99:167f
 11:1-13 **99:169f;**
 120:11
 11:9 **110:17; 111:5f**
 11:14-54 **99:171-174**
 11:20 **120:10b**
 12:1-12 **99:175f**
 12:12 **120:11**
 12:13-21 **99:176f**
 12:15 **24:8; 25f:2**
 12:16-21 **173:2**
 12:17 **62:8**
 12:22-34 **99:178-181**
 12:24 **69:13**
 12:27 **144:61**
 12:32 **92:16**
 12:35-59 **99:179-181**
 12:37 **200:3**
 12:49f **27:3; 57:1;**
 101:253
 12:50 **55:50**
 13:1-9 **99:182**
 13:10 **69:28**
 13:10-17 **99:182f**
 13:14 **98:152**
 13:18-30 **99:183-185**
 13:23 **98:139**
 13:23f **55:24**
 13:31 **144:39**
 13:31-34 **99:185f**
 14:1-35 **99:187-190**
 14:26 **105:7**
 14:34 **110:27, 31**
 15 **144:20; 24:4;**
 25c:2
 15:1-32 **99:191-193**
 15:2 **105:5; 132:6**
 15:8 **179:369**
 15:10 **67:10; 72:25**
 15:11ff **92:14**
 16:1-13 **99:194f**
 16:11 **51:63**
 16:14-18 **99:196**
 16:18 **51:50**
 16:19 **189:1**
 16:19-31 **99:197**
 17:1-4 **99:198**
 17:5 **164:3**
 17:5-10 **99:198f**
 17:8 **99:180**
 17:11-19 **99:199**
 17:20-37 **99:200f**
 17:24 **206:4**
 18:1-8 **99:202**
 18:9-14 **99:202f**
 18:12 **98:78**
 18:15-17 **99:203**
 18:18-30 **99:203-205**
 18:24 **99:188**
 18:35-43 **99:205**

19:1-10 **99:206f**
 19:11-27 **99:206f**
 19:28-40 **99:209-211**
 19:29-44 **55:44**
 19:41-44 **99:210f**
 19:47 **51:61**
 20:1-26 **99:212-214**
 20:27-47 **99:215-217**
 21 **25c:2**
 21:1-4 **99:218**
 21:5-9 **99:218f**
 21:7-13 **34:82**
 21:10-35 **99:219-221**
 21:24 **51:59**
 21:36-38 **99:221**
 22:1-23 **100:225-229**
 22:3 **51:63**
 22:9 **94:15**
 22:10-12 **22:66**
 22:11 **97:22**
 22:14-20 **94:15**
 22:15-18 **51:65**
 22:24-30 **51:65**
 22:24-46 **100:230-233**
 22:25 **166:31; 24:4**
 22:31 **210:2**
 22:32 **25c:2**
 22:39-46 **24:4**
 22:42 **22:138;**
 147:171
 22:44 **144:39**
 22:59 **51:71**
 22:61 **51:71**
 22:61f **200:3**
 22:70 **100:239**
 23:1-25 **100:237-239**
 23:9 **110:21; 112:100**
 23:12 **99:188**
 23:26-34 **100:240f**
 23:27-32 **51:73**
 23:33 **51:73**
 23:34 **22:122; 51:74;**
 144:45
 23:36 **51:74**
 23:39 **51:74**
 23:40-42 **51:74**
 23:43 **51:74; 187:1**
 23:48f **51:76**
 23:51 **51:76**
 23:56 **97:35**
 24:1-53 **100:246-249**
 24:13 **52:6**
 24:13-35 **51:78**
 24:25 **100:228; 107:1**
 24:28 **22:38, 65;**
 34:83; 161:3
 24:29 **120:24; 131b:4**
 24:31 **51:78**

24:33 **120:32**
 24:34 **51:78**
 24:36-43 **51:78**
 24:39 **27:4**
 24:42 **27:4**
 24:46ff **94:18**
 24:48f **110:26, 27**
 24:49 **107:2; 111:6;**
 120:11, 12, 32
 24:50f **51:79**
 24:51 **27:7; 101:257**

John

1 **105:25**
 1:1 **24:1; 25a:2;**
 49:150 (twice);
 62:33; 85:13; 92:9;
 104:1; 105:25;
 131c:4; 185:1
 1:1-5 **55:1**
 1:1-18 **49:149**
 1:3 **55:2; 66:3; 104:3;**
 119:10; 121:4
 1:4 **55:2; 92:15**
 1:5 **49:183; 55:2**
 1:6 **49:164**
 1:6-13 **55:2f**
 1:8 **92:15**
 1:9 **27:66**
 1:11 **97:23**
 1:12 **40:29; 49:169,**
 173; 69:17; 118:15;
 120:27; 204:1
 1:13 **49:169; 120:44**
 1:14 **22:114; 25e:2;**
 49:151; 54:4; 85:8;
 104:1; 105:5;
 118:14, 18; 131c:4;
 1:14-18 **55:3f**
 1:16 **27:44**
 1:17 **130:19**
 1:18 **22:46 (twice);**
 69:1; 85:14; 104:1, 2;
 105:25; 120:10b
 1:19 **53:21**
 1:19-28 **55:4f**
 1:26 **111:3**
 1:26f **110:18; 117:87**
 1:27 **111:3**
 1:29 **94:40; 98:53**
 1:29-34 **55:5f**
 1:31-33 **53:10**
 1:31f **97:19**
 1:32 **53:22; 111:3**
 1:32f **110:18; 117:87;**
 120:10a
 1:33 **111:3**
 1:35-37 **55:6**

1:37 **98:57**
 1:38 **30:128; 103:340**
 1:38-43 **55:6f**
 1:41 **107:2**
 1:43 **99:157**
 1:43-51 **55:7**
 2:1-11 **55:7-9**
 2:2 **98:57**
 2:11 **55:41**
 2:12-22 **55:9**
 2:12-4:43 **53:23;**
 99:157
 2:13-17 **51:54; 99:211**
 2:19 **103:339**
 2:23 **27:49; 55:8**
 2:23f **98:86**
 2:23-25 **55:10, 25**
 3 **49:169; 85:11, 12**
 3:1f **55:10f; 179:359**
 3:1-13 **110:8; 116:75;**
 128:1
 3:2 **146:5**
 3:3 **46:64; 119:10;**
 120:27 (twice), 44
 3:3-7 **144:32**
 3:3-8 **55:12f**
 3:5 **120:27 (twice);**
 158:11
 3:7 **120:23; 158:11**
 3:8 **27:13; 57:8;**
 110:8; 121:7; 128:1;
 131b:4; 158:11;
 199:1
 3:9-13 **55:13**
 3:11 **55:2**
 3:13 **104:7**
 3:14f **55:13**
 3:16 **34:78; 40:29;**
 49:185; 55:16; 85:10;
 94:40; 103:335;
 105:25; 131c:4;
 158:10
 3:16-21 **55:14**
 3:18 **55:14**
 3:19 **55:2**
 3:22 **99:160**
 3:22-36 **55:15**
 3:24 **49:181**
 3:28 **94:13**
 3:31 **55:12**
 3:32 **55:2**
 3:34 **53:22**
 3:35 **69:2**
 4:1 **105:25**
 4:1-15 **110:8; 116:75;**
 128:1
 4:1-42 **55:16-18**
 4:3 **99:160**

4:14 **13:7; 110:8;**
 116:75; 119:9;
 128:1; 144:32
 4:15 **110:30**
 4:17-26 **120:28**
 4:23 **120:23**
 4:23f **55:16**
 4:24 **49:152, 183;**
 85:6
 4:26 **55:37**
 4:30 **85:11**
 4:31-34 **24:7**
 4:35 **99:163**
 4:42 **97:25**
 4:43-54 **55:18f**
 5:17 **69:16**
 5:18 **55:15**
 5:19 **22:67; 27:3;**
 55:15
 5:19f **120:10; 144:44f**
 5:19-29 **105:25**
 5:23 **69:2**
 5:26 **92:15**
 5:30 **27:3; 55:15**
 5:31-34 **25e:2**
 5:35 **98:52**
 5:38 **105:27**
 5:39 **118:3**
 5:39f **55:2**
 5:40 **92:15**
 5:43 **22:40**
 6:1-14 **55:22**
 6:15 **130:19**
 6:15-21 **55:23**
 6:22-59 **55:23-29**
 6:27 **55:15**
 6:32 **49:164**
 6:33 **92:15**
 6:36 **55:2**
 6:37 **103:328**
 6:38 **24:7; 25e:2;**
 144:48
 6:43 **55:2**
 6:51 **92:15; 105:26**
 6:53 **92:15**
 6:53-56 **69:35**
 6:53-57 **55:28**
 6:54 **120:28**
 6:57 **120:10**
 6:68 **69:14**
 6:70 **51:63**
 7:1-10 **51:50**
 7:1-52 **55:30-32**
 7:16 **24:3; 25c:2;**
 120:10
 7:17 **22:37**
 7:18 **22:67**
 7:28 **13:7**
 7:29 **120:10**

- 7:37 **55:33; 131c:2**
 7:37-39 **110:8;**
 116:75; 120:28;
 128:1
 7:38 **27:12; 57:5;**
 101:262; 107:2;
 110:30
 7:38f **157:4**
 7:39 **27:19; 44:87;**
 57:9; 101:269;
 111:6; 113:107;
 119:6, 8, 10; 120:13,
 20; 131c:2
 7:45 **105:5**
 7:48 **98:115**
 7:53-8:11 **55:33**
 8:12 **55:33**
 8:12-20 **55:33**
 8:15f **110:8**
 8:19 **92:15**
 8:21-59 **55:35-37**
 8:23 **105:6**
 8:28 **24:3; 25c:2**
 8:29 **22:108; 85:11**
 8:34 **98:120**
 8:38 **40:34; 105:25**
 8:42 **98:66**
 8:42-44 **92:15**
 8:44 **34:85; 49:173**
 8:58 **104:1; 105:25**
 9:1-41 **55:36f**
 9:1-3 **154:95**
 9:3 **110:17**
 9:4 **158:3**
 9:24 **99:212**
 10 **99:193**
 10:1-42 **55:37-40**
 10:7 **179:369**
 10:16-19 **55:45**
 10:18 **51:74, 75;**
 100:245
 10:22 **51:50**
 10:25 **22:40**
 10:28f **103:328**
 10:30 **105:27; 120:10**
 10:31 **144:39**
 10:36 **55:59**
 10:37f **120:10**
 10:40 **51:50**
 11:1ff **30:130**
 11:1-57 **55:41-43**
 11:6 **144:38; 24:7;**
 25e:2
 11:10 **55:48**
 11:25 **92:15; 179:369**
 11:33 **55:3**
 11:35 **144:38**
 11:41 **105:25**
 11:45 **55:45**
 11:47 **55:8**
 11:50 **94:40**
 11:53 **55:41**
 12:1 **55:7**
 12:1-19 **55:44f**
 12:3 **12a:5**
 12:6 **51:63; 100:226**
 12:10 **55:45**
 12:19 **55:45**
 12:20 **52:6**
 12:20-28 **24:3; 25c:2**
 12:20-49 **55:45-46**
 12:23 **55:42, 58**
 12:24 **69:35; 94:40**
 12:27 **55:3**
 12:28 **24:5; 25d:2**
 12:31 **22:98**
 12:32 **51:74**
 12:34 **105:26**
 12:37-38 **85:12**
 12:44f **120:10**
 12:49 **24:3; 25c:2**
 12:49f **120:10**
 13 **69:3; 204:1**
 13:1 **12a:4, 8; 22:3,**
 77; 51:61; 55:32
 13:1-11 **51:65**
 13:1-38 **55:47f**
 13:2 **22:3; 100:225**
 13:3 **22:3**
 13:5 **179:355**
 13:12 **51:65**
 13:21 **55:3, 49**
 13:23 **22:3**
 13:26-30 **22:3**
 13:27 **100:225**
 13:27-30 **51:66**
 13:29 **51:61**
 13:30 **100:228**
 13:31 **55:60**
 13:31-36 **22:3**
 13:33 **22:3**
 13:34 **49:177**
 13:36 **22:3**
 13:38 **55:49**
 14 **22:83; 44:87**
 14-16 **115:67f; 118:1;**
 131c:5
 14:1 **131d:1; 85:4;**
 92:29; 115:67;
 120:30; 201:3
 14:1-3 **22:6**
 14:2 **22:63; 85:8;**
 144:91; 181:176;
 196:3
 14:3 **120:31; 121:6;**
 184:1; 203:3; 206:2
 14:4-7 **22:12-15**
 14:5 **22:34**
 14:6 **55:35; 85:4;**
 120:21; 130:19;
 179:369
 14:6-9 **69:3**
 14:7 **49:150**
 14:7-10 **120:10**
 14:7-11 **22:16-18**
 14:8 **22:34**
 14:9 **22:119; 66:3;**
 85:11; 92:10, 15;
 103:309; 105:27;
 110:9; 116:76;
 128:2; 144:19; 185:7
 14:10 **22:84, 121;**
 55:31; 69:1; 85:11
 14:10-12 **22:19-22**
 14:12 **158:7; 164:3**
 14:12-14 **22:23-25**
 14:13f **24:8; 25f:2**
 14:14 **22:69; 85:15**
 14:15 **22:26-28;**
 111:15; 120:12, 32
 14:15f **110:23;**
 112:103
 14:15-17 **120:31**
 14:15-20 **22:93**
 14:16 **22:93; 27:11;**
 55:55 (twice); 69:38;
 92:29 (twice);
 101:261; 110:10, 22,
 26; 112:102; 115:67;
 120:29; 33; 131c:3;
 147:198
 14:16f **85:16; 110:6;**
 114:65 (twice);
 119:6, 7, 12 (three
 times); 120:29, 30;
 121:3, 5; 131a:6
 14:16-18 **22:29-32**
 14:16-23 **118:20**
 14:17 **22:93, 94, 95;**
 55:2, 56; 92:29;
 110:5, 28; 114:64;
 118:25; 119:1
 (twice), 2, 6, 8;
 120:30, 32, 45;
 131a:6; 144:68
 14:18 **22:94; 55:47;**
 206:2
 14:18-21 **121:6**
 14:19 **22:93; 107:1;**
 118:14; 120:31;
 179:358; 190:4
 14:19-21 **121:8**
 14:20 **55:52; 73:78;**
 110:10; 118:12;
 128:2; 130:20
 14:20f **22:33-35**
 14:21 **22:35 (twice);**
 92:15; 118:14;
 120:31
 14:21-23 **105:27**
 14:22 **22:34**
 14:22-24 **22:36-38**
 14:23 **103:337, 340;**
 118:13; 127:2
 14:24 **22:121**
 14:25f **22:39-41**
 14:26 **22:23; 110:28;**
 118:12; 120:33;
 144:32
 14:27 **22:42-44; 24:7;**
 25e:2; 66:10;
 14:28 **100:249**
 14:28-31 **22:45-47**
 14:31 **22:52, 112;**
 55:52
 15 **22:65; 49:167;**
 98:98; 105:26;
 116:76; 118:23;
 120:31; 128:2;
 131c:6
 15:1 **49:164; 110:10**
 15:1f **22:54-57**
 15:1-8 **73:78f**
 15:1-11 **22:51-53;**
 157:3
 15:1-27 **55:52-54**
 15:2 **22:58-60**
 15:3 **22:61-66**
 15:4 **22:67f; 30:127;**
 34:79; 98:100;
 179:369
 15:4-7 **12a:8**
 15:5 **22:67; 34:80;**
 105:26; 110:27
 15:5f **73:80; 110:11,**
 31; 128:4
 15:7 **161:3**
 15:7f **22:69f**
 15:9-11 **22:71-75**
 15:11 **22:77**
 15:12-16 **22:76-78**
 15:14 **49:192**
 15:15 **22:99**
 15:16 **22:23, 104;**
 73:79; 98:88; 164:3
 15:16f **55:56**
 15:17-27 **22:79f**
 15:18f **55:55**
 15:18-27 **22:81-85**
 15:21 **49:192**
 15:26 **55:55 (twice);**
 85:10; 92:29;
 120:33; 130:17
 15:26f **55:55; 120:31**
 16:1-4 **22:89f**

- 16:1-15 **55:55-57**
 16:4-7 **22:91f**
 16:7 **22:93-95;**
 30:130; 120:33
 16:7-11 **158:6**
 16:8 **22:96-98;**
 120:13
 16:8-11 **109:2;**
 120:31
 16:9 **98:153**
 16:9-11 **119:9**
 16:12 **22:23**
 16:12-15 **120:31**
 16:12-16 **22:99f**
 16:13 **49:166; 55:55,**
 56; 106:8; 110:5;
 118:8, 12; 121:3
 16:13f **27:7; 57:3;**
 101:257
 16:13-15 **120:31**
 16:13-16 **55:55**
 16:14 **92:29; 110:5;**
 114:64; 120:13;
 144:35
 16:16-23 **55:57f**
 16:19 **22:94; 55:25**
 16:20-22 **22:101f**
 16:23 **22:34; 118:12;**
 144:60; 152:128
 16:23f **22:103-105**
 16:23ff **164:3**
 16:24 **22:23**
 16:25-33 **22:106-108**
 16:26 **22:23, 34**
 16:27 **49:184**
 16:33 **22:129; 49:193;**
 55:55; 179:369
 17 **22:111f; 69:28;**
 85:8
 17:1 **22:14; 24:3;**
 25c:2; 92:29; 144:45;
 204:1
 17:1-5 **22:113-116;**
 55:58f
 17:3 **69:13; 151:115**
 17:4 **99:180**
 17:5 **22:46; 104:1;**
 105:25
 17:6-19 **22:117-119;**
 55:59
 17:7f **22:120f**
 17:9-11 **22:122f**
 17:11 **22:124f**
 17:12 **22:126f**
 17:14-16 **22:128-130**
 17:16-19 **22:131f**
 17:20 **55:59**
 17:20f **22:133-136**
 17:20-26 **55:50f**
- 17:21 **92:15; 105:27**
 17:23 **22:122; 92:15;**
 105:26
 17:24 **22:11, 137f;**
 118:20; 196:3
 17:25f **22:139f**
 18:1 **22:112**
 18:3-9 **100:234**
 18:6 **55:9; 105:5**
 18:12-18 **100:235**
 18:15f **51:71**
 18:28 **51:71; 105:25**
 18:35ff **100:237**
 19:6 **144:39**
 19:7-9 **100:244**
 19:9 **55:24**
 19:11 **55:12, 15**
 19:14 **51:60, 61**
 19:23 **55:12**
 19:25-27 **51:74**
 19:25f **100:242**
 19:28 **51:75**
 19:30 **51:75**
 19:33 **51:76**
 19:35 **54:2**
 19:36 **55:5**
 19:38 **51:76**
 20:2 **51:78**
 20:5 **179:360**
 20:7 **49:151 (twice)**
 20:16 **51:53**
 20:17 **22:14; 85:11;**
 92:15; 144:46
 20:19-23 **120:32**
 20:19 **51:78 (twice)**
 20:19-25 **51:78**
 20:20 **51:78**
 20:21f **51:78**
 20:21ff **94:18**
 20:21-24 **144:83**
 20:22 **110:24;**
 112:105; 120:33
 20:24 **145:7**
 20:24f **146:5**
 20:25 **51:78**
 20:28 **62:33; 104:2;**
 114:64
 20:31 **49:146; 54:2;**
 92:15
 21:2-8 **100:247**
 21:20 **54:4**
 21:21 **27:9; 57:4;**
 101:259
 21:27 **105:27**
- Acts**
157:4
 1:1-5 **27:3-5; 57:1f**
- 1:2 **101:267**
 1:3 **51:78**
 1:4 **111:6; 119:1;**
 120:32; 131b:4
 1:4f **118:13**
 1:5 **27:5; 101:255;**
 110:18; 111:3;
 117:87; 120:12
 1:6-8 **57:2f**
 1:6-11 **101:256-258**
 1:6-14 **27:6-10**
 1:7 **51:79**
 1:8 **27:42; 44:89;**
 55:56; 56:1; 110:6,
 26, 27 (twice), 28;
 113:109; 114:65;
 118:14; 120:15;
 121:7, 8; 132:6;
 183:2
 1:9-11 **57:3; 206:4**
 1:11 **22:10; 30:128;**
 184:1; 187:1; 199:2;
 201:3; 203:3
 1:12-14 **57:3f**
 1:14 **27:9; 55:30**
 1:15-26 **57:5**
 1:19 **166:26**
 1:21-24 **105:14**
 2:1ff **113:107**
 2:1-4 **44:87; 101:261f**
 2:1-13 **27:11-14;**
 122:2
 2:1-21 **57:5-7**
 2:2-4 **120:12**
 2:3 **120:15**
 2:4 **110:23; 112:102;**
 118:13; 120:14
 2:14-36 **105:13**
 2:14-39 **101:265-269**
 2:14-40 **27:15-19**
 2:17 **27:11**
 2:17-21 **120:6**
 2:22 **69:7; 105:13;**
 120:13
 2:22-26 **94:19**
 2:22-36 **57:8f**
 2:23 **27:17; 105:14**
 2:33 **101:262**
 2:36 **97:25; 120:13;**
 166:63
 2:37ff **120:13**
 2:37-47 **57:10-12**
 2:38 **120:12**
 2:38f **111:6**
 2:41-47 **27:20-23;**
 101:270-273
 2:42 **22:134; 27:21-23**
 2:43 **120:14**
- 2:44 **22:134; 27:9, 24;**
 101:259
 2:44-47 **131a:5**
 2:46f **22:101; 56:1;**
 105:13
 2:47 **105:13**
 3 **57:12-14**
 3:1 **27:9; 66:1, 2;**
 101:259; 131a:5
 3:1-26 **27:24-27**
 3:13-26 **94:19**
 3:15 **69:10**
 3:16 **27:25; 62:11**
 3:17 **100:242**
 3:19f **105:13**
 3:31 **131a:5**
 4 **57:14-16**
 4:1-37 **27:28-31**
 4:4 **113:110**
 4:13 **110:30; 120:13;**
 121:8
 4:19 **120:4**
 4:20 **107:2**
 4:27 **94:19**
 4:31 **44:88, 89;**
 49:167; 113:109;
 118:13, 14, 15;
 120:13 (twice), 25
 4:31-33 **105:13;**
 118:14
 4:32 **55:59**
 4:33 **27:4; 118:14;**
 121:8 (twice)
 4:36 **57:16**
 5 **57:16-19**
 5:1-10 **49:153**
 5:1-11 **131d:4**
 5:1-42 **27:32-38**
 5:3f **92:29; 110:5;**
 114:65
 5:4 **115:71; 119:3**
 5:30 **94:20**
 5:31 **69:10**
 5:32 **110:23; 112:103**
 5:34-39 **27:57**
 5:41 **22:80; 105:13**
 6-7 **57:20f**
 6:1-6 **131d:4, 5**
 6:1-15 **27:38-41**
 6:3 **44:90; 110:23;**
 112:103; 113:110
 6:4 **44:90**
 6:9 **27:58**
 6:13f **27:43**
 7:1-60 **27:42-45**
 7:51 **34:83; 110:23;**
 112:103
 7:53 **69:5**

7:55 **44:90; 110:23; 112:103; 113:110; 118:15**
 7:59f **105:14**
 8:1-40 **27:46-53; 57:21-25**
 8:4-11:30 **58:1**
 8:4 **27:64**
 8:5ff **18**
 8:9-24 **49:182**
 8:16 **105:14**
 8:17 **66:13**
 8:29 **120:14**
 9:1-22 **57:25f**
 9:1-43 **27:54-65**
 9:2 **67:1**
 9:4 **55:46**
 9:12 **27:59**
 9:17 **27:59**
 9:19-10:2 **27:64f; 57:31**
 9:20-30 **27:67**
 9:25 **98:137**
 9:28 **52:6**
 9:32-34 **110:16**
 10:1f **27:66-69**
 10:1-48 **27:66-73**
 10:9ff **57:32**
 10:19 **120:14**
 10:31 **27:67**
 10:34f **27:67**
 10:38 **105:13; 98:49; 110:31**
 10:39 **94:20**
 10:41 **105:13**
 11:1-30 **27:74-76**
 11:10 **120:14**
 11:15-17 **110:18; 111:3; 117:87**
 11:16 **120:12**
 11:22-24 **44:90**
 11:24 **110:23; 112:103**
 11:28 **120:14**
 12 **58:1**
 12:1-25 **27:77-82**
 12:2 **51:53**
 12:12 **50:1**
 12:16 **120:13**
 13-21 **58:1**
 13:1 **99:162**
 13:1-14:28 **27:84-86**
 13:1-15:31 **57:38-41**
 13:2f **98:79**
 13:5 **50:1**
 13:8-10 **55:9**
 13:9 **121:8**
 13:9-11 **118:15**

13:10 **34:85; 44:91; 113:112**
 13:13 **50:1**
 13:23 **94:19; 105:13**
 13:52 **110:23; 112:103**
 14:14 **62:4**
 14:36 **120:15**
 15:1-41 **27:87-91**
 15:6 **131d:4**
 15:10 **67:6; 72:14**
 15:28 **106:8; 131d:4**
 15:32 **99:162**
 15:32-16:5 **57:39-42**
 15:36 **147:195**
 16:1-40 **27:92-104**
 16:6-11 **57:43f; 147:195**
 16:6f **62:5**
 16:7 **120:14**
 16:10-17 **52:7**
 16:12-40 **57:44-49**
 16:25 **120:15**
 17:1 **120:15**
 17:1-34 **27:105-113**
 17:2 **27:106**
 17:10-15 **57:50**
 17:16-34 **57:50**
 17:23-31 **27:112f**
 17:27 **92:9**
 17:28 **119:6**
 17:29 **85:10**
 17:30 **158:9**
 18:1-29 **57:54-58**
 18:1-37 **27:114-124**
 18:18f **62:3**
 18:18-19:7 **57:58**
 18:19 **62:3**
 18:24f **111:8**
 19:1-20:16 **27:125-130**
 19:6 **66:13; 69:22**
 19:8-20 **57:62f**
 19:11f **110:16; 154:92**
 19:13 **51:49**
 19:15 **34:84**
 19:21-20:14 **57:63f**
 19:32-34 **154:92**
 20:5 **27:97**
 20:5-21:18 **52:7**
 20:9-12 **154:93**
 20:17-28 **57:64f**
 20:17-38 **27:131-135; 57:66f**
 20:22 **120:14**
 20:28 **34:76; 62:33; 104:7**
 20:29 **67:12**

21:1-16 **57:67f**
 21:1-23:35 **27:136-142**
 21:4 **120:14**
 21:17 **57:68**
 22:9 **55:46**
 23:8 **185:2**
 23:11 **57:70**
 23:12 **51:71**
 23:26 **34:76**
 24:1-27 **57:71**
 24:1-26:8 **57:72f**
 24:1-26:32 **27:143-147**
 26:14 **55:46**
 26:19 **27:62; 57:30; 119:10; 120:44**
 26:26 **52:3**
 27:1-44 **27:149-152**
 27:1-28:10 **73-75**
 27:9 **98:78**
 27:32 **55:9**
 27:40 **69:14**
 28:1-31 **27:153-158**

Romans

1:1 **105:14**
 1:1-17 **62:3-5**
 1:4 **30:128; 66:4; 118:15; 119:19; 120:51**
 1:5f **62:2**
 1:8-17 **62:5-7**
 1:10f **27:155**
 1:11 **62:1**
 1:13 **62:1**
 1:16 **118:15; 120:15 (twice), 17; 144:28; 159:5**
 1:16f **62:5f; 118:16**
 1:18-32 **62:7f**
 1:18-5:21 **62:7-19**
 1:19f **92:4**
 1:19-21 **85:2**
 1:20 **55:3; 85:3; 118:15**
 1:21 **159:9**
 1:23 **159:9**
 1:28, 32 **85:2**
 2:1-16 **62:8**
 2:5 **185:16**
 2:8 **55:15**
 2:15 **85:2**
 2:17 **62:2**
 2:17-24 **62:9f**
 3:1-8 **62:10**
 3:9-20 **62:10f**
 3:19 **158:10**

3:19-26 **73:79; 110:11**
 3:21-25 **94:30**
 3:21-26 **62:11f**
 3:21-31 **94:34**
 3:26 **62:15**
 3:27-31 **62:12**
 4:1-5 **62:13**
 4:6-8 **62:13**
 4:9-12 **62:13**
 4:11f **99:206**
 4:13-16 **62:13f**
 4:16 **99:206**
 4:17-25 **62:14**
 4:25 **22:97; 62:15**
 5 **73:79; 105:19**
 5:1 **46:63; 66:10; 69:37; 119:9; 140:3**
 5:1-11 **62:15-17**
 5:2 **120:24**
 5:5 **110:23, 26; 112:104; 115:73; 118:13; 120:12**
 5:5-8 **85:9, 15**
 5:6 **28:33**
 5:7 **94:24**
 5:8 **28:33; 85:14; 94:29**
 5:10 **34:81; 62:25; 158:10**
 5:11 **94:23**
 5:12-21 **62:17-19, 24**
 5:20 **144:53; 152:125**
 6 **47:73; 73:79; 94:22, 26, 30; 95:13; 105:24; 116:77; 128:2**
 6:1-11 **22:11, 64; 73:80; 94:31; 110:11**
 6:1-14 **28:passim; 34:80; 62:19-23; 133:6; 157:3**
 6:2 **73:80**
 6:3 **28:33; 120:13**
 6:3-5 **157:4**
 6:5 **179:358; 180:1; 185:8; 190:4**
 6:6 **40:43; 73:81; 110:11**
 6:7-10 **62:27**
 6:8 **121:7; 185:8**
 6:9f **28:33; 73:80; 110:11; 157:4**
 6:11 **22:64; 28:34; 119:13; 120:46; 157:4**
 6:11-13 **73:80**
 6:12 **73:80; 110:12**

6:12-14 73:80;
110:11
 6:13 34:85; **62:37**
 6:14 28:31; 73:80;
110:11; 121:7;
128:3; 157:3
 6:15-23 62:23, 24
 6:19 119:13; **120:46**
 6:20 40:36
 6:23 119:16
 7:1-6 62:24
 7:6 40:40
 7:7-25 62:24-26
 7:9 27:58
 7:14 159:9
 7:18 179:369
 7:19-25 118:18
 7:20 22:64
 7:24 118:21
 8 185:8, 9
 8:1 118:17; **120:21,**
 25, 44; **180:1; 196:1**
 8:1-4 62:26f; **118:17**
 8:1-11 105:19
 8:2 118:17; **120:26**
 8:3 53:14; **97:28;**
105:17
 8:5-11 62:27f
 8:6 120:21
 8:7f 62:25; **118:17**
 8:9 110:24, 26;
111:16; 112:105;
120:21, 25, 33
 8:9f 118:12
 8:9-11 118:17, 20;
121:6
 8:10 120:21; **121:5**
 8:10f 119:8
 8:11 119:10; **120:21**
 8:12-17 62:28;
118:20
 8:13 118:18
 8:14f 118:19
 8:14ff 120:25
 8:14-17 202:3
 8:15 92:15; **118:6, 19;**
120:25, 26; 131a:4;
144:47; 145:3;
199:1; 204:1
 8:15f 85:11; **119:6;**
121:7; 128:1
 8:16 85:16; **118:19,**
 21
 8:17 55:60; **120:22;**
185:8
 8:18 179:358
 8:18-25 62:29f;
118:20
 8:19 118:21

8:21 55:35
 8:22 147:168
 8:22f 118:21
 8:23 118:21; **120:22**
 8:26 22:122; **118:20,**
 21; **119:6; 120:22;**
154:97
 8:26f 120:25
 8:26-30 62:30
 8:28 34:77; **92:38;**
147:176, 179; 190:3
 8:28f 179:356
 8:29f 147:178
 8:28-30 118:20
 8:29-39 103:328
 8:30 22:139; **62:6;**
202:8
 8:31-39 62:31f
 8:32 51:49
 8:34 55:58; **69:28**
 8:39 196:1
 9:1-3 27:141
 9:1-5 62:32f
 9:2f 27:106
 9:5 104:2
 9:6-13 62:33
 9:14-18 62:34
 9:19-29 62:34
 9:21 118:15
 9:22 166:65
 9:30-33 62:34
 10:1-13 62:34f
 10:9-15 105:17
 10:14-21 62:35f
 10:17 55:28
 11 57:14
 11:1-10 62:36
 11:7-24 62:2
 11:11-24 27:27; **62:36**
 11:13 62:2
 11:25-32 62:37
 11:36 55:2
 12 119:15
 12:1 27:94; **46:66;**
66:23; 94:5; 160:5;
179:367
 12:1-15:2 62:37f
 12:1f 32:181; **147:186**
 12:1-3 34:79
 12:2 2:3; **24:6; 25d:2;**
119:19; 120:50;
147:163
 12:6-8 110:14;
117:84
 12:10 49:176; **69:13**
 12:13 67:11; **72:27**
 12:16 62:27
 13:4 118:18
 13:14 31:162; **34:85**

14:10 196:1
 14:12 183:1; **196:2**
 14:17 99:200
 15:13 144:74
 15:19 27:129; **62:2**
 15:23 27:129; **62:3**
 15:25f 62:2
 15:26 27:22; **57:11;**
101:272
 15:28 62:1
 15:30 22:31; **49:184;**
85:15
 16:7 27:57
 16:9 179:369
 16:13 51:73
 16:20 62:3
 16:21 52:6
 16:22 68:5
 16:27 62:3

1 Corinthians

1:1 62:3
 1:9 22:63
 1:14 62:2
 1:14-17 120:13
 1:18 94:26
 1:19 94:26
 1:21 94:26
 1:22 55:10
 1:27 94:26
 1:29 94:26
 1:30 47:71; **119:16**
 2 94:25
 2:1f 27:115
 2:1-4 120:17
 2:3 120:15
 2:7-16 130:19
 2:9ff 85:3; **120:13**
 2:10 55:56; **120:15**
 2:10f 105:19; **120:31**
 2:12 119:10; **120:44;**
166:26
 2:13 120:17
 2:14 120:26
 2:14-16 120:15
 2:16 105:17
 3 117:89
 3:1-3 120:17
 3:2 64:3; **69:22**
 3:4 27:123
 3:8 196:1
 3:12-15 120:17
 3:13-15 196:1
 3:15 196:1
 3:16 106:8; **120:17;**
131d:2
 3:16f 120:17

3:17 131d:2
 4:3 62:9
 4:4 120:26
 5:7 40:40; **144:55;**
152:125
 5:10 67:12
 6:1f 100:230
 6:9 67:12
 6:9f 27:118
 6:13 119:8
 6:16 120:17
 6:17 29:46; **118:11;**
119:8; 130:21
 6:19 34:85; **118:18;**
119:8; 120:17
 (twice); **121:5**
 6:19f 62:3
 6:20 94:26; **119:13;**
120:46
 6:29-30 47:69
 6:37 118:15
 7:5 98:79
 7:23 94:26; **119:13;**
120:46; 166:26
 8:2 190:2
 8:6 69:2; **92:15;**
105:17 (twice)
 8:11 98:128; **103:328**
 8:16 94:26
 9 121:8
 9:1 27:59
 9:13 67:12
 9:16f 62:5
 9:22 55:15
 9:27 34:86; **62:25;**
98:79; 99:202;
118:18; 119:16;
120:48; 196:1
 10:2 120:13
 10:9 99:165
 10:12 49:174
 10:13 67:12
 10:21 105:17
 11 27:22; **57:11;**
117:89
 11:20-22 101:272
 11:23 94:22
 11:23-25 94:15
 11:23-26 55:28
 11:24f 100:228
 11:25 64:7
 11:26 51:64; **206:1**
 11:28 131d:3
 11:29f 120:1
 12 110:18, 20
 12-13 112:102;
113:108
 12-14 110:14, 19, 22;
117:84, 88f; 118:22

12:16 53:23
 12:1ff 131d:4;
 147:193
 12:1-11 120:17
 12:3 22:41; 120:25
 12:4-6 120:38
 12:4-7 92:30; 119:2
 12:4-30 69:7
 12:7 118:22; 123:2
 12:7-9 110:16
 12:8 110:15; 117:85
 12:8-10 123:2
 12:9 110:15 (twice),
 17; 117:85 (twice);
 119:20; 154:93, 94
 12:10 110:15; 111:12;
 117:85; 118:22;
 120:17; 123:2
 12:11 69:7; 110:14,
 15, 20, 22; 111:12;
 112:101; 117:84, 85,
 89; 118:22; 119:20
 12:13 27:5; 44:88;
 57:2; 101:255;
 110:22; 111:3;
 118:13; 120:12
 12:14 120:25
 12:18 117:85
 12:26 67:12; 72:27
 12:28 99:162; 110:15;
 111:12; 117:85
 12:30 110:15 (twice),
 22; 111:8; 112:101;
 117:85 (twice)
 12:31 110:22; 111:12,
 13; 118:22 (twice);
 120:17; 131b:6
 12:33 120:13
 13 49:177
 13:8 111:13
 13:9 190:2
 13:10-13 118:22
 13:12 189:1; 196:3
 13:13 67:1; 196:3
 14 110:19
 14:1 120:17
 14:12 110:20; 117:89
 14:13-19 120:17
 14:18 111:9
 14:22 111:14
 14:26 110:15, 20;
 117:89
 14:27f 111:14
 14:28 120:17
 14:29 120:17
 14:40 110:20; 117:89
 15 119:15; 185:10
 15:3 94:22, 38
 15:5 51:78

15:7 55:30
 15:10ff 62:26
 15:12f 201:3
 15:22 34:79
 15:24 104:4
 15:24-28 53:7; 97:12
 15:29 120:13
 15:40 120:6
 15:42 199:2; 203:4
 15:42f 202:8
 15:44 199:2
 15:44-49 105:19
 15:45 105:19; 120:33
 15:45-47 105:24
 15:49 120:33
 15:50-52 197:1
 15:51 202:6
 15:51ff 187:1
 16:2 173:2
 16:9 11:22
 16:22 105:14

2 Corinthians

1:3 105:17
 1:15-17 62:5
 1:22 120:19, 22, 24
 2:11 34:84
 2:14 27:60; 57:28;
 67:12; 72:27
 2:17 179:369
 3:3 120:19
 3:6-11 120:19
 3:7 92:29
 3:8 119:19; 120:50
 3:17 119:7; 120:25,
 26, 33 (three times);
 130:15, 17
 3:17f 105:19; 118:14
 3:18 53:13; 73:82;
 97:24; 110:13, 29;
 200:2, 3; 203:4
 4:1 99:202
 4:4 92:15; 105:17
 4:5 53:13; 97:25
 4:6 49:154; 85:8, 14;
 92:15; 105:16;
 119:11; 120:44;
 144:19
 4:9f 119:8
 4:16 99:202
 4:17 120:27; 187:1;
 196:3
 4:18 128:5
 5:1-4 190:2
 5:4 187:1
 5:5 120:22
 5:8 187:1; 195:1
 5:10 184:2

5:13f 27:147
 5:13-21 94:27
 5:14 62:20; 94:31;
 99:180
 5:14f 94:34; 159:12
 5:15 119:13; 120:46
 5:16f 62:11
 5:17 34:79; 119:10;
 144:30; 199:1;
 120:44; 203:1;
 204:1; 205:1
 5:19 85:14; 92:15
 5:21 51:75; 62:12;
 94:28, 29, 30; 105:8;
 147:171; 159:12
 6:4ff 120:19
 6:14 110:23; 112:103;
 147:191
 7:1 73:83; 110:13;
 120:26; 128:5
 8:5 173:2
 8:9 104:10 (twice);
 173:2
 10:1 27:55; 57:25
 10:10 27:55; 57:25
 11:3 34:84
 11:14 34:85
 12 121:9
 12:1-14 161:2
 12:2 27:84; 57:38
 12:7 110:17
 12:7-11 154:96
 12:7ff 119:20
 12:9 179:369
 13:4 69:30
 13:5 34:82; 209:4
 13:13 120:19
 13:14 85:4; 92:30;
 110:5; 114:64;
 118:1, 3, 12, 13;
 119:2; 120:23, 30,
 33; 121:2

Galatians

1:4 69:14
 1:8f 51:71
 1:14 27:55; 94:29
 1:15 27:56; 62:4;
 120:14
 1:16 57:27f; 147:194
 1:17 27:67 (twice);
 57:32
 1:19 27:67
 1:22 27:67
 2:1-10 62:4
 2:16 27:59, 60; 62:11
 2:17-21 47:69
 2:19 119:17

2:19f 120:49
 2:20 12a:8; 13:7;
 31:163; 62:11; 73:81;
 94:29, 31; 98:100;
 105:18; 110:10, 12;
 116:77; 118:11;
 120:21; 128:2, 4;
 132:6; 157:3; 161:2
 3:3 120:1, 20
 3:5 120:20
 3:7 99:206
 3:13 94:20, 29, 34;
 120:1
 3:13f 110:25;
 112:105
 3:14 119:1
 3:15-22 69:39
 3:19 69:5; 103:319
 3:27 120:13
 4:4 53:14; 94:30;
 97:28; 105:17
 4:5 120:23
 4:6 119:7; 120:20, 33;
 130:15
 4:13 27:94
 4:16 130:17
 5:11 55:29
 5:16 118:23; 120:20
 5:16f 118:18
 5:17 34:85; 62:26;
 120:20
 5:18 118:23; 120:20
 5:19-21 118:23
 5:22 98:98; 120:15;
 128:2
 5:22f 85:16; 110:9;
 116:76; 120:20
 5:24 118:18
 5:25 120:20
 6:1 120:26
 6:8 120:20
 6:9 99:202
 6:14 94:29
 6:15 40:40

Ephesians

1 85:2; 105:24;
 121:2; 187:1; 197:2
 1:1 29:46; 34:79
 (twice)
 1:1f 34:76
 1:1-3 85:4
 1:1-14 157:3
 1:2 34:77
 1:3 11:4; 28:34;
 29:46; 34:76, 77;
 85:6; 117:88 (twice);

- 118:11; 120:24;**
131d:1; 146:8
 1:3-5 **119:14; 120:46**
 1:3-13 **110:19; 111:5;**
117:88
 1:3-14 **34:76**
 1:4 **34:80, 81; 62:31;**
120:27; 179:356
 1:4f **29:48; 34:77**
 1:5 **34:77**
 1:6 **29:50; 34:81;**
97:11; 104:3;
120:24; 144:23
 1:7 **34:79, 81 (twice);**
161:2
 1:7-8 **144:75**
 1:8 **53:5; 97:9**
 1:9 **34:76, 77;**
147:160, 163
 1:10 **29:51; 34:78, 80;**
85:13; 92:11, 23;
94:31; 105:19, 20;
121:4; 183:1; 184:1;
193:1; 197:1; 200:3
 1:11 **34:77, 81**
 1:12 **34:80; 203:4**
 1:13 **27:121; 29:50;**
34:81; 85:4; 110:19;
111:4
 1:13f **202:8**
 1:13ff **120:24**
 1:14 **34:81, 82;**
185:13
 1:15 **34:82**
 1:15-19 **130:20**
 1:16 **34:82**
 1:17 **34:77, 82, 83**
 (twice); **85:4; 94:31;**
118:14; 120:24, 26
 1:17f **34:76; 110:29;**
118:14; 120:24
 1:17-19 **118:20**
 1:17ff **85:3**
 1:17-23 **110:25;**
112:106
 1:18 **34:83; 55:35;**
120:31; 121:8
 1:18f **110:28**
 1:19 **29:50; 34:77, 81,**
82; 118:15; 131b:4
 1:19f **34:83**
 1:20 **192:1**
 1:21 **34:83**
 1:21f **121:5**
 2:1 **85:6**
 2:1-3 **34:83**
 2:1-5 **34:81**
 2:4 **34:77**
 2:4-6 **34:78, 83**
 2:4-8 **47:70**
 2:6f **34:81**
 2:6-11 **34:83**
 2:7 **34:77; 144:75**
 2:8 **27:63; 34:78;**
57:30; 72:15; 158:10
 2:10 **150:7**
 2:12 **11:5**
 2:12f **62:11**
 2:13 **51:57**
 2:15 **40:40**
 2:16 **34:85**
 2:17 **85:12**
 2:18 **120:24**
 2:19-21 **131d:2**
 2:19-22 **30:127**
 2:21 **34:76**
 2:21f **120:24**
 2:22 **34:82**
 3 **105:24; 160:4**
 3:1 **34:82; 105:17**
 3:1-3 **205:1**
 3:3f **34:76**
 3:8 **34:79; 85:8; 161:2**
 3:10 **179:360**
 3:12 **62:11; 120:24**
 3:14 **34:77, 82;**
 3:14f **85:15; 92:15**
 3:14ff **119:2**
 3:14-17 **30:130**
 3:14-19 **34:76;**
110:25; 112:106
 3:14-21 **209:2**
 3:15 **85:10**
 3:16 **30:131; 34:79;**
118:13, 15, 25;
121:9; 131a:7;
144:75
 3:16f **13:7; 31:163**
 3:16ff **120:24**
 3:16-19 **13:2; 157:3**
 3:16-21 **22:65**
 3:17 **30:130; 34:82;**
49:188; 98:97;
105:17; 118:13
 3:19 **12a:8; 13:2;**
49:184; 85:8;
118:13; 144:78
 3:20 **210:1**
 4:1-3 **22:134; 123:2**
 4:3 **22:136; 27:50;**
166:51
 4:4 **69:22**
 4:5 **120:13**
 4:8 **110:14; 123:2**
 4:8-11 **117:84**
 4:11 **110:14**
 4:15 **119:19; 120:50**
 4:24 **53:9; 97:18**
 4:25-32 **146:10**
 4:26 **144:88**
 4:27 **34:85**
 4:29-31 **34:83**
 4:30 **118:6; 119:6;**
120:24; 121:5
 4:30-32 **110:23;**
112:104
 4:31 **55:15; 119:8**
 5:2 **94:8; 119:8**
 5:3 **67:12**
 5:5 **67:12**
 5:6 **55:12; 147:170**
 5:8 **118:13**
 5:13 **55:14**
 5:18 **12a:8; 13:5;**
27:15; 44:89; 53:5;
57:7 (twice); 97:9;
101:265; 110:19, 22;
111:4; 112:102;
113:109; 117:87;
118:25; 120:15;
131b:5
 5:18f **119:9; 120:24**
 5:23 **34:76**
 5:25-32 **34:79**
 5:27 **62:37**
 5:28 **22:56**
 5:28-32 **12a:1**
 5:31-32 **12a:3**
 5:32 **22:56; 73:78;**
110:10; 128:3
 6:10 **34:84, 86**
 6:10-18 **34:84**
 6:11 **34:84**
 6:12 **34:84; 55:2;**
99:163
 6:15 **144:29**
 6:17f **120:25**
 6:18 **34:86 (twice)**
Philippians
 1:1 **27:132**
 1:2 **131d:4**
 1:6 **103:328; 144:61;**
147:185; 152:129
 1:9 **120:23; 147:188**
 1:12-14 **27:156; 57:78**
 1:15-18 **51:49**
 1:19 **120:33**
 1:20 **107:2; 195:2**
 1:20f **27:158; 57:79**
 1:21 **13:9; 131c:6;**
185:10
 1:21f **144:76**
 1:21-23 **187:1**
 1:23 **99:180**
 1:29 **27:38; 44:90;**
55:37; 57:18;
110:17; 118:15, 20;
120:15
 2 **85:11; 105:15, 16**
 2:1f **120:23**
 2:7 **69:9; 121:5**
 2:10f **105:15**
 2:12 **110:13; 128:5**
 2:17 **12a:4; 179:367**
 2:5-9 **206:8**
 2:5-10 **66:11**
 2:5-11 **29:47; 34:76;**
49:192; 99:190;
104:10
 2:6 **105:17**
 2:6-11 **22:45; 104:1**
 2:6ff **85:13; 105:17**
 2:7 **22:114; 119:6;**
120:30
 2:7f **105:8, 17**
 2:8 **103:326**
 2:12 **73:82**
 3 **105:15; 184:1, 2**
 3:2ff **120:23**
 3:3 **157:2; 179:369**
 3:4-8 **27:63**
 3:7 **57:29; 161:3**
 3:7-16 **34:83**
 3:8 **131b:6**
 3:8ff **67:6; 72:16**
 3:8-10 **110:10;**
116:77; 128:2
 3:8-14 **110:25;**
112:100
 3:9 **49:167; 62:11**
 3:10 **110:21; 112:100;**
135:6; 147:180;
190:2
 3:12 **27:55; 57:25**
 3:12-14 **67:8; 72:21**
 3:13 **55:37; 144:78**
 3:15 **69:22**
 3:18 **62:33**
 3:19 **62:27**
 3:20 **197:1; 204:1**
 3:20f **199:2; 201:3;**
202:6
 3:21 **69:17; 118:18;**
203:4
 4 **187:1**
 4:4 **144:76**
 4:6 **146:9; 154:92, 98;**
164:2
 4:6f **110:18**
 4:7 **85:8; 144:60;**
152:128
 4:8 **34:85**
 4:10 **144:76**

4:11 **13:9; 190:2**
 4:11f **28:31; 144:73,**
 74
 4:11-13 **119:9**
 4:12 **120:24**
 4:13 **34:81; 110:28;**
 118:15; 131b:4;
 144:79; 157:4
 4:15 **27:117**
 4:19 **104:3; 118:11**
 4:22 **13:9**
 4:22 **27:62**
 5:12 **131c:6**

Colossians

1 **155:7a; 197:2**
 1:1-8 **40:28f**
 1:5 **40:29; 104:3**
 1:8 **85:13**
 1:9 **40:31**
 1:9-13 **104:10**
 1:10 **13:9**
 1:11 **118:15**
 1:12 **40:41**
 1:13 **40:35; 92:16;**
 100:234
 1:13-19 **49:192; 66:11**
 1:13-20 **105:18**
 1:13-22 **40:35-39**
 1:15 **40:33; 92:15;**
 105:17 (twice)
 1:15f **105:17**
 1:15-19 **34:76, 84**
 1:15-20 **105:19**
 1:16 **25b:2; 40:34;**
 105:28; 118:9; 121:4
 1:16f **66:3; 104:3**
 1:17 **69:3**
 1:18 **34:76; 104:4;**
 110:5; 114:64
 1:19 **40:35**
 1:20 **40:35; 94:31**
 (twice); 144:23
 1:21 **40:38; 62:25**
 1:24 **55:37; 118:20**
 1:27 **40:31, 41**
 1:28 **62:37; 131b:4**
 1:29 **13:8; 69:17;**
 110:28; 118:15
 2:2 **40:31**
 2:3 **40:30f; 94:26**
 2:4 **40:30f**
 2:6 **179:369**
 2:8 **40:30f; 120:17**
 2:8-3:3 **40:39-44**
 2:9 **34:80, 83; 85:13**
 2:9f **34:76; 40:42**
 2:12 **120:13; 130:20**

2:14f **40:42**
 2:15 **28:34; 110:11;**
 128:4
 2:16-23 **98:127**
 2:18 **40:42**
 2:19 **27:50**
 2:20f **40:42**
 2:20ff **166:26**
 3 **105:24; 187:1**
 3:1 **110:21; 112:100;**
 185:8 161:3
 3:1-4 **118:21**
 3:2 **62:27; 109:3**
 3:3 **34:80; 40:43;**
 119:19; 120:51;
 160:5; 161:2
 3:3f **62:17; 85:6**
 3:4 **40:44; 118:20**
 3:5 **34:85; 67:12;**
 98:79; 160:5
 3:8 **55:153:10 40:40**
 3:12-15 **40:40**
 3:14 **27:50; 119:19;**
 120:51
 3:16 **11:5; 205:1**
 4:1 **34:76**
 4:4 **52:5**
 4:10 **50:1**
 4:10-12 **50:2**
 4:14 **52:7 (twice)**
 4:18 **34:76**

1 Thessalonians

1:3 **67:1; 118:22**
 1:5 **27:106; 57:49;**
 120:15, 17
 1:6 **120:15**
 1:10 **179:369**
 2:2 **27:106; 57:49**
 2:10 **53:9; 97:18**
 2:18 **147:195**
 2:19f **57:49**
 3:3 **120:15**
 3:7 **120:15**
 4 **119:15; 184:1;**
 185:10
 4:7f **120:15**
 4:8 **120:15**
 4:9 **49:176; 69:13**
 4:14 **185:7**
 4:14ff **197:1**
 4:16 **198:1**
 4:16f **206:5**
 5:2-6 **99:179**
 5:9f **94:25**
 5:19 **34:83; 131b:2**
 5:19f **110:24;**
 112:104; 120:15

5:20 **99:162; 131b:2**
 5:22 **31:162**
 5:23 **46:63; 120:15,**
 26

2 Thessalonians

1:4ff **120:15**
 1:9 **105:17**
 2:9f **34:84**
 2:13 **120:15**

1 Timothy

1:15 **104:1**
 1:16 **179:368**
 1:17 **69:2**
 2:4 **34:78**
 2:5f **94:31**
 2:14 **31:160**
 3:2 **67:11; 72:27**
 3:16 **55:22; 85:13;**
 131c:4
 4:14 **69:22**
 5:23 **110:17; 119:20**
 6:12 **47:74**
 6:16 **85:8**
 6:17-19 **99:177**

2 Timothy

195:1
 1:6f **131b:1**
 1:7 **110:18; 117:86**
 120:26; 157:4
 1:10 **11:16; 94:31**
 1:12 **27:38; 110:21;**
 112:100; 185:13
 2:11 **185:8**
 2:26 **34:84**
 3:16 **110:28**
 4:6 **179:367**
 4:11 **52:5, 7**
 4:13 **34:79**
 4:17 **105:13**
 4:18 **67:10; 72:25**
 4:19 **62:3**
 4:20 **110:17; 119:20**

Titus

1:8 **67:11; 72:27**
 2:10 **85:14**
 2:13 **31:160; 40:29;**
 62:3; 104:2; 200:1;
 206:5; 208:4
 3:4 **85:14**

4:16 **187:1**

Philemon

24 **50:2; 52:5**

Hebrews

1 **49:192; 155:7a;**
 161:3
 1:1 **66:3; 85:2, 3;**
 92:10; 104:3; 120:2,
 14; 185:5
 1:1f **67:11; 72:26;**
 103:307-309; 121:4
 1:1-3 **69:1**
 1:2 **104:3 (twice);**
 105:23
 1:2f **206:8**
 1:3 **40:33; 55:34;**
 69:9, 38; 85:8;
 144:19; 210:2
 1:4-14 **66:4; 69:5**
 1:5 **69:10; 85:10;**
 105:23
 1:8 **49:151; 104:2**
 1:8f **66:3**
 1:13 **105:23**
 1:14 **67:10; 72:24**
 2 **185:7; 190:4**
 2:1-3 **103:328**
 2:1-4 **69:7; 103:313**
 2:2 **69:5**
 2:2f **66:3**
 2:3 **66:4; 105:21**
 2:5-9 **103:314f**
 2:5-18 **69:8**
 2:7 **11:19**
 2:8 **11:19**
 2:9 **11:19; 66:3; 69:8;**
 94:35
 2:10 **65:3; 67:6;**
 72:15; 103:312
 2:10f **11:19**
 2:10-18 **66:4; 69:9-**
 11; 103:316-318
 2:11 **69:38**
 2:12 **65:1**
 2:14 **64:3**
 2:14ff **85:14**
 2:16 **104:12; 103:306**
 2:16f **210:1**
 2:16-18 **69:11**
 2:17 **69:8; 94:35;**
 103:305, 312
 2:18 **103:352**
 3:1 **103:320**
 3:1-6 **69:13**

- 3:1-4:13 **66:8-11;**
69:12
 3:2 **105:19**
 3:5f **103:320**
 3:6 **67:1; 69:16**
 3:6-15 **103:322f**
 3:7-10 **103:321**
 3:7-19 **69:14**
 3:8 **69:16**
 3:11 **51:71**
 3:12 **65:2; 69:16**
 3:13 **69:16 (twice)**
 3:14 **69:16**
 3:15 **69:16**
 3:16 **69:16, 18**
 3:17 **69:16**
 3:18 **69:16 (twice)**
 4 **47:70**
 4:1 **67:8; 69:16; 72:22**
 4:2 **69:16**
 4:3 **110:25**
 4:9 **66:9; 66:10;**
110:25
 4:9f **144:33**
 4:9-12 **119:16**
 4:10 **69:16**
 4:11 **47:73; 69:16;**
119:16; 120:48;
161:3
 4:12 **119:11; 120:44**
 4:12f **69:17**
 4:14 **65:5; 69:28;**
195:2
 4:14f **144:29, 33, 40**
 4:14-16 **69:18;**
103:325
 4:15 **24:1; 25a:2;**
55:28; 69:10;
110:17; 131c:4;
179:369
 4:15f **85:14; 103:352;**
120:10b, 11; 210:1
 4:16 **105:23**
 4:17 **118:11**
 5:1f **85:14**
 5:1-10 **66:11f;**
103:324-327, 331
 5:2 **24:1; 25a:2; 210:1**
 5:7 **24:1, 6; 25a:2;**
25d:2; 72:26; 105:21
 5:8 **24:5; 25d:2; 65:3;**
69:10
 5:8f **120:10b**
 5:11-14 **103:329**
 5:11-6:1 **65:5**
 5:11-6:20 **69:21**
 5:12 **64:3**
 5:13 **69:38**
 6:1f **65:2**
 6:1-8 **66:13**
 6:4-6 **103:328 (twice)**
 6:6 **65:2**
 6:9-12 **120:48**
 6:10 **65:1**
 6:13-20 **103:330f**
 6:19-20 **144:36**
 6:20 **69:15, 24;**
103:328, 329
 6:26f **103:328**
 7:1 **210:2**
 7:1-3 **69:26**
 7:3 **69:27**
 7:4-14 **103:332**
 7:4-28 **69:26**
 7:8 **69:27**
 7:15-19 **103:332**
 7:16 **11:8; 65:5; 69:27**
 (twice); **105:23;**
144:33; 210:2
 7:18 **69:38**
 7:19 **65:5**
 7:20f **103:332**
 7:22 **69:27, 38**
 7:23-28 **103:333**
 7:25 **11:8; 24:8; 25f:2;**
49:160; 55:58; 69:28,
38; 105:23; 103:337,
338; 120:24; 144:33;
210:1
 7:26 **103:338**
 7:27 **94:35**
 7:28 **69:27; 144:33**
 8-9 **94:38**
 8:1 **64:9; 103:339**
 8:1-10:18 **69:30-43**
 8:2 **67:1**
 8:3 **103:341**
 8:5 **68:3**
 8:6 **66:2; 69:38; 118:7**
 8:6-8 **69:31**
 8:6-13 **66:18f;**
103:342
 8:8 **40:40**
 8:9 **69:11**
 8:9-12 **69:32**
 8:12 **118:7**
 9:1-7 **69:39**
 9:1-10 **69:33**
 9:1-12 **103:345f**
 9:12 **69:39; 94:35**
 9:13 **69:38**
 9:13-22 **103:346f**
 9:14 **69:10, 28, 37;**
105:23
 9:15-18 **67:2**
 9:15-10:18 **69:40-43**
 9:16 **64:7**
 9:19-22 **69:40**
 9:22-28 **103:347**
 9:23 **66:2 (twice)**
 9:24 **22:123; 105:23**
 9:25 **144:33**
 9:26 **69:22, 28, 38, 41**
 9:26-28 **94:35**
 9:28 **69:22; 103:352;**
105:23
 10 **47:74; 68:3**
 10:1-23 **103:348-350**
 10:2 **69:22**
 10:5ff **104:4**
 10:7 **85:11**
 10:10 **69:27, 38**
 (twice)
 10:12f **66:3**
 10:14 **69:38**
 10:18 **94:35**
 10:18-39 **65:6**
 10:19 **69:28; 103:352;**
164:2
 10:19-21 **67:1**
 10:19-22 **47:74; 66:2;**
120:24
 10:19-25 **66:22f**
 10:20 **40:40; 103:339**
 10:21 **69:28**
 10:22 **144:33; 200:3**
 10:22ff **69:17**
 10:22-25 **67:1f**
 10:25 **65:1**
 10:26 **65:23b**
 10:26f **103:328**
 10:26-31 **67:2**
 10:27 **64:8**
 10:29 **65:2; 69:10,**
23b, 38; 118:6;
119:6; 120:26
 10:32-36 **65:1**
 10:32-39 **67:3**
 10:37 **64:8; 183:2**
 10:38 **64:3**
 11 **187:1**
 11:1 **67:3; 155:3**
 11:1-39 **67:4f**
 11:4 **94:4**
 11:8 **64:3**
 11:10 **72:24**
 11:13 **203:2**
 11:13f **185:5; 190:4**
 11:39f **72:12**
 11:39-12:3 **67:5;**
72:12
 12:1 **189:1; 197:1**
 12:1f **72:13**
 12:2 **65:4; 69:10**
 12:2f **72:16**
 12:4-11 **65:6**
 12:5-11 **67:7; 72:17-**
19
 12:7 **69:10**
 12:11 **67:8**
 12:12f **72:21**
 12:12-17 **67:8f**
 12:14 **31:160; 46:62;**
119:19; 120:51
 12:14-17 **72:19f**
 12:15 **64:3**
 12:15-17 **119:16;**
120:48
 12:18-27 **67:9-11;**
72:23
 12:22 **72:24**
 12:25-29 **67:11**
 12:26f **69:22**
 12:28f **72:26**
 13:1 **49:176; 69:13**
 13:1-6 **72:27**
 13:1-25 **67:11f**
 13:3 **65:1**
 13:4 **72:27**
 13:5 **72:27**
 13:7 **65:1; 142:5**
 13:8 **142:5; 179:369**
 13:9 **72:14**
 13:12 **69:38 (twice)**
 13:13 **65:1**
 13:15 **69:28; 179:367**
 13:16 **67:12**
 13:18 **65:1**
 13:19-21 **65:6**
 13:20 **105:23**
 13:20f **46:63; 67:12**
 13:22 **66:1**

James
94:20
 1:2 **69:7**
 1:12 **166:22**
 1:15 **118:17**
 1:17 **92:25**
 1:18 **119:11; 120:44**
 1:27 **34:85**
 2:5 **99:177**
 2:19 **49:192; 55:3;**
115:69
 3:8 **98:68**
 3:18 **22:63**
 4:4 **55:55**
 4:5 **110:9; 115:73;**
116:77; 128:2
 5:4-16 **154:94**
 5:14-16 **110:16**

1 Peter**94:20f**

1:1 **34:80; 94:20;**
201:3; 203:1 204:1;
205:2

1:1f **179:355f**
 1:2 **85:4; 92:30;**
110:5, 9; 114:64;
116:77; 119:2;
120:15; 121:2;
131d:1

1:3 **11:4, 8; 146:8;**
205:1

1:3f **185:7**

1:3-5 **11:8**

1:3-9 **179:357f**

1:5 **22:126; 73:82;**
110:13; 128:5

1:6 **179:369**

1:6-8 **105:13**

1:7 **147:180; 196:1;**
202:6

1:8 **22:75, 94, 101;**
97:24; 203:1

1:8f **103:328**

1:10-12 **179:359f**

1:11 **105:15**

1:13 **105:13**

1:13-21 **179:361-363**

1:14-16 **46:62**

1:15-19 **94:20**

1:16 **47:69; 110:9;**
116:76; 128:1

1:17 **179:355**

1:19 **55:5; 94:39**

1:20 **105:15**

1:20f **179:368-370**

1:22 **49:176**

1:22-25 **179:364f**

1:23 **119:11; 120:44**

2:1 **94:21**

2:1-3 **69:22**

2:1-10 **179:366f**

2:2 **40:40; 120:17**

2:9 **64:9; 159:5**

2:11 **31:162; 179:355;**
199:2; 205:2; 208:3

2:18-21 **147:181**

2:21 **105:8**

2:21-24 **94:39**

2:22 **94:20**

2:24 **94:4, 21, 22;**
92:15; 179:369

2:25 **12a:5; 13:3**

2:8 **166:65**

3:7 **147:170**

3:8 **49:176; 195:2**

3:11 **67:8; 72:21**

3:18 **94:22, 39**

3:21 **120:13**

4:1 **179:369; 204:1**

4:4 **22:80; 199:2;**
201:3; 205:2

4:9 **67:11; 72:27**

4:12 **203:2**

4:13 **120:15**

5 **195:1**

5:1 **94:20**

5:2 **196:1**

5:4 **196:1**

5:5 **179:355**

5:7 **144:61**

5:8 **34:85**

5:9 **34:86**

5:13 **50:2**

2 Peter

1:1 **4:3**

1:7 **49:176; 69:13**

1:10 **103:328**

1:15 **67:12**

3:4 **206:3**

3:7 **182:1; 197:1**

3:8f **99:179**

3:10 **182:1**

3:13 **40:40**

3:18 **47:73**

1 John

1:1-2 **49:151**

1:1-3 **54:2**

1:1-4 **49:149-151**

1:3 **49:146, 147, 155;**
203:1

1:3f **49:147**

1:3-5 **49:146**

1:5 **49:147, 152-154;**
55:2

1:5-10 **49:155-158**

1:7 **49:156, 160, 161;**
73:83; 110:13;
128:5; 131a:6

1:8 **49:158**

1:8-2:2 **49:147**

1:9 **49:158, 160; 69:3**

2:1 **22:106, 107, 123;**
49:145, 161; 69:28;
120:29; 179:369

2:1f **55:58**

2:1-6 **49:159-161**

2:2 **94:40**

2:3 **49:161**

2:5 **49:161**

2:7 **55:24**

2:7-11 **49:162-165**

2:8 **40:40; 49:164**

2:9 **49:164**

2:10 **49:164**

2:11 **49:164, 165;**
202:3

2:12-14 **49:161**

2:15-17 **34:85**

2:20 **22:104; 49:181;**
118:12; 166:26

2:21 **49:146**

2:22f **49:151**

2:27f **49:166f**

2:28 **49:145; 67:2;**
99:221; 196:1;
200:2; 201:4; 202:8;
203:1

2:28f **34:80**

2:29 **49:147, 169**

(twice); **119:14;**
120:47

2:29-3:12 **49:168-171**

3 **119:15; 192:1**

3:1 **11:4; 22:79;**
32:183; 55:55

3:1f **55:60**

3:1-3 **67:8; 72:21;**
118:21; 199:1;
202:3; 204:1

3:2 **34:80; 92:11;**
120:27; 184:2; 208:3

3:3 **34:80; 200:1;**
201:4; 202:8

3:4-12 **49:172-175**

3:5 **55:5; 105:8**

3:7 **49:145**

3:8 **49:147**

3:9 **73:81; 110:11;**
128:4

3:10-18 **49:176-178**

3:11 **49:147**

3:11-18 **49:17**

3:13 **55:55**

3:15-17 **49:147**

3:18 **49:145**

3:18-28 **49:147**

3:19-23 **49:179f**

3:19-4:6 **49:147**

4:1 **34:85**

4:1-3 **34:84; 49:151**

4:1-6 **49:181**

4:2 **55:55**

4:4 **49:145**

4:5 **34:85**

4:7-21 **49:182-189**

4:7f **49:147**

4:8 **49:152**

4:9 **131c:3**

4:9f **49:147, 185**

4:10 **94:40**

4:11f **49:148**

4:13-16 **49:148**

4:14 **55:18**

4:17 **185:14; 201:4**

4:17f **49:148**

4:18 **179:363**

4:19 **49:188**

4:19-21 **49:148**

5:1-4 **49:148**

5:1-12 **49:190**

5:2 **49:192**

5:4f **34:85**

5:10 **55:15**

5:12 **49:148**

5:13 **49:146**

5:13-21 **49:194f**

5:14 **154:94; 164:2**

5:15 **49:148**

5:16 **164:2**

5:18 **49:148**

5:19 **49:148**

5:20 **49:148; 104:2**

5:21 **31:162; 49:145;**
73:82; 110:13

Jude

1 **105:8**

4 **166:65**

5 **103:328**

20 **154:94**

24 **11:8; 34:80;**
185:13; 196:1;
201:3; 202:8; 203:4;
208:5

Revelation

184:1

192:1

1:7 **184:2. (twice)**

1:13-18 **49:192**

1:17 **149:10**

1:18 **180:1**

2:4 **12a:1**

2:5 **131b:1**

2:13 **34:84**

2:17 **40:40**

3:3 **99:179**

3:11 **196:3**

3:12 **40:40**

3:20 **13:8; 34:83;**
99:180; 131b:7;
161:3

3:21 **34:82**

5:9 **40:40**

5:12 **67:10; 72:24**

7:2 **53:10**

7:14 **94:39**
11:8 **67:12**
12:10 **34:84**
12:11 **34:86**
13 **166:62**
13:8 **94:39**
14:4 **67:10; 72:24**
22:5 **203:4**

14:13 **69:15f**
15:3 **69:2**
16:12 **53:10**
19:15 **55:15**
20:5 **198:1**
20:11 **197:1**
20:11-15 **184:2**

21 **187:1**
21-22 **195:1**
21:1 **81:66; 197:1**
21:2 **40:40**
21:4 **197:1; 201:3;**
202:8; 203:4
21:8 **185:16**

22 **166:31**
22:3 **201:4**
22:3f **197:1**
22:4 **196:3; 201:3**

APPENDIX 4

Name index to primary sources

Numbers in bold type refer to primary sources as listed in Appendix 1.

- Abelard, Peter, **94:1**; **95:3**, 12; **165:18**
 Adeney, Walter F., **52:1**, 3; **53:8** (twice), 9; **97:15**; **99:188**, 195
 Ainsworth, Percy C., **22:8**; **27:151**; **85:8**; **92:37**; **157:2**
 Akiba, Rabbi, **12a:3**
 Alexander the Great, **97:20**
 Alexander, Cecil F., **95:13**
 Alford, Henry, **22:51f**; **66:17**; **69:4**; **103:339**
 Allis, Oswald, **94:6**
 Ambrose, **12a:8**
 Anderson, Francis, **47:69**
 Anderson, Neville P., **3:25**
 Anderson, Robert, **120:12**
 Andrews, Lancelot, **144:26**
 Angus, Joseph, **50:2**
 Angus, Samuel, **110:27**
 Anselm of Canterbury, **12a:7**; **13:4**; **95:1**, 3
 Aquinas, Thomas, **92:4**
 Aristotle, **2:5**; **92:34f**; **93:1**
 Arles, Cure of, **131c:7**
 Arminius, Jacob, **2:5**
 Arnold, Matthew, **135:5**
 Arnold, Thomas, **27:103**
 Athanasius, **85:6**; **104:1**, 12; **159:4**; **185:8**
 Auber, Harriet, **78:46**; **146:11**
 Augustine of Hippo, **7:9**; **47:72**; **49:170**; **65:1**; **74:8**; **81:69**; **92:8**, 32, 33; **93:1**; **100:245**; **103:335**; **115:73**; **120:36**; **121:3**; **131a:1**; **131c:3**; **147:161**; **165:16**; **166:39**
 Aulen, Gustaf, **92:38**
 Aurelius Clemens Prudentius, **77:32**
 Bacon, B. W., **50:4**
 Bacon, Roger, **165:21**
 Baillie, John, **92:4**, 5, 11, 12, 19, 25; **158:8**; **182:1**
 Baillie, Robert, **166:77**, 81, 86, 93, 96, 105
 Baker, Bethune, **92:31**
 Baker, Henry W., **12a:1**
 Ballard, Frank, **94:9**
 Bancroft, Richard (Archbishop), **166:40**, 56
 Barclay, Robert, **147:198**
 Barrie, Walter, **28:34**
 Barrowe, Henry, **166:12**, 14
 Barry, Waldo, **142:7**
 Barth, Karl, **85:9**, 13; **92:3**, 33; **93:2**; **94:1**; **95:3**; **105:9**; **120:37**, 40; **121:6**; **147:161**; **155:7**, 7a, 11; **161:1**; **200:1**
 Bastwick, John, **166:47**, 81, 95
 Battersby, Harford, **46:61**, 64; **194:1**
 Baur, Ferdinand C., **56:3**
 Bavinck, Herman, **92:28**
 Baxter, Richard, **66:14**; **103:330**; **166:87**, 121, 125
 Baxter, Sidlow, **189:1**
 Beasley-Murray, George R., **206:7**
 Bechuana **62:20**
 Bede the Venerable, **57:5**; **101:260**
 Begbie, H. S., **31:165**
 Bell, William, **155:7a**
 Bengel, Johann A., **22:112**; **39:132**; **49:163**; **51:52**; **53:6**; **67:10**; **93:3**; **146:2**
 Berkhof, Louis, **79:48**; **120:7**, 33, 37, 39
 Bernard of Assisi, **165:38**
 Bernard of Clairvaux, **12a:1**; **55:26**; **107:2**; **132:6**; **155:2**; **165:17**, 29
 Bernard, Thomas D., **98:49**
 Berry, Charles, **95:2**; **165:48**; **210:2**
 Best, Paul, **166:93**
 Beyschlag, Karlmann, **98:110**
 Bickersteth, Edward Henry (1786-1850), **144:24**; **185:12**
 Biddle, John, **166:127**
 Binney, Thomas, **49:184**
 Black, W. Cleugh, **142:7**
 Blackwell, Rev., **158:6**, 8
 Blaiklock, E. M., **120:12**
 Blake, William, **121:9**; **151:115**
 Bleek, Frederich, **97:32**
 Bliss, Philip, **154:90**
 Böhme, Jakob (= Behmen), **105:4**; **144:67**; **151:116**; **161:2**
 Bonar, Andrew, **185:14**; **192:1**
 Bonar, Horatius, **40:40**; **46:63**; **161:3**
 Bonaventure, **165:7**, 54
 Booth, Bramwell, **11:20**; **34:85**
 Booth, Catherine, **127:3**
 Booth, William, **144:50f**; **152:123**; **185:14**
 Boreham, Frank W., **47:71**; **147:198f**
 Borrow, George Henry, **144:17**
 Bousset, Wilhelm, **105:14** (twice)
 Boyle, Robert, **166:131**
 Boys, Ernest, **118:24**
 Bradshaw, William, **166:12**
 Brainerd, David, **39:132**
 Brice, Joseph, **144:26**
 Bridge, William, **166:78**, 79
 Brodrich, **51:71**
 Brooks, Phillips, **12a:5**; **13:3**; **27:140**; **57:69**; **144:57**; **150:7**; **152:127**
 Broomhall, Marshall, **22:136**
 Brown, Archibald, **11:3**; **131a:3**
 Brown, Basil, **131c:7**
 Brown, Charles R. **22:3**
 Brown, Douglas, **132:6**
 Brown, William A., **92:20**
 Browne, Robert, **166:12**, 91

- Browning, Elizabeth Barrett, **28:33; 29:46; 103:307; 144:35f**
- Browning, Robert, **22:31; 28:33; 29:46; 144:49; 147:194; 200:1**
- Bruce, Alexander B. (A. B.), **22:118; 66:1; 68:4, 6; 69:27, 28, 30, 31, 33; 92:10; 98:89, 90; 103:334; 104:10; 105:7, 22**
- Bruce, Frederick Fyvie (F. F.), **120:13**
- Brunner, Emil, **94:4; 95:12; 120:37**
- Buchan, John, **159:11**
- Bullock, H., **94:33**
- Bullock, Luke, **3:23**
- Bunyan, John, **40:27; 131c:7**
- Burke, Edmund, **107:1**
- Burroughs, Jeremiah, **166:78, 79**
- Burton, Henry, **166:47, 93**
- Busher, Horace, **166:ii**
- Busher, Leonard, **166:17, 37, 109**
- Bushnell, Horace, **95:9,12; 105:3, 5; 110:23; 112:103; 118:6; 119:6; 127:1; 147:185**
- Butler, Florence, **147:181**
- Butler, Josephine, **144:59; 152:128**
- Buttrick, George A., **92:22**
- Cairns, Frank, **46:64; 159:6**
- Calvin, John, **2:5; 11:15; 27:73; 81:68; 93:1, 3; 94:1; 95:14; 120:40; 131d:2; 166:5**
- Campbell-Bannermann, Henry, **147:188**
- Campbell, Alexander, **140:4**
- Campbell, J. C., **3:25**
- Campbell, McLeod, **94:17; 95:1, 4, 12, 13**
- Campbell, R. J., **159:8**
- Carey, William, **27:55, 91; 110:31; 145:3; 146:6; 147:191**
- Carlyle, Thomas, **28:32; 29:49; 145:3**
- Carmichael, Amy, **110:16, 17; 119:20; 154:96; 161:2**
- Carnegie, Andrew, **173:2**
- Cave, Sydney, **94:33f; 95:12; 105:1, 12, 13, 15 (twice), 19**
- Cecil, Richard, **62:37**
- Celsus, **52:5**
- Chadwick, George A., **51:58; 55:45; 66:5, 21; 85:7; 92:14; 98:73, 76, 78, 90, 123, 127, 137, 145; 103:334, 340, 349; 127:1 (twice)**
- Chadwick, James, **147:160**
- Chadwick, Samuel, **11:22; 183:1**
- Chafer, Lewis Sperry, **110:19; 111:5; 117:88**
- Chalmers, Thomas, **144:83f; 151:118**
- Chambers, Oswald, **12a:7; 47:72; 144:27**
- Chapman, Samuel, **144:46**
- Charlemange, **97:20**
- Charles I, **82:75; 166:102**
- Charles II, **82:75**
- Chesterton, Gilbert Keith (G. K.), **53:12; 92:21; 97:24**
- Cheynell, Francis, **166:75, 76**
- Chidley, Catherine, **166:iv, 66, 74, 79**
- Chillingworth, William, **166:iii, 47, 51**
- Chrysostom, John, **22:139**
- Churchill, Winston, **131a:2**
- Cicero, Marcus Tullius, **144:74**
- Clarens, Angelo, **165:52**
- Clark, Henry W., **132:6; 165:52; 166:131; 142:7**
- Clarke, William N., **85:10; 92:1, 33; 104:9; 166:12, 24; 173:2**
- Clemen, Carl, **105:2**
- Clement of Alexandria, **50:4; 52:4; 54:2; 64:2, 3; 65:3; 144:87**
- Clement of Rome, **68:5**
- Cleveland, John, **166:131**
- Clough, Arthur Hugh, **107:1**
- Clow, William MacCallum, **155:5**
- Cockin, F. A., **120:36**
- Colet, John, **155:2; 166:8**
- Comte, Auguste, **94:3**
- Constantine, **166:2**
- Conybeare, Frederick C., **56:6**
- Cook, Thomas, **40:39; 144:25**
- Cotton, John, **166:60**
- Coverdale, Myles, **13:9**
- Cowper, William, **40:34; 144:18**
- Coxe, Arthur Cleveland, **81:72**
- Craike, George A., **3:23**
- Creighton, Mandell, **166:44**
- Cromwell, Oliver, **94:28; 166:iv, 84-88, 95, 104, 111-120, 124, 129f**
- Crossley, Frank, **147:192**
- Cumming, James Elder, **130:22**
- Cunliffe-Jones, Hubert, **120:1; 131d:3**
- Cunningham, William, **79:59**
- Curzon, George Nathaniel, **144:55; 152:126**
- Cuthbert, **165:22**
- D'Albert, Charles Honoré (= Duc de Chevreuse), **144:85f**
- Dale, Robert William (R. W.), **30:129; 66:14; 94:9, 13, 18; 95:13; 119:7; 120:14; 131b:6; 166:12; 180:1**
- Dalgairns, John D., **92:36**
- Damiani, Peter, **165:16**
- Damien, **165:28**
- Dante Alighieri, **144:48; 165:21, 54**
- Darwin, Charles, **159:7**
- Davidson, Andrew Bruce (A. B.), **67:2; 69:1, 8, 10, 20, 21, 27, 29, 38 (twice), 40, 42 (twice); 92:5, 12, 14; 94:5, 6, 10, 12; 103:308; 105:22; 120:7**
- Davidson, Randall Thomas, **145:9; 147:188**
- Davison, William Theophilus (W. T.), **119:13; 120:2**
- Dawson, W. J., **159:13**
- Dawson, William Harbutt, **131b:4**
- "Dr Day", **46:65**
- de Chevreuse, Duc, **151:118**
- de Montfort, **165:51**
- de Pressense, E., **104:9**
- Deane, John H., **3:24**
- Dehn, Günther, **93:2**
- Deissmann, Gustav Adolf, **94:14; 62:1; 68:5**
- Delitzsch, Franz, **104:8**
- Denney, James, **11:8; 27:21; 57:10; 69:2, 29, 36, 38; 94:8, 9, 10, 12 (twice), 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 24, 26 (twice), 28, 29, 36; 95:3, 8, 9, 10; 101:271; 103:309; 120:11, 14; 144:22; 154:90; 155:7; 202:7**
- Digges La Touche, E., **104:10**
- Dodd, Charles Harold (C. H.), **62:27; 69:35; 94:9 (twice), 24, 30; 120:33; 200:1**
- Dods, Marcus, **55:7, 13; 69:7, 9 (twice), 10, 11, 16, 18, 20, 23a, 32, 42; 144:52; 152:124**
- Done [Donne, John?], **166:14**
- Dorner, Isaak A., **92:28; 104:6, 7**
- Doyle, Arthur Conan, **159:10**
- Drews, Arthur, **105:1**

- Driver, Samuel Rolles (S. R.), **69:39; 94:16**
- Drummond, Henry, **22:77; 44:89; 110:29, 31; 118:15; 119:18**
- Duncan, George, **145:9**
- Duns Scotus, **165:54**
- Durkheim, Émile, **92:17**
- Dykes, Daniel, **166:120**
- Eaton, John, **166:75**
- Eckhart, Meister, **144:69; 153:134**
- Eddington, Arthur, **159:10**
- Edersheim, Alfred, **51:58, 65** (twice), **75, 76, 77; 53:3, 4, 5, 17, 18** (three times), **19; 55:32; 97:7, 8; 119:17**
- Edman, V. Raymond, **46:64**
- Edward I, **165:21**
- Edward VI, **166:29f**
- Edwards, Thomas, **166:iv, 79**
- Eldridge, Victor, **3:25**
- Elizabeth I, **82:73; 166:30, 55**
- Ellicott, Charles J., **53:20, 22; 55:47; 97:40; 120:18**
- Elliott, Charlotte, **77:37**
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo, **85:6**
- Erasmus, Desiderius, **93:1**
- Erskine, Ebenezer, **22:15, 56**
- Erskine, Thomas, **199:1; 201:2; 203:1; 204:1**
- Eusebius, **50:1**
- Eva, Mother (of Friedenshort), **144:25**
- Evelyn, John, **166:125**
- Ewald, Heinrich, **53:2**
- Faber, Frederick W., **11:22; 121:9**
- Fairbairn, Andrew M., **94:4; 104:8; 105:7**
- Falkland, Lord, **166:iii, 47, 50**
- Farmer, Herbert H., **92:23f, 25**
- Farrar, Frederick W., **49:145; 53:6, 13; 54:1; 67:10, 12; 97:12; 99:179, 188, 200, 210; 110:27**
- Feine, **94:20**
- Fénelon, François, **144:85f; 146:3; 151:118f**
- Findlay, George G. [typed as J. J. Findlay], **34:84**
- Findlay, James Alexander, **105:5; 147:168**
- Finney, Charles G., **12a:1; 110:21; 112:100; 131a:2**
- Fisher, George P., **93:3**
- Fison, J. E., **120:1, 11, 14**
- Forrest, David W., **105:3, 8, 9**
- Forsyth, Peter Taylor (P. T.), **11:5; 22:120; 40:35, 37; 66:7; 69:9; 94:9; 105:1, 5, 6, 7** (twice); **105:315; 110:17; 119:20; 120:42; 127:4; 131b:3; 131c:6; 132:6; 154:98; 166:89**
- Fosdick, Harry Emerson, **92:21**
- Fox, George, **2:4; 118:25; 144:66; 147:198; 153:132; 166:85, 107**
- Francis of Assisi, **32:182; 49:154; 95:6; 132:6; 144:72, 87; 145:9; 165:passim**
- Francke, August Hermann*, **93:3**
- Franklin, Benjamin, **105:4**
- Franks, Robert S., **92:33**
- Fraser, James Outram (J. O.), **47:72; 73:83; 110:13; 128:5; 164:1**
- Frederick II, **165:51**
- Freud, Sigmund, **92:17, 18; 94:3; 95:6**
- Frost, Henry, **119:20; 154:92, 94**
- Fuller, Thomas, **166:iv, 66, 71**
- Gairdner, Temple, **29:49; 159:13**
- Galloway, George, **92:3, 5, 37; 95:6**
- Gamble, Clement, **166:14**
- Gandhi, Mohandas, **106:8; 107:2**
- Gardiner, Samuel Rawson, **166:68**
- Garvie, Alfred E., **62:6, 18, 34, 35, 36; 92:2; 94:13; 105:1**
- Gerhardt, Paul, **7:5**
- Gersom of Paris, **166:2**
- Gersonius, Johannes, **166:80**
- Gess, Wolfgang F., **104:9**
- Gibson, Edward G., **3:25**
- Giles, Friar, **165:47**
- Gillespie, George, **166:81**
- Gioacchino (Joachim) di Fiore, **165:19**
- Giotto di Bondone, **165:21, 54**
- Gladstone, William, **166:45**
- Glover, Terrot Reaveley (T. R.), **27:57; 105:16** (twice), **19; 110:27; 131d:7; 157:3; 159:5**
- Godet, Frédéric L., **40:43; 53:10, 17, 22, 24; 54:4; 55:54, 57; 62:18; 97:18, 32, 37; 99:163, 226; 104:9; 110:24; 112:105; 119:12; 120:29f, 31, 32; 130:17**
- Goodman, Robert, **142:7**
- Goodwin, John, **166:iv, 82, 48, 93**
- Gordon, Adoniram Judson (A. J.), **3:23; 40:41; 47:70; 57:5; 69:24; 101:261; 105:18; 131d:8; 157:5** (twice)
- Gordon, Samuel D., **27:135; 57:67; 110:27; 157:5**
- Gore, Charles, **93:1; 94:18; 104:9; 105:7, 14, 15, 17f; 120:36**
- Gore, Stanley, **210:2**
- Gossip, Arthur John (A. J.), **161:2**
- Gradgrind, Thomas, **151:114**
- Graham, Billy, **110:20; 120:42**
- Green, T. R., **132:6; 166:42**
- Greenwell, Dora, **95:9; 144:23**
- Greenwood, John, **166:12**
- Grellet, Stephen, **147:198**
- Grensted, Laurence W., **92:16, 18, 19, 22; 105:15**
- Guillebaud, Harold Ernest, **94:2; 95:14**
- Guinness, Harold, **46:66**
- Guinness, Henry Grattan, **144:44**
- Guyon, Madame (Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de la Motte), **118:25; 131a:7; 144:27; 146:6; 151:116; 206:2**
- Habershon, Ada Ruth, **202:5, 6; 203:3; 208:4**
- Hacker, Francis, **166:85**
- Hadfield, J. A., **95:6**
- Hales, John, **166:iii, 51**
- Hallesby, O., **121:6; 154:96**
- Hammond, Thomas Chatterton (T. C.), **69:23b; 103:327; 119:14, 15; 120:16, 47** (twice), **48**
- Hardy, Thomas, **92:6**
- Harford, Battersby, **180:1**
- Harnack, Adolf von, **56:4; 65:2; 165:12**
- Harper [?], **155:7**
- Harris, Rendell, **56:6; 69:23a**
- Harrison, Frederick, **94:3**
- Hart, John, **76:24**
- Hartill, Percy, **92:27, 28, 29, 30; 119:3**
- Hartmann, Nicolai, **144:18**
- Harvey, Arthur, **47:74**
- Havergal, Frances R., **22:11; 32:185; 40:31**
- Hedlam, Arthur C., **62:9, 10, 12, 19, 27, 30** (twice), **35, 36, 37;**

- 105:17; 118:20; 120:22; 180:1**
 Hegel, Georg W., **92:3; 94:1, 2; 161:1**
 Helwys, Thomas, **82:74; 132:6; 166:17**
 Henderson, Alexander, **166:77, 105**
 Hendricksen, William, **84:97**
 Hendry, George S., **92:30, 31; 120:34, 39**
 Henley, Thomas, **152:124**
 Henley, William Earnest, **144:52**
 Henry VIII, **166:29f**
 Henry, Matthew, **22:16, 17; 131d:8**
 Heppe, Heinrich Ludwig Julius, **119:10 (twice); 120:44**
 Herbert, George, **146:3**
 Hermann, Samuel Reimar, **105:20**
 Hibberd, Frederick, **142:5**
 Higlett, William, **3:23**
 Hildebrand, **165:9, 28**
 Hill, Rowland, **158:1**
 Hitler, Adolf, **94:3**
 Hoare, Edward, **69:25**
 Hobart, William K., **52:7**
 Hobbes, Thomas, **166:131**
 Hodge, A. A., **92:4**
 Hodge, Charles, **80:63; 155:1**
 Hodgson, Leonard, **92:27, 32, 33, 34; 104:3; 115:74; 119:2, 4, 5 (twice); 120:32, 36, 37; 131a:1; 131d:1**
 Holden, Stuart, **22:136; 46:62; 73:83; 110:13; 119:20; 120:51; 128:5**
 Holtermann, **94:40**
 Hood, Thomas, **107:2**
 Hooker, Richard, **105:18**
 Hooker, Thomas, **166:8, 50**
 Hopkins, Evan Henry, **73:81; 110:12; 119:16, 17 (twice); 120:48f**
 Hort, John Anthony, **140:2**
 Horton, Robert Forman (R. F.), **127:1; 135:5**
 Howard, W. J., **50:6**
 Hughes, H. Maldwyn, **92:8, 13, 14, 16, 33, 38; 119:5**
 Hughes, Hugh Price, **110:30; 159:13**
 Humphreys, **119:6; 131c:3**
 Hunter, A. M., **50:5; 51:52, 62; 94:4**
 Hutton, H. S., **210:1**
 Hutton, J. A., **2:5; 66:16; 69:28; 103:338; 131a:8**
 Ignatius of Loyola, **150:7**
 Inge, William Ralph, **131a:5**
 Irenaeus, **50:1, 4; 52:4; 56:2; 119:7; 120:110b**
 Jacks, Lawrence Pearsall (L. P.), **11:4; 58:1**
 Jackson, George, **166:88**
 Jackson, W. D., **127:4; 131a:7**
 Jacob, Henry, **166:12**
 Jacobi, Friedrich H., **92:5**
 James I, **82:88; 166:22, 31**
 James, John Angel, **149:4**
 "Private James", **155:10**
 James, William, **144:70; 149:3; 153:134; 155:4**
 Jensen, Peter C. A., **105:1**
 Jeremias, Joachim, **94:9**
 Jerome, **34:86; 65:1**
 Jessey, Henry, **166:120**
 Joad, Cyril Edwin Mitchinson (C. E. M.), **159:11; 210:2**
 John of Damascus, **104:7**
 John, the Apostle, **149:10**
 Jones, J. D., **30:128; 132:6; 196:1**
 Jones, Rufus Matthew, **85:16; 92:19; 144:19; 145:7; 151:115; 203:1**
 Jones, Stanley, **22:77; 107:2; 103:307; 110:16, 26; 127:4; 131b:2; 157:5**
 Josephus, **52:5; 105:1**
 Jowett, John Henry (J. H.), **12a:7; 13:4; 27:134; 29:46; 40:28; 57:66; 69:34; 94:17; 106:8; 107:2; 110:31; 135:6; 140:2; 144:34f, 64; 153:131; 155:4; 160:3**
 Julian of Norwich, **146:8**
 Julius Caesar, **157:3**
 Jung, Carl, **92:17; 158:8**
 Juniper, Friar, **165:49**
 Justin Martyr, **52:5**
 Juxton [William Juxon?], **166:125**
 Kaftan, Julius Wilhelm, **94:31**
 Kagawa, Toyohiko, **131a:7**
 Kant, Immanuel, **92:8; 95:6f; 155:4; 159:6**
 Kay, William, **11:6**
 Keats, John, **92:24; 144:56, 57**
 Keble, John, **144:37**
 Kelly, Thomas, R., **131a:8; 144:69; 151:117; 153:134; 189:2**
 Kempis, Thomas á, **146:4**
 Kennedy, Gerald, **151:113**
 Kennedy, Harry A. A., **104:10**
 Kennett, White, **166:124, 125**
 Kierkegaard, Søren, **93:1**
 King, H. C., **165:26**
 Kingsley, Charles, **12a:1; 131c:7; 190:2**
 Kirby, **191:1**
 Kirk, Kenneth E., **93:1**
 Knollys, Hanserd, **166:82**
 Knox, John, **81:65; 135:5**
 Knox, Ronald, **147:189**
 Lake, Kirsopp, **56:4; 92:20**
 Lamb, Charles, **144:65; 153:131**
 Lamener, Bleek, **53:16**
 Lamont, Daniel, **92:11**
 Lang, George Henry (G. H.), **67:2; 69:7, 8, 10, 13; 72:22**
 Lang, John Thomas (Jack), **29:51**
 Lanier, Sidney, **40:34**
 Laud, William, **166:44**
 Law, William, **11:13; 151:116; 161:2**
 Lawrence, Brother, **44:90; 118:25; 131a:7**
 Leeder, A. L., **142:7**
 Leighton, Robert, **179:365**
 Lesur, Elizabeth, **22:105**
 Lewis, Clive Staples (C. S.), **34:84; 92:8, 26; 147:173**
 Lewis, Edwin, **104:5; 105:7**
 Lewis, Howell Elvet (Elfed), **118:1; 144:47**
 Liddon, Henry P., **105:6**
 Lidgett, Scott, **94:2; 95:4**
 Lightfoot, John, **131d:4; 39:138**
 Lightfoot, Joseph Barber (J. B.), **54:4**
 Lilburne, John, **166:93f, 106**
 Lincoln, Abraham, **144:52; 152:124**
 Lindsay, Thomas Martin, **131b:1**
 Lippincott, Richard, **165:12**
 Little, William John Knox, **165:49; 199:1; 201:1**
 Livingstone, David, **77:36; 135:5; 144:14; 153:133**
 Lobeck, **52:6**
 Locke, John, **155:4**
 Lodge, Oliver, **29:49; 95:9; 144:17; 158:8; 159:10**
 Louis of France, **165:21, 47**
 Lowry, Charles W., **92:30**
 Luther, Martin, **11:1, 2; 67:1; 81:66, 70; 85:8, 10; 93:1, 2; 94:1; 95:2; 120:40; 131a:2; 132:6 (twice); 144:53;**

- 147:162; 152:124f; 159:11; 161:1, 2; 166:5, 80**
- M'Cheyne, Robert Murray, **7:2; 12a:1; 13:1; 31:161; 39:132; 47:74; 84:104; 111:10; 144:68, 74; 185:14**
- Macauley, Thomas, **166:45**
- MacDonald, George, **144:29**
- Machen, J. Gresham, **105:2; 155:7**
- MacKay, John A., **34:78, 84; 47:70**
- Mackenzie, Peter, **150:7**
- Mackintosh, Hugh Ross (H. R.), **22:20, 32, 73; 67:2; 92:38; 93:1, 2, 3; 95:2f, 5, 7, 8, 10 (twice); 94:1; 99:204; 104:3, 6, 7; 105:1, 5, 6, 9, 11, 12 (four times), 13, 15 (three times), 16, 17, 18, 20, 21, 23, 26 (twice), 27; 118:12; 119:4, 7; 120:37; 130:15, 20; 131c:5; 149:3; 155:1, 5; 161:2**
- Maclaren, Alexander, **11:12, 17; 22:10, 19, 20, 27, 40, 59, 73, 82, 90, 97, 101, 114, 122, 125, 128; 27:52, 57, 79, 113, 152, 153; 39:146; 40:33, 34, 38; 44:91; 46:66; 49:175; 51:56; 53:15; 55:50, 52; 57:24, 75, 76; 66:7, 9; 67:6 (twice); 69:8; 72:13, 14; 97:30; 98:59, 60, 61, 78, 83, 91, 104, 107, 110, 130, 134, 141, 150, 152; 103:313, 314; 113:111; 115:67; 119:9; 120:27, 32 (twice); 132:6; 135:6; 151:114; 155:2; 158:7; 179:362; 192:1; 202:8**
- Maclear, George F., **51:63, 66, 73, 75**
- Macneil, John, **32:182**
- Main, A. R., **140:4**
- Maine, C. S., **7:2**
- Maltby, William R., **55:42**
- Manley, George Thomas (G. T.), **182:1; 187:1**
- Manning, Cardinal Henry Edward, **74:1**
- Manson, Thomas Walter (T. W.), **68:5, 6; 69:17; 94:38, 39**
- Manton, Thomas, **51:52**
- Marcian, **52:5**
- Marshall, Mrs Peter, **154:98**
- Marshall, Peter, **110:18**
- Marshall, Walter, **31:162f**
- Marsiglio of Padua, **166:2**
- Martensen, Hans L., **104:9**
- Marti (Kurt?), **94:10**
- Martineau, James, **92:9; 105:9; 131a:2; 155:7a**
- Marton, **50:5**
- Martyn, Henry, **39:132**
- Mary (Queen), **166:30**
- Mary, Queen of Scots, **81:65**
- Masson, David, **166:vii, 112**
- Matthew, W. H., **120:36**
- Matthews, Walter Robert, **92:27, 34; 115:74; 119:3, 4; 131a:2**
- Maurice, John Frederick Denison (F. D.), **94:6**
- Mayor, James Bickersteth (J. B.), **72:26**
- "Mr McCarthy", **47:72**
- McClymont, James A., **54:5; 55:21**
- McColl, Stuart, **110:29; 159:11**
- McConkey, James H., **40:27**
- McCrea, Alexander, **94:1, 2, 3**
- McGiffert, Arthur Cushman, **65:2; 93:3**
- McNeile, Alan H., **105:13**
- McNicol, Robertson, **131c:7**
- Mead, Silas, **127:4**
- "Captain Metcalfe", **47:71**
- Meyer, Frederick Brotherton (F. B.), **12a:4; 27:122; 31:164; 46:64; 55:27; 57:59; 67:1, 11; 121:9; 127:4; 131c:7; 209:5; 210:2**
- Micklem, Nathanael, **69:35; 104:10, 11**
- Mill, John Stuart, **147:167, 184**
- Milligan, William, **54:4; 65:2**
- Milman, Henry Hart, **165:15, 43**
- Milton, John, **27:132; 57:63; 166:iv, 72-75, 82, 98, 115**
- Moberly, Robert C., **92:29, 33, 34; 120:33, 35; 131c:5**
- Moffatt, James, **22:63; 51:70; 55:37; 62:16, 22, 24; 64:2ff; 65:2; 67:8, 9; 68:2, 5; 69:1, 3; 72:19, 22; 94:39; 127:4; 144:50; 149:2; 151:118; 152:123, 128**
- Montaigne, Michel de, **166:10**
- Montefiore, Claude, **94:10f**
- Moody, Dwight L., **12a:7; 22:42, 98; 27:151; 32:181; 34:77; 46:65; 55:53; 57:60; 94:9; 110:29; 131a:3; 131b:1; 144:51; 147:177; 152:124**
- Moore, E. C., **159:8**
- More, Thomas, **166:3, 8**
- Morgan, G. Campbell, **3:23; 27:16, 18, 25, 26, 52; 39:142, 145; 51:51; 53:21, 23; 55:38, 59; 57:3, 7, 9, 12, 13, 57; 97:23, 4; 98:54, 55, 88, 107, 134, 149; 99:190, 201, 219, 220; 101:266, 268; 110:30; 111:14; 118:9; 120:3; 121:4; 131a:4; 144:43; 147:160; 157:5; 190:4**
- Morley, George, **166:10, 74, 117**
- Morling, Elaine, **155:8**
- Morling, George Henry, **144:13**
- Morling, Gladys Rees, **47:69**
- Morris, Leon, **69:34, 36; 94:9 (twice), 10, 16, 17; 95:14; 120:15, 16**
- Morrison, Cotter, **165:13, 29**
- Morrison, George H., **22:42; 27:104; 55:42; 57:48; 103:319; 144:77; 150:7**
- Morton, John, **132:6**
- Mott, John R., **132:6**
- Moule, Handley C. G., **7:1, 8; 11:2, 7; 12a:5; 13:3; 22:21, 30, 65, 112, 115, 132; 27:8, 15; 30:127, 128, 131; 31:165; 34:78, 81, 82, 83; 39:134, 149; 40:31, 34; 47:72; 49:191; 57:3; 62:9, 16, 21, 25 (twice), 29, 30, 34, 36, 37 (twice), 38; 66:11, 15, 17; 68:5; 69:25, 26, 27; 73:81; 85:15; 94:2, 10, 31; 99:258; 103:306, 311, 325, 328, 338, 341, 349; 104:13; 105:6; 110:9, 12, 19; 111:4; 115:71; 116:76; 117:88; 118:19, 21, 25; 119:4, 5; 120:12, 20, 23, 24, 36; 121:3; 128:2, 4; 131b:3, 5; 131c:5, 6; 144:25f; 146:11; 147:186; 150:7; 155:8; 157:5; 179:368; 206:1; 209:5**
- Moulton, William Fiddian (W. F.), **67:3, 5; 69:6 (twice), 12, 20, 23a, 34, 40; 72:13**
- Mozley, John Kenneth, **94:11, 22, 40**
- Muller, George, **146:5**
- Mullins, Edgar Y., **85:7; 92:1, 10, 20, 23, 35; 93:2; 94:1; 95:4; 104:4, 11, 12; 119:10, 11; 120:7 (twice), 12; 120:7 (twice), 12; 155:7; 184:3**
- Murray, Andrew, **24:5; 25d:2; 44:91; 49:188 (twice); 66:13, 16, 19, 20, 21, 22; 69:4 (twice), 13, 29, 30, 34; 94:16,**

- 39; **103**:342 (twice), 344, 350; **109**:1; **110**:24; **112**:105; **113**:112; **118**:24; **144**:69; **153**:134; **157**:5
Murton, John, **166**:ii, 21
Myers, Frederick William Henry, **144**:68; **181**:176; **183**:2
- Nairne, Alexander, **68**:2, 4
Napoleon Bonaparte, **27**:55; **157**:3
Nayler, James, **166**:126
Neander, August, **105**:7
Nelson, Lord, **27**:150
Neve, Juergen L., **93**:3
Newbigin, Lesslie, **131b**:2
Newman, John Henry, **84**:102; **93**:1
Nicol, William R., **12a**:1
Niebuhr, Reinhold, **157**:2
Nolloth, Charles F., **105**:2
North, John James (J. J.), **205**:2
Nuttal, Geoffrey Fillingham, **120**:42; **131a**:1; **131c**:3
Nye, Philip, **166**:78, 79, 82
- Oldham, Joseph H., **98**:119
Olley, J. W. John, **3**:25
Origen, **64**:3; **65**:1, 3; **68**:5; **104**:1
Orr, Alan H., **3**:25
Orr, James, **92**:7, 12, 13; **104**:10; **131a**:4; **150**:7; **182**:1; **193**:1
Ott, Ludwig, **75**:16; **79**:50
Ottley, Robert L., **104**:12, 13
Otto, Randolph, **92**:6, 17, 38; **95**:3, 13
Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso), **144**:74
Owen, John, **166**:vi
- Packer, James Innell (J. I.), **92**:12
Paley, Frederick A., **55**:15
Papias, **50**:2
Parker, Joseph, **109**:2
Parker, Matthew (Archbishop), **166**:40
Pascal, Blaise, **144**:71; **151**:117; **153**:135
Paterson, William Paterson., **75**:15; **94**:6
Paton, John G., **107**:2
Paul, **144**:73, 87
Paulus, **11**:9
Paxson, Ruth [typed as Poxon], **34**:80
- Peake, Arthur, **68**:2; **69**:15, 20, 21, 23a, 24, 29 (three times), 39, 40, 41; **159**:5
Pearse, Mark G., **49**:156
Peden, Alexander, **81**:65
Penitents, **165**:53
Pennington, Isaac, **147**:198
Penrose, **166**:82
Perry, John, **166**:12
Peter of Waldo, **165**:18
Petilial, **166**:3
Pfleiderer, Otto, **94**:31
Phalius, **52**:4
Phillips, J. B., **67**:8; **85**:10
Philo, **64**:4f; **68**:3, 4; **69**:3; **105**:2, 27 (twice)
Pickup, R. S., **142**:7
Picot, Thomas, **166**:82
Pierson, Arthur T., **27**:9; **28**:33; **54**:1; **57**:4, 17; **67**:12; **101**:259; **131d**:4
Pigott, Jean, **12a**:8
Pink, Arthur Walkington (A. W.), **155**:2
Pitt, William, **27**:73
Plato, **64**:8; **65**:3; **67**:3; **84**:102; **92**:4; **93**:1; **104**:6
Plummer, Alfred, **22**:96, 107, 108, 112; **49**:145, 152, 173, 189, 192; **51**:66, 67, 71, 73, 75; **52**:4, 6; **53**:6, 12; **54**:4; **55**:3, 19, 23, 39; **97**:11, 13, 22; **98**:72, 86, 87; **99**:188, 209
Pope Boniface VIII, **74**:1
Pope Pius IV, **74**:6
Pope, William Burt (?), **92**:37
Porter, Thomas, **142**:6; **201**:4; **202**:8
Powell, Vavasor, **166**:117
Pride, Thomas, **166**:v
Prynne, William, **166**:81, 95
Publius Lentulus, **105**:5
Pusey, Edward B., **93**:1
Pym, John, **166**:47
- Rackham, Richard B., **27**:110, 127, 132, 150; **57**:51, 62, 63
Ramsay, William M., **52**:6; **56**:2, 3, 4, 6; **105**:2
Randall, Anthony, **166**:82
Rashdall, Hastings, **94**:14
Rawlinson, A. E., **50**:4, 6
Redwood, Hugh, **145**:4; **147**:168
Rees, Paul S., **92**:15
Rees, Thomas, **120**:7, 33
Reeve, J. J., **94**:5, 6
Reid, J. Allan, **110**:3
- Reid, James, **98**:111
Renan, J. Ernest, **27**:55
Rendall, Frederic, **68**:4
Rentoul, J. L., **159**:9
Riddle, Wilkinson, **105**:3
Rigg, James M., **12a**:7
Ritschl, Albrecht, **95**:7, 12
Roberts-Thomson, Edward, **3**:25
Robertson, Archibald Thomas, **22**:59; **79**:55; **94**:15, 31; **140**:3; **155**:7a
Robinson, Armitage, **69**:35; **120**:24
Robinson, George W., **12a**:8
Robinson, H. Wheeler, **94**:7, 8, 10, 11; **118**:6 (twice); **119**:6; **120**:2, 6 (three times), 30, 37, 42; **121**:5; **127**:2; **147**:182; **155**:5
Robinson, Henry, **166**:iv, 68f, 71
Robinson, John, **85**:3; **166**:21, 22
Robinson, Pascal, **165**:8, 17
Robinson, Theodore H., **67**:4, 11, 12; **69**:31; **72**:25
Rogers, E. Ronald, **3**:25
Ross, John M. E., **53**:14; **97**:26; **179**:368
Rowe, Charles A., **22**:21
Rowley, Harold Henry (H. H.), **94**:4, 11, 12, 16
Royce, Josiah, **165**:30
Ruggles, George William, **3**:24
Rumble, **131c**:5
Rushbrooke, John, **107**:1
Ruskin, John, **11**:1; **32**:184; **118**:17; **146**:5; **147**:172, 180
Rutherford, Samuel, **11**:13; **12a**:1, 8; **13**:1, 5; **40**:27; **57**:78; **66**:6; **131a**:3; **166**:81; **210**:2
Ruysbroech, John of, **121**:9
Ryle, John Charles (J. C.), **119**:14
- Sabatier, Paul, **165**:40
Sagnedo, **166**:125
Salimbene the Minor (Salimbene di Adam), **165**:23
Salmon, Elsie H., **110**:16; **119**:20; **154**:93
Salmon, George, **54**:4; **74**:6
Saltmarsh, John, **166**:75
Sanday, William, **54**:4; **62**:9, 10, 12, 19, 27, 30 (twice), 35, 36, 37; **105**:17; **118**:20; **120**:22; **180**:1
Sangster, Margaret E., **206**:2
Sangster, William Edwin (W. E.), **119**:17; **120**:49

- Sankey, Ira D., **12a:7**
 Saphir, Adolph, **66:8, 17; 103:339**
 Saunders, John, **142:5**
 Schaff, Philip, **105:4**
 Scheaffer, Louis, **120:34**
 Schleiermacher, Friedrich, **92:36; 95:13; 105:7; 119:1; 159:7; 161:1**
 Schmiedel, Paul W., **56:3**
 Scofield, Cyrus Ingerson (C. I.), **111:12**
 Scofield, Harold, **135:5**
 Scott, Ernest Findlay (E. F.), **64:1ff; 65:2; 68:1, 2; 120:14, 15**
 Scroggie, William Graham, **27:72; 46:66, 67; 144:43; 184:3; 185:13; 191:1; 192:1; 196:1; 197:1**
 Seeley, John R., **53:3; 97:6**
 Selbie, William B., **92:19**
 Seneca, Lucius Annaeus, **144:74**
 Seutonius, **105:1**
 Sewel, William, **166:85**
 Shakespeare, William, **2:4; 93:1; 105:4, 9**
 Sharp, Stephen, **142:7**
 Shaw, George Bernard, **200:1**
 Sheed, Francis J., **75:16**
 Shillito, Edward, **93:1**
 Shirley, John Alvin, **144:22**
 Simeon, Charles, **2:5**
 Simpson, Carnegie, **92:24; 105:2, 3, 5; 144:59; 147:183; 155:5**
 Simpson, George, **152:128**
 Simpson, Sidrach, **166:78, 79**
 Simpson, Sparrow, **95:13**
 Simson, John **166:82**
 Singh, Sundar, **120:19; 121:9; 131a:7**
 Sloan, William, **73:81; 110:12; 128:4; 131b:3**
 Smeatham, James, **144:75**
 Smeaton, George, **120:34**
 Smith, David, **24:6; 25d:2; 51:69; 97:209; 105:2;**
 Smith, Forgan, **159:11**
 Smith, Fred, **155:2**
 Smith, George Adam, **55:38; 92:5; 147:168; 155:2**
 Smith, Hannah Whittall, **147:174**
 Smith, Joshua, **161:2**
 Smith, Robertson, **69:9; 94:5, 16**
 Smith, Taylor, **11:15; 110:29; 120:8**
 Smith, Thomas Jollie, **155:1**
 Smyth, John, **82:74, 82, 85, 86; 166:16**
 Snaith, Norman H., **94:1, 3; 104:11**
 Sohn, Rudolf, **159:3**
 Somerville, Alexander N., **40:31**
 Southey, Robert, **12a:2**
 Speer, Robert E., **105:5**
 Spencer, Herbert, **94:3**
 Spener, Phillipp J., **93:3**
 Spurgeon, Charles Haddon, **7:8; 11:4, 8, 15; 12a:1; 13:1, 7; 16:3; 22:21, 111; 31:164; 32:184f; 39:140; 94:9; 107:2; 120:15; 131a:2; 131c:7; 132:6; 135:6; 142:13f; 144:26, 42; 160:3; 154:91; 164:1; 184:3; 185:14; 192:1; 198:1; 206:6**
 Stalker, James, **24:1; 25a:2; 55:32; 94:5; 98:55; 99:239**
 Stanley, Arthur P., **99:210**
 Steere, Douglas V., **146:4**
 Stephens, **94:36**
 Steve, Douglas V., **121:9**
 Stewart, George S., **145:10**
 Stewart, James S., **34:84; 55:32; 94:3; 110:5; 114:64; 121:2**
 Stibbs, Alan M., **69:36; 94:10, 16**
 Stonehouse, Ned Bernard (N. B.), **120:13**
 Storr, Gottlob Christian, **31:160**
 Storrs, Ronald, **30:127**
 Stott, John R. W., **110:20, 22f; 112:102; 117:89**
 Stowe, Harriet Beecher, **107:2**
 Strafford, **166:48**
 Strauss, David Freidrich, **99:221; 105:7**
 Streeter, Burnett Hillman, **50:3; 92:21, 25, 26; 144:47**
 Strong, Augustus H., **85:8, 9, 13, 14; 92:1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 9, 28, 29, 34, 35, 37, 38; 94:1; 95:4; 104:2; 105:1, 2; 119:3, 10, 11; 120:44; 131d:7; 155:1; 184:3 (twice)**
 Strong, E. L., **120:10**
 Struthers, John P., **11:9**
 Swete, **120:10a, 11, 12, 19, 21, 22, 31**
 Swete, Henry B., **50:1, 2; 51:56, 57; 120:22, 24, 29 (twice), 28**
 Swift, C. E. Graham, **51:59 (twice)**
 Swinnerton, Francis, **77:34**
 Swinburne, Algernon Charles, **144:52; 152:124**
 Tasker, R. V. G. (Randolph Vincent Greenwood), **94:2**
 Tatham, Geoffrey Bulmer, **166:55, 124**
 Tauler, Johann, **153:132**
 Taylor, **165:16, 17, 26**
 Taylor, Geraldine, **47:73**
 Taylor, James Hudson, **7:passim; 30:127; 31:163, 164, 165; 46:64; 47:72; 55:4, 5; 57:64; 107:2; 110:27; 111:10; 121:8; 131a:2; 144:49; 149:11; 154:92; 164:1, 1a, 3**
 Taylor, Jeremy, **50:5; 166:107**
 Taylor, Maria J., **22:66; 31:164**
 Taylor, Mary Geraldine, **144:25**
 Taylor, Vincent, **50:3, 5; 69:35 (twice); 94:1, 3, 9, 12, 13, 15 (twice), 16, 17**
 Temple, William, **92:11; 131a:2; 142:9; 160:3**
 Tennyson, Alfred, **185:12**
 Teresa of Ávila, **151:116; 161:2**
 Tersteegen, Gerhard, **57:77; 118:25**
 Tertiaries, **165:53**
 Tertullian, **22:32; 49:157; 52:4; 92:31, 33; 131d:2**
 Theodoric, **166:3**
 Theophilus of Antioch, **92:31**
 Thomas of Celano, **165:7, 23, 43, 48**
 Thomas, W. H. Griffith, **49:178; 54:2; 55:24, 54; 66:20; 73:78; 92:11, 31; 103:328; 105:1, 4; 110:10; 119:6, 20; 120:2, 7, 12, 14, 16, 31 (twice), 34, 36, 42; 121:6; 122:1; 128:3; 154:93**
 Thomasius, **104:8**
 Thompson, John A., **3:24**
 Thompson, Lisle, **159:13**
 Thouless, Robert Henry, **92:4, 8; 155:4**
 Tillich, Paul, **92:5; 121:3; 161:1**
 Tinsley, Colin J., **110:14; 131a:6; 142:6**
 Torrey, Charles C., **56:3; 158:7**
 Townsend, **131d:7**
 Tozer, A. W., **39:149; 120:1; 127:1; 131a:4**
 Trench, Richard C., **98:137**
 Trettilat of Neuchatel, **104:9**
 Truett, George W., **44:89; 55:56; 110:28; 113:110; 118:14**
 Turnbull [Ralph G?], **55:17**
 Turner, **131c:6**

Underhill, Evelyn, **105:3**;
131a:1; **131b:6**; **131d:3**

Van Dusen, Henry P., **120:35**, 37
Vane the Younger, **166:59**
Vaughan, **67:3**
Vernon, Edward, **145:5**
Vickars, John, **166:95**
Vincent, **69:17**, 39
Virgil, **84:102**
Volkmar, Gustav, **50:4**
von Harnack, C. G. Adolf, **105:5**,
12
von Hugel, Friedrich, **146:8**
von Tiele-Winckler, Eva (Mother
Eva of Friedenshort), **144:25**

Waite, A. E., **165:30**
Waldock, Arthur John (A. J.),
142:7
Walker, W. L., **119:7**; **121:1**
Wallington, Nehemiah, **166:48**
Wallis, John, **166:131**
War Cry (Salvation Army
periodical), **105:6**
Ward, Seth, **166:131**
Warfield, Benjamin B., **92:11**, 28;
94:6, 8, 16; **104:3**, 11; **105:1**,
16; **119:5**; **122:1**; **131a:1**
Waterhouse, Eric S., **131a:7**;
131d:7
Watkins, H. W., **55:33**, 42
Watson, John, **11:16**; **69:23b**;
147:194
Watts, Isaac, **76:26**
Way, Arthur Sanders, **2:3**; **69:5**,
18; **145:3**
Weatherhead, Leslie Dixon,
98:67; **155:5**
Webb (psychologist), **120:36**
Webb, A. B., **121:4**
Webster, Daniel, **29:48**; **55:34**;
144:46; **196:1**

Weil, Simone, **151:116**
Weinel, Heinrich, **94:31**
Weiss, **69:3**
Welch, Claude, **92:33**; **94:10**
Wellesley, Arthur (Duke of
Wellington), **157:3**
Wellhausen, Julius, **94:5**; **105:11**
"Mr Wellings", **47:71**
Wells, Herbert George (H. G.),
144:40; **159:11**; **200:1**
Wentworth, Thomas (first Earl of
Strafford), **166:48**
Wesley, Arthur ("the Iron
Duke"), **144:80**
Wesley, Charles, **27:73**; **147:161**
Wesley, John, **27:73**; **40:39**;
46:63; **57:10**; **101:271**;
107:2; **131a:3**; **132:6**
Westcott, Brook Foss (B. F.),
22:30, 46, 70 (twice), 104,
112, 130; **49:152**, 157, 176;
54:4; **55:3**, 5, 13, 14, 37, 53;
66:12, 13; **69:1**, 2, 4, 7, 9, 16,
17, 18, 19, 23a, 24, 29
(twice), 34, 35 (twice), 36,
40; **94:9**, 36; **103:307**, 309,
326, 341; **104:1**; **110:24**;
112:105; **115:67**, 68; **119:6**,
7; **120:19**, 28, 30, 32; **131a:6**
(twice); **144:36**; **209:6**
Weymouth, Richard F., **22:8**, 63;
34:79; **39:150**; **46:62**; **67:6**;
92:10; **98:127**; **119:10**;
144:31; **149:2**; **199:2**
White, Ellis, **69:39**
Whitgift, John, **166:30**, 40
Whitley, William Thomas,
166:25
Whittier, John G., **12a:1**
Whittle, Mrs, **12a:7**
Whyte, Alexander, **7:1**; **11:13**;
40:38; **99:177**; **106:8**; **107:2**,
3; **115:73**; **131a:2**; **144:52**,
85; **145:5**; **147:194**; **149:4**;
150:7; **151:115**, 116;

152:124f; **159:6** ; **161:2**;
164:4; **192:1**; **201:4**
Wilberforce, Canon, **118:11**
Willet, Edward, **144:19**
Williams, Isaac, **53:12**; **97:23**
Williams, Roger, **166:iv**, 58-65,
79, 82
Wilson, A. S., **32:184**
Wilson, Edward, **144:58**;
152:127
Winstanley, Gerrard, **120:10a**
Wolsey, Thomas, **166:29**
Wood, H. G., **105:2**
Woods, Frank T., **92:14**
Woolman, John, **144:66**; **146:5**;
153:132
Wordsworth, William, **144:13**;
159:7
Wotherspoon, Arthur W., **118:10**
(twice); **119:2**, 4, 5, 7;
120:29; **131c:3**
Wotherspoon, Henry Johnstone
(H. J.), **92:28**
Wrede, William, **105:10**
Wren, Christopher, **166:131**
Wright, B. Gilbert, **3:24**, 25;
154:91
Wuest, **69:3** (twice), 4, 14
(twice), 39 (twice)
Wycliffe, John, **166:3**

Young, Dinsdale, **16:3**
Young, Edward Joseph (E. J.),
94:7f

Zahn, Theodore, **65:2**; **68:2**
Zinzendorf, Nicolaus L., **93:3**
Zwemer, Samuel, **92:12**
Zwingli, Ulrich, **166:6**

APPENDIX 5

Subject index to primary sources

Numbers in bold type refer to primary sources as listed in Appendix 1.

- Aaron, **69:29**, 30
 Aaronic priesthood of **65:5**;
69:25
 Aaronic priests as forerunners of
 Christ, **69:37**
 Abel, **94:4**
 abiding, **12a:8**; **13:5**; **31:166**;
49:161, 162, 166, 167; **55:5**,
 6, 53 (twice), 54; **73:78**, 82;
128:3; **161:3**; **179:369**
 abiding life, **22:62**, 63, 64, 67,
 74f, 83; **118:23**
 Abraham, **13:2**; **27:27**; **62:13**,
 14, 33; **67:4**
 acceptance, **34:81**; **144:23**
 with God, **158:9**
accidie, **144:87**
 Achan, **27:34**
Act of Uniformity (1559), **82:73**
 activism, **158:1ff**; **165:46**
 Acts, **58:passim**
 purpose of, **56:2**; **58:6**
 transitional period in church
 history, **118:24**; **121:6**
 Adam, **62:19**; **84:103**; **94:4**
 adaptation, **57:52**
 administration, **27:39**
 adoption, **62:28**; **85:11**; **118:18**,
 20
 adoration, **11:7**, 21; **13:8**; **24:1**;
57:60; **103:310**, 346;
110:18; **117:86**; **161:1**;
164:1
 adultery, spiritual, **13:9**
 afterlife, **22:8**; **190:2**, 3
 agency, **100:229**
 Albigenses, **166:16**
 alcohol, **53:5**; **57:61**
 Alexandria, **54:2**; **55:1**; **57:59**
 alienation, **94:3**
 allegory, **12a:1**; **155:2**
 ambition, **155:9**;; **31:161**
 American Revolution, **82:75**
 Amish, **81:65**
 Anabaptism, **166:v**, 81, 89, 90f,
 104; **119:1**
 analogy, spiritual, **12a:3**
 Ananias, **131d:4**
 angels, **30:128**; **53:4**; **66:4f**;
67:10, 11; **72:24**; **97:24**;
98:216, 233; **103:310**;
120:9; *see also evil spirits*
 guardian, **188:1**
 Anglican Diocese of Sydney,
155:5
 Anglo-Catholics, **166:39**, 50
 animals, **98:54**
 animism, **92:1**
 Anna, **97:34f**
 annunciation, **97:6-15**
 anointing, **24:5**; **25d:2**; **144:66**
 Antarctica, **144:58**
 anthropological argument, **85:3**
 anthropology, **11:18**, 19; **32:182**;
51:51; **62:25**, 26; **66:6f**; **85:2**;
94:28; **95:5**; **103:313-315**;
120:26, 44; **130:19**; **208:5**;
209:6
 intellect, **120:3**
 anti-intellectualism, **98:58**
 antichrist, **49:161**, 167
 antinomianism, **67:12**; **166:81**,
 104
 apocalypse, **51:58**
Apocrypha, **74:7**
 Apollos, **65:4**
 apologetics, **22:21**; **27:113**;
62:1; **107:2**; **147:164**
 apostasy, **65:1f**; **66:1**, 6; **67:2**, 8;
72:21; **83:95**; **103:312**, 321,
 327f
 apostles, **22:105**;
 teaching of, **27:22**; **81:69f**
 practice of, **164:2**
 "apostle of faith", 7:5
 apostolic spirit, **165:47**, 50
 architecture, **22:21**
Areopagitica, *The*, **166:72-75**
 Arians, **104:1**
 Armadale Baptist Church (Vic.),
3:23
 Arminianism, **2:5**; **166:97**, 104,
 121
 arts, **12a:5**; **92:8**; **118:9**; **120:4**
 asceticism, **40:42**; **165:32**;
179:362
 aspiration, **11:7**; **40:28**, 39, 44;
190:2
 associationalism, **82:89**
 assurance, **11:3**, 16; **22:102**,
 126; **24d:1**; **49:180**; **62:17**,
 28, 31f; **67:3** **74:5**, 20f; **95:2**;
131a:4; **144:29**
 Athanasian Creed, **92:32**; **104:7**;
105:18; **118:4**; **119:3**, 4;
121:3
 atomic bomb, **147:168**
 atonement, **27:17**; **40:37**;
49:185; **55:46**; **66:19f**;
94:passim; **94:23**; **95:passim**;
95:11f; **103:310**; **144:22**, 23;
210:2
 absent in Acts, **94:19f**
 Barabbas theory of, **40:37f**
 Day of, **69:20**, 33, 39, 41;
94:29
 extent of, **75:18**
 gift theory, **94:5**
 "modernistic attitude"
 toward, **94:32**
 moral influence theories,
95:12
 in New Testament, **94:12-40**
 in Old Testament, **94:4-12**
 penal theories, **95:13**
 priestly vs. prophetic view,
94:11
 ransom theory, **51:53**; **62:11**;
94:14-17, 21; **95:11f**
 sacramental communion
 theory, **94:5**
 substitution, **28:32**; **94:21f**;
95:11; **128:3**
 table-bird theory, **94:5**
 universal, **95:12**; **210:1**
 universal form of religion
 theory, **94:6**
 Australian Baptist Bible School,
11:21
 Australian society, **76:22**
 authenticity, **107:2**

authority, **131d**:3, 8; **155**:7, 7a
 awakening, spiritual, **118**:16;
166:24
 awe, **92**:37; **131b**:6

Baiyer Valley (New Guinea), **4**:2
 Balaam, **118**:9
 baptism, **4**:5; **22**:11, 27; **27**:20f,
 53; **51**:78; **55**:12; **57**:10, 25;
62:19, 20; **67**:2; **79**:55-59,
 83; **94**:18f, 27; **101**:270, 271;
110:11; **120**:12; **132**:6;
133:6; **140**:1, 3; **142**:10;
157:3; **180**:1
 infant, **82**:83; **132**:6
 and regeneration, **55**:12;
79:57; **140**:3, 4
 of repentance, **55**:12
 of the Spirit, **101**:255;
110:18; **117**:87; **131b**:5;
132:6; **155**:9
 unbaptised believers, **57**:10
 Baptist College of Victoria, **3**:23
 Baptist history, **82**:73-89
 Baptist principles, **131b**:6;
140:1, 3
 Baptist Theological College of
 NSW (Morling College), **2**:5;
3:23
 Baptist Theological College of
 New Zealand, **3**:25
 Baptist Union of NSW, **142**:1ff
 Ministerial Applicants
 Committee, **150**:7
 Baptist World Congress, **142**:9
 London (1905), **132**:6
 Atlanta (1939), **82**:79
 Baptist Youth, **157**:3
 baptistry, **151**:119
 Baptists, **166**:11, 16-27
 Italian, **131d**:3
 political influence of, **173**:2
 Barnabas, **57**:16
 Battle of Waterloo, **82**:75
 beauty, **32**:184; **92**:8; **100**:247;
147:164
 believeism, **131a**:3; **158**:8
 benediction, **67**:12
 Bereans, **74**:11
 betrothal, **12a**:1
 "Beyond who is within", **110**:7;
121:5, 9
 Bible, **34**:86; **74**:2, 3; **95**:1;
149:2
 apocalyptic, **120**:9
 application of, **39**:131
 authority of, **74**:4, 78f;
140:1; **155**:7; **166**:90

basis for belief, **74**:2-13
 canon completed, **111**:13
 and Christ, **149**:9
 confidence in, **7**:9
 criticism, **159**:7
 development in three stages,
120:14
 exposition of, **69**:26; **150**:7
 historical approach to, **155**:1
 and Holy Spirit, **49**:194;
121:1
 inspiration of, **40**:27; **74**:5,
 10; **179**:360
 interpretation of, **12a**:1;
74:11; **109**:1; **121**:6;
208:3f; see also
hermeneutics
 parabolic, **200**:1
 subjective, **54**:1
 synthetic, **105**:1
 theological, **54**:1; **122**:2
 King James Version, **149**:2, 3
 literary sense of, **149**:6
 neglected, **149**:4
 reading of, **149**:5, 6, 8f, 10
 Revised Standard Version,
149:2
 Revised Version, **149**:2
 revelation, special, **22**:99;
92:6, 9, 10, 11f
 and rule of faith, **74**:4
 and spiritual growth,
179:367
 study of, **27**:107f; **149**:9, 10
 study aids, **149**:7; **74**:11
 study method, **66**:1;
 study method recommended
 by Morling, **54**:1
 translation of, **74a**
 uniqueness of, **149**:3
 unity of, **149**:9
 Weymouth's translation,
149:2
 binitarianism, **92**:29
 biography, **144**:24f
 bitterness, **72**:22
 Blackheath Convention, **32**:183
 blindness, spiritual, **55**:10
 body not evil, **118**:18
Book of Common Prayer, **82**:73;
166:111
 Boxer Rebellion, **7**:4
 bridegroom, **12a**:1
 brotherhood, **27**:62
 Brownism, **166**:104
 Buddhism, **74**:1; **92**:20; **121**:9
 business partnership, **147**:191
 business pressure, **24**:4

Cain, **27**:34
 calling, **11**:6; **57**:38; **131b**:1
 Calvinism, **2**:5; **16**:3; **85**:9
 Canaan, **29**:51f; **66**:10
 Cappadocians, **92**:33f
 Catholic [Evangelical]
 Movement, **155**:5
 Catholic Church, **62**:3; **65**:3;
74:1, 6, 10, 14f, 20f, 49, 67;
103:341; **131c**:5; **140**:2;
165:39; **166**:36-38
 a "great monstrosity," **131d**:3
 and marriage, **51**:50
 and heresy, **55**:25
 "catholicistic outlook", **131b**:6, 7
 causality, moral, **185**:3
 censorship, **31**:162; **34**:86
 Central Baptist Church (Sydney),
28:32
 cessationism, **110**:16; **118**:22
 Chalcedon, Council of, **104**:6, 7
 character, **44**:91; **110**:14;
117:84; **128**:1
charismata, see *gifts, spiritual*
 charismatic movement, **110**:22;
123:1; **124**:1
 children, **189**:2
 of God, **49**:169
 training of, **85**:3
 China, **29**:49
 China Inland Mission, **7**:1, 6, 9;
135:5
 chivalry, **165**:21-24, 42
 choice, **11**:19
 Christ, appeal of, **11**:19; **157**:5
 arrest and trial of, **100**:234-
 239
 ascension of, **27**:4, 7f; **51**:79;
55:57, 59; **57**:3; **69**:36;
94:12; **99**:159, 249
 authority of, **55**:9, 30;
99:212; **140**:1
 baptism of, **94**:13, 30;
120:10a
 blood of, **66**:19f; **69**:34ff
 Bridegroom, **160**:3
 character of, **184**:3
 childhood of, **97**:35-38
 communion with, **119**:20
 condescension of, **66**:6
 consciousness of, **95**:3;
98:66, 76; **105**:6-13
 filial, **22**:14, 141; **105**:12-
 13
 moral, **105**:8f
 religious, **105**:7
 cosmic, **105**:19
 and creation, **55**:2; **66**:3, 4;
69:3

death of, **51:73f; 62:27; 94:12f, 21; 100:240-245; 103:315**
 deity of, **22:114; 34:76; 49:150; 55:1; 66:5; 104:1-3; 103:306; 140:1**
 dependence on God, **22:73, 142; 98:64; 144:44f**
 dependence on Holy Spirit, **120:11**
 devotion to, **203:4**
 "Divine Joshua," **66:9**
 "Divine Lover," **160:3**
 and divine purpose, **75:14-21**
 "Eternal Contemporary," **142:8; 144:14**
 Exalted One, **105:21**
 exaltation of, **27:18; 30:129; 34:81; 39:142, 145f; 103:339; 105:27**
 "Friend on high," **22:122**
 generation of, **85:10**
 glory of, **39:135, 143; 55:60**
 head of the church, **81:70**
 healing, gift of, **98:76; 119:20**
 and Holy Spirit, **120:33f**
 humanity of, **25a:2; 25d:2; 55:3; 66:6; 67:1; 74:12; 98:72; 103:306, 311, 314; 104:12-13**
 anger of, **55:9**
 compassion of, **144:12f**
 demeanour of, **144:37-39, 81**
 empathy of, **103:316, 317, 326**
 experience of, **22:9, 32; 34:83**
 loneliness of, **99:161**
 identification with believers, **66:7; 72:15**
 identity of, **39:141-146**
 image of God, **69:3**
 "in Christ", **34:79, 81; 39:152; 55:28, 29; 162:7f**
 incarnation of, **11:19; 24:1; 30:128; 39:142, 143f; 55:3; 69:11; 77:31, 33; 85:13, 14; 93:1; 94:30; 97:21-25; 104:4-11; 131c:4; 144:19; 201:3**
 indwelling the believer, **22:30, 31, 41; 30:128, 130, 132; 31:164; 34:81-83; 85:16; 94:35; 106:8; 120:21; 131a:6; 131b:7; 131d:2; 153:133**
 intercession of, **69:28**

as God "in our hearts", **131c:4**
 as the "inner thought" of God, **55:1**
 judge, **62:32; 83:90**
 and *kenosis*, **22:114; 85:14; 104:8-11**
 Lamb of God, **55:5; 94:39**
Logos, **120:3**
 Lord, **27:19; 62:35; 82:76; 105:14f**
 Lord of nature, **24:2; 131b:3; 179:368**
 love of, **55:30, 47; 62:32**
 love for believers, **22:71, 142**
 love for God, **22:74**
 mediator, **65:5; 66:2; 69:38; 75:16; 103:305, 342**
 Messiah, **55:44f; 51:54;**
 messianic consciousness of, **105:9-12**
 messianic expectation of, **97:12; 98:51**
 "Minister of the Heavenly Sanctuary," **105:21**
 mission of, **22:107; 97:39; 99:218; 144:20f**
 moral example of, **31:161**
 mystical, **105:26**
 names of, **57:68**
 obedience of, **144:48**
 person of **40:32-34; 104:passim; 105:passim**
 power of, **22:22**
 and prayer, **24:1; 69:28**
 pre-existence of, **30:128; 55:1; 104:1-4; 105:22f, 28**
 presence in the church, **22:89**
 through Holy Spirit, **44:87**
 real spiritual, **30:130**
 present work, **66:17**
 priesthood of, **22:122f; 24:5; 27:3; 30:128, 129; 34:81; 55:28, 58-60; 64:8f; 65:5; 66:9, 12; 67:1; 69:18, 26, 27, 28, 30ff; 94:36; 105:21-23; 101:253, 268; 103:305, 325-327, 331, 334, 339; 131c:4f; 144:32f; 189:2; 210:1**
 rejection of, **62:19**
 resurrection of, **27:3, 4, 18; 30:128; 51:77; 57:1, 9; 62:4f, 14, 21; 69:36; 94:12; 100:246-249; 101:254; 180:1; 185:7, 9; 201:3**

form of resurrection body, **57:1**
 return of, **22:9, 10; 27:8, 16, 27; 29:51; 30:128; 40:29; 51:60; 55:49; 64:8; 74:3, 90-96, 103; 99:179, 200f; 101:258; 103:347; 105:24; 179:361; 181:175f; 182:1; 183:1; 184:1; 187:1; 192:1; 199:2; 200:1; 201:1-3; 202:1-8; 203:1-4; 206:1-8; 208:4**
 as "divine invasion," **206:4**
 doctrine of divisive, **182:2; 202:6; 206:4f; 198:2**
 expectation of, **193:1**
 two aspects, **206:5**
 revelation of God, **66:3; 179:368**
 sacrifice of, **55:39; 69:41**
 Servant, **27:26; 94:11f**
 Shepherd, **13:2; 55:38-39**
 sin-bearer, **69:3**
 sinlessness of, **69:18; 94:28; 97:13; 104:12; 105:8; 120:10b**
 Son of God, **62:4; 85:13-14; 98:47-50; 105:12, 22**
 Son of Man, **55:24; 94:18; 105:11f, 26f**
 sonship of, **22:107, 141; 24:1; 51:70; 55:9; 69:2; 94:13; 97:37, 38; 104:1, 3; 103:105**
 sovereignty of, **132:6; 142:10**
 Spirit of, **57:5**
 Spirit-Christ relationship, **131d:2**
 spiritual body of, **27:4**
 spiritual presence of, **22:10**
 subordination to the Father, **55:21; 66:12; 85:10; 105:25; 120:10b; 144:44**
 sufferings of, **55:46**
 sufficiency for salvation, **75:18**
 supremacy of, **34:76**
 surety, **69:38**
 surrender to, **160:3**
 teaching of, **98:60f**
 temptation of, **97:43; 104:13; 120:10a-10b**
 transfiguration of, **25d:2; 98:148-150**
 "true Israel," **69:26**

- two natures of, **104:6-11**
 uniqueness of, **104:12; 105:3**
 universal recognition of, **39:146**
 victory of, **28:34; 72:16**
 virgin birth of, **104:11-12**
 will of, **22:114; 82:78; 140:1**
 Word of God, **55:1**
 work of, **64:4; 75:14**
 Christ-centredness, **157:2**
 Christ-mysticism, **105:26f**
 Christian Endeavour Movement, **155:6**
 Christian living, **67:8**
 Christian Science, **40:30; 55:27; 66:11; 144:39**
 Christianity, "the religion of access," **69:28**
 Christlikeness, **119:13; 192:1; 201:3; 202:8; 203:3, 4**
 Christolatry, **12a:7**
 Christology, **13:8; 30:128; 40:33f; 66:11; 140:1**
 in Acts, **105:13-15**
 filioque controversy, **119:4**
 in Hebrews, **105:21-24**
 in John's Gospel, **105:25-28**
 in Pauline Epistles, **105:15-20, 23f**
 in Synoptic Gospels, **105:1-13**
 soteriological purpose of, **105:13**
 Christological heresy, **34:84**
 church, **22:89; 103:340**
 autonomy of, **82:89**
 baptism of, **27:5**
 birth of, **101:255, 270-273; 111:3; 120:13**
 as body, **34:76**
 as bride, **34:76**
 as building, **34:76**
 bureaucracy in, **155:9**
 creation of, **57:10**
 government of, **82:89**
 history of Baptist, **107:1**
 holiness demanded, **27:34**
 "Holy Society," **111:4**
 marks of, **81:71**
 nature of, **132:6**
 as new Israel, **131b:1**
 place of the "Presence," **131d:3; 209:3**
 regenerate membership of, **82:79f, 89; 132:6**
 resources, **107:1**
 sending the Holy Spirit, **120:33**
 service-minded, **151:118**
 task of, **132:6**
 as temple, **209:3**
 as true Israel, **66:16**
 unity of, **34:76; 140:1f**
 church and state, **82:88f; 166:20**
 church growth, **27:64**
 Church Missionary Society (Anglican), **131d:6**
 Churches of Christ, **140:1**
 circumcision, **62:13**
 citizens of heaven, **131d:2**
 civil disobedience, **82:87**
 Civil War, English, **166:55**
 cleansing, **22:61, 131; 103:350; 144:33**
Cloud of Unknowing, **121:9** (twice)
 Collins Street Baptist Church (Melbourne) **131a:7**
 Comilla (India), **144:19**
 commercialism, **135:5**
 common sense, **144:18**
 communion, **79:54; see also Lord's Supper**
 with the dead, **84:102**
 communism, **74:1; 81:67**
 compassion, **144:38**
 confession, **146:10; 155:8**
 confidence, **11:22; 144:45, 79, 80**
 conflict, inner, **144:77f**
 conflict, spiritual, **128:5**
 Confucianism, **92:20**
 Congregational Church, **131d:7**
 Congregationalism, **166:ii, 11-16, 57**
 conscience, **49:179; 55:14; 103:346; 144:23; 145:5; 147:191, 192; 149:4; 179:365; 185:16**
 liberty of, **166:25, 34, 52f, 104, 128-131**
 consciousness, **147:159; 34:77, 82; 92:19; 193:1**
 of God, **85:2**
 consecration, **25c:2; 32:181; 62:37; 194:1**
 of the body, **32:182**
 of the spirit, **32:182; 145:8**
 conservation, **190:3**
 consummation, **67:5**
 contemplation, **11:7, 21, 22; 49:154; 114:66; 115:72; 118:14; 144:65; 145:8f; 161:1f; 164:1; 203:4**
 contentment, **13:9; 39:152; 144:49, 73f, 75, 77**
 conversion, **27:59, 63, 64, 101; 57:30, 46; 77:34, 37; 144:26**
 empowered by Holy Spirit, **159:3**
 revelation of Christ at, **27:64**
 conviction, **22:96, 97; 110:10; 119:9; 123:1**
 Cornelius, **57:31-33**
 cosmic task, **144:16**
 cosmological argument, **85:3**
 Council of Nicaea, **92:32**
 Council of Trent, **74:8**
 courage, **27:105; 72:17; 83:96; 157:3**
 covenant, **64:7; 66:2, 18f; 67:9; 77:30; 94:20; 97:16; 103:342; 118:6; 144:33**
 with Israel set aside, **69:25**
 Mosaic, **94:35**
 new, **65:5; 69:31, 40, 43; 72:23f; 94:15f, 35; 103:342, 349; 121:1**
 covetousness, **99:196**
 creation, **27:112f; 40:33f; 49:185; 67:4; 69:2; 121:4; 147:171**
 and the Holy Spirit, **118:9**
 intelligent designer, **92:7**
 creed, **93:3; 115:71**
 crisis, **24:3, 4**
 criticism, **44:91**
 Cromwell, Army of, **166:87f, 91, 94**
 cross, **22:114; 27:17f; 28:34; 40:38; 51:73; 55:13, 29, 46; 62:27; 93:1; 94:passim; 95:passim; 95:10, 12; 100:240-245; 105:10; 109:3; 135:6; 179:360**
 offense of, **159:2**
 crucifixion, **144:42**
 Crusades, **165:20**
 culture, **27:123; 76:27; 121:9**
 intellectual, **57:52, 59**
 spiritual, **149:5; 155:8**
 cynicism, **110:24; 112:104; 152:126**
 danger, **12a:4; 65:1**
 Dani (New Guinea), **4:5**
 Daniel, **82:86**
 darkness, **4:3; 49:154**
 David, **11:passim; 27:18; 39:151; 62:13; 101:268; 157:3**
 Day of the Lord, **27:16**
 deacons, **27:40f; 131d:4, 8**
 death, **39:139; 84:97, 103; 185:4, 10; 190:2; 193:1**
 caused by sin, **62:19**

- deceit, **27:33; 57:16**
decisionism, **131a:3; 158:8**
deductive method, **155:1**
deism, **85:9**
democracy, **29:49; 98:53; 165:53**
democracy, spiritual, **132:6**
demonic forces, **57:62**
demonic possession, **98:62, 102-104**
denominationalism, **140:4**
depravity, **76:28**
depression, **11:22; 107:1; 144:61**
desire, **145:6; 190:2**
despair, **11:15**
destiny, **103:318**
detachment, **24:2**
determinism, **95:6; 100:229**
devil, children of, **49:169**
devotion, **12a:5; 13:2, 3; 51:49; 107:1; 119:12; 120:45; 121:3; 145:3, 4, 10; 150:7**
diaconate, **131d:1, 5**
dignity, human, **66:7; 57:46; 144:49**
diligence, **72:12; 107:3; 150:7**
Diotrephes, **131b:1; 131d:7**
disability, **147:166**
disaster, **147:167**
disciples, **55:6**
discipleship, **22:118, 120f; 27:65; 55:35, 48; 73:81; 77:30, 36; 80:60-64; 98:56f, 86, 146f; 99:189f; 133:6; 149:4; 179:369; 209:5**
secret, **62:35**
discipline, **22:58f, 62; 32:182; 55:53; 67:6, 7, 8; 145:4, 10**
flesh mortified, **118:18**
(twice)
discouragement, **62:31, 36; 144:87**
discrimination, **27:72**
disease, **4:2**
dispensation, **69:26, 30; 75:15; 97:17; 120:13**
dissent, **39:141**
divine order, **51:52**
divorce, **51:50; 147:191**
Docetism, **49:150**
doctrine, **29:47; 46:61; 98:115; 131d:1; 155:7, 9**
divisive, **122:1, 2; 203:3; 206:2**
purpose of, **206:1**
doctrines of grace, **119:14; 144:29, 75; 149:10**
dogmatism, **166:40, 107**
dominion, human, **103:314**
Donatists, **166:3**
double procession, **131c:1**
“double search”, **145:7**
“double self”, **62:22**
double witness, **85:11**
doubt, **11:15; 22:91; 144:56**
dove, **110:6**
doxology, **164:4**
dualism, **104:8-9**
duty, **11:5; 49:192; 55:53; 69:40; 179:361-363**
Eastern Orthodox Church, **131c:2**
eccentricity, **159:5**
ecclesiology, **30:129; 41:34; 81:65-72; 131b:1; 131d:3; 132:6; 140:2**
economy, divine, **27:11; 101:261; 131a:1**
ecstasy, **13:2**
ecumenism, **81:69; 140:1-5; 142:9**
Eden, Garden of, **77:30**
edification, **57:31, 60**
Edinburgh, **155:4**
efficiency, **149:4**
effort, **27:65; 119:19; 120:50f**
elders, **27:132**
election, **34:78; 62:32-34; 95:12; 179:355f**
Elijah, **158:1f**
Elohim, **85:4**
“Emmanuel knot of union”, **7:2**
Emmaus, **31:163; 51:78**
“emotional excess”, **117:86**
emotionalism, **111:14**
emotions, **28:31; 66:13; 110:18; 120:29**
empiricism, **165:30**
encouragement, **65:6; 72:25; 103:330**
energy, of the flesh, **46:66**
engineering, **12a:5**
English temperament, **57:66**
enlightenment, spiritual, **144:29**
Enoch, **190:4**
Epicureans, **57:51**
endurance, **67:5, 6, 7, 8; 72:15**
Enga (Province, New Guinea), **4:2**
enthusiasm, **110:10, 24; 132:6**
epistemology, **185:4**
Erastianism, **166:104**
Esau, **67:9; 72:22f**
eschatology, **22:137; 51:58f; 55:46; 83:90-96; 84:97-104; 182:passim; 183:1; 184:1, 3; 185:1; 191:1; 192:1**
realised, **206:4**
Essenes, **97:19**
“eternal perspective”, **185:1**
eternity, **34:80; 39:143; 85:6; 144:16**
ethics, **13:1; 22:76, 128; 27:73; 49:157; 92:24; 94:3; 106:8; 107:2; 120:4, 7; 132:6; 144:21; 147:191; business, 147:191f; moral anarchy, 144:21**
Ethiopia, **27:51**
“evangelical, forthright, and balanced,” Baptists as, **142:8**
Evangelical movement, **155:4**
Evangelical Union, **155:5**
evangelicalism, **2:4f, 5; 47:74; 140:5**
evangelicals, a minority, **159:4**
evangelism, **27:7, 51-53; 28:31; 34:78; 40:39; 62:35; 77:35, 96; 94:3; 98:86; 101:273; 107:3; 110:26-31; 131a:5; 131b:5, 6; 132:6; see also witness**
culture of, **118:25**
method of, **55:16f;**
Eve, **94:4**
evidence, corroborative, **85:3**
evil, **22:129; 29:51; 34:84; 85:9; 97:33; 98:90, 102f; 144:57; 147:164; 152:127; 179:367**
body not, **118:18**
retribution for, **190:2**
evil spirits, **27:126f; 49:181; 120:9**
from God, **120:7**
evolution, **66:6; 103:313; 105:4, 9; 159:7**
excess in religious practice, **111:2; 121:1**
“exchanged life”, **46:64**
excommunication, **81:71**
exegesis, **2:4; 155:3, 7a**
existence of God, **92:4-11**
aesthetic argument, **92:8**
cosmological argument, **92:7**
moral argument, **92:8**
ontological argument, **92:8**
teleological argument, **92:7**
existentialism, **120:34**
experience, **4:5; 7:7; 11:1, 10; 12a:3; 13:8; 27:14; 44:88; 46:61; 49:169; 57:6; 66:8; 95:2; 93:3; 98:61; 101:264; 103:317, 330; 105:3; 107:2; 109:1; 110:8; 111:8f;**

114:66; 118:14, 24; 119:1;
121:1, 6; 131c:5; 152:126;
155:3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11;
157:2, 4; 158:2; 164:2
 of G. H. Morling, **7:2; 31:161;**
110:8; 131b:2 (twice);
 “divine surprises,” **107:1**
 of God, **7:1; 46:61; 155:10,**
11
 of Holy Spirit, **112:100**
 spiritual, **32:181; 46:64;**
62:2, 21; 118:3; 131a:6,
7, 8; 140:1; 161:1
 expiation, **94:23; 95:9, 11**
 exposition, biblical, **69:26**
 Ezekiel, **131a:3**

fact, **185:4**
 failure, **73:80; 112:103**
 fear of, **158:6**
 faith, **7:5; 12a:2; 22:7; 24:8;**
25f:2; 28:33; 29:47; 30:132;
31:163; 34:82, 83; 47:70;
49:190f; 51:55; 53:2; 54:4;
55:14, 19, 25, 28, 35; 62:4, 6,
11, 14, 19; 67:3; 72:13;
98:71, 113, 114, 153; 99:199;
105:18; 109:2; 144:24, 59;
155:1, 6, 7a; 158:9; 161:3;
164:3; 179:358; 209:6
 awakened by Christ, **67:6;**
72:15
 business of, **185:4**
 possessed completely at
 conversion, **117:88**
 and effort, **119:19**
 empowered by Christ, **180:1**
 “faith-love bond,” **73:78**
 gift of, **154:93**
 leap of, **55:28; 120:34**
 perfected by Christ, **72:15f**
 reception of, **30:132**
 repose/rest of, **40:29;**
119:15; 128:5; 155:7a
 superficial, **55:10**
 theocentric, **121:6**
 faithfulness, **65:6; 66:10;**
98:152; 103:323; 196:1
 fall, **92:6; 95:5**
 family life, **34:82**
 fanaticism, religious, **27:103;**
57:47; 166:38
 fasting, **51:49; 98:78f**
 fatalism, **147:177**
 fate, **34:77**
 fear, **144:47; 179:363**
 feelings, **118:13; 127:3**

fellowship, **22:134; 24:1; 27:9,**
22; 49:155-157; 55:59; 56:1;
57:11; 67:11; 81:63f; 94:22;
101:259, 272; 120:23;
147:180f; 179:364f
 with Christ, **13:6; 22:77**
 with God, **22:15, 77**
 “festal living,” **144:55; 152:125**
 fetishism, **92:1**
 feudalism, **165:53**
 Fifth Monarchists, **166:117**
 flesh, **22:63; 31:162; 34:85;**
157:2
 works of, **118:23**
 forgiveness, **29:49; 94:18; 95:3;**
144:21, 23, 55; 157:3
 form criticism, **50:3**
 formalism, **93:3**
 free churches, **131d:8**
 freedom, **55:35; 147:165**
 freedom of religion – *see*
 religious liberty
 friendship, **22:136; 144:24;**
 divine, **12a:1**
 fruit, **11:5**
 fruitfulness, **55:52, 54**
 fruitlessness, **22:59**
 future, **144:60**

Gainsborough exiles, **166:16**
 Gamaliel, **27:38**
 gambling, **29:50**
 Geneva Testament (1554), **69:18**
 Gentiles, grafted into Israel,
 62:36
 Gethsemane, **69:20**
 “giant agony of the world,”
 144:56; 152:126
 gifts, spiritual, **110:14-20;**
111:2; 117:84-89; 118:22f;
120:18; 122:1f; 123:1-3;
124:1-3; 125:1f; 131d:4, 5,
6; 147:193
 purpose of, **117:85**
 suppression of sign gifts,
 124:1
 giving, **173:2**
 Glasgow, **159:5; 208:3**
 glass manufacture, **24:8**
 glorification, **22:137; 32:181;**
40:38f; 47:71; 84:103
119:15; 120:47
 glory, **24:6; 34:79, 80, 81;**
49:170, 171; 53:13; 55:9, 41,
59; 62:29; 69:2f; 84:103;
85:8; 97:13; 105:11; 142:6;
179:360; 192:1; 196:2;

199:1; 203:1-4; 204:1;
205:1f
 Gnosticism, **34:76; 40:30;**
49:149; 93:3
 goal, spiritual, **39:150**
 God, **92:passim**
 access to, **11:13; 103:338,**
 345f; only through Christ,
 22:15; 69:27
 active in history, **34:77, 78**
 approval of, **24:5**
 attributes of, **92:16, 35-37;**
 95:3f; 103:308f
 being of, **85:2, 6, 15**
 beneficence of, **34:77; 203:1**
 character of, **31:160; 85:6;**
 95:3
 chastening of, **46:66**
 children of, **199:1; 204:1;**
 205:1f
 communion with, **22:15;**
 69:24
 confrontation with, **145:8**
 consciousness of, **11:2, 22;**
 22:139
 contemplation of, **11:7, 21,**
 22; 34:76, 82; 110:6;
 145:8f
 contemplation of, **49:154**
 as Creator, **11:18**
 dependence on, **24:7; 27:3;**
 145:11; 194:1
 “Divine Helper,” **11:7**
 eternal plan of, **34:80**
 existence of, **85:3; 147:164**
 faithfulness of, **7:6**
 fatherhood of, **7:7; 67:7;**
 72:18; 77:32; 85:10-12;
 92:14f; 99:170; 147:162,
 164-166
 universal, **85:10**
 fear of, **57:31; 67:11; 158:6**
 foreknowledge of, **27:17;**
 34:78; 57:8; 152:128f;
 179:356
 freedom of, **62:33, 34;**
 147:160
 glory of, **49:153**
 “God in his aloneness,” **185:1**
 goodness of, **147:163**
 grace of, **55:47; 62:34; 149:4**
 heart of, **85:15**
 hiddenness of, **85:5, 8**
 and history, **191:1; 192:1**
 holiness of, **31:160; 49:153;**
 85:2, 9; 94:1, 10; 95:7;
 103:343; 144:21
 house of, **67:1**

- immanence of, **92:21; 93:1; 119:6; 120:9; 131a:1**
 immutability of, **92:38; 104:5; 103:310**
 ineffability of, **131c:1**
 infinite truth of, **49:153**
 infinitude of, **85:6, 8-9**
 as judge, **62:8f; 72:25; 191:1; 192:1**
 "just like Jesus," **22:18; 116:76**
 kingship of, **92:16**
 knowledge of, **76:28; 85:2-3; 179:368**
 "life's supreme Reality," **11:1**
 light of, **49:147, 153**
 listening to, **149:10**
 living, **85:6**
 love of, **11:11; 49:147, 183-189; 55:14, 42; 62:16, 27; 85:9; 92:1; 94:25; 95:4; 202:1**
 majesty of, **11:18**
 mercy of, **144:54**
 motherhood of, **51:51; 85:15**
 names of, **92:13**
 nature of, **31:160; 49:152; 57:53; 85:6-7; 92:1, 35-37; 94:2**
 of nature, **34:77**
 omnipotence, **210:1**
 passibility of, **27:133; 104:5**
 passivity of, **147:182f**
 personhood of, **85:6; 94:1**
 plan of, **147:160, 172, 176f**
 plan of for the individual, **112:103**
 presence of, **67:1**
 present among people, **11:3**
 providential care of, **62:30**
 and punishment, **27:34; 55:54; 57:17**
 purposes of, **11:9**
 pursuit of, **39:149**
 rebellion against, **147:165, 171**
 revelation of, **55:4; 147:159**
 in nature, **62:7; 66:2**
 inward, **69:32**
 righteousness of, **49:147; 62:5, 6**
 rule of, **11:3, 10**
 self-existence of, **85:7**
 self-sufficiency of, **34:77**
 sinking into, **131b:7**
 sovereignty of, **27:80; 34:77; 103:328; 147:160-163; 179:356; 182:1; 183:1**
 speaks to the heart, **149:5, 10**
 spheres in which God works, **34:77-79**
 spirituality of, **85:6**
 suffering of, **147:182f**
 suicide, divine, **104:9**
 sympathy of, **85:14**
 transcendence of, **11:15; 93:1; 120:7**
 "uncompromised absoluteness" of, **7:5**
 unity of, **85:4-5**
 waiting on, **145:11**
 will of, **2:3; 7:5; 24:7; 25e:2; 27:130, 155; 30:127; 32:184; 34:76-79; 40:32; 44:91; 51:67; 55:58; 62:33, 38; 67:7; 72:17; 69:42; 110:17; 112:103; 144:48, 51; 147:159, 161-163; 147:170, 177; 152:124; 154:97f; 179:356**
 word of, **34:86**
 wrath of, **11:17; 62:9; 75:18; 83:93; 85:2, 9; 94:2, 9; 95:1, 7; 120:10; 159:2**
 godliness, **120:5, 46; 145:4**
 golden mean, **2:5**
 good works, **75:18, 19, 20; 76:26**
 goodness, latent, **97:33**
 gospel, **50:1; 62:4; 98:49f; 120:17**
 for the believer, **118:16**
 human heart made for, **57:71**
 and Jews, **62:7**
 Pauline, **159:3f**
 spiritual, **54:1**
 universal scope, **57:20, 45**
 grace, **11:9; 27:63; 31:162; 40:28, 38; 52:1; 55:26; 62:4, 11, 17, 20, 33; 95:5; 140:4; 144:29, 37, 53, 54; advance in, 29:49**
 doctrines of, **69:27; 119:14; 144:29, 75; 149:10**
 growth in, **47:73**
 means of, **155:10**
 opulence of, **144:29**
 riches of, **192:1**
 throne of, **100:244**
 as a virtue, **57:60**
 Graf-Wellhausen criticism, **104:10**
 Grand Canyon, **34:80**
 gratitude, **11:21**
 Greek Fathers, **72:13**
 Greek Orthodox Church, **81:67**
 growth, spiritual, **179:366**
 guidance, **11:14; 24:3; 27:10, 67, 90f, 92-97, 139f; 57:43f, 67; 147:188-190, 194f, 197, 198**
 guilt, **28:31; 29:49; 62:19, 35; 67:2; 95:2; 144:23; 185:15**
 habit, **22:76; 67:6; 146:2, 3; 149:3**
 Hanserd Knollys Society, **166:19**
 happiness, **11:4; 52:2; 95:8; 135:5; 152:126**
 harmony, **39:141; 57:4**
 Harris Street Baptist Church, **3:23**
 Harvard University, **144:57**
 healing, **28:32; 55:19f; 98:63, 66-68, 82-84, 106-108, 142-144, 151-153; 110:15-18; 117:85; 119:20; 154:90-99**
 gift of, **122:1**
 and atonement, **110:16f**
 health, mental, **157:1**
 health, physical, **119:8**
 and indwelling, **119:8**
 health, spiritual, **121:6**
 heart, **77:36; 155:11**
 "heart religion," **12a:4, 8**
 heathenism, **65:2**
 heaven, **34:80; 84:100; 94:36; 188:1; 189:1; 195:2**
 anticipated, **189:1**
 personal transformation in, **201:3; 202:6, 8**
 Hebrews, authorship of, **64:1; 66:1**
 warnings in, **66:1f, 9; 67:2, 8**
 Hegelianism, **92:36**
 hell, **11:19; 84:104; 185:16**
 Hellenism, **64:4f; 94:24; 119:1; 120:15**
 heresy, **34:84; 49:146, 149, 181; 66:11; 98:115; 166:2**
 "heritage of faith," **111:5**
 hermeneutics, **47:70; 49:145, 183; 103:336; 119:4; 140:3**
 see also *Bible, interpretation of*
 Hermetic literature, **105:28**
 heroic living, **157:passim**
 heroes, heroism, **72:12; 157:2, 3, 4**
 Hezekiah, **11:2**
hieron, **131d:2**
 "higher mode", **131c:5; 153:133**
 "higher practice", **145:10**
 Hillel school, **97:36**

Hinduism, **22:18; 28:34; 85:2; 107:1; 121:3, 9; 135:5; 159:10**
 historical method, **50:3**
 history, **12a:1; 29:51; 34:78; 72:12; 74:3; 92:23; 107:1; 144:11f**
 biblical, **118:7**
 philosophy of, **39:146; 92:11; 166:131**
 and providence, **121:4; 182:1; 183:1; 191:1**
 unity of, **67:5**
 holiness, **7:2; 11:14; 13:9; 27:34; 29:48; 31:passim; 32:181; 40:39; 46:61, 62; 47:passim; 49:156, 159, 174; 55:57; 62:2, 28, 37f; 72:20; 73:81; 78:46; 81:68f; 83:96; 92:6; 110:8-13; 111:12; 116:76f; 118:18f; 120:5, 44f, 51; 121:7; 128:1ff, 5; 131b:3; 132:6; 133:6; 144:28f; 179:362, 364**
 begun, advancing and perfected, **31:165**
 as likeness to God, **47:69**
 negative and positive, **31:161**
 "holy contagion," **27:23**
 "holy leisure," **56:1**
 holy secrets, **22:77**
 Holy Spirit, **7:2; 11:1, 5, 11; 12a:3; 13:8; 22:3, 29, 30, 32, 39, 41, 82, 91; 24:4, 5, 6; 25c:2; 27:passim; 28:33; 29:50; 30:131; 32:182; 34:80, 81, 82; 40:31, 39; 49:145, 181, 187, 188; 62:4, 26 (twice), 27f, 28; 67:6; 74:13; 78:39-46; 85:4, 15f; 92:29; 93:1; 97:18; 98:53; 100:170; 101:passim; 105:7, 18, 27; 106:8; 107:1, 2; 109:1; 110:passim; 114:64-66; 115:67-74; 120:passim; 121:passim; 123:1; 127:passim; 128:passim; 131a:passim; 131b:passim; 131c:passim; 131d:passim; 140:4; 144:31, 32, 68-70, 84; 145:3; 146:5f; 147:198; 153:133; 155:7a; 157:4, 5; 166:35; 179:360**
 administrator of the church, **131d:3, 4, 7**
 anointing of, **25d:2**
 and the arts, **120:4**
 baptism of, **25d:2; 27:5; 107:2; 111:2; 112:102;**

113:107-112; 117:87; 118:24; 120:12; 131b:5; 155:9
 blasphemy against, **120:10**
 the "Blessed Indweller," **118:21**
 "calm excess of," **13:5; 27:15**
 channel, **118:10**
 Christ the organ of, **130:15**
 "Christ relation" of, **131c:3**
 and communication with God, **118:12**
 communion with, **110:7; 131a:6**
 conditions for reception of, **120:32**
 continuing the work of Christ, **56:1**
 "conveyancer," **118:10**
 and conviction of sin, **55:56**
 Counsellor, **27:65; 120:29f**
 and the church, **57:7; 131d:3, 7**
 and creation, **118:9**
 deity of, **44:87; 78:42f; 110:5; 114:64, 65; 115:67f; 118:2; 119:2; 120:6f; 121:2; 131c:1**
 dependence on, **27:124; 57:63; 101:262**
 descent upon Jesus, **55:5**
 "Divine Administrator," **106:8**
 "Divine Empowerer," **106:8**
 "Divine Enlightener," **112:106**
 "Divine Energy," **106:8**
 double witness of, **46:64**
 drawing all to Christ, **55:46**
 effecting union with Christ, **55:52; 69:38; 73:78**
 "entire dependence," **31:164**
 "executive of the Godhead," **121:6**
 experience of, **22:32, 91f; 34:81; 55:51; 118:21; 119:7; 121:6; 131a:6**
 and extravagance, **119:1**
 falling on a person, **131a:7**
 filling of/with, **27:14, 63; 44:88; 107:2; 111:16; 112:100-106; 117:87; 118:24; 131b:5, 6;**
 forbidding of, **27:94f**
 in Fourth Gospel, **120:27**
 fruit of, **117:89; 118:23; 119:8**

fullness of, **27:63; 44:87; 110:22, 23; 112:102, 104; 113:107-112; 120:25**
 gift of, **27:21; 55:51; 57:10; 118:2; 131b:6; 131b:5; 131c:4**
 glorifies Christ, **27:12**
 graces of, **118:22f**
 grieving of, **34:83; 110:23**
 guidance of, **57:67**
 hiddenness of, **7:8; 110:5; 121:2 131a:1**
 "higher world of," **72:23**
 "Holy Indweller," **111:16**
 illumination of, **55:31; 110:28, 29; 208:4**
 impersonal, **111:15; 131c:2**
 in nature, **121:4**
 in the Old Testament, **27:11; 131c:2**
 indwelling, **55:57; 94:35; 110:6; 111:16; 114:65; 131a:6; 151:117; 209:3, 5, 6, 7**
 and physical health, **119:8**
 "inner spring of life," **128:1**
 "inner Strengtheners," **112:106**
 inner witness, **49:194; 51:67**
 instructing believers, **55:2; 118:9**
 and intercession, **62:30; 118:21; 120:22**
 and inspiration of Scripture, **110:28; 120:11, 40, 41**
 and *kenosis*, **119:6; 120:30**
 knowledge of, experimental, **135:6**
 "life of the Spirit," **7:1**
 medium of divine love, **131c:3**
 and the mind, **101:263**
 ministry of, **22:82-85, 93-98, 100**
 and moral character, **120:5**
 and mortification of the flesh, **118:18f**
 mystical, **131c:6**
 and natural world, **120:2f**
 neglect of, **119:1; 120:14, 35**
 not an experience, **115:70, 71**
 in Old Testament, **120:4**
 "Organ" of Christ, **131c:5**
 "outflowing stream of life," **128:1**
paraclete, **120:29f**
 Pauline teaching, **120:14**
 personhood, **44:87; 78:41f; 110:6; 119:9; 120:6f**

- power of, **27:7; 55:56; 101:253, 257; 131a:7; 131b:4**
- presence of, **118:22**
- procession of, **85:10; 120:34; 131c:1**
- promised, **27:4**
- and prophecy, **120:4**
- quenching of, **34:83; 110:24; 112:104**
- reception of at conversion, **112:105; 117:87f**
- and regeneration, **120:26, 27f; 128:1**
- reliance upon, **55:50**
- reproducing work of Christ, **130:21**
- resisting of, **34:83; 110:23**
- and resurrection, **118:17; 120:22**
- revealing Christ, **120:31**
- revelation of divine personality, **115:73f**
- and salvation, **118:16f**
- and sanctification, **110:25; 112:106; 120:44; 131a:2**
- and Scripture, **121:1**
- sealing with, **27:121; 107:2; 111:4**
- sin against, **57:16**
- Spirit-Christ relationship, **131d:2**
- Spirit of Christ, **119:6; 131c:2**
- suffused with, **158:9**
- sustaining power of, **107:2**
- symbols of, **120:1**
- in Synoptic Gospels, **120:10**
- teaching ministry of, **118:9**
- tides of in history, **120:9**
- and the Trinity, **55:55**
- "unifying agency of the Godhead," **131c:4**
- as wind, **131b:4**
- withheld, withdrawn, **27:47; 127:3**
- work of, **77:33f; 78:43-46; 83:92**
- worship of, **115:72**
- yielding to, **113:112**
- home, **27:101; 54:1; 101:271**
- honour, **13:9; 190:3**
- hope, **62:28, 30f; 66:14; 69:24; 79:54; 83:94; 103:330; 179:357f, 361f**
- Hosea, **118:9**
- hospitality, **67:11**
- "of the heart", **22:65**
- House of the New World, **158:1**
- human nature, **22:63; 66:10; 98:70; 107:2; 190:2**
- higher nature, **85:6**
- transcendent, **190:2**
- humanism, **159:11; 200:1**
- humanitarian spirit, **166:iii**
- humanity, **11:19; 103:313-315**
- humility, **39:141; 51:49; 55:56; 100:231; 144:44, 46; 155:9; 179:355; 208:5**
- limitations of, **76:27f**
- hunger, **4:2; for God, 34:83; 144:16**
- hypocrisy, **55:43; 57:17; 107:2**
- "I am" sayings, **55:36**
- Ichabod, **209:3**
- idealism, **12a:1; 92:36; 94:1; 155:4**
- idealising imagination, **105:3**
- identification with Christ, **28:32; 29:48; 39:138, 149; 40:40f; 62:21; 128:3**
- idiot, **144:42**
- idolatry, **62:7; 92:2**
- ignorance, spiritual, **22:82, 140**
- illness, **147:166; 154:95f**
- illumination, **22:5; 55:31**
- image of God, **34:77; 51:51; 85:6; 120:44; 144:18; 147:159; 190:2**
- imagination, **13:2, 6**
- imitation, of Christ, **73:81**
- immanence, **85:9; 95:4; 121:3; 131a:1**
- immanentism, **161:1; 159:7f**
- immortality, **84:97f; 185:2**
- conditional, **185:15**
- impartation, **31:163; 62:26; 94:31**
- impassibility, **92:18**
- imputation, **31:163; 62:26; 94:31**
- India, **101:272**
- individualism, **165:44f; 166:25, 26**
- individualists, Baptists as, **132:6**
- inductive method **105:1; 155:1, 3**
- inefficiency, **158:1**
- infinity, **92:37f**
- inheritance, spiritual, **29:50; 69:24**
- initiation, **28:31**
- inner life, **164:3; 165:6, 25; 110:25; 131b:2**
- inner light, **55:3; 147:198; 153:132**
- inquiry, intellectual, **107:1**
- instinct, **185:3**
- instruction, divine, **55:31**
- intellectualism, **120:15**
- Inter-Varsity Fellowship, **159:2**
- intercession, **22:122f**
- intermediate state, **187:1; 195:1**
- International Standard Bible Encyclopedia, **94:5**
- intimacy, spiritual, **118:1**
- with Christ, **13:2; 22:65; 31:164; 34:80**
- with God, **7:8; 12a:7; 22:65, 77; 103:338; 144:46f**
- with Holy Spirit, **118:12**
- intoxication with God, **27:25**
- intuition, **57:43; 85:2; 185:4**
- inwardness, **22:83, 93; 55:51; 131a:7 (twice); 62:30; 69:32; 118:6, 25; 120:1, 15, 21, 25, 28, 30; 121:2, 4, 9; 131c:5; 146:5; 151:116; 153:132-136; 161:2**
- "inward illumination," **118:12**
- ministry of, **69:42**
- Isaac, **62:33; 67:4; 159:2**
- Isaiah, **131a:3**
- Islam, *see Mohammedanism*
- isolationism, **83:72**
- Israel, Gentiles grafted into, **62:36**
- history of, **11:1**
- partial rejection of, **62:36**
- restoration of, **83:95**
- revival of national, **51:60**
- ultimate salvation of, **62:37**
- Jacob, **62:33; 185:5**
- Java (Indonesia), **147:189**
- jealousy, **44:91; 98:71**
- Jehovah, **39:145; 85:4**
- Jehovah Jireh*, **7:6**
- Jehovah's Witnesses, **74:1**
- Jeroboam, **94:11**
- Jeremiah, **93:1**
- Jerusalem, heavenly, **67:4**
- Jesuolatry, **85:13**
- Jesus of history, **92:18**
- Jewish thought, first century, **120:9**
- Jews, **166:127**
- conversion of, **198:1**
- Job, **11:15; 94:11; 185:5; 190:4**
- Joel, **27:15**
- John (the Apostle), **131a:7**
- John the Baptist, **55:2; 98:51-53**
- John the Elder, **54:4**

- John's Gospel, authorship of, **54:4f**
 Jonah, **27:10**
 Joseph, **34:83**
 joy, **12a:5, 7, 8; 13:2, 9; 22:74, 102, 127; 27:8; 55:57; 57:7; 144:87**
 Judaisers, **39:147**
 Judaism, **22:89; 66:1; 103:329, 335**
 Alexandrian, **65:3; 69:25; 105:28**
 inferior to Christianity, **69:27**
 temporary nature of, **69:39**
 judgment, **22:98; 55:14, 57; 69:41; 83:93, 96; 185:14f; 190:1f; 191:1; 192:1; 196:1**
 justice, **190:2**
 retributive, **85:9; 95:13; 185:16**
 social **98:76, 138; 146:10**
 justification, **31:162; 62:7, 12, 14, 17, 32; 93:1; 94:23, 31; 75:19; 110:11; 119:14; 120:20f, 46f; 140:3; 144:27**

 Katoomba Convention, **46:61**
kenosis, **22:114; 69:3; 85:14; 104:8-11; 119:6; 121:5**
 of the Spirit, **119:6**
kephalaion, **105:20**
 Keswick Convention, **11:15; 22:98; 31:165; 32:181; 155:6; 194:1**
 Keswick experience, **46:64**
 Keswick teaching, **46:61, 62**
 Kew Baptist Church (Melbourne), **131a:7**
 kingdom of God, **27:6; 76:28; 98:56; 99:162-164, 183f, 203, 213; 105:10; 132:6; 164:3**
 knowledge, **190:2**
 higher, **22:99**
 true, **34:76**
 Kompam (New Guinea), **4:2**
 Korah, **27:34**
 Krishna, **28:34**

 language, spiritual experience expressed in, **155:11**
 Lapolama (New Guinea), **4:2**
 Latitudinarians, **166:iii, 50, 66, 108**
 law, **11:5; 62:24f; 95:13**
 of human cooperation, **31:162**

 Jewish, **98:75**
 moral, **144:21, 22**
 natural, **120:3**
 new, **62:27**
 purpose of, **62:18**
 spiritual, **131a:3**
 Lazarus, **24:7**
 laziness, **107:2; 149:8; 150:7**
 leadership, **98:90, 117f; 131d:6**
 League of Nations, **132:6**
lectio divinas, **54:1**
 legalism, **12a:7; 40:42; 55:10, 20; 69:27; 93:3**
 Levellers, **166:v, 106f**
 Liberal Evangelical Movement, **155:5**
 Liberal Evangelicals, **93:1**
 liberalism, **120:7**
 Pauline, **52:1**
 liberty, **27:88; 28:32; 62:26; 165:51**
 of conscience, **82:86**
 liberty, religious, **67:5; 82:75; 165:13, 51-53; 166:passim**
 life, eternal, **185:9**
 light, **49:154; 55:2, 42**
 limbo, **84:100**
 liquor trade, **57:61**
 literature, **12a:1; 22:21; 67:4; 159:6**
 living, careless, **72:19**
 logic, **85:2; 185:4**
 logophany, **104:8**
 Lollards, **166:12, 16**
 London, World War II bombing of **144:44**
 loneliness, **7:4a; 22:80; 114:65; 144:22**
 Long Parliament, **166:55, 110**
 longing, **114:65; 118:21**
 Lord's Prayer, **164:4**
 Lord's Supper, **27:22; 55:28; 79:50-55; 94:27; 100:228; 101:272; 104:7; 155:7, 10; 206:1**
 lordship, **12a:1; 39:148; 98:57; 131b:3; 132:6**
 loss, **144:20, 59**
 lots, **101:260**
 love, **67:2; 155:9; 165:50; 189:2**
 divine, **12a:7, 8; 13:1, 3; 28:31**
 as the essential Christian distinctive, **22:76**
 false, **13:2**
 familial, **85:15**
 filial, **49:176, 177f; 179:364**
 human, **12a:2; 13:1, 5 (twice)**
 ideal, **13:1**

 marital, **12a:3**
 as a virtue, **118:23**
 lovelessness, **49:186**
 loyalty, **13:1; to Christ, 22:80**
 Luke, and influence on Hebrews, **67:8**

 Maccabeans, **72:12**
 Maccabean revolt, **67:5**
 magic, **4:3**
 magnetism, **157:3**
 Magnificat, **97:14f**
 Mahommedanism, *see Islam*
 Maki (New Guinea), **4:2**
 Malaya, **208:3**
 malnutrition, **4:2**
 Marcan priority, **97:3**
 Mark, authorship, **50:passim**
 marriage, **22:65; 51:50, 51; 67:12; 147:191**
 martyr, martyrdom, **27:79; 44:90; 67:5; 82:74, 103; 98:86**
 Mary, mother of Jesus, **34:83; 53:12; 120:1**
 Mary of Bethany, **12a:5**
 Masonic Hall Baptist Church (Sydney), **142:1**
 materialism, **155:9**
 Matthew, **98:74-76**
 maturity, spiritual, **39:148, 150; 66:13; 144:72**
 medical science, **110:16**
 meditation, **11:5; 22:132; 98:65; 110:6; 131b:6; 146:5; 147:162; 161:1**
 meekness, **144:41, 44**
 Melchizedek, **64:9; 65:5; 66:15ff; 69:25, 26, 29, 30; 94:36; 103:329-333, 338, 339, 349; 105:21; 210:2**
 membership, church, **46:64; 82:89**
 regenerate, **82:79f, 89; 132:6;**
 Mennonites, **81:65**
 mercy seat, **69:39**
 Messiah – *see Christ*
 metamorphism, **104:9**
 method, theological **94:3; 95:1; 145:5; 149:4; 155:1, 3**
 Methodists, **119:17**
 Methuselah, **92:38**
 Middle Ages, **82:83; 132:6**
 millennium, **184:1; 198:1; 200:1; 206:5**
 mind, **28:31; 57:6; 118:13; 149:7**

- ministry, **32:185; 55:39; 57:76; 131a:4; 151:119; see also service**
 abandonment to, **135:5**
 balance in, **150:7**
 confidence in, **135:5**
 idealism in, **151:113f**
 and mediocrity, **151:113**
 orders of, **57:18f; 131d:4, 5**
 realism in, **151:114**
 routine, **57:49**
 weariness in, **29:52**
 miracle, **24:7; 54:1; 57:12f, 33; 92:21; 97:6; 98:67, 102-105;**
 miracles, gift of, **111:12; 117:85; 154:93**
 mission, **22:132; 27:75, 84-86, 90f; 30:128; 51:78; 62:35; 99:162-164, 249; 107:1; 120:39; 131b:4; 132:6**
 and the Holy Spirit, **120:5**
 strategy, **27:111, 125**
 vision, **27:43**
 missionaries, **4:2, 3; 32:185; 110:14; 131d:6**
 missionary problem, **106:8**
 Missouri evangelism campaign (NSW, 1964), **131b:1**
 modalism, **120:34, 36**
 modernism, **40:30; 66:11; 155:1**
 Moffatt's translation (of the Bible), **149:2**
 Mohammedanism, **85:9; 105:1; 121:3; 135:5**
 monarch, power of, **166:32f**
 monarchianism, **131d:1**
 monasticism, **165:14, 15, 44, 46**
 money, **99:195, 197**
 monism, philosophical, **92:23**
 monotheism, **92:12**
 Montanism, **119:1; 120:1; 124:1 131b:1**
 moral indignation, **44:91**
 moral obligation, **62:28**
 moral pollution, **34:86**
 morality, **11:13; 34:86; 47:71; 94:2, 10; 110:12; 128:4; 190:2**
 Morean hypothesis, **50:6**
 Morling, George Henry,
 and depression, **116:75; 152:129**
 early spiritual experience of, **111:15; 116:75f; 158:5f**
 motto: "Scriptural, positive and balanced," **123:1**
 spiritual influences, **158:8**
 and suffering, **154:90f**
 Mormon Church, **74:1; 85:6**
 mortality, infant, **4:3**
 mortification, **62:28; 118:18**
 Moses, **11:1; 31:161; 55:8; 66:9; 67:5 94:11; 103:319f; 147:160; 158:1f**
 motive, **145:5**
 mould, **164:1**
 mystery, **24:1; 28:31; 29:48; 34:76; 40:31; 55:34; 92:33; 110:5; 131c:4, 6; 147:161, 170; 185:1**
 "mystery of life," **55:27**
 mystical doctrine, **34:80**
 mystical experience, **34:81**
 mystical societies, **114:64**
 mystical union, **30:127; 49:162; 51:51; 62:19; 116:77**
 mysticism, **13:8; 22:15; 39:133; 55:28, 29, 57; 66:15, 18; 93:1; 94:39; 105:3; 121:1, 9; 131a:7; 151:119; 155:11; 161:2; 165:30f**
 absent from Epistle to Hebrews, **64:2, 3**
 and Berkhof, **120:39**
 mystics, **55:34; 131a:8; 131b:6; 131d:2; 151:115-119**
 evangelical, **118:25**
naos, **131d:2**
 National Art Gallery (London), **131c:6**
 nationalism, **107:1; 135:5; 165:53**
 nations, **12a:1; 74:13**
 nature, **11:1; 24:2; 147:167; 165:42f**
 marred by sin, **62:29**
 God of nature, **34:77**
 spiritual basis of, **120:3**
 neo-mysticism, **94:1**
 Nero, **179:355**
 "nervous breakdown," **131b:6**
 new age (*eschaton*), **64:8**
 new birth, **55:12; 82:81; 144:67, 68**
 new creation, **40:34**
 New Dispensation, **103:313**
 New Guinea Baptist Union, **4:4**
 new life, **62:21**
 new order, **62:18**
 New Theology, *see immanentism*
 New Zealand, **144:90; 181:175**
 Newtown Baptist Church (Sydney), **142:1**
 Nicene Creed, **81:67**
 Nicodemus, **27:58; 55:10; 79:57**
 Ningpo New Testament, **7:4a**
 nonconformity to the world, **32:183**
 nonconformity, **165:52**
 North Baliem (New Guinea), **4:2**
 novel, **149:8**
Nunc Dimittis, **53:15f**
 obedience, **22:15; 25e:2; 55:34; 62:18; 79:52; 147:160, 190; 179:365**
 obligation, **47:69; spiritual, 179:361-363**
 occultism, **40:42**
 Old Testament,
 and Christ, **69:26; 100:248**
 respect for, **66:2**
 ontological argument, **85:3**
 optimism, **107:1; 179:358**
ordo salutis, **47:71; 62:6, 26; 116:75; 119:15; 120:46f; 140:5**
 ordinances, **79:47-59; 94:27**
 otherworldliness, **11:6; 165:51**
 Oxford Bible, **149:8**
 Oxford Group, **155:5**
 pain, **44:90; 144:56, 57**
 pantheism, **85:6; 94:1, 2**
 papyri, **67:3**
 parables, **98:95f; 99:191-193**
 paradise, **84:98**
 paradox, **31:163; 34:78; 92:26**
 pardon, **34:81; 69:32**
Parousia, *see Christ – return of*
 passibility, divine, **104:5; 105:12**
 passion, spiritual **107:1**
 for Christ, **7:7; 39:136, 137**
 passivity, **144:71; 153:136**
 spiritual, **13:5; 151:117**
 Passover, **51:61, 63-65; 100:226-228**
 patronage, **13:2**
 Paul, **12a:1; 27:55; 28:31; 39:132-134; 57:25f; 93:1; 94:18, 20, 24ff; 131a:7; 157:2, 3; 158:1f**
 Christology of, **105:23f**
 conversion of, **39:132f**
 missionary journeys, **57:38ff**
 missionary strategy, **57:52**
 Paulinism, **64:5**
 purpose of, **39:150**
 secret of, **144:74-77**
 peace, **22:42; 40:28; 46:63; 55:52; 62:16; 72:19, 21, 22; 144:23, 40, 60, 80, 82; 152:123; 185:12**

- penance, **165:41**
 Pennant Hills, **131d:5**
 Pennant Hills Baptist Church (Sydney), **131d:5**
 Pentecost, **22:10; 57:2; 98:89; 118:13; 120:5, 12-14; 131b:1, 5**
 Pentecostal Age, **57:7**
 "Pentecostal exhilaration," **132:6**
 "Pentecostal power," **55:56**
 "Pentecostal task," **55:56**
 Pentecostalism, **111:passim; 119:1; 131b:1**
 perception, sensory, **185:4**
 perfection, **39:150; 118:18; 144:91**
 perplexity, **144:56; 152:126**
 persecution, **22:129; 27:33, 37; 57:14; 101:273; 107:1; 166:18, 23, 27, 32, 47, 48, 54, 82, 127**
 perseverance, **11:7; 62:17; 66:11, 14; 69:23b; 131a:4**
 "personal element," **24:8**
 personhood, *see personality*
 personalism, **92:20**
 personality, **22:65, 134; 32:182; 44:89; 92:19, 34, 36; 119:8, 10; 131a:2; 144:78; 147:165; 157:2; 165:25-27, 44f**
 development of moral, **105:9; 201:3; 202:3; 203:2**
 immortality of, **190:4**
 personality theory, **85:5**
 personality type, **101:259**
 perspective, **24:2**
 pessimism, **184:1**
 Peter, **13:2; 98:47; 159:5**
 not bishop of Rome, **62:3**
 Petersham Baptist Church, **3:23**
 petition, **92:21; 164:2, 3**
 Philip, **57:22**
 Philo, **105:28**
 Philonic theory, **105:19**
 philosophy, **27:111; 55:1; 57:52; 95:6; 105:19; 144:18; 155:4; 159:6**
 Alexandrian, **64:8**
 of history, **39:146; 166:131**
 Pietism, **93:3; 120:40; 121:1, 8**
 piety, **11:13**
 pilgrim, **11:6; 157:2; 179:355**
 Pit River (New Guinea), **4:2**
 Pitt Street Congregational Church (Sydney), **131c:7**
 Platonism **67:3, 4; 105:1; 121:9**
 Plymouth Brethren, **140:3**
 pneumatology, Lutheran, **120:40**
 Reformed, **120:40**
 politics, **107:2**
 Polychrome Bible, **69:39**
 polytheism, **92:2, 36**
 poor, care of, **131d:5**
 pope, **84:102**
 pornography, **76:22**
 possessions, spiritual, **29:46**
 poverty, **11:20; 99:218; 165:35-38**
 power, **7:8; 27:103; 47:70; 101:257; 118:15; 121:7f; 131b:4; 157:1, 4**
 political, **57:47**
 praise, **11:21**
 prayer, **7:2; 11:1, 5, 7, 10, 11, 12, 14, 22; 12a:5, 7; 13:1, 8; 22:14, 23, 24, 69, 70, 105, 122; 24:passim; 25a:2; 25c:2; 25d:2; 25e:2; 25f:2; 27:9, 23, 81; 31:165; 34:81f; 49:180; 52:2; 55:58; 57:63; 66:17; 69:21; 80:62f; 83:96; 85:12; 92:20-22; 98:64, 122, 134; 99:169f, 202f; 101:258f, 273; 103:338; 118:3; 119:19; 131b:7; 131d:2; 144:29, 30, 51, 71; 145:passim; 146:passim; 147:195; 150:7; 155:9, 10; 164:passim**
 as an art not easily achieved, **164:4**
 "child-like artless praying," **24:3**
 deficiency in, **164:1**
 and faith, **154:99**
 false, **164:1**
 habits of, **24:1f**
 healing, **110:16; 154:90-99**
 for illumination, **149:10**
 morning, **145:5**
 practice of Christ in, **164:4**
 teaching of Christ on, **164:2**
 trinitarian pattern of, **34:82**
 unanswered, **145:10**
 prayerlessness, **24:4**
 preaching, **22:100; 46:67; 57:72; 103:343; 105:13; 110:31; 131b:6; 131d:5, 8; 147:189; 155:8, 9**
 apostolic, **120:13**
 evangelistic, **27:15-19, 30**
 Pauline, **120:15**
 predestination, **119:14; 120:46**
 double, **147:161; 185:14**
 prejudice, **27:28f**
 Presbyterians, **166:iv, 76, 92f**
 Presence, **11:6; 69:18, 33, 39, 42; 118:25; 120:30; 131c:3, 5, 6; 131d:2, 3, 7, 8; 151:116; 206:1**
 church, the place of, **120:17; 131d:3**
 preservation, **22:126**
 pride, **98:54; 103:320**
 intellectual, **159:5**
 priest, **179:367**
 in Old Testament, **103:305, 334, 336, 348**
 priesthood
 of believers, **69:27; 93:1**
 Levitical, **66:15**
 prisoners, **67:12**
 privilege, spiritual, **179:359**
 progress, **83:90; 200:1**
 prohibition, **22:76**
 projection, psychological, **92:16-19**
 promise, **12a:1; 103:330**
 propaganda, **74:1**
 propagation, **165:44**
 prophecy, **51:58, 59; 74:12; 77:31; 118:9; 120:4**
 prophet, **103:305; 179:360**
 in Old Testament, **94:10-12**
 prophetess, **97:34**
 propitiation, **49:186; 62:11, 12, 17; 94:23; 95:9, 14**
 protest, **98:53**
 Protestantism, **74:2; 75:17**
 providence, **11:8, 19; 25e:2; 27:80, 113; 29:51; 34:77, 79; 49:185; 92:23-26**
 Psalms, composition of, **11:1**
 psychoanalysis, **92:6**
 psychologists, **157:1**
 psychology, **12a:5; 13:3; 155:4, 8; 22:4; 40:43; 62:25; 92:4, 16-19; 95:6; 103:335; 105:7; 115:70; 119:1; 144:18; 145:8**
 Pauline, **120:26**
 of the spiritual life, **120:21**
 punishment, **95:7**
 purgatory, **84:101, 102; 100:243; 195:1**
 Puritans, **152:124**
 Puritanism, **11:16; 31:162; 46:63; 132:6; 150:7; 166:passim**
 purity, **27:33, 34; 49:171**
 Quakers, **55:3; 119:1, 5; 120:42; 131b:7; 131d:4; 144:19, 65, 69, 71; 145:11; 147:198;**

- 153:131-136; 166:v, 107, 126**
 Queensland Baptist Ministers' Fraternal, **155:1**
 quest, **144:13, 14, 15, 24, 37, 64**
 quiescence, **152:123**
 quietism, **144:39**
 quietness, **155:9**
- radio, **24:8**
 ransom, **94:21**
 rapture, **206:5**
 rationalism, **104:6**
 reading, immoral, **34:86**
 realism, **155:4**
 reality, **121:1**
 reason, **22:15; 85:3; 110:5; 114:64; 155:7**
 reconciliation, **40:38f; 62:17; 75:18, 19, 20; 94:1, 11, 23, 27f, 35; 95:8; 131d:3; 144:22**
 reconstruction, social, **132:6**
 Red Sea, **144:35**
 redemption, **22:64; 40:36; 55:39; 62:17; 62:32; 64:4; 75:17; 94:23**
 redemptive processes, **28:33**
 Reformation, **74:1, 3; 81:70; 93:1-3; 131a:2; 132:6; 140:2**
 Reformed Radicalism, **119:1**
 refuge, **11:3**
 regeneration, **27:5; 34:81; 49:187; 55:13; 80:60; 85:6, 11; 94:24; 107:12; 118:24; 119:10, 14; 120:44, 47; 121:7; 132:6; 140:3, 4; 147:162; 179:365**
 rehabilitation, **76:27**
 relativism, **104:9**
 relaxation, **12a:8; 13:5; 131b:6; 146:3; 144:86**
 religion, **51:63; 131b:6; 145:4**
 comparative, **159:9**
 inward, **69:32**
 "a matter of the heart," **66:22**
 remarriage, **147:191**
 remnant, **159:4**
 Renaissance, **93:1; 132:6; 166:7-9, 131**
 renewal, spiritual, **131a:2; 131b:1**
 repentance, **27:20; 57:10; 98:52f; 101:270; 111:6**
 repose, **7:3, 724:7; 25e:2; 27:128; 40:29; 49:146; 55:25, 30, 50; 144:37-39; 146:3, 4; see also rest**
- repression, **12a:5**
 reprimand, **140:2; 165:10, 50**
 reprobation, **94:25**
 resilience, **179:362**
 responsibility, **34:78, 80; 62:34; 179:361-363; 183:1; 185:15, 16**
 rest, restfulness, **22:15; 54:1; 66:10, 22; 73:82; 103:318, 322, 335; 131d:2; 144:13, 14, 17, 18, 36, 40, 61, 68, 71, 72, 91**
 "rested heart," **66:10**
 of soul, **118:1**
 see also *repose*
 restlessness, **144:12, 14, 15, 18, 78**
 restoration, **144:55f**
 restoration, impossibility of, **67:9**
 resurrection, **39:150; 51:57, 77; 83:93; 99:215; 105:11; 120:22; 185:7; 197:1**
 guaranteed by presence of the Holy Spirit, **120:22**
 retreat as a spiritual practice, **158:1f**
 revelation, **40:33; 55:2, 12; 103:307f; 144:18-20; 155:6, 7; natural, 85:3; 92:9**
 progressive, **85:2; 120:2; 149:9; 155:2; 185:5; 190:4**
 special, **22:99; 92:6, 9, 10, 11f**
 "reverent intimacy", **164:1**
 revival, **57:22f; 83:92; 131a:6; 132:6; 166:14**
 revolution, **165:51; 166:47**
 reward, future, **202:6**
 righteousness, **22:97**
 imparted, **62:26; 144:28**
 imputed, **62:26; 144:27**
 ritual, **64:9; 69:27; 103:349**
 Roman Catholic Church – see *Catholic Church*
 Roman Catholics, **66:18**
 Rome, **131d:3**
 rosary, **210:1**
 rule for life, **24:4**
- sacraments, **22:76; 27:21; 79:49; 93:3; 101:271**
 "sacred crimson", **3:24**
 sacrifice, **22:75; 51:49, 52; 76:25; 94:4-10, 38; 95:1**
 saints, **27:61f; 62:5; 81:68f; 164:1**
 communion of, **55:60; 67:10; 72:25; 187:1**
 salvation, **34:77f; 47:71; 62:6, 14, 17; 69:7, 28; 76:22-29, 38; 179:357, 359**
 blessings of, **34:79-81**
 as cleansing, **158:10**
 divine initiative in, **55:26**
 economy of, **131a:1**
 illimitable, **210:1f**
 objective dimension, **158:10**
 "saving process," **158:6**
 subjective dimension, **158:10**
 universal offer, **34:78; 55:46**
 universal scope, **210:1f**
 Salvation Army, **145:4**
 Samaritans, **99:159f**
 sanctification, **11:5; 22:131; 31:162; 47:71, 73; 55:59; 62:7, 15, 19-32; 69:38**
 (twice); **73:80, 82; 80:61-64; 75:20; 85:16; 93:3; 107:2**
 (twice); **110:9; 116:75, 77; 118:18f; 119:12, 14, 15, 16-18, 19; 120:14, 44, 47f; 131d:3; 144:28; 194:1**
 of the body, **32:181f**
 sentimental, **32:181**
 and union with Christ, **120:51**
 victorious conduct, **157:4**
 Sapphira, **131d:4**
 Satan, **22:98; 28:33; 31:165; 34:84; 47:74; 49:173; 54:46, 57; 69:11; 77:30; 94:13; 95:11; 98:54, 96f; 99:163, 231; 120:11; 147:173f**
 defeat of, **109:3; 158:7**
 oppression of, **34:85**
 patronage of, **27:103; 57:47**
 satisfaction, **12a:7, 8; 13:5, 6, 7, 9; 30:132; 39:152-154**
 Saul, **27:34**
 scholasticism, **95:2**
 Protestant, **93:3**
 scholars, evangelical, **94:7**
 science, **12a:5; 159:7, 10; 185:2**
 seal, **79:53; of God, 34:81**
 Second Advent, see *Christ, return of*
 "second blessing," **111:2, 4, 7, 8; 118:24**

- secularism, **155:9**
 security, eternal, **11:3** (twice);
 62:20; **66:14**, **22**; **67:9**;
 69:23b; **75:20f**; **103:328**
 self, **22:63**, **74**; **34:79**; **46:65**;
 98:147; **144:42**; **157:1**;
 185:4
 religious, **131b:3**
 self-centredness, **144:42**
 self-control, **110:18**
 self-culture, **157:1**
 self-discipline, **107:3**; **118:18**
 self-esteem, **40:43**
 self-exaltation, **131b:2**
 self-examination, **146:10**;
 144:88
 self-hatred, **31:161**
 self-interest, **147:187**
 semi-Pelagianism, **11:19**; **47:72**
 sensuous theory, **95:5**
 sentiment, **13:3**; **145:8**
 Separatists, **82:73**
 Septuagint, **65:4**
 serenity, **27:151**; **144:13**, **24**, **35**,
 37, **42**, **50**, **63**, **64**, **79**, **82**, **90**;
 151:118
 quest for, **152:123**, **130**;
 153:131
 servanthood, **100:230**
 service, **27:40**; **39:137**; **44:89**,
 90; **46:62**; **80:63**; **144:62**;
 179:367; *see also* *ministry*
 deep seat of Christian, **57:60**
 preparation for, **107:2**
 Seventh Day Adventists, **84:99**;
 155:3
 sex, **76:22**; **189:2**
shalom, **22:5**, **43**
shekinah, **55:3**; **85:8**; **131d:2**, **7**,
 8; **209:2**
 shepherds, false, **55:38**
 shrine, **145:6**
 sick, anointing of, **154:97**
 sign, **55:8**; **99:172**, **181**; **111:10**
 silence, **118:25**; **164:1**
 Simeon, **97:29f**
Similitudes of Enoch, **105:11**
 simplicity, **12a:7**; **13:5**; **179:366**
 sin, **11:4**, **19**, **20**; **27:34**;
 28:passim; **34:80**, **81**, **85**;
 42:36, **38**; **49:147**, **157**, **159**,
 160, **172**, **173**, **174**, **195**; **55:5**,
 27, **56**; **62:9f**, **18**, **20**, **27**, **29**;
 69:24; **75:20**; **76:23**; **92:36**;
 95:5, **6**, **8**; **98:53**; **133:6**;
 144:17, **21**, **26**, **53**, **54f**;
 147:167; **152:124**; **157:1**, **2**;
 180:1
 abolition of, **69:41**
 of Adam, **66:7**
 against Holy Spirit, **57:16**
 awareness of, **103:342**
 in a believer's life, **46:65**;
 62:26; **66:9**; **118:18**
 cleansing from, **73:83**
 confession of, **49:157**, **158**;
 62:35
 conviction of, **109:2**, **3**;
 158:6f
 defeated, **73:79**; **158:7**
 defined, **94:2**
 free from at death, **185:13**,
 16
 habitual, **62:22**
 "hyphenated," **46:65**
 in the heart, **69:42**
 original, **95:5**
 remission of, **27:20**; **40:37f**;
 57:10; **101:270f**
 retribution for, **185:16**
 social, **11:20**
 victory over, **62:21**, **26**;
 107:2; **128:3**; **157:3**, **4**, **5**
 sinful nature, **22:63**, **64**; **73:81**;
 208:5
 sinless perfection, **39:150**;
 118:18; **144:91**
 Sinai, **72:23**
 slander, **11:17**
 slavery, **57:46**; **147:170**
 sleep, **11:10**; **144:88f**
 sloth, **66:13**
 sobriety, emotional, **179:362**
 social change, **166:41**, **47**
 social habit, **144:11**
 social reconstruction, **132:6**
 social responsibility, **107:2**
 Socinians, **166:117**
 Socrates, **105:9**
 Socratic method, **99:166**
sola fide, **39:147**
 Solemn Covenant, **166:iv**, **77**
 Solemn League, **166:iv**, **77**, **79**
 soliloquy, **12a:3**, **6**
 solitude, **24:2**; **27:130**; **146:3**
 Solomon, **13:3**
 "Something Better," **144:27**, **28**,
 29
 "Something More," **116:75**;
 118:25
 sonship, **24:1**; **25a:2**; **49:169**,
 170 (twice); **62:28**; **118:20**;
 120:22
 sorrow, **44:90**
 soul, **7:1**; **11:5**; **11:13**; **12a:1**;
 22:134; **55:3**; **84:98**; **85:2**;
 161:1; **181:175**
 competence, **142:11f**
 emancipation of, **166:32**
 freedom, **142:12**
 "great soul," **92:24**
 immortality of, **191:1**
 perfected, **192:1**
 rest of, **118:1**
 romance of, **12a:1**
 soul sleep, **84:100f**; **100:243**;
 193:1
 "soul travail", **22:102**
 soul-winning, **3:24**
 value of, **57:46**
 source criticism, **50:3**
 South Australia, **131d:5**
 Southern Baptist Convention,
 155:4
 speech, immoral, **34:86**
 Spiritists, **84:102**
 spirits, evil, **4:3**
 spiritual
 culture, **11:12**; **73:83**; **158:2**
 decline, **66:1**
 democracy, **173:2**
 discovery, **110:21**
 gifts, **110:14-20**; **147:193**
 growth, **98:86**, **100f**
 life, **12a:4**, **5**
 maturity, **34:82**, **83**; **118:25**;
 135:6
 passion, **12a:4**
 problems, **69:26**
 reading, **66:1**
 realm, primacy of, **67:3**
 receptivity, **161:2**
 warfare, **34:84-86**
 world, **34:85**
 spirituality, **66:1**; **190:2**
 sentimental, **24:4**
 sport, **76:22**
 Spurgeon's College (London),
 3:23
 Spurgeon's message, **16:3**
 Stanmore Baptist Church,
 131a:6
 Stephen, **27:42-45**; **57:20**;
 105:16; **131b:5**
 stewardship, **11:19**; **99:195**
 stillness, **153:136**; **161:2**;
 Stoics, stoicism, **57:51**; **144:56**;
 152:126
 strenuousness, **128:5**
 Student Christian Movement,
 93:1
 students, as swans, **2:4**
 study, academic, **149:3**; **150:7**
 subjectivism, **93:3**
 submission, to Christ, **39:152**
 subordination, **66:12**; **92:34**;
 104:3; **103:327**; **105:25**;

- 119:5; 120:10b; 130:22**
131a:1
 success, **149:2**
 suffering, **11:15; 13:1; 24:6;**
 44:90; 47:74; 55:37; 62:29,
 31; 67:7; 72:17f; 92:20, 24-
 26; 100:273; 103:317;
 118:15, 20f; 132:6; 144:58,
 59, 60; 147:164f, 177, 179,
 182-184; 152:127; 154:95f;
 179:355, 358, 360
 purpose of, **66:8**
 redemptive, **75:17; 147:180f**
 sugar, **147:191**
 superstition, **27:10, 37**
 supplication, **164:1a**
 surrender, **13:6, 9; 119:19;**
 144:30, 42, 84, 87
- T.E.V. (Today's English Version),
 76:23, 28
 tabernacle, **31:161; 55:3; 66:19;**
 103:340, 344
 Tacitus, **105:1**
 tact, **57:52**
 talent, consecration of, **52:7**
 Talmud, **57:34**
 Tamworth, **158:8**
 "Tamworth experience," **158:8f**
 Targums, **105:28**
 teaching, systematic, **101:272**
 tears, **144:38**
 Telefolmin (New Guinea), **4:2**
 teleological argument, **85:3**
 telepathy, **24:8**
telos, Aristotelian, **65:3**
 temperament, **121:6**
 temperance, **132:6**
 temple, **131d:2**
 Christians as, **179:367**
 temptation, **11:14; 22:124;**
 25c:2; 31:165; 34:85; 77:36;
 98:54; 157:3f
 tenacity, **12a:2**
 thanksgiving, **164:1**
 theocracy, **166:112**
 theodicy, **147:164-166; 152:127**
 theology, **62:1; 93:1-3; 121:3;**
 131a:4; 155:1
 Augustinian, **119:4**
 Barthian, **119:2; 155:7a**
 biblical, **95:2; 149:7; 155:1;**
 161:1
 Cappadocian, **119:4**
 danger of, **165:48**
 revolution in, **159:7**
 rewritten, **155:5**
 Ritschlian, **119:2**
- systematic, **155:1**
 theophany, **105:14**
 Theosophy, **40:30; 55:27; 66:11;**
 105:28; 144:39; 157:1
Thirty-Nine Articles, The, **74:11;**
 84:101
 Thomas, **24:7; 25e:2**
 time, **149:4**
 Tinsley Hospital (New Guinea),
 4:4
 Tiom (New Guinea), **4:2**
 tolerance, **51:49**
 Tolerationists, **166:94, 96, 99,**
 109
 tongues, gift of, **110:15, 18-20;**
 111:2, 8-13; 112:101;
 117:84-89; 118:22; 120:12,
 18; 122:1, 2; 124:2f
 cessationism, **111:11; 118:22**
 dangers of, **117:89**
 interpretation of, **110:15**
 not supernatural, **111:15**
 speaking in, **27:123; 57:6, 60**
 tradition, **74:6, 7; 98:79; 99:162;**
 142:13
 ecclesiastical, **164:1**
 transcendence, **85:9; 121:3**
 transformation, **24:3; 27:65;**
 28:31; 32:181; 34:80; 44:91;
 46:61; 62:38; 76:23; 110:8;
 116:76; 120:14; 128:1;
 147:186
 transubstantiation, **131c:5**
 trial, **44:90; 147:180**
 triangularity, law of, **7:1**
 tribulation, **51:59**
 trinitarian pattern, **114:64**
 Trinity, **7:6; 11:8; 22:28, 35, 72,**
 100; 34:82; 55:2, 21, 51, 55;
 78:39-41; 85:4, 13; 92:27-
 36; 104:3; 105:1; 107:1;
 118:4; 120:2
 equality of persons, **115:68f**
 interpenetration, **115:68**
 society of love, **114:64;**
 115:73
 society of three, **121:3**
 triunity, **131a:1**
 tritheism, **85:4; 92:32; 110:5;**
 120:36; 131a:1; 131d:1;
 146:6
 troubadours, **165:23**
 trust **25f:2; 55:9; 62:6; 144:47,**
 48; 157:5
 truth, **2:5; 16:3; 22:99, 100;**
 47:70; 49:153; 55:31; 81:70;
 119:11; 120:17; 149:9;
 159:4
 moral test for, **55:31**
- type, **57:8**
- ubiquitarian hypothesis, **104:7**
 unbelief, **54:4**
 uncleanness, **158:10**
 unconscious, **119:9**
 unfaithfulness, marital, **51:50**
 ungodly, **11:5**
 union with Christ, **7:2; ; 12a:1, 3,**
 7; 22:11, 23, 24, 26, 35, 56,
 59, 62, 65, 77, 79; 28:33, 34;
 29:48; 30:127ff; 34:79, 82,
 85; 39:133, 138, 154; 40:40f;
 49:162; 51:51; 55:50, 52, 54;
 62:19, 20, 22, 24, 26, 36;
 73:passim; 94:22, 30f, 35, 39;
 95:14; 104:3; 105:18, 26f;
 107:2; 110:10; 116:77;
 118:20; 119:16, 19; 120:31,
 51; 128:2; 133:6 (three
 times); 144:29, 30, 31, 32, 36,
 67, 78, 81; 148:7f; 157:3;
 180:1; 189:2; 190:4
 absent from Hebrews, **64:2**
 effected by Holy Spirit, **55:52;**
 73:78
 metaphors of, **28:33**
 and suffering, **118:20**
 and victorious conduct,
 157:4
 union with other believers,
 79:54
 Unitarianism, **131d:1**
 unity, **39:141; 81:68; 179:367**
 spiritual, **22:142; 55:59**
 universalism, **55:14, 46, 49;**
 62:9, 18, 19; 69:32; 94:23,
 36; 95:12; 99:216; 147:162;
 185:15
 universe, **11:19**
 moral, **190:2**
 rationality of, **185:3; 190:2, 3**
 Upwey (Vic.), **204:1**
 Uzziah, **27:34**
- "vale of soul-making," **190:3**
 values, **3:26**
 veil, **67:1**
via negativa, **151:117**
 vices, **12a:4**
 victorious living, **22:64**
 victory, **34:86**
 vigilance, **34:86**
 violence, **76:22**
 virtues, **12a:4; 25c:2; 107:2;**
 118:22f; 121:7

vision, **24:2**; **27:43**, 96, 130;
165:48
 visions, **121:9**
 vocation, **34:79**

Waldenses, **165:18**, 19, 51;
166:16
 war, **132:6**; **147:168**; **190:3**
 warning, **72:25**; **184:3**
 watchfulness, **67:8**; **72:21**
 weakness, physical, **7:4a**
 wealth, **51:52**; **173:2**
 spiritual, **34:79**, 80, 81
 weapons, **34:86**
Westminster Confession, **81:66**,
 71; **84:98**; **132:6**
 will, **11:13**; **28:31**; **34:83**; **62:20**;
 119:19; **121:6**; **147:159**,
 165; **157:1**
 freedom of the, **34:78**;
 49:173; **55:26**; **95:5**

wind, **110:6**
 wine, **120:24**
 withdrawal, **24:2**
 witness, **34:85**; **44:89**; **49:193f**;
 55:37, 56; **57:3**; **72:13**;
 101:257; **110:26-31**; **118:14**;
 120:13, 39; **131b:1**; *see also*
 evangelism
 women, **4:3**; **27:10**; **52:3**
 role of, **57:46**
 wonder, **34:76**
 “wooliness,” devotional, **39:131**
 work, **165:48**
 works, **39:147**; **67:2**; **69:40**;
 159:3
 world, **22:80**, 124
 end of, **182:1**; **183:1**; **184:1**
 world affairs, **147:168**
 World Council of Churches, **93:1**
 world-consciousness, **132:6**
 worldliness, **13:2**, 9; **145:4**;
 49:161, 195

worldly attractions, **13:9**
 worldly life, **32:183**
 worry, **67:6**; **144:87f**
 worship, **4:5**; **11:1**; **12a:5**;
 27:21; **55:16**; **57:11**; **64:4**;
 85:5; **101:271**; **103:346**;
 120:23; **144:72**; **145:8**;
 146:4; **155:10**; **157:2**

yielding, **44:91**; **73:80**, 82;
 113:112

zeal, **46:66**
 Zion, **72:23**
 contrast with Sinai, **67:9**
 eternal, **11:6**

APPENDIX 6

Name index to *The Quest for Serenity*

- Andrews, Lancelot (1555-1626), 26
 Behmen, Jakob (= Böhme) (1575-1624), 67
 Bickersteth, Edward Henry (1786-1850), 24
 Booth, William (1829-1912), 50f
 Borrow, George Henry (1803-1881), 17
 Brice, Joseph (*unknown*), 26
 Brooks, Phillips (1835-1893), 57
 Browning, Elizabeth Barrett (1806-1861), 35f
 Browning, Robert (1812-1889), 49
 Butler, Josephine (1692-1752), 59
 Chalmers, Thomas (1780-1847), 83f
 Chambers, Oswald (1874-1917), 27
 Chapman, Samuel (1831-1899), 46
 Cicero, Marcus Tullius (106BC-43BC), 74
 Clement of Alexandria (c.150-c.215), 87
 Cook, Thomas (1808-1892), 25
 Cowper, William (1731-1800), 18
 Curzon, George (1859-1925), 55
 D'Albert, Charles Honoré (= Duc de Chevreuse) (1646-1712), 85f
 Dante Alighieri (c.1265-1321), 48
 Denney, James (1856-1917), 22
 Dodds, Marcus (1834-1909), 52
 Eckhart, Meister (c.1260-c.1328), 69
 Fénelon, François (1651-1715), 85f
 Fox, George (1624-1691), 66
 Francis of Assisi (1181-1226), 72, 87
 Greenwell, Dora (1821-1882), 23
 Guinness, Henry Grattan (1835-1910), 44
 Guyon, Jeanne-Marie Bouvier de la Motte (Madame) (1648-1717), 27
 Hartmann, Nicolai (1882-1950), 18
 Harvard University, 57
 Henley, William Earnest (1849-1903), 52
 James, William (1842-1910), 70
 Jones, Rufus Matthew (1863-1948), 19
 Jowett, John Henry (1864-1923), 34f, 64
 Keats, John (1795-1821), 56, 57
 Keble, John (1792-1866), 37
 Kelly, Thomas R. (1893-1941), 69
 Lamb, Charles (1775-1834), 65
 Lewis, Elvet (1860-1953), 47
 Lincoln, Abraham (1809-1865), 52
 Livingstone, David (1813-1873), 14
 Lodge, Oliver (1851-1940), 17
 Luther, Martin (1483-1546), 53
 MacDonald, George (1824-1905), 29
 M'Cheyne, Robert Murray (1813-1843), 68, 74
 Moffatt, James (1870-1944), 50
 Moody, Dwight Lyman (1837-1899), 51
 Morgan, G. Campbell (1863-1945), 43
 Morling, George Henry (1891-1974), 13
 Morrison, C.H. (*unknown*), 77
 Moule, Handley Carr Glyn (1841-1920), 25f
 Murray, Andrew (1794-1866), 69
 Myers, Frederick William Henry (1843-1901), 68
 New Zealand, 90
 Ovid (Publius Ovidius Naso, 43BC-AD17/18), 74
 Pascal, Blaise (1623-1662), 71
 Paul (the Apostle) (c.AD5-c.67), 73, 87
 Scroggie, Graham (1877-1958), 43
 Seneca, Lucius Annaeus (c.4BC-AD65), 74
 Shirley, John Alvin (1886-?), 22
 Simpson, Carnegie (1865-1947), 59
 Smeatham, James (1821-1889), 75
 Spurgeon, Charles Haddon (1834-1892), 26, 42
 Streeter, Burnett Hillman (1874-1937), 47
 Swinburne, Algernon Charles (1837-1909), 52
 Taylor, James Hudson (1832-1905), 49
 Taylor, Mary Geraldine (1865-1949), 25
 von Tiele-Winckler, Eva (Mother Eva of Friedenshort) (1866-1930), 25

Webster, Daniel (*unknown*), 46
Wells, Herbert George (1866-1946), 40
Wesley, Arthur (“the Iron Duke”) (1769-1852), 80
Westcott, Brooke Foss (1825-1901), 36
Westcott, Foss (1863-1949), 36

Weymouth, R.F. (1822-1902), 31
Whyte, Alexander (1836-1921), 52, 85
Willet, Edward (*unknown*), 19
Wilson, Edward (1872-1912), 58
Woolman, John (1720-1772), 66
Wordsworth, William (1770-1850), 13

APPENDIX 7

Index of hymns and poems quoted in primary sources

- Anonymous, "On a tired housewife" (poem, n.d.). **185:13**
- Auber, Harriet, "Our blest Redeemer, ere he breathed" (hymn, 1829). **74:46; 146:11**
- Aurelius Clemens Prudentius, "Of the Father's love begotten" (hymn, c.405). **74:32**
- Baker, Henry W., "The King of love my Shepherd is" (hymn, 1868). **12:1**
- Bernard of Clairvaux, "Jesus, Thou joy of loving hearts" (hymn, trans. Ray Palmer, 1858). **161**
- Bliss, Philip P., "Man of sorrows, what a name" (hymn, 1875). **154:90**
- Bickersteth, Edward Henry Jr., "Peace, perfect peace" (hymn, 1875). **185:12**
- Bonar, Horatius, "Not what I am, O Lord, but what Thou art" (hymn, 1861). **39:147**
- Clough, Arthur Hugh, "Say not the struggle nought availeth" (poem, 1849). **107:1**
- Coxe, Arthur Cleveland, "O where are kings and empires now?" (1839). **74:72**
- Davies, Samuel, "Who is a pardoning God like Thee?" (hymn, "Great God of wonders"). **40:38**
- Elliott, Charlotte, "Just as I am, without one plea" (hymn, 1834). **74:37**
- Farningham, Marianne, "Just as I am, young, strong and free" (hymn, n.d.). **157:4**
- Hart, Joseph, "When Adam by transgression fell" (hymn, n.d.). **74:24**
- Habershon, Ada Ruth, "Will the circle be unbroken" (hymn, 1907). **202:5**
- Havergal, Frances Ridley, "Master, speak, thy servant heareth" (hymn, 1867). **153**
- Lowry, Robert, "Up from the grave he arose" (hymn, 1874). **28:34**
- Maurus, Rabanus, "Creator Spirit, by whose aid / The world's foundations first were laid," trans. John Dryden (hymn, 9th/17th century). **121**
- Myers, Frederic William Henry, "Hark, what a sound, and too divine for hearing" (hymn, n.d.). **181:176**
- Myers, Frederic William Henry, "For a moment on the soul / Falls the rest that maketh whole" (poem, n.d.). **153**
- Myers, Frederic William Henry, "Lo! as some venturer, from his stars receiving" (poem, n.d.). **183:2**
- Pigott, Jean S., "Jesus, I am resting, resting in the joy of what thou art" (hymn, n.d.; 1882 or earlier). **12:8**
- Robinson, G. Wade, "Loved with everlasting love" (hymn, 1890). **12:8**

- Rutherford, Samuel & Cousin, Ann Ross, "O Christ, he is the fountain" (hymn, "In Immanuel's Land"; 1857). **202:5**
- Sangster, Margaret E., "The presence of Christ" (poem, n.d.). **206:2**
- Southey, Robert, "Love indestructible" (poem published in *The Curse of the Kehama* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Ome and Brown, 1810). **12:2**
- Swinburne, Algernon C., "Hymn of Man" (poem, *Songs Before Sunrise* (London: F.S. Ellis, 1871)).
- Tersteegen, Gerhard, "Thou sweet beloved will of God" (hymn, trans. Frances Bevan, 1899). **57:77**
- Watts, Isaac, "Not all the blood of beasts" (hymn, 1709). **74:26**
- Wesley, Charles, "O for a thousand tongues to sing" (hymn, c.1740). **28:32**
- Wesley, Charles, "What shall I do, my God to love" (hymn, 1742). **147:161**
- Whittier, John G., "We may not climb the heavenly steeps" (poem, 1856). **12:1**
- Wilson, A. S., "Not merely in the word you say" (poem, n.d.). **32:184**

Bibliography of cited sources

For a comprehensive numbered bibliography of archival documents consulted in research for this dissertation see Appendix 1. References to articles by Morling published in *The Australian Baptist* are listed in Appendix 1.

(a) Theses and dissertations

Benson, Rod, "Aspects of social responsibility among Baptists in New South Wales 1834-2009," MTh dissertation, Australian College of Theology, 2010.

Chan, Simon K. H., "The Puritan meditative tradition, 1599-1691: A study of ascetical piety," PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1986.

Deane, Arthur Davidson, "The contribution of the new evangelical movements of the late nineteenth century to evangelical enterprise in Australia, 1870-1920," MA dissertation, University of Sydney, 1983.

Hansen, Donald Edgar, "The Churches and society in New South Wales: 1919-1939. A study of Church activities, socio-religious issues, community-Church and non-Church relations," PhD thesis, Macquarie University, 1978.

Parker, David, "Fundamentalism and conservative Protestantism in Australia 1920-1980," PhD thesis, University of Queensland, Brisbane, 1982.

Voskuil, Dennis N., "From liberalism to neo-orthodoxy: The history of a theological transition, 1925-1935," PhD dissertation, Harvard University, 1974.

Williams, Melvin Clarence, "Neopentecostalism in Australia: A sociological investigation of the Charismatic Movement and its effects upon the established churches in Queensland," MA thesis, University of Queensland, 1978.

Wong, Jonathan Jong-Chun, "Communion with Christ: An exposition and comparison of the doctrine of union and communion with Christ in Calvin and the English Puritans," PhD dissertation, Westminster Theological Seminary, 1989.

(b) Unpublished works

Annual Assembly minutes, Baptist Union of NSW, 1969-1975.

Benson, Rod, "Between 'selectively shrill and conspicuously mute': NSW Baptist engagement with social issues 1895-1945," unpublished research paper, 2006.

Benson, Rod, "Cooperation and cobelligerence between NSW Baptists and other faith communities since the 1960s," paper presented to ICOBS/ABRF Conference, "Interfaces: Baptists and others," Whitley College, Melbourne, 17 July 2009.

Benson, Rod, "Disavowing ecumenism: The fundamental reasons for NSW Baptist opposition to conciliar ecumenism 1945–1965," unpublished paper, 2006.

College Council minutes, Baptist Theological College of NSW, 1969-1975.

Rogers, E. Ron & Ollif, Lorna, "Our Beloved Principal, The Rev. George Henry Morling OBE, MA," unpublished manuscript, Baptist Archives of NSW, 1988.

(c) Books, chapters and published articles

— "The I.V.F. at Keswick," *The Inter-Varsity Magazine* (London), Michaelmas Term, 1947, 23-24.

— "Millenarianism," in F. L. Cross & E. A. Livingstone (eds), *Dictionary of the Christian Church* (1997; repr. Peabody, MA: Hendrickson, 2007), 1086f.

Adams, Damon S., "Divine healing in Australian Protestantism," *Journal of Religious History* 41 (3), 2017, 346-363.

Adeney, Walter F., *The Theology of the New Testament* (New York: Thomas Whittaker, 1894).

Ainsworth, Percy, *The Threshold Grace: Meditations in the Psalms* (London: Epworth Press, 1920).

Akenson, Donald H., *Discovering the End of Time: Irish Evangelicals in the Age of Daniel O'Connell* (Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 2016).

Allison, C.F., "Bernard of Clairvaux," in Daniel J. Treier & Walter A. Elwell (eds), *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* (third edition; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017), 124.

Andronoviene, Lina, Jones, Keith G., & Parushev, Parush, "Theological education in Baptist Churches," in Dietrich Werner, David Esterline, Namsoon Kang & Joshva Raja (eds), *Handbook of Theological Education in World Christianity* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2010), 686-696.

Anglican Diocese of Sydney, Committee to Study the Neo-Pentecostal Movement, *Both Sides to the Question: Official Enquiry into Neo-Pentecostalism* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1973).

Aquinas, Thomas, *Summa Theologica*. 3 vols. (trans. Fathers of the English Dominican Province; New York: Benzinger Bros, 1947-1948).

- Aristotle, *Nicomachean Ethics*, trans. W. D. Ross, in Jonathan Barnes (ed.), *The Complete Works of Aristotle: Revised Oxford Translation. Volume 2* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1984), 1729-1867.
- Arroyo, Felipe Martínez, “Mackintosh, Hugh Ross (1870-1936),” in Justo L. González (ed.), *Westminster Dictionary of Theologians* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2006), 230-231.
- Atherstone, Andrew & Maiden, John (eds), *Evangelicals and the Church of England in the Twentieth Century: Reform, Resistance and Renewal* (Woodbridge, UK: Boydell Press, 2014).
- Atkins, Gaius Glenn (ed.), *The Best of Alexander Maclaren* (London: Religious Book Club, 1951).
- Aulen, Gustav, *The Faith of the Christian Church* (1924; second edition; trans. by Eric Wahlstrom; repr. Philadelphia: Muhlenberg Press, 1948).
- Baillie, John, *Our Knowledge of God* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939).
- Baird, William, *History of New Testament Research. Volume 2: From Jonathan Edwards to Rudolf Bultmann* (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2003).
- Balmer, Randall Herbert, “Keswick movement,” in *Encyclopedia of Evangelicalism* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2002), 317-318.
- Bethune Baker, J. F., *An Introduction to the Early History of Christian Doctrine to the Time of the Council of Chalcedon* (1903; London: Methuen, 1929).
- Ballantyne-Jones, Bruce, *Inside Sydney: An Insider’s View of the Changes and Politics in the Anglican Diocese of Sydney, 1966-2013* (Sydney: privately published, 2016).
- Baptist Union of Australia, *Official Handbook 1957* (Hawthorn, Vic., Baptist Union of Australia, 1956).
- Baptist Union of Australia, *Official Handbook 1968* (Hawthorn, Vic., Baptist Union of Australia, 1967).
- Baptist Union of Great Britain & Ireland, “The Baptist doctrine of the Church: A Statement approved by the Council of the Baptist Union of Great Britain & Ireland, March, 1948,” reprinted as Appendix D in Ernest A. Payne, *The Fellowship of Believers: Baptist Thought and Practice Yesterday and Today* (second edition; London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1952), 152-162.
- Baptist Union of NSW, “A Baptist view of the church,” statement adopted by the Assembly of the Baptist Union of New South Wales, September 1952. Reproduced in Alan C. Prior, *Some Fell on Good Ground: A History of the Beginnings and Development of the Baptist*

- Church in New South Wales, Australia, 1931-1965* (Sydney: Baptist Union of NSW, 1966), 321-324.
- Baptist Union of NSW, *The Charismatic Movement* (Sydney: Baptist Union of NSW, 1976).
- Baptist Union of NSW, *Year Book 1939-40* (Sydney: Baptist Union of NSW, 1939).
- Baptist Union of Victoria, *Handbook for 1916* (Sydney: Australian Baptist Publishing House, 1915).
- Barbour, G. F., *The Life of Alexander Whyte* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923).
- Barclay, Oliver, *Evangelicalism in Britain 1935-1995: A Personal Sketch* (Leicester: IVP, 1997).
- Barclay, Robert, *Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (1678; repr. Glenside, PA: Quaker Heritage Press, 2002).
- Barrett, C. K., *Westcott as Commentator* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959).
- Barth, Karl, *Church Dogmatics* (1932-67; ed. T. F. Torrance & G. W. Bromiley; repr. London: T. & T. Clark, 1956-75).
- Barth, Karl, *Credo* (1935; ET New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1962).
- Barth, Karl, *The Doctrine of Justification* (trans. G. W. Bromiley; Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1958).
- Barth, Karl, *The Epistle to the Romans* (1918; ET New York: Oxford University Press, 1975).
- Bauckham, Richard J., "Universalism: A historical survey," *Themelios* 4 (2), 1978, 48-54.
- Bavinck, Hermann, *Reformed Dogmatics*. 4 vols. (ed. J. Bolt; trans. J. Vriend; Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 2003).
- Beasley-Murray, Paul, *Radical Believers: The Baptist Way of Being the Church* (London: Baptist Union of Great Britain, 1992).
- Bebbington, David W., "The discipline of history and the perspective of faith since 1900," in Roger Lundin (ed.), *Christ Across the Disciplines: Past, Present, Future* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2013), 16-34.
- Bebbington, David W. & Jones, David C., (eds), *Evangelicalism and Fundamentalism in the United Kingdom in the Twentieth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013).
- Bebbington, David W., "Baptists and fundamentalism in inter-war Britain," in Keith Roberts (ed.), *Protestant Evangelicalism: Britain, Ireland, Germany and America, c. 1750-c. 1950: Essays in Honour of W. R. Ward* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1990), 297-326.

- Bebbington, David W., "Baptists and the gospel in the twentieth century," *Baptist Quarterly* 52 (1), 2021, 2-20.
- Bebbington, David W., "British Baptist crucicentrism since the late Eighteenth Century, Part 2," *Baptist Quarterly* 44 (5), 2012, 278-290.
- Bebbington, David W., "Spurgeon and British evangelical theological education," in Darryl G. Hart & Albert Mohler, Jr., *Theological Education in the Evangelical Tradition* (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1996), 217-234.
- Bebbington, David W., *Baptists Through the Centuries: A History of a Global People* (second edition; Waco: Baylor University Press, 2018).
- Bebbington, David W., *Evangelicalism in Modern Britain: A History from the 1730s to the 1980s* (London: Routledge, 1989).
- Bebbington, David W., *The Evangelical Quadrilateral. Vol. 1: Characterizing the British Gospel Movement* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2021).
- Beckwith, R. T., "Modernism (English)," in Martin Davie et al (eds), *New Dictionary of Theology* (second edition; Downers Grove: IVP, 2016), 585.
- Beeke, Joel R. & Jones, Mark, *A Puritan Theology: Doctrine for Life* (Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 2012).
- Benson, Rod, "'The vital breath of the church': Prayer, personalism and spiritual power in the thought of G. H. Morling," online article available at <https://rodbenson.com/2021/03/06/the-vital-breath-of-the-church>, 6 March 2021.
- Benson, Rod, "Dawn of a new era or recipe for disaster? The rise and demise of Edward Roberts-Thomson as Principal of the Baptist Theological College of New South Wales," *The Baptist Recorder*, No. 87, May 2004, 5-23.
- Benson, Rod, "George Henry Morling and the *ordo salutis*," *The Baptist Recorder* 135, November 2016, 6-8.
- Benson, Rod, "On moral mission: Evangelicalism, NSW Baptists and the question of social responsibility," in Graeme Chatfield (ed.), *Mission: The Heart of Baptist Identity* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Morling Press, 2009), 117-137.
- Benson, Rod, "The Quest for Serenity and union with Christ," *The Baptist Recorder* 136, February 2017, 1-7.
- Benson, Rod, "What would George do? Suffering and grief in the life of G. H. Morling," online article available at <https://rodbenson.com/2020/04/06/what-would-george-do-part-1>, 6 April 2020, and eight subsequent online articles in a series concluding on 3 August 2020.

- Berkhof, Hendrikus, *Two Hundred Years of Theology: Report of a Personal Journey* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989).
- Berkhof, Louis, *Systematic Theology* (1932; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1953).
- Bernard of Clairvaux, *Selected Works* (trans. Gillian R. Evans; New York: Paulist Press, 1987).
- Bhakasar, Roy, *The Possibility of Naturalism* (London: Routledge, 1998).
- Binfield, Clyde, "Principal when pastor: P. T. Forsyth, 1876–1902," *Studies in Church History* 26, 1989, 397-414.
- Bingham, Darrel, "Clarke, William Newton," in J. D. Douglas (ed.), *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* (second edition; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978), 231.
- Bird, Michael F., *Evangelical Theology: A Biblical and Systematic Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2013).
- Birkel, Michael L., *Silence and Witness: The Quaker Tradition* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2004).
- Bishop, R. K., "Francis of Assisi," in Daniel J. Treier & Walter A. Elwell (eds), *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* (third edition; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017), 328-329.
- Bloom, Harold, *The American Religion: The Emergence of the Post-Christian Nation* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1992).
- Bollen, John David, *Australian Baptists: A Religious Minority* (London: Baptist Historical Society, 1975).
- Bonar, *The Memoir and Remains of Robert Murray M'Cheyne* (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1844).
- Boyce, James Petigru, *Abstract of Systematic Theology* (revised F. H. Kerfoot; Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1899).
- Braaten, Carl E. & Jenson, Robert W. (eds), *A Map of Twentieth-Century Theology: Readings From Karl Barth to Radical Pluralism* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress Press, 1995).
- Brackney, William H., "II: Crosscurrents of the Spirit," *Baptist Quarterly* 51 (4), 2020, 163-180.
- Brackney, William H., *A Genetic History of Baptist Thought with Special Reference to Britain and North America* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2004).
- Brackney, William H., *Baptist Life and Thought: 1600-1980* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1983).

- Brackney, William H., *The Spirit among the Dissenters: Other Voices in Understanding the Spirit of God* (Eugene, OR: Cascade Books, 2019).
- Bradley, W. L., *P. T. Forsyth: The Man and His Work* (London: Independent Press, 1952).
- Braga, Stuart, "The Katoomba Christian Convention," *Lucas 1* (new series), Autumn 2009, 121-138.
- Braga, Stuart, *A Century Preaching Christ: Katoomba Christian Convention 1903-2003* (Sydney: Katoomba Christian Convention, 2003).
- Braner, Jerald C., "Types of Puritan piety," *Church History* 56 (1), 1987, 39-58.
- Bray, Gerald, *Creeds, Councils and Christ: Did the Early Church Misrepresent Jesus?* (second edition; Fearn, Ross-Shire, UK: Mentor, 1997).
- Breward, Ian, *A History of the Australian Churches* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2001).
- Briggs, J. Y. H., "McLaren (Maclaren), Alexander," in Timothy Larsen *et al* (eds), *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals* (Leicester: IVP, 2003), 397-399.
- Broadie, Alexander, "Scottish Common Sense Philosophy," in Alan Charles Kors (ed.), *Encyclopedia of the Enlightenment*. Volume 4 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003).
- Bromiley, Geoffrey W., "Mysticism," in Everett F. Harrison *et al* (eds), *Baker Dictionary of Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1960), 367-368.
- Brook, Richard, "The Bible," in Burnett H. Streeter *et al*, *Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought: By Seven Oxford Men* (London: Macmillan, 1913).
- Bruce, A. B., *The Epistle to the Hebrews: The First Apology for Christianity: An Exegetical Study* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1889).
- Bruce, F. F., *The Humiliation of Christ* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1955).
- Brunner, Emil, *Man in Revolt* (London: Lutterworth Press, 1957).
- Brunner, Emil, *The Mediator: A Study of the Central Doctrine of the Christian Faith* (trans. Olive Wyon; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1947).
- Bultmann, Rudolf, *The Gospel of John* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1971).
- Bushnell, Horace, *Sermons for the New Life* (New York: Charles Scribner, 1858).
- Butler, Cuthbert, *Western Mysticism: The Teaching of Augustine, Gregory and Bernard on Contemplation and the Contemplative Life* (second edition; New York: Harper & Row, 1966).

- Byrne, Georgina, *Modern Spiritualism and the Church of England, 1850-1939* (Woodbridge, Suffolk, UK: Boydell Press, 2010).
- Calati, Abbot Benedetto, “Western mysticism” (trans. Dom Barnabas Sandeman), *The Downside Review*, 1 July 1980, 201-213.
- Caldwell, Robert W. III, “Pneumatology,” in Douglas A. Sweeney & Jan Stievertmann (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Jonathan Edwards* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 151-163.
- Calvin, John, *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, (ed. John T. McNeill; trans. Ford Lewis Battles; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1959).
- Calvin, John, *Sermons on Ephesians* (Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1973).
- Campbell, Constantine R., *Paul and Union with Christ: An Exegetical and Theological Study* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2012).
- Campbell, R. J., *The New Theology* (New York: Macmillan, 1907).
- Canlis, Julie, “Union with Christ,” in Daniel J. Treier & Walter E. Elwell (eds), *Evangelical Dictionary of Theology* (third edition; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2017), 908-909.
- Canlis, Julie, *Calvin’s Ladder: A Spiritual Theology of Ascent and Ascension* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2010).
- Carnell, Edward J., *A Philosophy of the Christian Religion* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1952).
- Carpenter, Joel A., “Fundamentalist institutions and the rise of evangelical Protestantism, 1929-1942,” *Church History* 49 (1), March 1980, 62-75.
- Carver, W. O., “Edgar Young Mullins – Leader and builder,” *Review and Expositor* 26 (2), April 1929, 125-141.
- Casey, Michael, “Cistercian spirituality,” in Philip Sheldrake (ed.), *New Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 193-195.
- Casey, Michael, *Athirst for God: Spiritual Desire in Bernard of Clairvaux’s Sermons on the Song of Songs* (Kalamazoo, MI: Cistercian Publications, 1986).
- Cauthen, Kenneth, *The Impact of American Religious Liberalism* (New York: Harper & Row, 1962).
- Chadwick, Owen, *The Victorian Church, Part II: 1860-1901* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1966).
- Chafer, Lewis Sperry, *Systematic Theology*. 8 volumes (1947; repr. Grand Rapids: Kregel Publications, 1993).

- Chambers, Bertha, *Oswald Chambers: His Life and Work* (1933; repr. London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1959).
- Chambers, Oswald, *My Utmost for His Highest* (1935; repr. Grand Rapids: Discovery House Publishers, 2012).
- Chant, Barry, *The Spirit of Pentecost: The Origins and Development of the Pentecostal Movement in Australia 1870-1939* (Lexington, KY: Emeth Press, 2011).
- Chapman, J. A., *John Wesley's Quest* (London: Epworth Press, 1921).
- Chatfield, Graeme R., "Morling, George Henry," in Timothy Larsen *et al* (eds), *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals* (Leicester: IVP, 2003), 444-446.
- Chatfield, Graeme R., *Mission: The Heart of Baptist Identity* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Morling Press, 2009).
- Chester, Tim, *Stott on the Christian Life: Between Two Worlds* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2020).
- Chesterton, G. K., *St Francis of Assisi* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923).
- Chilton, B., "Moule, Handley Carr Glyn (1841-1920)," in John H. Hayes (ed.), *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation. Volume 2* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), 165f.
- Chilton, B., "Streeter, Burnett Hillman," in John H. Hayes (ed.), *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation. Volume 2* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), 509.
- Church, C. L., "Westcott, Brooke Foss (1825-1901), and Fenton John Anthony Hort (1828-1892)," in Donald K. McKim (ed), *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters* (second edition; Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2007), 1038-1043.
- Clark, R. E. D., "Morgan, George Campbell (1863-1945)," in J. D. Douglas (ed.), *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* (second edition; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978), 677.
- Clarke, Emily S., *William Newton Clarke: A Biography* (New York: Scribner's, 1916).
- Clarke, William N., *An Outline of Christian Theology* (London: Scribner's, 1898).
- Clarke, William N., *The Christian Doctrine of God* (London: Scribner's, 1909).
- Clarke, William N., *The Use of the Scriptures in Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1905).
- Clarkson, Herbert, "The Holy Spirit and personal experience," *Baptist Quarterly* 14 (7), 1952, 320-324.
- Clements, Keith W. (ed.), *Baptists in the Twentieth Century* (London: Baptist Historical Society, 1983).

- Clements, Keith W., *Lovers of Discord: Twentieth Century Theological Controversies in England* (London: SPCK, 1988).
- Clifford, John (ed.), *The English Baptists: Who They Are and What They Have Done* (London: E. Marlborough & Co., 1881).
- Clifford, William K., “The ethics of belief,” essay read before the Metaphysical Society, London, 1876, published in *Contemporary Review*, 1877.
- Conner, Walter Thomas, *Revelation and God: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1936).
- Cook, Henry, *What Baptists Stand For* (second edition; London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1953).
- Corduan, Winifred, *Mysticism: An Evangelical Option?* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1991).
- Crawford, Raymond Maxwell, *‘A Bit of a Rebel’: The Life and Work of George Arnold Wood* (Sydney: Sydney University Press, 1975).
- Crerar, D. (ed.), *Autobiography of Augustus Hopkins Strong* (Valley Forge: Judson Press, 1981).
- Cross, F. L. & Livingstone, E. A. , “Millenarianism,” in F. L. Cross, & E. A. Livingstone (eds), *Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 1997), 1086f.
- Cross, Terry, “The Holy Spirit,” in Timothy Larsen & Daniel J. Treier (eds), *The Cambridge Companion to Evangelical Theology* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 93-108.
- Crutcher, Timothy J., *The Crucible of Life: The Role of Experience in John Wesley’s Theological Method* (Lexington: Emeth Press, 2010).
- Culver, Robert Duncan, *Systematic Theology: Biblical and Historical* (Fearn, Ross-shire, UK: Christian Focus Publications, 2005).
- Dalgairns, John Bernard, *The Devotion to the Sacred Heart of Jesus* (London: Thomas Richardson & Son, 1853).
- Dalgairns, John Bernard, *The German Mystics of the Fourteenth Century* (London: Thomas Richardson & Son, 1858).
- Dandelion, Pink, *The Quakers: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).
- Davidson, A. B., *The Theology of the Old Testament* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1904).

- Davie, Grace & Wyatt, David, "Document analysis," in Michael Stausbery & Steven Engler, *The Routledge Handbook of Research Methods in the Study of Religion* (London: Routledge, 2011), 151-160.
- Davies, Horton, *Worship and Theology in England. Volume 5: The Ecumenical Century, 1900-1965* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1965).
- Demarest, Bruce A., "Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153)," in Glen G. Scorgie (ed.), *Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2011), 303-304.
- Denney, James, *The Christian Doctrine of Reconciliation* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1917).
- Dennis, Michael, "Foreword," in David Nicholas, *George Henry Morling: Journeys with God* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2010), iii.
- Dickey, Brian (ed.), *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography* (Sydney: Evangelical History Association, 1994).
- Dillistone, Frederick W., *The Christian Understanding of Atonement* (London: Nisbet, 1968).
- Diocese of Sydney, *Both Sides to the Question: Official Enquiry into Neo-Pentecostalism* (Committee to Study the Neo-Pentecostal Movement; Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1973).
- Dobbs, C. E. W., "The relation of the believer to Christ," *Review & Expositor* 2 (3), 1905, 371-379.
- Dodd, C. H., *The Authority of the Bible* (London: Nisbet, 1928).
- Douglas, Alan Abernathy, *A Backward Glance at the Angus Affair* (Sydney: Wentworth Books, 1971).
- Douglas, J. D., "Robinson, Henry Wheeler (1872-1945)," in J. D. Douglas (ed.), *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* (second edition; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978), 852.
- Douglas, J. D., "Whyte, Andrew," in J. D. Douglas (ed.), *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* (second edition; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978), 1045.
- Douglas, W. M., *Andrew Murray and His Message: One of God's Choice Saints* (London: Oliphants, 1926).
- Downes, William P., "Mysticism," *The Biblical World* 54 (6), November 1920, 619-624.
- Drummond, Lewis A., "Charles Haddon Spurgeon," in Timothy George & David S. Dockery (eds), *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition* (revised edition; Nashville, TN: B&H Publishing, 2001), 115-138.
- Du Plessis, J., *The Life of Andrew Murray of South Africa* (London: Marshall, 1919).

- Durnbaugh, Donald F., "Baptists and Quakers – left wing Puritans?" *Quaker History* 62 (2), Autumn 1973, 67-82.
- Ebeling, G., *The Study of Theology* (trans. D. A. Priebe; London: Collins, 1979).
- Edwards, Jonathan, *The Works of Jonathan Edwards*. 2 volumes (1834; ed. Edward Hickman; Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 1998).
- Egan, Harvey D., "Christian apophatic and kataphatic mysticisms," *Theological Studies* 39 (3), September 1978, 399-426.
- Eldridge, Victor J., *For the Highest: A History of Morling College* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society, 2015).
- Emilsen, Susan, *A Whiff of Heresy: Samuel Angus and the Presbyterian Church of New South Wales* (Kensington, NSW: NSW University Press, 1990).
- Erickson, Millard J., *Christian Theology* (third edition; Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2013).
- Evans, Daniel, "The task of the systematic religious thinker of today," *Harvard Theological Review* 1 (4), October 1908, 455-476.
- Evans, Eifion, *The Welsh Revival of 1904* (third edition; Bridgend, Wales: Bryntirion Press, 1987).
- Evans, Gillian R., *Bernard of Clairvaux* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000).
- Evans, William B., *Imputation and Impartation: Union with Christ in American Reformed Theology* (Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster Press, 2008).
- Farmer, H. H., *The World and God: A Study of Prayer, Providence and Miracle in Christian Experience* (London: Nisbet, 1936).
- Farmer, H. H., *Towards Belief in God* (London: SCM Press, 1942).
- Farmer, William R., *The Synoptic Problem: A Critical Analysis* (New York: Macmillan, 1964).
- Feldmeier, Peter, *The Christian Tradition: A Historical and Theological Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017).
- Fesko, J. V., "Union with Christ," in Matthew Barrett (ed.), *Reformation Theology: A Systematic Summary* (Wheaton: Crossway, 2017), 423-450.
- Fiddes, Paul S., *The Spirit and the Letter: A Tradition and a Reversal* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013).
- Fiddes, Paul S., *Tracks and Traces: Baptist Identity in Church and Theology* (Bletchley, UK: Paternoster Press, 2003).

- Flew, R. Newton, *The Idea of Perfection in Christian Theology: An Historical Study of the Christian Ideal for the Present Life* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934).
- Ford, David F. & Rachel Muers (eds), *The Modern Theologians: An Introduction to Christian Theology Since 1918* (third edition; Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishing, 2005).
- Forsyth, Peter Taylor, "Mystics and saints," *Expository Times* 5, June 1894, 401-404.
- Forsyth, Peter Taylor, "The distinctive thing in Christian experience," *Hibberd Journal* 6 (3), 1907-1908, 481-499.
- Forsyth, Peter Taylor, *Christian Perfection* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1918).
- Forsyth, Peter Taylor, *Missions in State and Church: Sermons and Addresses* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1908).
- Forsyth, Peter Taylor, *Positive Preaching and the Modern Mind* (London: Independent Press, 1957).
- Forsyth, Peter Taylor, *The Cruciality of the Cross* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1909).
- Forsyth, Peter Taylor, *The Justification of God* (1916; repr. London: Independent Press, 1957).
- Forsyth, Peter Taylor, *The Person and Place of Jesus Christ* (1909; repr. London: Independent Press, 1961).
- Forsyth, Peter Taylor, *The Principle of Authority* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1909).
- Forsyth, Peter Taylor, *The Work of Christ* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1910).
- Fox, George, *The Journal of George Fox* (ed. John L. Nickalls; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952).
- Frame, John M., *Systematic Theology: An Introduction to Christian Belief* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2013).
- Frame, Tom, *Anglicans in Australia* (Sydney: University of NSW Press, 2007).
- Francis, K. A., "Moule, Handley Carr Glyn (1841-1920)," in Timothy Larsen *et al* (eds), *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2003), 453f.
- Franks, Robert S., *The Atonement* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934).
- Freeman, Curtis W., "E. Y. Mullins and the siren songs of modernity," *Review and Expositor* 96, 1999, 23-42.
- Frei, Hans, *Types of Christian Theology* (ed. George Hunsinger & William C. Placher; New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992).
- Fremantle, Anne, *The Protestant Mystics* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1964).

- Friesen, P. H., "Thomas, W. H. Griffith (1861-1924)," in Timothy Larsen *et al* (eds), *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals* (Leicester: IVP, 2003), 667.
- Gaffin, Richard B., Jr., "Systematic theology and biblical theology," *Westminster Journal of Theology* 38 (3), Spring 1976, 281-299.
- Galloway, George, *The Philosophy of Religion* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914).
- Garrett, James Leo, Jr. (ed.), *We Baptists* (Franklin, TN: Providence House Publishers, 1999).
- Garrett, James Leo, Jr., *Baptist Theology: A Four-Century Study* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2009).
- Garrett, James Leo, Jr., *Systematic Theology: Biblical, Historical, and Evangelical*. 2 volumes (fourth edition; Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 1990).
- Garvie, Alfred E., *Romans: An Introduction* (The Century Bible; Edinburgh: T. C. & E. C. Jack, 1901).
- Garvie, Alfred E., *Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1907).
- Gavrilyuk, Paul L., "The kenotic theology of Sergius Bulgakov," *Scottish Journal of Theology* 58 (3), 2005, 251-269.
- George, Timothy & Dockery, David S. (eds), *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition* (revised edition; Nashville: B&H Publishing, 2001).
- George, Timothy & McGrath, Alister (eds), *For All the Saints: Evangelical Theology and Christian Spirituality* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2003).
- George, Timothy, "James Petigru Boyce," in Timothy George and David S. Dockery (eds), *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition* (revised edition; Nashville: B&H Publishing, 2001), 73-89.
- George, Timothy, "The future of Baptist theology," in David S. Dockery & Timothy George (eds), *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition* (revised edition; Nashville: B&H Publishing, 2001), 1-10.
- Gibbard, Noel, *Fire on the Altar: A History and Evaluation of the 1904-05 Welsh Revival* (Bridgend, Wales: Bryntirion Press, 2005).
- Gilkey, Langdon B., "The concept of providence in contemporary theology," *Journal of Religion* 43 (3), July 1963, 171-192.
- Glover, T. R., *Jesus in the Experience of Men* (London: SCM Press, 1921).
- Glover, T. R., *The Jesus of History* (London: SCM Press, 1917).
- González, Justo L., *A Concise History of Christian Doctrine* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 2005).

- Goodhew, D. J., "Murray, Andrew," in Timothy Larsen *et al* (eds), *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals* (Leicester: IVP, 2003), 460-463.
- Gordon, A. J., *In Christ: The Believer's Union with His Lord* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1882).
- Gordon, A. J., *The Ministry of the Spirit* (1894; repr. Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1949).
- Gordon, A. J., *The Twofold Life, or, Christ's Work for Us and Christ's Work in Us* (London: Fleming H. Revell, 1883).
- Gorman, Michael J., *Participating in Christ: Explorations in Paul's Theology and Spirituality* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2019).
- Goroncy, Jason A., *Hallowed Be Thy Name: The Sanctification of All in the Soteriology of P. T. Forsyth* (London: T&T Clark, 2013).
- Gray, Donald, "Worship," in Adrian Hastings, Alistair Mason & Hugh Pyper (eds), *The Oxford Companion to Christian Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 762-764.
- Green, Garrett, "Experience in theology," in Mike Highton & Jim Fodor (eds), *The Routledge Companion to the Practice of Christian Theology* (London: Routledge, 2015), 312-332.
- Grenz, Stanley J. & Olson, Roger E., *20th-Century Theology: God and the World in a Transitional Age* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1992).
- Grenz, Stanley J., *Revisioning Evangelical Theology* (Downers Grove: IVP, 1993).
- Guillebraud, Harold E., *Why the Cross* (second edition; London: inter-Varsity Fellowship, 1946).
- Guinan, Michael D., "Franciscan spirituality," in Richard Woods & Peter Tyler (eds), *The Bloomsbury Guide to Christian Spirituality* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 107-116.
- Gunton, Colin E., *Theology Through the Theologians: Selected Essays, 1972-1995* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1996).
- Guthrie, Donald, *New Testament Theology* (Leicester: IVP, 1981).
- Hague, Dyson, "At-one-ment by propitiation," in *The Fundamentals: A Testimony to the Truth* (vol. 11 of 12 vols.; ed. A. C. Dixon & R. A. Torrey; Chicago: Testimony Publishing Co., 1910).
- Hammond, Thomas C., *In Understanding Be Men: A Handbook of Christian Doctrine* (first edition, 1936; sixth edition, 1968, revised & edited by David F. Wright; repr. Nottingham, UK: IVP, 2009).
- Hammond, Thomas C., *The New Creation* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1953).

- Hancock-Stefan, George, "Fifty years of Baptist pneumatological publications (1960-210)," *American Baptist Quarterly* 31 (2), Summer 2012, 163-178.
- Hankin, D. B., *Account of the Union Meeting for the Promotion of Scriptural Holiness, Held at Oxford, August 29 to September 7, 1874* (repr. Metuchen, NJ: Forgotten Books, 1980).
- Harford, J. B. & Macdonald, F. C., *Handley Carr Glyn Moule, Bishop of Durham: A Biography* (third edition; London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1922).
- Harkness, Georgia E., *Mysticism: Its Meaning and Its Message* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1973).
- Harnack, Adolf von, *What is Christianity?* (third edition; ET, 1900; trans. Thomas B. Saunders; London: Williams & Norgate, 1904).
- Harp, Gillis J. & Dwain Waldrep, "W. H. Griffith Thomas: Anglican fundamentalist," *Anglican and Episcopal History* 80 (1), March 2011, 61-73.
- Harries, G. *Campbell Morgan* (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1930).
- Hartill, Percy, *The Unity of God* (London: A. R. Mowbray, 1952).
- Hastings, Adrian, *A History of English Christianity, 1920–1990* (London: SCM Press, 1991).
- Helm, Paul, "Common-sense philosophy," in Martin Davie, Tim Grass, Stephen R. Holmes, John McDowell & T. A. Noble (eds), *New Dictionary of Theology: Historical and Systematic* (second edition; Downers Grove: IVP, 2016), 195.
- Hendry, George S., *The Holy Spirit in Christian Theology* (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1965).
- Hendry, George S., *The Westminster Confession for Today* (Louisville, KY: John Knox Press, 1960).
- Henry, Carl F. H., *Personal Idealism and Strong's Theology* (Wheaton: Van Kampen Press, 1951).
- Hickin, Leonard, "The revival of evangelical scholarship," *Churchman* 92 (2), 1978, 125-133.
- Hinson, E. Glenn, "E. Y. Mullins as interpreter of the Baptist tradition," *Review and Expositor* 96, 1999, 109-122.
- Hodge, Charles, *Systematic Theology*. 3 volumes (1871-1873; repr. London: James Clarke & Co., 1960).
- Hodgson, Leonard, *The Doctrine of the Trinity* (London: Nisbet, 1943).
- Holcomb, Justin S., *Know the Creeds and Councils* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2014).

- Holmes, Margaret & Garnsey, David (eds), *Other Men Laboured 1896-1946: Fifty Years with the SCM in Australia* (Melbourne: Australian Student Christian Movement, 1946).
- Holmes, Stephen R., "Beyond a bath and a book: Baptist theological commitments," *Pacific Journal of Baptist Research* 9 (2), November 2014, 11-24.
- Holmes, Stephen R., *Baptist Theology* (London: T&T Clark, 2012).
- Holt, Bradley, "Francis of Assisi (1181-1226)," in Glen G. Scorgie (ed.), *Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2011), 459-460.
- Horton, Michael, *The Christian Faith: A Systematic Theology for Pilgrims on the Way* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2011).
- Horton, W. M., *Contemporary English Theology* (New York: Harper, 1936).
- Howard, Evan B., "Mysticism," in Glen G. Scorgie (ed.), *Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2011), 179-184.
- Hughes, H. Maldwyn, *Christian Foundations: An Introduction to Christian Doctrine* (London: Epworth Press, 1956).
- Hughes, H. Maldwyn, *The Christian Idea of God* (London: Duckworth, 1936).
- Hughes, Philip J. & Cronshaw, Darren, *Baptists in Australia: A Church with a Heritage and a Future* (Nunawading, Vic.: Christian Research Association, 2013).
- Humphreys, Fisher, "Edgar Young Mullins," in Timothy George & David S. Dockery (eds), *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition* (revised edition; Nashville: B&H Publishing, 2001), 181-201.
- Hunter, A. M., *P. T. Forsyth: Per Crucem ad Lucem* (London: SCM Press, 1974).
- Hutchinson, Mark, "Morling, George Henry," in *Religion Past and Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), online article dated 2011, available at https://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/religion-past-and-present/morling-george-henry-SIM_14483?s.num=13&s.au=%22Hutchinson%2C+Mark%22, accessed on 11 Nov 2021.
- Hutchison, William R., *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976).
- Inge, William R., *Christian Mysticism* (London: Methuen, 1899).
- Inge, William, *Lay Thoughts of a Dean* (London: Putnam, 1926).
- Inglis, Ken S. "Religious behaviour," in A. F. Davies & S. Encel (eds), *Australian Society: A Sociological Introduction* (second edition; Melbourne: Cheshire, 1970), 437-475.

- James, William, *The Varieties of Religious Experience* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1902).
- Jay, Elisabeth, *The Religion of the Heart: Anglican Evangelicalism and the Nineteenth-Century Novel* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979).
- Jean, Barbara, "The influence of the medieval mystics on twentieth-century spirituality," *Mystics Quarterly* 19 (3), September 1993, 136-140.
- Jensen, Michael P., *Sydney Anglicanism: An Apology* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2012).
- Johnson, Jeffrey C., "The vale of soul-making," *The Paris Review*, 25 July 2014, available at <https://www.theparisreview.org/blog/2014/07/25/the-vale-of-soul-making/>
- Johnson, John N. (ed.), *God's Glory in Missions: In Appreciation of William Owen Carver* (Louisville, KY: privately published, 1985).
- Johnson, Marcus, "'The highest degree of importance': Union with Christ and soteriology," in Myk Habets & Bobby Grow (eds), *Evangelical Calvinism: Essays Resourcing the Continuing Reformation of the Church* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2012), 222-249.
- Jones, David Ceri, "Evangelicals and the cross," in Andrew Atherstone & David Ceri Jones (eds), *The Routledge Research Companion to the History of Evangelicalism* (Abingdon, UK: Routledge, 2019), 39-56.
- Jones, Rufus M., *Social Law in the Spiritual World: Studies in Human and Divine Interrelationship* (Philadelphia: John C. Winston, 1904).
- Jones, Rufus M., *Studies in Mystical Religion* (1909; repr. Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2004).
- Judd, Stephen & Cable, Kenneth, *Sydney Anglicans: A History of the Diocese* (Sydney: Anglican Information Office, 1987).
- Kapic, Kelly M. & McCormack, Bruce L. (eds), *Mapping Modern Theology: A Thematic and Historical Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012).
- Kärkkäinen, Veli-Matti, *The Holy Spirit: A Guide to Christian Theology* (Louisville, KY: Westminster John Knox Press, 2012).
- Keating, Daniel A., "Typologies of deification," *International Journal of Systematic Theology* 17 (3), July 2015, 267-283.
- Kelly, Richard, *Thomas Kelly: A Biography* (New York: Harper & Row, 1966).
- Kelly, Thomas R., *A Testament of Devotion* (1941; repr. London: Harper, 1996).
- Kerr, Hugh T., *Readings in Christian Thought* (second edition; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1990).

- Kilby, Karen, "Trinity and politics: An apophatic approach," in Oliver D. Crisp & Fred Sanders (eds), *Advancing Trinitarian Theology: Explorations in Constructive Dogmatics* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2014), 75-93.
- Knowles, David, *What is Mysticism?* (London: Burns & Oates, 1968).
- Kohl, Marvin, "The unanimity argument and the mystics," *Hibbert Journal* 58, April 1960, 273-275.
- Ladd, George E., *A Theology of the New Testament* (1974; rev. & ed. Donald A. Hagner; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993).
- Lake, Meredith, *Proclaiming Jesus Christ as Lord: A History of the Sydney University Christian Union* (Sydney: EU Graduates Fund, 2005).
- Lamont, Daniel, *Christ and the World of Thought* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1934).
- Lane, N. S., "Bernard of Clairvaux," in Trevor A. Hart (ed.), *Dictionary of Historical Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 68-69.
- Lang, Jack, *The Turbulent Years* (Sydney: Alpha Books, 1970).
- Law, David R., "Incarnation," in Nicholas Adams, George Pattison & Graham Ward (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Theology and Modern European Thought* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 589-613.
- Law, William, *A Serious Call to a Devout and Holy Life* (1728; repr. London: J. M. Dent & Sons, 1906).
- Leckie, J. H., *Secession Memories: The United Presbyterian contribution to the Scottish Church* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1926).
- Leckie, J. H., *The World to Come and Final Destiny* (second edition Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1922).
- Leembruggen, W. H., "The witness of P. T. Forsyth: A theologian of the cross," *Reformed Theological Review* 4 (2), November 1945, 18-46.
- Leitch, J. W., *A Theology of Transition: H. R. Mackintosh as an Approach to Barth* (London: Nisbet, 1952).
- Leonard, Bill J., *Baptist Ways: A History* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 2003).
- Letham, Robert W. A., *Union with Christ in Scripture, History, and Theology* (Phillipsburg, NJ: P&R Publishing, 2011).
- Lewis, C. S., *The Problem of Pain* (London: Centenary Press, 1940).
- Lewis, H. Elvet, *Glory Filled the Land: A Trilogy on the Welsh Revival of 1904-05* (Wheaton: International Awakening Press, 1989).

- Lillis, John R., "James, William (1842-1910)," in Glen G. Scorgie (ed.), *Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2011), 537-538.
- Litwa, David, *We Are Being Transformed: Deification in Paul's Soteriology* (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2012).
- Loane, Marcus L., *Handley Carr Glyn Moule, 1841-1920* (London: Church Book Room Press, 1947).
- Loane, Marcus L., *Makers of Our Heritage: A Study of Four Evangelical Leaders* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1967).
- Lossky, Vladimir, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (New York: St Vladimir's Seminary Press, 1957).
- Loughlin, Gerard, "The basis and authority of doctrine," in Colin E. Gunton (ed.), *The Cambridge Companion to Christian Doctrine* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 41-64.
- Louth, Andrew, *The Origins of the Christian Mystical Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981).
- Lumpkin, William L., *Baptist Confessions of Faith* (second revised edition; ed. Bill J. Leonard; Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 2011).
- Luther, Martin, *Against the Antinomians*, in *Luther's Works* (ed. H. J. Grimm et al; vol. 47 of 75; St Louis: Concordia Publishing House, 1955-2015), 99-118.
- Lyon, E. F., *What Baptists Believe: The Great Doctrines of Our Faith* (Sydney: Australian Baptist Publishing House, 1947).
- Macartney, H. B., *The Christian's Pathway to Power* (Keswick periodical), January 1876, 12f.
- MacIntyre, Alasdair, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory* (second edition; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984).
- Mackintosh, Hugh R., "Studies in Christian eschatology," *The Expositor* 8, 1914, 128-143.
- Mackintosh, Hugh R., "The *Unio Mystica* as a theological conception," *Biblical Studies* 7 (2), February 1909, 138-155.
- Mackintosh, Hugh R., *Immortality and the Future: The Christian Doctrine of Eternal Life* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1916).
- Mackintosh, Hugh R., *Some Aspects of Christian Belief* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1923).
- Mackintosh, Hugh R., *The Christian Apprehension of God* (London: SCM Press, 1929).

- Mackintosh, Hugh R., *The Christian Experience of Forgiveness* (London: Nisbet, 1927).
- Mackintosh, Hugh R., *The Person of Jesus Christ* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1912).
- Mackintosh, Hugh R., *Types of Modern Theology: Schleiermacher to Barth* (London: James Nisbet, 1937).
- Maclaren, Alexander, “Evangelical mysticism,” Presidential address, Autumn Assembly of the Baptist Union of Great Britain and Ireland, Edinburgh, 9 October 1901 (London: Baptist Tract and Book Society, 1901).
- Maclaren, Elizabeth T., *Dr. McLaren of Manchester, A Sketch* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1911).
- MacNeil, John, *The Spirit-Filled Life* (Chicago: Fleming H. Revell, 1894).
- Maddox, Timothy D. F., “E. Y. Mullins: Mr Baptist for the 20th and 21st century,” *Review and Expositor* 96, 1999, 87-108.
- Manetsch, Scott M., “John Calvin’s doctrine of the Christian life,” *Journal of the Evangelical Theological Society* 61 (2), 2018, 259-266.
- Manley, Ken R., “‘The right man in the right place’: W. T. Whitley in Australia (1891-1901),” *Baptist Quarterly* 37 (4), October 1997, 174-197.
- Manley, Ken R., “Chapman, Samuel,” in Brian Dickey (ed.), *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography* (Sydney: Evangelical History Association, 1994), 70.
- Manley, Ken R., *For All That Has Been – Thanks* (Ashburton, Vic.: Mono Unlimited, 2018).
- Manley, Ken R., *From Woolloomooloo to ‘Eternity’: A History of Australian Baptists. Volume 1: Growing an Australian Church (1831-1914); and Volume 2: A National Church in a Global Community (1914-2005)* (Milton Keynes: Paternoster Press, 2006).
- Manley, Ken R., *T. E. Ruth (1875-1956): Preacher and Controversialist* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2021).
- Marsden, George M. & Hankins, J. D. Jr., “Fundamentalism,” in Martin Davie, Tim Grass, Stephen R. Holmes, John McDowell & T. A. Noble (eds), *New Dictionary of Theology: Historical and Systematic* (second edition; Downers Grove: IVP, 2016), 356-358.
- Marsden, George M., “Fundamentalism as an American phenomenon, a comparison with English Evangelicalism,” *Church History* 46 (2), June 1977, 215-232.
- Marsden, George M., *Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism: 1870-1925* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980).
- Marshall, Walter, *The Gospel Mystery of Sanctification* (1692; repr. Grand Rapids: Reformation Heritage Books, 1999).

- Matthews, W. R., *God in Christian Thought and Experience* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1930).
- McBeth, Leon, *The Baptist Heritage: Four Centuries of Witness* (Nashville: Broadman Press, 1987).
- McCasland, D., *Oswald Chambers: Abandoned to God: The Life Story of the Author of My Utmost for His Highest* (Grand Rapids: Discovery House Publishers, 1993).
- McClendon, James William, Jr., *Biography as Theology: How Life Stories Can Remake Today's Theology* (second edition; Philadelphia: Trinity Press International, 1990).
- McCormack, Bruce L., "Introduction: On 'modernity' as a theological concept," in Kelly M. Kapic & Bruce L. McCormack, *Mapping Modern Theology: A Thematic and Historical Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Baker Academic, 2012), 1-19.
- McCurdy, Leslie, "New Theology controversy," in Trevor A. Hart (ed.), *Dictionary of Historical Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 392-393.
- McCurdy, Leslie, *Attributes and Atonement: The Holy Love of God in the Theology of P. T. Forsyth* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 1999).
- McDonald, H. D., *Theories of Revelation* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1979).
- McGinn, "Mystical union," in Edward Howells & Mark A. McIntosh (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Mystical Theology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 404-421.
- McGinn, Bernard, "Mysticism," in Philip Sheldrake (ed.), *New Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 19-25.
- McGinn, Bernard, *The Foundations of Mysticism. Volume 1: Origins to the Fifth Century. The Presence of God: A History of Western Christian Mysticism* (New York: Crossroad, 1991).
- McGrath, Alister, *The Foundations of Dialogue in Science and Religion* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1998).
- McGuire, Brian Patrick, *Bernard of Clairvaux: An Inner Life* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2020).
- McIntosh, John A., *Anglican Evangelicalism in Sydney 1897 to 1953: Nathaniel Jones, D. J. Davies and T. C. Hammond* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2018).
- McIntosh, Mark A., "Mystical theology," in Philip Sheldrake (ed.), *New Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 455-456.
- McPake, John L., "Mackintosh, Hugh Ross (1870-1936)," in Trevor A. Hart (ed.), *Dictionary of Historical Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2000), 347-348.

- Meiklejohn, J. W., "M'Cheyne, Robert Murray (1813-1843)," in J. D. Douglas (ed.), *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* (second edition; Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1978), 617.
- Meland, Bernard E., "The genius of Protestantism," *Journal of Religion* 27 (4), 1947, 273-292.
- Meyer, F. B., *The Way into the Holiest* (London: Morgan & Scott, n.d.).
- Mikolaski, Samuel J., "The theology of P. T. Forsyth," *Biblical Studies* 1, 1964, 27-41.
- Milne, Bruce A., "The idea of sin in twentieth-century theology," *Tyndale Bulletin* 26, 1975, 3-33.
- Minett, Sally, *A River Glorious: The Story of Belgrave Heights Convention* (Melbourne: privately published, 2015).
- Moberley, Robert C., *Atonement and Personality* (London: J. Murray, 1901).
- Mohler, Jr., Albert, "Baptist theology at the crossroads: The legacy of E. Y. Mullins," *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 3 (4), Winter 1999, 4-22.
- Moltmann, Jürgen, *The Spirit of Life: A Universal Affirmation* (London: SCM Press, 1991).
- Moo, Douglas J., *A Theology of Paul and His Letters: The Gift of the New Realm in Christ* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan Academic, 2021).
- Morgan, G. Campbell, *Lessons of the Welsh Revival* (Boston: Pilgrim Press, 1904).
- Morgan, G. Campbell, *The Analysed Bible*. 10 volumes (New York: Fleming H. Revell, 1907-1911).
- Morgan, G. Campbell, *The Crises of the Christ* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1903).
- Morgan, G. Campbell, *The Spirit of God* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900).
- Morgan, G. Campbell, *The Westminster Pulpit*. 10 volumes (Grand Rapids: Baker, 1954).
- Morgan, J., *A Man of the World* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1951).
- Morgan, R., "Streeter, Burnett Hillman," in Donald K. McKim (ed), *Dictionary of Major Biblical Interpreters* (second edition; Downers Grove: IVP Academic, 2007), 949-952.
- Morling, George Henry, *The Franciscan Spirit and Other Writings* (ed. Bruce Thornton; Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society, 2008).
- Morling, George Henry, *The Holy Spirit: Studies by G. H. Morling* (Sydney: Baptist Union of NSW, 1972).
- Morling, George Henry, *The Quest for Serenity* (Sydney: Young & Morling, 1951; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1965; revised edition: Macquarie Park, NSW: Morling Press, 2002).

- Morris, Leon, *The Apostolic Preaching of the Cross* (London: Tyndale Press, 1955).
- Mosser, Carl, "Deification: A truly ecumenical concept," *Perspectives* 30, 2015, 8-14.
- Moule, Handley C. G., *Christ and the Christian: Words Spoken at Keswick* (London: Marshall Bros, 1919).
- Moule, Handley C. G., *Outlines of Christian Doctrine* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1905).
- Moule, Handley C. G., *The Evangelical School in the Church of England: Its Men and Its Work in the Nineteenth Century* (London: James Nisbet & Co., 1901).
- Moule, Handley C. G., *The Secret of the Presence and Other Sermons* (London: Seeley & Co., 1900).
- Mullins, Edgar Young, "Why I am a Baptist," in G. K. Chesterton, et al, *Twelve Modern Apostles and Their Creeds* (New York: Duffield & Co., 1926), 89-109.
- Mullins, Edgar Young, *Baptist Beliefs* (1912; repr. Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1925).
- Mullins, Edgar Young, *Freedom and Authority in Religion* (Philadelphia: Griffith & Rowland Press, 1913).
- Mullins, Edgar Young, *The Axioms of Religion: A New Interpretation of the Baptist Faith* (1908; ed. C. Douglas Weaver; repr. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2010).
- Mullins, Edgar Young, *The Christian Religion in Its Doctrinal Expression* (Philadelphia: Roger Williams Press, 1917).
- Murphy, Gannon, "Reformed Theosis?" *Theology Today* 65, July 2008, 191-212.
- Murray, Andrew, *Abide in Christ* (1895; repr. Chicago: Moody Press, 1999).
- Murray, Andrew, *The Holiest of All: An Exposition of the Epistle to the Hebrews* (New York: Anson D. F. Randolph & Co., 1894).
- Murray, Andrew, *The Spirit of Christ: Thoughts on the Indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the Believer and the Church* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1963).
- Mursell, Gordon, *English Spirituality from Earliest Times to 1700* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2001).
- Naselli, Andrew David, "Keswick theology: A survey and analysis of the doctrine of sanctification in the early Keswick movement," *Detroit Baptist Theological Seminary Journal* 13, 2008, 17-67.
- Naselli, Andrew David, *No Quick Fix: Where Higher Life Theology Came From, What It Is, and Why It's Harmful* (Bellingham, WA: Lexham Press, 2017).
- Nash, A. S. (ed.), *Protestant Thought in the Twentieth Century* (London: Macmillan, 1951).

- Nash, Ronald H., *The Concept of God: An Exploration of the Contemporary Difficulties with the Attributes of God* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1983).
- Neill, Stephen C. (ed.), *Twentieth Century Christianity* (London: Collins, 1961).
- Neill, Stephen C., *The Christian Society* (London: Nisbet, 1952).
- Nelson, Warren, "Hammond, T. C.," in Brian Dickey (ed.), *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography* (Sydney: Evangelical History Association, 1994), 150-153.
- Nelstrop Louise, Magill, Kevin & Onishi, Bradley B., *Christian Mysticism: An Introduction to Contemporary Theoretical Approaches* (Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate Publishing, 2009).
- Nelstrop, Louise, "Introduction," in Louise Nelstrop & Simon D. Podmore (eds), *Exploring Lost Dimensions in Christian Mysticism: Opening to the Mystical* (Farnham, Surrey, UK: Ashgate, 2013), 1-15.
- Nicholas, David R., *Because of Morling* (Sydney: privately published, 2003); repr. as *George Henry Morling: Journeys with God* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 2010).
- Norman, J. G. G., "Chambers, Oswald," in J. D. Douglas (ed.), *The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church* (Exeter, UK: Paternoster Press, 1974), 210.
- Nunn, H. P. V., *What is Modernism?* (London: SPCK, 1932).
- Nuttal, Geoffrey F., "Puritan and Quaker mysticism," *Theology* 78 (no. 664), 1975, 518-531.
- Nuttal, Geoffrey F., *The Holy Spirit in Puritan Faith and Experience* (1946; repr. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).
- O'Connor, Flannery, *The Habit of Being: Letters* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1979).
- Oliver, Simon, "Reading philosophy," in Mike Higton & Jim Fodor (eds), *The Routledge Companion to the Practice of Christian Theology* (London: Routledge, 2015), 72-87.
- Olson, Roger E., "Pietism: Myths and realities," in Christian T. Collins Winn, Christopher Gehrz, G. William Carlson & Eric Holst (eds), *The Pietist Impulse in Christianity* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2011), 3-16.
- Olson, Roger E., "Strong, Augustus Hopkins," in *Westminster Handbook to Evangelical Theology* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2004), 133.
- Orr, James & Mullins, E. Y. (eds), *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (first edn, five vols, 1915; revised edition, Chicago: Howard Severance Co., 1930).
- Orr, James, "A thoroughgoing realist," *Expository Times* 15, June 1904, 409.

- Orr, James, "Calvinism," in James Hastings (ed.), *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Volume 3 (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908), 148.
- Orr, James, *David Hume and His Influence on Philosophy and Theology* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1903).
- Orr, James, *Revelation and Inspiration* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1910).
- Orr, James, *Sidelights on Christian Doctrine* (London: Marshall Bros., 1909).
- Orr, James, *The Bible Under Trial: Apologetic Papers in View of Present-Day Assaults on Holy Scripture* (London: Marshall Bros, 1907).
- Orr, James, *The Christian View of God and the World* (1893; repr. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1908).
- Orr, James, *The Progress of Dogma* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1901).
- Orr, James, *The Virgin Birth of Christ* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1907).
- Ottley, Robert L., *The Doctrine of the Incarnation* (London: Methuen, 1911).
- Packer, J. I., "Revelation" in F. Davidson, A. M. Stibbs & E. F. Kevan (eds), *New Bible Commentary* (second edition; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1954), 24-30.
- Packer, J. I., "Theological reflections on the Charismatic Movement – Part 1," *Churchman* 94 (1), 1980, 7-25.
- Packer, J. I., "Theological reflections on the Charismatic Movement – Part 2," *Churchman* 94 (2), 1980, 103-125.
- Pannenberg, Wolfhart, *Jesus – God and Man* (trans. Lewis L. Wilkins & Duane A. Priebe; Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1968).
- Paproth, Darrell, "The Upwey Convention and C. H. Nash," *Lucas* 16, December 1993, 26-45.
- Parker, David, "The future of Australia's evangelical heritage," *Interchange* 44, 1988, 30-40.
- Partee, Charles, *The Theology of John Calvin* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2008).
- Pascal, Blaise, *Pensées* (1670; trans. A. J. Krailsheimer; London: Penguin Books, 1995).
- Patrick, Graham A., *The Miners' Bishop: Brooke Foss Westcott* (Peterborough: Epworth, 2004).
- Patterson, Sue, *Realist Christian Theology in a Postmodern Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999).

- Payne, Ernest A., *The Fellowship of Believers: Baptist Thought and Practice Yesterday and Today* (second edition; London: Carey Kingsgate Press, 1952).
- Pelikan, Jaroslav, *The Christian Tradition: A History of the Development of Doctrine. Volume 5: Christian Doctrine and Modern Culture (Since 1700)* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989).
- Peterson, Robert A., *Salvation Applied by the Spirit: Union with Christ* (Wheaton: Crossway Books, 2015).
- Petras, Michael J. (ed.), *Australian Baptists Past and Present* (Eastwood, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 1988).
- Petras, Michael J., "The life and times of the Reverend William Lamb (1868-1944)," *The Baptist Recorder* 101, 2008, 1-11.
- Pfleiderer, Otto, *The Influence of the Apostle Paul on the Development of Christianity* (The Hibberd Lectures, 1885; third edition; London: Williams & Norgate, 1897).
- Piggin, Stuart & Linder, Robert D., *Attending to the National Soul: Evangelical Christians in Australian History 1914-2014* (Clayton, Vic.: Monash University Publishing, 2020).
- Piggin, Stuart & Linder, Robert D., *The Fountain of Public Prosperity: Evangelical Christians in Australian History 1740-1914* (Clayton, Vic.: Monash University Publishing, 2018).
- Piggin, Stuart, "'Not a little holy club': Lay and clerical leadership in Australian Anglican evangelicalism, 1788-1988," *Studies in Church History* 26, 1989, 367-383. Published in W. J. Sheils (ed.), *The Ministry, Clerical and Lay: Studies in Church History* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1989), 367-383.
- Piggin, Stuart, "Australia," in Douglas A. Sweeney & Jan Stievermann (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Jonathan Edwards* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021), 528-541.
- Piggin, Stuart, "The American and British contributions to evangelicalism in Australia," in Mark A. Noll, David W. Bebbington & George A. Rawlyk (eds), *Evangelicalism: Comparative Studies in Popular Protestantism in North America, the British Isles, and Beyond, 1700-1900* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 290-309.
- Piggin, Stuart, "The role of Baptists in the history of Australian evangelicalism," *Lucas* 11, April 1991, 5-27.
- Piggin, Stuart, *Evangelical Christianity in Australia: Spirit, Word and World* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996).
- Pink, Arthur W., *Spiritual Union and Communion* (Grand Rapids: Guardian Press, 1976).
- Pinnock, Clark H., "Overcoming misgivings about evangelical inclusivism," *Southern Baptist Journal of Theology* 2 (2), Summer 1998, 32-36.

- Piper, Otto A., "Mysticism and the Christian experience," *Theology Today* 10 (2), 1953, 153-159.
- Porter, Muriel, *The New Puritans: The Rise of Fundamentalism in the Anglican Church* (Melbourne: Melbourne University Press, 2006).
- Price, Charles & Randall, Ian M., *Transforming Keswick* (Carlisle: Paternoster, Press, 2000).
- Prince, John & Moyra, *Out of the Tower* (Homebush West, NSW: ANZEA, 1987).
- Prior, Alan C., *Some Fell on Good Ground: A History of the Beginnings and Development of the Baptist Church in New South Wales, Australia, 1831-1965* (Sydney: Baptist Union of NSW, 1966).
- Prior, Lindsay, *Using Documents in Social Research* (London: Sage, 2003).
- Proudfoot, Wayne, "Experience," in Erwin Fahlbusch et al (eds), *The Encyclopedia of Christianity* (trans. Geoffrey Bromiley; volume 2 of 5; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001), 250-253.
- Provan, Iain, *The Reformation and the Right Reading of Scripture* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2017).
- Quick, Oliver C., *The Christian Sacraments* (London: Nisbet, 1927).
- Radmacher, Earl D., "The current status of dispensationalism and its eschatology," in Kenneth S. Kantzer & Stanley N. Gundry (eds), *Perspectives on Evangelical Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1979), 163-176.
- Raikes, Marian, *A Step Too Far: An Evangelical Critique of Christian Mysticism* (London: Latimer Trust, 2006).
- Raiter, Michael, *Stirrings of the Soul: Evangelicals and the New Spirituality* Kingsford, NSW: Matthias Media, 2003).
- Ramm, Bernard L., *Handbook of Contemporary Theology* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1966).
- Randall, Ian M., "Baptist Spirituality," in Philip Sheldrake (ed.), *New Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 142-144.
- Randall, Ian M., "Capturing Keswick: Baptists and the changing spirituality of the Keswick Convention in the 1920s," *Baptist Quarterly* 36 (7), 1996, 331-348.
- Randall, Ian M., "Graham Scroggie and evangelical spirituality," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 18 (1), 2000, 71-86.
- Randall, Ian M., "Meyer, Frederick Brotherton," in Timothy Larsen et al (eds), *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals* (Nottingham: IVP, 2003), 428-430.

- Randall, Ian M., "The myth of the missing spirituality: Spirituality among English Baptists in the early twentieth century," in Philip E. Thompson and Anthony R. Cross (eds), *Recycling the Past or Researching History? Studies in Baptist Historiography and Myths* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2005), 106-127.
- Randall, Ian M., *Evangelical Experiences: A Study in the Spirituality of English Evangelicalism, 1918-1939* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 1999).
- Randall, Ian M., *What a Friend We Have in Jesus: The Evangelical Tradition* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 2005).
- Redman, Robert R. Jr., *Reformulating Reformed Theology: Jesus Christ in the Theology of Hugh Ross Mackintosh* (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1997).
- Rees, Frank D. (ed.), *Baptist Identity into the 21st Century: Essays in Honour of Ken Manley* (Parkville, Vic.: Whitley College, 2016).
- Renshaw, Will F., *Marvellous Melbourne and Spiritual Power: A Christian Revival and Its Lasting Legacy* (Moreland, Vic.: Acorn Press, 2014).
- Ridley, John G., *C. J. Tinsley of Stanmore: A Lover of the Evangel* (Sydney: Greenwood Press, n.d.).
- Robb, Ron, "90th Anniversary, the Class of 1916," *The Baptist Recorder* 95, July 2006, 1-13.
- Robbins, Keith, "The spiritual pilgrimage of Rev. R. J. Campbell," *Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 30, April 1979, 261-276.
- Robertson, D. A., "M'Cheyne, Robert Murray (1813-1843)," in Timothy Larsen *et al* (eds), *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals* (Leicester: IVP, 2003), 381-383.
- Robinson, H. Wheeler, *Redemption and Revelation in the Actuality of History* (London: Nisbet & Co., 1942).
- Robinson, H. Wheeler, *Suffering, Human and Divine* (London: SCM Press, 1940).
- Robinson, H. Wheeler, *The Life and Faith of the Baptists* (1927; second edition; repr. London: Kingsgate Press, 1946).
- Rogers, E. Ron (ed.), *George Henry Morling: The Man and His Message for Today* (Macquarie Park, NSW: Baptist Historical Society of NSW, 1995; repr. Forest Lodge, NSW: Greenwood Press, 2011).
- Rogers, E. Ron, "Morling, G(eorge) H(enry) (1891-1974)," in J. D. Douglas (ed.), *Twentieth-Century Dictionary of Christian Biography* (Grand Rapids: Baker Books, 1995), 261.
- Rogers, E. Ron, "Morling, George Henry," in Brian Dickey (ed.), *The Australian Dictionary of Evangelical Biography* (Sydney: Evangelical History Association, 1994), 267-268.

- Rogers, E. Ron, *George Henry Morling, 'Our Beloved Principal': A Definitive Biography* (rev. & ed. John M. Stanhope; Macquarie Park: Greenwood Press, 2014).
- Rogers, John H., *The Theology of P. T. Forsyth: The Cross of Christ and the Revelation of God* (London: Independent Press, 1965).
- Ross, Peter, *Pneumatology and Union: John Calvin and the Pentecostals* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2019).
- Rowdon, H. H., "Dispensationalism," in Martin Davie, Tim Grass, Stephen R. Holmes, John McDowell & T. A. Noble (eds), *New Dictionary of Theology: Historical and Systematic* (second edition; Downers Grove: IVP, 2016), 258-259.
- Rowley, H. H., *The Faith of Israel* (London: SCM Press, 1956).
- Russell, Norman, *Fellow Workers with God: Orthodox Thinking on Theosis* (Crestwood: Saint Vladimir's Seminary Press, 2009).
- Russell, Norman, *The Doctrine of Deification in the Greek Patristic Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004).
- Ryle, J. C., *Holiness: Its Nature, Hindrances, Difficulties, and Roots* (second edn, 1879; repr. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 2014).
- Sabatier, Paul, *Life of St Francis of Assisi* (trans. Louise S. Houghton; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1894).
- Salladin, James R., *Jonathan Edwards and Deification: Reconciling Theosis and the Reformed Tradition* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2022).
- Sanday, William (ed.), *Studies in the Synoptic Problem* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1911).
- Sanders, Fred, "Here comes Pentecost: Good Books on the Holy Spirit, *Patheos*, 12 June 2011, <http://patheos.com/blogs/scriptorium/2011/06/here-comes-pentecost-good-books-on-the-holy-spirit/>, accessed 11 March 2018.
- Saucy, Robert, "The crucial issue between dispensational and non-dispensational systems," *Criswell Theological Review* 1 (1), 1986, 149-165.
- Schmidt, Leigh E., "The making of modern 'mysticism'," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 71 (2), June 2003, 273-302.
- Schwanda, Tom, "Murray, Andrew," in Glen G. Scorgie (ed.), *Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 2011), 628.
- Schwanda, Tom, *Soul Recreation: The Contemplative-Mystical Piety of Puritanism* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2012).
- Schweitzer, Albert, *The Mysticism of Paul the Apostle* (1931; repr. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998).

- Scorgie Glen G., *A Call for Continuity: The Theological Contribution of James Orr* (Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 1988).
- Scorgie, Glen G., "Orr, James," in Trevor A. Hart (ed.), *Dictionary of Historical Theology* (Carlisle, UK: Paternoster, 2000), 407-409.
- Scott, John C., *A Matter of Record: Documentary Sources in Social Research* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990).
- Scroggie, W. Graham, *The Lord's Return* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1938).
- Sell, Alan P. F., "Nonconformists and the person of Christ," in Robert Pope (ed.), *T&T Clark Companion to Nonconformity* (London: Bloomsbury, 2013), 163-184.
- Sell, Alan P. F., *Christ and Controversy: The Person of Christ in Nonconformist Thought and Ecclesial Experience, 1600–2000* (Eugene, OR: Wipf & Stock, 2011).
- Sell, Alan P. F., *Defending and Declaring the Faith: Some Scottish Examples 1860-1920* (Exeter: Paternoster, 1987).
- Sell, Alan P. F., *Doctrine and Devotion. Volume 3: The Spirit Our Life* (Shippensburg, PA: Ragged Edge Press, 2000).
- Sell, Alan P. F., *Hinterland Theology: A Stimulus to Theological Construction* (Milton Keynes, UK: Paternoster, 2008).
- Sell, Alan P. F., *The Theological Education of the Ministry: Soundings in the British Reformed and Dissenting Traditions* (Eugene, OR: Pickwick Publications, 2013).
- Sellers, Robert V., *The Council of Chalcedon: A Historical and Doctrinal Survey* (London: SPCK, 1953).
- Sharp, J. Alfred, *A Group Speaks* (London: Epworth Press, 1931).
- Shea, John, "Spirituality, psychology and psychotherapy," in Philip Sheldrake (ed.), *New Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 49-54.
- Sheldrake, Philip, *Spirituality and Theology: Christian Living and the Doctrine of God* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1998).
- Shepherd, Peter, *The Making of a Modern Denomination: John Howard Shakespeare and the English Baptists, 1898-1924* (Carlisle: Paternoster Press, 2001).
- Sherlock, Charles, *God on the Inside: Trinitarian Spirituality* (Canberra, ACT: Acorn Press, 1991).
- Short, William, "Franciscan spirituality," in Philip Sheldrake (ed.), *New Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 310-312.

- Shurden, Walter B., *The Baptist Identity: Four Fragile Freedoms* (Macon, GA: Smyth & Helwys Publishing, 1993).
- Sibbes, Richard, *A Fountain Sealed*, in *The Complete Works of Richard Sibbes. Volume 5* (ed. Alexander B. Grosart, 1862-1864; repr. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth Trust, 2004).
- Simpson, Carnegie, *The Facts of Life in Relation to Faith* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1913).
- Sloan, B., *These Sixty Years: The Story of the Keswick Convention* (London: Pickering & Inglis, 1935).
- Smellie, Alexander, *Evan Henry Hopkins: A Memoir* (London: Marshall Bros, 1921).
- Smith, Allister, *The Ideal of Perfection* (London: Oliphants, 1963).
- Smith, Gerald B., "The field of systematic theology today," *The Biblical World* 32 (2), August 1908, 113-123.
- Spencer, Carol D., "Quakers in theological context," in Stephen W. Angell & Pink Dandelion (eds), *The Oxford Book of Quaker Studies* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 141-157.
- Stanley, Brian, *The Global Diffusion of Evangelicalism: The Age of Billy Graham and John Stott* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2013).
- Statham, Todd, "M'Cheyne, Robert Murray," in Philip Sheldrake (ed.), *New Westminster Dictionary of Christian Spirituality* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 2005), 605f.
- Steere, Douglas V., "Mysticism," in Marvin Halverson & Arthur Cohen (eds), *A Handbook of Christian Theology* (London: Fontana, 1960), 238-240.
- Steere, Douglas V., *Prayer and Worship* (New York: Association Press, 1947).
- Stephenson, Alan M. G., *The Rise and Decline of English Modernism* (London: SPCK, 1984).
- Stewart, James S., *A Man in Christ: The Vital Elements of St. Paul's Religion* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1935).
- Stoeffler, F. Ernest, *The Rise of Evangelical Pietism* (Leiden: Brill, 1971).
- Stone, Nathan J., *The Names of God in the Old Testament* (Chicago: Moody Press, 1944).
- Stott, John R. W., *The Baptism and Fullness of the Holy Spirit* (Leicester: Inter-Varsity Press, 1964).
- Streeter, Burnett H. et al, *Foundations: A Statement of Christian Belief in Terms of Modern Thought: By Seven Oxford Men* (1913; repr. London: Macmillan, 1929).

- Streeter, Burnett H., "The suffering of God," *The Hibbert Journal* 12, April 1914, 603-611.
- Streeter, Burnett H., *The Four Gospels: A Study of Origins: Treating of the Manuscript Tradition, Sources, Authorship and Dates* (London: Macmillan, 1924).
- Strong, Augustus H., *Christ in Creation and Ethical Monism* (Philadelphia: Roger Williams Press, 1899).
- Strong, Augustus H., *Systematic Theology: A Compendium* (1907; repr. Old Tappan, NJ: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1976).
- Strong, Augustus H., *What Shall I Believe?* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1922).
- Sweetman, Mark S., "Defining dispensationalism: a cultural studies perspective," *Journal of Religious History* 34 (2), June 2010, 191-212.
- Tamburello, Dennis E., *Union with Christ: John Calvin and the Mysticism of St Bernard* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1994).
- Tasker, R. V. G., *The Biblical Doctrine of the Wrath of God* (London: Tyndale Press, 1951).
- Taylor, F. Howard & Taylor, Mary G. Howard, *Hudson Taylor in Early Years* (1911).
- Taylor, F. Howard & Taylor, Mary G. Howard, *Hudson Taylor's Spiritual Secret* (1932; repr. Chicago: Moody Press, 1989).
- Taylor, J. Hudson, *Hudson Taylor's Choice Sayings: A Compilation from His Writings and Addresses* (London: Morgan & Scott, n.d.).
- Temple, William, "Religious experience," transcript of a sermon preached at Manchester Cathedral, 6 July 1914, in A. E. Baker (ed.), *Religious Experience and Other Essays and Addresses* (London: James Clarke & Co., 1958), 57-63.
- Temple, William, *Christus Veritas: An Essay* (London: Macmillan, 1924).
- Temple, William, *Nature, Man, and God* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1953).
- Thiessen, Henry Clarence, *Lectures in Systematic Theology* (1949; ed. Vernon D. Doerksen; repr. Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1979).
- Thomas, W. H. Griffith et al, *The Victorious Christ* (Sunday School Times Co, 1923).
- Thomas, W. H. Griffith, "*A Sacrament of Our Redemption*": *An Enquiry into the Meaning of the Lord's Supper in the New Testament and the Church of England* (London: Bemrose, 1903).
- Thomas, W. H. Griffith, "The Victorious Life, II," *Bibliotheca Sacra* 76, 1919, 466f.
- Thomas, W. H. Griffith, *The Catholic Faith: A Manual of Instruction for Members of the Church of England* (London: Longmans, Green, 1920).

- Thomas, W. H. Griffith, *The Holy Spirit of God* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1913).
- Thomas, W. H. Griffith, *The Principles of Theology: An Introduction to the Thirty-Nine Articles* (London: Church Book Room Press, 1930).
- Thompson, D. M., "Morgan, George Campbell (1863-1945)," in Timothy Larsen *et al* (eds), *Biographical Dictionary of Evangelicals* (Leicester: IVP, 2003), 440-442.
- Thornbury, Gregory Alan, "Augustus Hopkins Strong," in Timothy George & David S. Dockery (eds), *Theologians of the Baptist Tradition* (revised edition; Nashville: B&H Publishing, 2001), 139-162.
- Thouless, Robert H., *An Introduction to the Psychology of Religion* (New York: Macmillan, 1923).
- Torbet, Robert G., *A History of the Baptists* (Philadelphia: Judson Press, 1950).
- Torrance, Thomas F., "Hugh Ross Mackintosh: Theologian of the cross," *Scottish Bulletin of Evangelical Theology* 5, 1987, 160-173.
- Torrance, Thomas F., *Reality and Scientific Theology* (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1985)
- Treloar, Geoffrey R., "The word disputed: The crisis in evangelical biblicism in the 1920s and 1930s," *Lucas* 2.7, June 2014, 105-122.
- Treloar, Geoffrey R., *The Disruption of Evangelicalism: The Age of Torrey, Mott, McPherson and Hammond* (Downers Grove: IVP, 2017).
- Tull, James E., *Shapers of Baptist Thought* (1972; repr. Macon, GA: Mercer University Press, 2000).
- Ulrich, Simon E., *The End is Not Yet: A Study in Christian Eschatology* (London: Nisbet, 1964).
- Underhill, Evelyn, *Practical Mysticism: A Little Book for Normal People* (London: Dent, 1919).
- Underhill, Evelyn, *The Mystic Way: A Psychological Study of Christian Origins* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1913).
- Underhill, Evelyn, *The School of Charity and the Mystery of Sacrifice* (New York: Longmans, 1956).
- Underhill, Evelyn, *Worship* (London: Nisbet, 1937).
- Underwood, A. C., *A History of the English Baptists* (London: Kingsgate Press, 1947).
- van Huyssteen, J. Wentzel, "Experience and explanation: The justification of cognitive claims in theology," *Zygon* 23, 1988, 247-261.

- Vining, Elizabeth Gray, *Friend of Life: The Biography of Rufus M. Jones* (Philadelphia: J.B. Lippincott, 1958).
- Vinson, R. B., "Plummer, Alfred," in John H. Hayes (ed.), *Dictionary of Biblical Interpretation. Volume 2* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1999), 289.
- Voorwinde, Stephen, "Does God have real feelings?" *Vox Reformata* 67, November 2002, 24-51.
- Wakefield, Gordon S., "Mysticism and its Puritan types," *London Quarterly and Holborn Review* 191, 1966, 34-45.
- Warfield, Benjamin B., "The biblical doctrine of the Trinity," in James Orr *et al* (eds), *International Standard Bible Encyclopedia* (Chicago: Howard-Severance Co., 1915), reprint in *The Works of Benjamin B. Warfield* (vol. 2; Grand Rapids: Baker, 1991), 133-172.
- Watson, John, *The Doctrines of Grace* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1900).
- Watson, Thomas, *The Godly Man's Picture* (1666; repr. Edinburgh: Banner of Truth, 1992).
- Watts, Michael R., *The Dissenters: From the Reformation to the French Revolution* (vol. 1 of 3; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978).
- Weaver, C. Douglas, *Baptists and the Holy Spirit: The Contested History with Holiness-Pentecostal-Charismatic Movements* (Waco, TX: Baylor University Press, 2019).
- Weinel, Heinrich & Widgery, Alban G., *Jesus in the Nineteenth Century and After* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1914).
- Weiss, George Christian, *Are the Heathen Lost?* (Lincoln, Nebraska: Good News Broadcasting Association, n.d. [c.1959]).
- Welch, Claud, *In This Name: The Doctrine of the Trinity in Contemporary Theology* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1952).
- Welch, Claude, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century: Volume 1, 1799-1870* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972).
- Welch, Claude, *Protestant Thought in the Nineteenth Century: Volume 2, 1870-1914* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1985).
- Wesley, Charles, "What shall I do my God to love?" in *Hymns and Sacred Poems* (Bristol, UK: Felix Farley, 1742), 24f.
- Wesley, John, "A Father appeal to men of reason and religion," in John Emory (ed.), *The Works of the Reverend John Wesley. Volume 5* (New York: Emory & Waugh, 1831), 35.
- Wesley, John, "A plain account of Christian perfection," in *John and Charles Wesley: Selected Writings and Hymns* (London: SPCK, 1981), 297-377.

- Wesley, John, Sermon 43, "The Scripture way of salvation," in N. Burwash (ed.), *Wesley's 52 Standard Sermons* (Salem, OH: Schmull, 1988), 441.
- Westcott, Brooke F., *A General Survey of the History of the Canon of the New Testament* (London: Macmillan, 1875).
- White, B. R., *The English Separatist Tradition* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971).
- Whyte, Alexander, *A Commentary on the Shorter Catechism* (Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1856).
- Whyte, Alexander, *An Appreciation of Jacob Behmen* (Edinburgh: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1895).
- Whyte, Alexander, *Characters and Characteristics of William Law* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1893).
- Whyte, Alexander, *The Walk, Conversation and Character of Jesus Christ Our Lord* (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1905).
- Wieman, Henry Nelson, *Religious Experience and Scientific Method* (London: Macmillan, 1926).
- Wiley, Henry Orton, *Christian Theology. Volume 3* (Kansas City, MO: Beacon Hill Press, 1940).
- Williams, Barrie, *The Franciscan Revival in the Anglican Communion* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1982).
- Williams, David T., "Kenosis and the nature of the Persons in the Trinity," *Koers* 69 (4), 2004, 623-640.
- Williams, John T., "The contribution of Nonconformists to biblical scholarship in the twentieth century," in Alan P. F. Sell & Anthony R. Cross (eds), *Protestant Nonconformity in the Twentieth Century* (Carlisle: Paternoster, 2003), 1-32.
- Williamson, David & Shakespeare, J. H., *The Life of Alexander Maclaren: Preacher and Expositor* (1911; repr. London: James Clarke, c.1930).
- Woods, Frank Theodore, *What is God Like? An Attempt at an Answer* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1928).
- Wotherspoon, Henry J. & Kirkpatrick, J. M., *A Manual of Church Doctrine According to the Church of Scotland* (1920; second edition; revised & enlarged by Thomas F. Torrance & Ronald S. Wright; London: Oxford University Press, 1960).
- Wright, Andrew, *Christianity and Critical Realism: Ambiguity, Truth and Theological Literacy* (London: Routledge, 2013).

Yong, Amos, "Conclusion," in Dale M. Coulter & Amos Yong (eds), *The Spirit, the Affections and the Christian Tradition* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2016).